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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

LAST time we expressed a hope that the legislators, if they agree about essentials, would adopt a compromising attitude about the minor details and thus ensure the safe passage of the Bill through both the Houses. It is disconcerting to find that they have not agreed about even the first essential of the constitution of a Directorate. The Government having promised to support the State Bank if the Legislature waived the right of electing its own members, clause 3 establishing a State Bank was easily passed, but after this the amendment prohibiting members of the legislatures from being Directors was thrown out and even then no agreement could be reached about the formation of the Directorate. A second compromise broadening the legislatures' constituency into six general constituencies by the addition of persons paying income tax on Rs. 10,000 or over or a land-tax of Rs. 5,000 became a signal for all sorts of suggestions not excluding the one for the inevitable communal representation. The introduction of the communal principle is extremely pernicious and it is best to give up the idea of a general electorate and fall back upon special electorates, however contrived. The latest plan suggested by the Finance Member consists of an issue of Reserve Bank stock and the Directorate appointed by the stockholders not directly but by a secondary representation through trustees elected by them, the

members of the two central legislatures being ex-officio trustees. The number of these Directors will be ten and the total number will be twenty-three. We see no harm in the principle of indirect representation, but the total of twenty-three makes the Directors an unwieldy body increasing the chances of differences of opinion and possibly friction later on. Besides although in name a State Bank, this scheme would make the Reserve Bank for practical purposes a shareholders' bank. Leaving aside legal technicalities, we think that unless the non-official members had agreed to a definite scheme about the Directorate it was hardly right for them to enter into a compromise with the Finance Member stipulating for a State Bank.

* * *

IN response to the earnest appeal made by his Excellency the Viceroy in his address to the combined session of both the Houses of the Legislature, the leading men of both the communities have issued an appeal to all citizens. The appeal emphasizes the fact that "peaceful social existence itself is threatened" by the "heart-rending tragedies" of communal conflicts which have become a common feature of our civic life. The appeal expresses its abhorrence of the vilification of religious founders and other revered personages indulged in by individual members of both the communities, although it is acknowledged that no community as a whole has instigated such conduct. The appeal addresses itself in particular to journalists and speakers not to utter anything that might offend the feelings of any of their countrymen. We are sure that the phrase 'divine guidance' that occurs more than once in this appeal is not a mere rhetorical embellishment but expresses the true and sincere feeling of the signatories. In fact the appeal is in perfect tune with the address of the Viceroy, which has been acknowledged on all hands to have been inspired by a deep religious feeling. Owing however to the practical aspect of the matter we should not think the appeal by itself to be an adequate measure for bringing about the desired result. Such appeals can only reach the higher strata of society and cannot make the right sort of impression on the mass-mind. Popular propagandist agencies ought to be set working which might carry the message contained in the appeal right to the bottom of the social scale. The failure of previous attempts in this direction ought to make it clear that the avenues of approaching the desired end ought to be many and various. Without belittling the importance of such appeals, we might be allowed to express some scepticism at the inauguration of communal conferences. Prolonged and sustained effort is needed to bring together the two communities on various common platforms in the ordinary routine of life. Simultaneously there ought to be a great relaxation of the rules with regard to the practices of ceremonial life on which both the communities lay undue emphasis.

With such matters the local leaders have more to do than leaders meeting in Simla and something ought to be done to impress upon the minds of local Hindu and Muslim leaders the urgent need of practical steps to remove local causes of ill-will.

* * *

SIR EDWARD GRIGG, in opening the session of the Legislative Council, made a speech in which he is reported to have stated that the Colonial Office has agreed to an European Elected Majority in the Council, which he was bidden by the planters to demand in his visit to England. Though we take a much more serious view of the betrayal implicit in the East Africa White Paper of last July than most people, we still hope and believe that this report is inaccurate. No doubt an Elected European majority, under the new policy, cannot long be postponed; still we think it has not yet arrived; it will yet take some time. But the report of the Government having accepted the proportion of seats allotted by the Feetham Committee to different communities on municipal councils is of course quite accurate and deals out a crushing blow to Indian interests. The White Paper of 1923 made a fairly just and at any rate an acceptable distribution of these seats, but the Feetham Committee has changed all that, reducing the number of seats to be given to Indians and increasing the seats of the whites—much beyond what the whites themselves dared to ask for. No wonder that Indians are thinking of taking almost desperate remedies to meet a desperate situation. They are about to boycott the Council in order to demonstrate their righteous indignation and are convening an Indian Congress, to preside over which Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who in 1924 did such excellent service, is being summoned. It is to be hoped that she will find it possible to go. It will hearten our fellow-citizens in East Africa as nothing else will. We hope the Government of India will not be supine in this matter, but make very strong representations to the Colonial Office.

* * *

THE London correspondent of the *East African Standard* anticipates that there will be four members of the East African Federation Commission, which is to go to East Africa at the end of the present year or the beginning of next year. The President will be, as is known here, Sir Hilton Young; one member will be chosen by the India Office; and the two others will be Sir George Schuster, lately Financial Secretary to the Soudan Government, and Mr. J. H. Oldham, Secretary of the International Missionary Council. The competence of such a Commission cannot be doubted, but the selection of the personnel raises the question whether the association of immigrant communities in the exercise of native trusteeship is an accepted policy of the British Government beyond the purview of this Commission's investigation or whether the Commission will be competent to report for or against the proposed policy. Such a question arises because it is well-known that Mr. Oldham is already a convert to the new policy and may even be said to be in a sense its author. For it is believed that he more than any other single person influenced the Colonial Office in issuing the White Paper. At any rate he is one of the few men whom Lord Delamere mentions with wholehearted approval as one to whom is due a change in the attitude of the authorities in England from one of suspicion to one of trust in the planter community. Whereas in 1923 the Colonial Office started with the assumption that there was a conflict of interests between black and white, now the Colonial Office starts from a directly contrary assumption of the community of interests between the two races. We do not for a moment question the

sincerity of Mr. Oldham; nor do we at the moment question even the soundness of his new-found philosophy, viz. to trust an aggressor with a plenitude of power is the best way of turning him into a friend and helper. That may be the right policy, but surely the inclusion of one who has already made up his mind to it in a body commissioned to inquire into its advisability may well be questioned. Or is the Commission merely to devise ways in which the new policy is to be effectuated?

SIR P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYER'S third lecture on the Indian constitution, in which he dealt with the provincial legislatures, was, like the first two, replete with many valuable suggestions. He is of the opinion that the present length of the life of legislatures is too short and should be increased to four, if not five, years. He also thinks that the present strength of the Council is inadequate and may well be doubled. "An increase in the total number of seats will allow of the reduction of the electorates to manageable dimensions, diminish the cost of the elections to candidates, promote closer touch between the candidates and the electors and facilitate the creation of plural constituencies in cases where they may be found to be absolutely necessary for securing the representation of minorities by reservation of seats or otherwise," though he recognises that "the number of such (plural) constituencies must be kept within the lowest possible limits." He cannot agree with the views of some publicists that the franchise in India is too high, though, in view of the exceedingly low percentage of the electorate to the total population, he would be prepared to consider if it cannot be lowered. The nominated element, according to Sir Sivaswamy, cannot be entirely eliminated as yet; he is willing to have it reduced to the lowest possible point, but he thinks it must be retained for some time longer for the benefit of the depressed and working classes, who would otherwise have to be provided for by means of communal or class representation, which any day is worse than nomination. The separate communal electorates are a recognised evil, but they can be abolished only by the consent of the communities concerned. The European community should, he suggests, first come forward to give it up and should not even ask for a reservation of seats in a general constituency. The Anglo-Indians ought also to give up communal electorates, though they may have seats reserved for their community. The same should be the case with the Sikhs. The non-Brahmans of Madras Presidency and the Deccan have clearly outgrown the necessity, if it ever really existed, of the reservation of seats in their interest, and Sir Sivaswamy is of the opinion that the provision in that behalf should now be scrapped. As for Mahomedans—well, it seems to him to be a desperate business.

* * *

THE subjects of the little State of Janjira had the temerity last year to hold a conference and pass resolutions asking for a voice in government and ventilating local grievances. Similar conferences have been held in other States without cataclysmic results; but although other States may be foolish enough to permit such pestilential agitation within their borders, not so Janjira, which appears to cherish the ambition of leading the way to bigger states in paternal government. It has now passed legislation—this fortunately is none too difficult a process—seeing that the so-called Legislative Council consists only of the Dewan and the Judicial Officer besides the Regent—requiring all public bodies consisting of more than eleven persons to

obtain registration and to renew it every year. The registration however depends entirely upon the sweet will of the District Magistrate. Certain negative tests are however laid down. If any public body purports to represent a district it must have on its rolls more than 50 members of whom Mahomedans, Brahmans, Prabhus and other castes must be at least 20% each. Police officers are not only authorised but required to prohibit meetings, public or private, of all unregistered societies, whose property may be liable to seizure, if only there is a reasonable suspicion of their holding a meeting, public or private. A similar regulation governs the holding of a public meeting also. If the object of such a meeting is "purely religious, social or charitable," then the District Magistrate's sanction is not necessary, but if the meeting is for any other purpose, it cannot be held except with the sanction of the District Magistrate which he can give or withhold at his discretion. If, however, an application for permission to convene a meeting "is signed by at least 40 persons of standing, at least 20% of whom represent each of the four communities" mentioned above, then the District Magistrate must grant permission. We must admit that though this legislation is of extreme severity, this particular provision is rather liberal compared to what obtains in some other States, where even religious meetings are forbidden although they may be desired by 100 p. c. of the population. It is easy enough to throttle public agitation in Indian States. Janjira has adopted a law for doing what several other States have been doing by mere administrative action. Another draconian piece of legislation is the new Press Act; which excels in severity even the one proposed some time ago for Baroda. We cannot deal with it here, but hope to notice it later on.

* * *

IN an article bristling with telling facts and figures, appearing in the *Indian Economic Journal*, Messrs. S. R. Deshpande and G. S. Ghurye give an account of their study of the social and economic life of four Konkan villages. They were able to collect 192 family budgets, out of which 145 were selected for final tabulation. The results disclosed by their study are that the average annual income of a family is nearly the same as the average expenditure, which makes no allowance for interest charges; that the agriculturist is heavily in debt; that debts are in many cases incurred for unproductive purposes like marriage festivities and religious ceremonies rather than for productive purposes; that the rate of interest, which was found to vary between 10 and 75 per cent. presses heavily on the agriculturist; that 56 per cent. of the families live below the minimum level of subsistence; that comfort; may be said to be conspicuous by their absences that housing is very bad; that water both for drinking and cultivation is insufficient; that for want of enough land the agriculturist has nothing to do for part of the year and cannot live on it; and that his health is generally unsatisfactory. It may be supposed that this was due to large families and parasitic dependents that the agriculturist has to maintain. But the inquiry does not bear out this supposition. There have been few systematic inquiries of this kind in the past, of which the more we have the better. The information gathered in the course of such studies is reliable and shows up the economic position of the agriculturist as no mere study of blue book statistics can. The authors deserve praise for undertaking the inquiry.

* * *

THE PLANTER PSYCHOLOGY.

THE speech which Lord Delamere delivered as President in opening the third European non-official conference on 8th August shows that the East Africa White Paper recently issued has rid the resident European population of the misgivings which the Devonshire White Paper of 1923 had inspired in them. The keen dissatisfaction that they then felt has now given place not only to a sense of hopefulness but to one of satisfaction. Self-government appeared to them in 1923 very remote; now it is almost within their grasp. And even while it tarries, the existing form of government does not press hardly on them. "Everything is beautiful in the garden to-day," said Lord Delamere. "Our local government and officials and ourselves are in agreement on all main issues." "The atmosphere in which we work with our rulers in England is almost idyllic, thanks to many wise people there who have grasped the facts. But it is not so long ago that we nearly lost the constitution which we had laboured for four years..." They have now recovered what they believed they had lost, and know that their progress towards responsible government cannot be impeded hereafter by any doctrinaire politicians in England.

Lord Delamere views with favour the idea of establishing a closer union between East African countries, first between the three countries of the Northern group, viz. Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika and then between all the countries of Eastern and Central Africa. But he emphasises that his support is contingent upon the fulfilment of certain conditions the chief of which is that Kenya, which is to be the predominant partner in the Northern group as Southern Rhodesia which already enjoys self-government is to be the predominant partner in the Southern group, should be allowed to make a further step in constitutional development; that is to say, there should be 'a European Elected Majority' in the Legislative Council, which they know cannot be long withheld from them. The Kenys whites often speak merely of "an Elected Majority" leaving people who are not conversant with Kenya affairs somewhat in doubt whether the Elected Majority is not to be composed of all races. The whites themselves of course have never any doubt in their own mind, and Lord Delamere must be thanked for making explicit on this occasion what is always implicit in their utterances, that they are all the time thinking of having a larger number of elected European members in the legislature than officials (who of course are all Europeans) and Indian and other unofficial members put together. This is only one degree removed from full white self-government, but that, according to Lord Delamere and the planter community in general, is the minimum safeguard they must insist upon as a pre-requisite to federation. Civilization—so their argument runs—is in danger of "being swamped by policies initiated from Downing Street." "The policy of a Crown Colony with an official majority in its legislature is naturally at the mercy of any political change in England causing change of

policy." The policy must therefore be controlled by "a resident civilised population." It goes without saying that the words "civilized population" are not used in the sense of Cecil Rhodes's famous motto which takes no account of race, but the words only mean "the European population." This is not left to be inferred but is expressed in so many words. In elaborating his scheme of federation of the three Northern States, under which each colony is to have complete control of its own affairs including finance, and inter-colonial affairs, among which Native Policy is to be one, are to be controlled by a Federal Council, Lord Delamere expressly states that the Federal Council should consist of "Europeans resident in the three States."

Sir M. Habibulla may take what comfort he can in the thought that the Amery White Paper contemplates all races being associated with the Imperial Government in discharging the duties of trustee. Such an interpretation is no doubt plausible, but that the inclusion of Indians in the immigrant communities on whom trusteeship is to be devolved is meant more for the sake of symmetry and logical completeness than for being actually given effect to becomes clear from the fact that Mr. Amery himself in his speech studiously omits all mention of Indians, and, what is more, Indians are never thought of by Kenya Europeans when they refer to this part of the White Paper. Lord Delamere of course coolly assumes that it is the whites who are to be taken into partnership with the Government and leaves out all reference to Indians except only in places where he specially says that Indians must be kept out. The future policy of the whites, when they are freed from the fetters imposed by the Colonial Office, is however clearly indicated in one passage, which runs thus :—

Politically there are at the moment one or two distinct lines of cleavage between the policy in the three States in the North and that in the three Southern States. In the Rhodesias and Nyasaland the question of Asiatic immigration and competition is non-existent in practice. I do not wish to reopen that question here now but it is quite evident that before the Northern group can expect to enter into any form of Federation with the Southern group in the future it has got to set its house in order in this connection. I believe that once the lines on which we are advancing are laid down it should be possible to come to an agreement with the Indians already domiciled in East Africa as to control of immigration in the future.

Restriction of Indian immigration will thus be the first act of the whites of East Africa when they are associated in the responsibilities of trusteeship!

Indeed the object of Lord Delamere and his compatriots is no other than to establish not only in Kenya but in the whole of Central and East Africa what the Permanent Mandates Commission has fittingly called a WHITE STATE. The Commission rebuked the Governor of Tanganyika for treating the territory administered by him as if it was part of the British Empire, but one of the reasons why the Kenya

whites have set their heart on federation is just this, that Tanganyika may in this way be brought under the flog of the British Empire. Says Lord Delamere: "I believe that Federation is necessary in order to make Tanganyika an integral part of the Empire. . . The future of Tanganyika can only be made safe and sure for the Empire if she is linked by unbreakable federal bonds to British States next to her. . . Think of the East African States with Tanganyika, the key of the position, the joining link, cut out of the middle. And that is always to my mind a possibility until she is bound by federal bonds to other countries under the Crown."

Lord Delamere adduces of course the same reasons for a wholesale change in the Colonial Office policy as Mr. Amery; but the same language in the mouth of the planters looks unspeakably truculent. Read, for instance, the following passage in Lord Delamere's speech: "Our civilisation is here and nothing can prevent its forward movement in the Highlands of East Africa. It will attain further control in the government by stages, fast or slow, as the case may be. I believe that is unalterable. The only question is whether our colonists will emerge into ultimate control of their destiny embittered by policies forced upon them and by the attacks of political enemies in England or whether they will build up a sense of responsibility for the welfare of the native populations living next to them in a calm atmosphere where their own future is secure. . . It is a pleasure to find that the Cabinet in England has recognised that the way to avoid the embitterment of our own people on questions of native policy, is to associate them as early as possible in the guidance and governance of the native peoples." This as well reveals the psychology of the white planters of Kenya and should help us much in understanding what exactly is meant by the association of the immigrant communities in the exercise of responsibilities and the discharge of duties of native trusteeship.

MOTHER INDIA.

I.

IT is a great pity that Miss Katherine Mayo's "Mother India" begins with a description of Kali Ghat and the temple of Kali, which is gruesome enough to prepare the background as it were of the scene which the author is going to unfold for the delectation of her countrymen in America, for whom the book appears to be intended. Unfortunately for her the Kali Ghat temple is far from being typical of Hindu temples and it is allowable to suppose that this was all the acquaintance she made with Hindu religious thought which stretches over a vista of at least three or four millenniums. No wonder that she displays a marked antipathy against the Hindu throughout her analysis of the Indian social fabric.

The main thesis of the book is unfolded by the author herself in the first chapter and it is this: poverty, ignorance, inertia and weakness of life-vigour itself are traits that characterize the Indian of long-past history and no agency but a new spirit within.

his own breast can set him free, the two root-causes being early marriage and sexual exhaustion. The kernel of Indian sociology therefore is physiological first and last. To us who are not quite innocent of the social science this is a revelation; we have been bred on the orthodox doctrine of a plurality of causes for such complex effects. The rest of the book simply "widens the picture" and illustrates this main thesis.

In chapter 2 the 'slave mentality' of India is attributed to the birth-strain due to confinement with its peculiar tortures and these tortures are described later on in chapter 8 with all the minutiae at the command of medical scholarship. There is no word said however in either place about the cause of such poor equipment in this sphere, namely, the great poverty of the mass of people. How in the name of commonsense can you expect a family with an annual income of a couple of hundred rupees to go in for the latest obstetric accoutrements? To say however, as Miss Mayo does, that even the rich do not take advantage of the latest aids of medical science is a gross perversion of facts.

Curiously enough, to visualize the effects of child-marriage the author adopted the means of visiting women's hospitals, and from what she saw there she generalized about millions that have never seen what a hospital is like. Indian social reformers have long since found out all the evil effects of child-marriage and as a result of their efforts the marriage-age has been steadily extended. Yet the author writes as if we are to-day exactly where we were a century ago and indulges in hyperboles displaying the worst literary taste. As an instance one may quote the following: 'For the vast majority of women here (in the Madras Presidency) marriage is a physical tragedy.' There are many other assertions in these two chapters, an examination of which can only be relegated to a medical magazine.

Several pages are devoted to the well-worn theme of the domination of the husband over the wife, the lot of the Hindu widow, the Purdah, female illiteracy which are familiar ground to all students of the social reform movement in India. The facts stated in these pages are unmistakably true; in fact all of them are substantiated by quotations from reports and blue books issued by Government. The author also quotes freely from Gandhi and Tagore but only when it suits her purpose; the great falladium however seems to be Abbe Dubois' "Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies", a book crammed with half-truths about Hinduism. The point of criticism in this case however is not the unverity of the statements made by the author but, as another reviewer has said, 'the low purpose' with which the whole of this is written. If her object were simply to bring to the notice of the Indians the gravity of the social evils in India we might place her in the front rank of our social reformers and feel grateful. But we cannot forget that the book was written for the enlightenment of the Americans and it passes our understanding what interest they could possibly have in our national foibles except a purely academic interest.

Even here hyperbole is not absent. Take the

following description of a mother: "She would never discipline the child. . . Her idea of a sufficient meal is to tie a string round his little brown body and stuff him till the string bursts. She would never teach him to restrain passion or impulse or appetite." From what we know of the Indian mother the fault would appear to be just the other way round. The desire of an Indian mother to have a child is mocked as if the longing for maternity is an ignoble emotion or perhaps something sinful.

About the untouchables the author has nothing by way of fresh inspiration to give. She simply repeats what to her perhaps are discoveries but what to educated Indians are trite sayings oft repeated. But we are told that the deputation of untouchables waiting upon Mr. Montagu in 1917 deprecated the thought of Home Rule for India. In an address presented to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, the Madras Adi-Dravid Jana Sabha is quoted to have said: "We shall fight to the last drop of our blood any attempt to transfer the seat of authority in this country from British hands to so-called high caste Hindus who have ill-treated us in the past and will do so again but for the protection of British laws." The introduction of this political matter undeniably shows that Miss Mayo is not simply a disinterested social reformer but has another rôle to play. She clearly wants to use the social evils in India as a justification for the continuance of undiluted autocratic government by the powers that are already installed.

In a chapter devoted to education the author laments the prejudice of the higher castes against agricultural and commercial pursuits, which results in hundreds of University men remaining idle rather than do useful work, but her concern is to see that he does not blame the Government or does not join anti-Government agitation. Now the disgruntled University product is a familiar phenomenon, but we are not sure whether it altogether is his own fault that he does not get suitable employment. The fault lies partly at least with the absence of technical institutes and partly with the conditions of Indian industry which cannot absorb all the University men even if they are minded to turn their thoughts in that direction. In any case this constitutes a problem which cannot be solved simply by reviling the educated classes for their touching faith in the power of Government to provide offices for them.

The author is not convinced that the illiteracy of India is due to her poverty but since Lord Curzon's time it has been repeated successively by the Imperial Government as well as provincial Governments that compulsory education is retarded only by want of funds. There is not money enough to go round for all the reforms which are accepted in principle both by the Government and the people's representatives especially those connected with education and sanitation and yet we are told that the 60 p. c. of the illiterates are kept so by the deliberate will of the orthodox Hindu. Granting that women are not trained as teachers owing to the orthodoxy of the Hindu we may have a legion of male teachers provided that the money is available. It is not true either to say that

Indian Ministers are shirking the task for which they formerly held the Government responsible ; in every province they have been thwarted by the difficulties of adjusting the budgets of top-heavy administrations. The problem is not one simply of "the ability and skill of the teaching staff", as she puts it, but a problem of finance.

Treating of rural reconstruction, Miss Mayo rightly dwells on the absentee habits of the landlords as being the cause of the dullness of rural life and its lack of public opinion, and she would advise the landlord to leave the cities, go back to their villages, educate the agricultural labourers and watch the villagers' interests. Her suggestions about the cattle problem are also worthy of serious thought. In U. S. on an average 70 p. c. of the total crop-area is devoted to the production of fodder, whereas India relies on grazing areas. The breeding process is not scientific but consigned to the realm of chance and, lastly, there is no proper care taken of animals, even the sacred cow being treated in practice with niggardliness and indifference. All these are powerful indictments and ought to rouse us to a sense of our duty.

A whole chapter (19) is given to the quality of mercy among Indians who are declared to be deficient in humanity and kindness. In this connection the author cites at length the proceedings of the Bombay Legislative Council in discussing a measure giving power to police officers to kill any animal in such a condition that an attempt to remove it would mean greater cruelty. It is true that most of the arguments were queer and based on notions of misplaced mercy. We have no desire to endorse these arguments, but the bantering tone adopted by the author is out of place if not unseemly. She says, "So failed for this time at least Governments' attempt to defend the cow from her worshippers." As a matter of fact there are in the world even outside India many honest differences of opinion about vivisection, meat-eating, compulsory castration of diseased men and other topics where it is difficult to strike a balance between the dictates of mercy and the greatest good of the greatest number. It is not justifiable however to base a general condemnation of a people upon the fact that they are prepared to carry certain principles to their logical conclusion, however absurd it might be.

SUGGESTIONS FOR RURAL RECONSTRUCTION.

It is a healthy sign of the times that representative political institutions of the country have made the village the starting-point for a process of rehabilitation. 90 per cent. of the Indian population live in rural areas while only 10 per cent. of it constitute the "intelligentsia." It is an irony of fate that both the Government and the "vocal public" should be callous to rural problems affecting the economic improvement of the masses, while the few representatives sitting in deliberation in the Legislatures of India should be discussing questions which do not even by a whit advance the interests of this large inarticulate section. India is predominantly an agricultural country and the majority of its population must

remain agriculturists. The efforts of both the social meliorist and the political worker need to be concentrated, as the *Times* says, upon "promoting an enquiry which concerns the welfare of over four-fifths of the 320 millions of people who inhabit India."

On a careful analysis of the rural conditions it will be found that the question resolves itself into two broad issues: viz. (1) economic (2) and cultural. The attention of public workers or of any humanitarian leagues should first be converged upon these two aspects for it is only on the improvement of their distressing economic situation and on the change in their outlook to raise the standard of living that the condition of this vast multitude can be made more enviable. It is only by such processes of evolution that the country can make more rapid strides on the path of progress and contribute more substantially for its constitutional and economic history.

The produce of land being the principal means of subsistence for the masses, it becomes obvious that the return which agriculturists get for their labour all the year round is a very important question. In fact, the system of land tenure affords the key to their economic prosperity. Greater security of tenure and fixation of rents on a more equitable basis would give an incentive to cultivators to improve their land. A great percentage of ryots are tenant cultivators and unless the landholders are moderate in their demands for rent the poor cultivators will be led to ruin, due to unequal conflict and the lands, being excessively infeudated, become indifferently cultivated, eventually leading to non-payment of rents and the consequent trouble of civil courts. When village Panchayats become the universal feature of villages such matters may fitly be left for their decision. The great drawback of Indian agriculture is that it does not pursue scientific methods of agriculture. Agricultural development, if development it is, has more or less been, for a long time, on empirical lines and it is no uncommon sight to see a vast congregation of cultivators sitting in dull despair at the delaying monsoon or the pests committing havoc which they could have easily avoided with a careful selection of seeds. The Department of Agriculture is finding it an uphill task to break through the impervious ignorance of the masses. Customs and conventions die hard and instances are not wanting to show that the use of copper sulphate for purifying 'cholam' seeds has been considered heretical. The use of improved ploughs, selection of seeds, production of good, natural and artificial fertilisers, application of natural resources for maximum benefit, easy and intelligent methods of transport are a few among the immediate changes to be introduced in the agricultural system of the country and it is no small wonder that the hesitant cultivator looks on these innovations in the time-honoured system with distrust and suspicion. It becomes increasingly obvious therefore that such instructions should be incorporated in the school curriculum and children made to imbibe these ideas. This apart, provision of a large number of model farms and agricultural demonstrators should be made, the Agricultural Loans Act liberalised and improvements effected from time to time brought home to the masses through intensive propaganda. The Indian cultivator is a most conservative being and does not believe in anything which he does not see with his naked eyes. Cottage industry is another important economic factor which demands urgent resuscitation of its working conditions. Weaving, spinning, carpentry, smithy and to a certain extent shoe-making form the staple industry of the people in rural areas. A study of their methods of work reveals the deplorable fact that no attention is paid to conserving time and energy. The products manufactured under such conditions are placed in

the market for sale at unconscionable rates with the result that in the end the cheaper stuff gets the better sale while they get weather-beaten and at times undersold. This improvident attitude which has become a second nature with the village worker has become a serious handicap. Even in these professions the villager suffers mainly through lack of knowledge and absence of proper financial backing. The State Aid to Industries Bill in Madras which is chiefly intended to advance such rural activities seems to be functioning very little in these directions. Sufficient financial aid should be forthcoming to revive these industries and to make them a more paying concern. Peripatetic weaving parties should be brought into existence in greater numbers so that they might actually live among the ryots for some time, demonstrating the advantages of improved looms and other ancillary developments of modern weaving. Likewise carpentry, smithy and shoe-making may be made more paying through suitable educative agencies for bringing them into conformity with modern requirements.

Yet another factor which goes a long way in the life of rural areas is domestic gardening. For want of better knowledge of botany this piece of handwork has not become as efficient as it should be. This is a kind of recreation to a student of nature and a pleasant occupation to the old and the young. One can take to this as a kind of hobby in his leisure hours. A family may subsist on its produce without difficulty, and with some more effort it may be made a paying concern. A large extent of land is lying fallow through the ignorance of the villagers to harness the available resources for putting up a fine garden. The fine 'topes' of the West coast are therefore a special feature of South India and would it not be a beauty spot if all the available land is converted into a vast expanse of green verdure! "A thing of beauty is a joy for ever" and this the unsophisticated villagers must be made conscious of.

Having discussed the most important aspect of rural development we now turn to a consideration of its agricultural aspect. It is in directing our energies to rehabilitate the worn out social customs that we must guard ourselves against excessive zeal and attempting to do anything *per saltum*. It is often argued that the causes of our peasant poverty are mainly to be found in their inexorable social customs and not till caste usages are rendered more and more elastic will a greater movement of labour be possible. Primary education is the only solvent of these difficulties and it should be overhauled with a view to adapt it to the crying needs of village life so that the peasant might successfully tackle problems of village hygiene, cooperate more fully with his fellows and take a rightful share in the civic responsibilities of the village. Besides the three R's special instruction in agriculture, civics and hygiene is a *sine qua non* of a sound system of rural education. It is in the school room that the future citizens would imbibe ideas of better living and then go forth into the world carrying this torch of knowledge to emancipate their less tutored brethren from the thralldom of ignorance. Education of this sort must be made universal and compulsory and must be carried, if needs be, to the very doors of the people. It is almost a truism to say that a villager generally takes after his neighbour and would it not produce a salutary effect if model cottages and cattle sheds are constructed by the Health Department so that the conservative villager might shake off his prejudice and take to them more freely? Proper conservancy, providing facilities for good and abundant drinking water, creating better ideas of light and air are some of the important measures whose materialisation would accelerate the work of the reformer and

enliven the monotonous life of the peasant. One more point which needs mention en passant is the institution of seasonal lectures and cinema shows. This is no doubt a costly affair but modest beginnings might be made in this direction. America sets the brightest example of propaganda work and her present high level of prosperity is in no small measure due to the daring, enterprising spirit and general literacy of the people. Rural libraries containing a choice selection of books suitable to the peasant folk are a desideratum and the village teacher who commands more leisure may be entrusted with their maintenance. Books on plants, animals, floriculture, vegetable gardening, geography, geology, physiography and civic administration and citizenship are of the utmost value to a community whose sole occupation is husbandry and while engendering in them correct notions of their environment they must be made to supplement their agricultural income by some useful occupation so that they might earn a more assured and decent livelihood and become more efficient and useful citizens. Night schools for adults and working men's institutes give good opportunities to combat ignorance amongst the masses. With the education of adults the question of primary education is easily solved and the chances for the children to take to education more unreservedly will be proportionately greater. A change in the trend of the present day school curriculum with a view to make provision for vocational education is persistently demanded and in doing so the aim should not be to convert every school house into a workshop. Industrial education must rest on a foundation of general education seeing at the same time that the intellectual training so derived is well balanced with manual training. School houses are about the best places for apprenticing the pupils in manual work after secular instruction in mornings and if they are found to be uneconomical classes may be held within the premises of a factory. Mr. W. Fyfe, Inspector of Industrial Schools, Madras, once said: "I am inclined to favour the idea of using half-time schools here and there where they appear to serve a useful purpose for a few years at least, but should welcome the spread of general education as a means of making them unnecessary." Suitable village centres should be earmarked for starting such schools and the result watched with interest before the system is made universal.

There is still one other question of vital importance which deserves careful analysis and that is the question of educating the electorate. With the enlarged franchise it has been found practically impossible to enable the voter to exercise his vote intelligently. While the urban voter distinguishes himself by the complexion of his party politics the less educated village voter is easily pulled by the nose by considerations of "power and help." Such influences are the most unhealthy signs of our political spirit and have adverse effect on the development of a useful political life in India. It behoves all interested in national uplift to nip such a tendency in the bud and chalk out ways and means to educate the electorate. The schoolroom and the teachers are factors of the greatest significance and it should be the responsibility of local bodies and private agencies to appoint capable teachers so that they might inculcate right ideas of civic duties.

N. SIMHADRI.

MIDDLE CLASS UNEMPLOYMENT.

MADRAS COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

A GOOD deal of legitimate doubt is felt about the scope of the term "educated middle classes". The Committee has done well in defining the term to

apply to "persons who have received some form of secondary or higher education and are not sufficiently well off to dispense with earning their own living."

The sub-committee responsible for framing the exhaustive questionnaire can congratulate itself on the fact that this draft has been copied almost *verbatim* by a similar committee at Travancore. He should have been in a fool's paradise who expected a drastic immediate solution of such a complicated problem. What the Committee has done is to point out in more than three places of the Report the urgent "necessity for a change" in the minds of parents. What is required is "to create more demand for the existing talent and greater supply of men who will assist in the economic development of the country".

The enquiry consists of three parts: (i) scope of the enquiry and extent of unemployment, (ii) causes and (iii) remedies. The manner in which the first part of the Report has been drafted, in the absence of definite statistics in the province on the point, will do credit to any organised body of scientific workers. As the Report has aptly done, Mr. Arthur Davies, Principal, Law College, who conducted another parallel enquiry in the College and spent more than one month to get some figures, deserves to be singled out for his known zeal and interest in the problem. Of the eleven propositions under the scope of the enquiry, the findings regarding the lawyers and doctors have a special interest to the parents. There is a "keen struggle at the bar, some of the junior vakils not being able to obtain a livelihood." In the case of the medical profession it is "overcrowded in the larger towns but there is ample room for many more medical men in the villages and small towns."

Apart from the post-war effects, the Committee is warranted in citing the chief causes as, (1) the universal idea that Government service or the bar is the end and object of an educational career, and (2) that agriculture offers no career for an educated man. No Government can go on satisfying the claims of particular communities for the well-known reason that posts are always few when compared with the number of applicants. That 666 applications were received for the post of a clerk on Rs. 35 p. m. in the Mettur Project and that 500 vakils applied for the post of a Bench-clerk in the High Court are dismal facts.

The etiology of the mentality that "prefers a pittance in a town to a possibility of success in a farm" has been pointedly brought forth by the Committee. The Committee seriously advises parents to read these signs of the times so that in the future there need be no further rush to add to the "embittered unemployed."

A student of Indian economics would have expected the Committee to have been more expansive with reference to the want of industrial development. Lack of other openings like extensive banking facilities, more encouragement to Indian talent and an indigenous mercantile marine could well have been pointed out in the Report.

The most pressing question at this stage is, what are the definite recommendations of this Committee? The Committee is aware of the complexity of the problem when it leaves some work to the Public Services Commission and the Royal Commission on Agriculture. The complaint of the Inspector of Industrial Schools in his oral evidence that the very heavy import duty on imported lace thread kills an important cottage industry is a striking instance of the necessity of other parallel remedies to relieve unemployment. Besides the propaganda work recommended by the Committee regarding the futility of expecting Government jobs and the overcrowding of the bar, it

suggests a few practical steps to make agriculture a profitable occupation and convert village life by increasing its amenities.

The Committee recommends that small farms of lands be made available for the landless unemployed on long leases. Farms are recommended to be attached to high schools in rural districts. The other recommendation for having small farms attached to rural schools has been advocated by the Statham Report also. The reorganization of secondary schools to suit the requirements of agricultural, technical, industrial, and higher technological institutions is a long needed remedy. The strictures, more particularly on the municipalities, for not having availed themselves readily of the Madras Elementary Education Act of 1920 are in point. While 95 out of 131 Local Boards have levied the compulsory cess, only 19 out of 81 municipalities have made elementary education compulsory.

A greater co-ordination of aims and more "co-operation between the three Departments of Agriculture, Education, and Industries" is recommended in order to avoid misfits between supply and demand in the employment market.

The Committee has done well in focussing its purview on the duty of the Government to warn the public about the wasteful spending of money after literary pursuits; the cry of "back to the land" has been backed up by the definite recommendation of granting farms to landless middle classes; and lack of variety in education has been met by the suggested reorganization of secondary education and rural schools. Any report of a committee to be effective, must be vigorously acted upon by the Executive. The duty of the Government alone now remains to be done.

K. R. R. SASTRY.

OUR SOUTH AFRICAN LETTER.

DURBAN, 13th August.

MR. SASTRI'S WORK.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that Mr. Sastri's presence here and his numerous addresses to European audiences—and he is still in great demand—have made a great change in the Indian situation in the Transvaal. Many among the Europeans here have been won to his cause. It may safely be said that the Agreement is no longer in question: it is accepted as a settled fact by most people. The only opposition to it is maintained by a few Indians, who do not cut much ice.

The implementing of the Agreement in regard to the upliftment of Indians is now the problem and in this respect Mr. Andrews set the ball rolling in his farewell speech on 30th July. He was gratified that the material condition of the Indians had improved since 1914 and that the Indians in rural areas had "made good", but he deplored the drift into the town of Durban with its consequent demoralisation and slum life. He wished it checked by making country life more attractive by the provision of educational facilities and other amenities. The Wages Act was likely to throw out of employment some of the Indians in the towns and it would be a good plan to establish them back on land. Even so the problem of the urban Indian would still be with us. For them a housing scheme was very necessary. While he complimented the Mayor and

the Corporation of Durban on their initiation of a housing scheme on the boundary of Durban, he emphasised the desirability of similar provision in the town itself. He ended up on a confession that the Indian problem was not, as he had believed hitherto, a political one, but a matter of better housing and better education; and appealed to the wealthy Indian community to help in the solution of the problem.

The *Natal Mercury*, probably the most influential paper here and a protagonist of segregation and repatriation, promptly patted Mr. Andrews on the back for what it was pleased to call "recantation" of his ancient idealistic and impossible heresies and complimented him on his conversion to the views long advocated by itself: which were that the Indian community should by self-help provide itself with better housing and better education and not dream of political rights. The only quarrel that the *Mercury* had with Mr. Andrews was that he failed to refer to emigration as a solution of the Indian problem.

In an interview in the *Mercury* Mr. Sastri said that though the assisted emigration scheme had only just been started, it had shown better results, inasmuch as more Indians emigrated during the period than in the corresponding period in previous years. He urged that, with a view to inspire confidence in India regarding the good faith of South Africa, the upliftment section should be taken up at once and that as the first step, the education commission contemplated in the Agreement should be set up by the Natal Government. He admitted the necessity for all-round improvement but contended that education must come first. He had already addressed the Indian community on the subject of sanitary reform and had appealed to them to co-operate in the uplift of their poorer compatriots.

NEED FOR HOUSING AND SANITARY IMPROVEMENT.

The *Mercury* heaved a sigh of relief that Mr. Sastri had promised not to look beyond the Agreement, that there would be no discussion by him of political franchise which was solely a Union affair; that he was not going to question the existing anti-Indian legislation, which was not covered by the Agreement, and fastened on the supposed divergence of view between Mr. Andrews and Mr. Sastri, itself disagreeing with the latter. Housing and sanitation should come first, education can wait; that is its slogan. An education commission will not yield immediate results; it will take time. The Union Government can only advise; the Natal Government has to appoint it, and the Natal Provincial Council was not enamoured of the Agreement. Its resolution to the Assembly was turned down by the Speaker and Natal is sore about it. Education will cost money and Natal cannot spare it. Let the Union Government foot the bill. More than all, the question of education is not urgent. Indians themselves are not keen on education. Out of 40 aided schools for them only one was created by an Indian. Even so, the percentage of Indians in schools is higher in Natal than in India. One in nineteen in

Natal is receiving primary education as compared with one in thirty in India. At all events there is no need for a commission to go into the matter. If a commission sits, there will doubtless be a demand for secondary education and for expensively staffed and elaborate primary schools. There is practically no use for secondary education. Government primary schools will be too costly; they will cost more than the subsidy that the Union Government gives to the Provincial Government towards education, which is five guineas per scholar. At the present time, the Provincial Government makes grants to aided schools, mostly conducted by missionaries, and the grants are much less than what the Union Government pays the Natal Government; so that it results in a profit to the Provincial Government. If the grants are increased by say 50 per cent. more aided schools will spring up and that is the simple solution. No commission is wanted to discover it, unless there was something concealed up the sleeves of the Agent, far bigger and more far-reaching. Instead of an education commission, argues the *Mercury*, let us have, under the Public Health Act, a commission to enquire into the sanitary conditions of Indians. Councillor Kemp has sent up a memorandum to the Durban Town Council urging similar action, and a committee of the Council has unanimously accepted the motion; so the matter will come up soon, I believe.

Knowing as they do the motives of the *Mercury* and Councillor Kemp in the past, the Indians are suspicious of this solicitude for an improvement of their sanitary condition. They see segregation in it. Their position is as follows:—There is a great demand for sites for Indian housing, but some years ago, the Town Council said that there were no sites available for Indians in the town, but expressed its willingness to make available sites outside the town for an Indian village. Against this the Indians protested, and preferred overcrowding to segregation outside the town. If action is taken under the Public Health Act and the Housing Act, the Municipality may itself build houses outside the town, then its sanitary officers go round condemning the insanitary houses, and pulling them down and thereby leaving the displaced Indians no option but to go to the houses provided by the Municipality. That is what Indians suspect to be the desire of the *Mercury*. Further, under the Housing Act, the Union Government finds the loans necessary for housing schemes, and not the Provincial Government; and the money is all recovered by the sale of the buildings. So it will not be a burden to the provincial tax-payer.

"EDUCATION FIRST."

The *Natal Advertiser*, the most influential paper next to the *Mercury*, has bravely and splendidly supported Mr. Sastri's plea for Education First. Says it: "Save the children, is the supreme slogan of civilisation: and Mr. Sastri is showing the unerring instinct of statesmanship in thinking of the school room first. He is making or seeking to make the future secure. It is no fault of his that the present is a poor unmerited thing, full of stenches and squalor, of ex-

plottation and recrimination, of colour bars and mutual repugnances. That is not his fault nor is it his work to repair it." It is Natal's job. "Natal has known that any resolute campaign for better housing conditions for the Indians would mean, directly or otherwise, a demand for higher Asiatic wages, and this demand the province has not encouraged."

THE INDIAN AS AN ECONOMIC ASSET.

The economic relation between the European and the Indian in this country is again being debated in the press just now, particularly over the tailoring trade. In this connection the *Times of Natal*, which was hitherto an anti-Indian paper, has a very interesting editorial under the caption, "Indian Competition Fallacies". In trouncing Mr. L. D. Gilson, M.L.A., for his criticism of the Agreement, it remarks "Mr. Gilson's remarks are typical of an outlook which is all too common among white South Africans. One moment they talk loosely about the Indian menace, conveying the impression that they would like to see the last of the Indian in the country; the next they complain that the Government is helping a valuable labour supply to trickle out of the country. In short, the Indian, like the native, is regarded in the Gilson school of economics, as a valuable asset so long as he allows his labour to be exploited by the European; it is only when he begins to assert himself and to enter into competition in fields which the European regards as his own special preserve that he becomes a menace. To satisfy this school nothing short of legislation which will forbid any Indian labourer leaving the country and deport any Indian setting up in business for himself will suffice. The argument is as illogical as it is unjust." Continues the paper: "As a fact, the root of the whole trouble lies in that silly phrase 'White South Africa.' South Africa, with its mixture of races, can no more be made white than a striped lounge suit can be converted into a spotless robe for an angel. The best we can do is to strive for a South Africa with a white standard. And we shall fail to achieve even that unless we get rid of the colour bar complex." Well said.

Even this solution has its opponents. Naturally the employers of cheap Indian labour are among them. There is also a class of Indians themselves that oppose it from another point of view. They object to the Wages Board fixing a white standard of wages, for in that event, the white employers and they form the bulk of employers—would naturally prefer white employees to Indian and Indians would be thrown out of work. Particularly so because, while there are facilities for the technical education of the whites, none are available for Indians. Government itself has a policy of displacing its non-white employees in order to find work for the unemployed poor whites. The Indians who are thrown out of work by the action of the Wages Board and the Government will, unless some other work is found for them, have to emigrate to India. Some publicists, like Mr. P. S. Iyer, of the *African Chronicle* read into the action of the Wages Board a motive to compel Indians to emigrate. They go to the length of contending that the object of the industrial legislation is to convert voluntary emigration into a compulsory one. This is not justified, for the legislation affects whites far more than Indians and applies to the whole Union. Ineffi-

cient whites will give place to efficient whites. It must however be admitted that a certain unemployment of Indians is bound to result. Mr. Andrews suggested agriculture as a relief to Indian unemployment; but the *Mercury* contends that there is no suitable land for them. The Labour Party here is opposed on economic grounds to differential wages and contends that equal wages must be paid for work irrespective of race and colour. And the Indian Congress supports the contention on the ground of the national self-respect of Indians, which is opposed to all discriminating legislation based on race and colour. The only sensible solution is not to oppose a white standard but to secure for the Indian facilities for technical education and entry into trade unions. In this connection it is gratifying to learn that the Mayor of Durban has publicly recorded a minute that he would not be a party to the displacement of Indians and natives by poor whites.

Mr. Sastri stormed Pietermaritzburg the other day by one of the finest speeches he ever delivered in his life. The Mayor had called for a special meeting of Europeans only in the Town Hall. Never before was the large hall so crowded. Mr. Sastri spoke for exactly an hour on "India, South Africa and the British Empire," on British citizenship and its implications and responsibilities. He spoke like an inspired man and the audience gave him a prolonged ovation at the end. He spoke to the Rotary Club on "Diarchy", to the University College on "The Indian Caste System", and to the Toc H on the "Servants of India Society."

News will have reached India that Mr. Pragji Desai and Mr. Medh have been declared prohibited immigrants. Their case was that they were "exempted entrants" who in accordance with the assurance given by the Minister of the Interior in 1919, had all the rights which the "registered" Indians had, which included the right of re-entry without time limit. The case for the Department is that this right enures only so long as the exempted entrant maintains his domicile. The judgment of the Board is not yet available, but only the news that they have been declared prohibited emigrants.

S. R. N.

OUR PARLIAMENTARY LETTER.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

SIMLA, 3rd September.

THE long announced address of H. E. the Viceroy to the joint session of the Assembly and the Council of State has created a favourable atmosphere for unity in the warring communities. His Excellency emphasised the supreme need of finding a way out of the impasse, created by the communal tension, which has so far taken a heavy toll of life and property and regretted that the attempts so far have failed. He made it clear that it was change of heart and honesty of purpose that were required to arrive at a solution and pleaded for forgiving the mistakes committed by officials in these attempts, as they were made with the best of intentions. He gave an assurance that Government would gladly co-operate if any honest attempts were made by the leaders of both the communities to solve the problem. The cue was taken up by leaders, who immediately began to put their heads together to evolve a scheme for the settlement of differences in an amicable manner. The confidential report of the meetings however raises an apprehension that these conferences would go the same way as others before them did. It is hoped that the favourable atmosphere created by the speech is not spoiled and the opportunity balked of its good effects.

The Viceroy's speech, however, is now in danger of being forgotten in the battle over the Reserve Bank Bill. The nature of the work in the Assembly is quite in harmony with the elements outside, i. e. as fitful as can be. Outside the Assembly House we find rain, mist and fog and bright sunshine at intervals. So also do we find indoors in the case of the Bill: at times the issues become befogged, and at times its prospects brighten up. On Wednesday, the speech of the Leader of the House, Sir Basil Blackett, raised hopes that the Bill would soon be on the Statute Book. But the kaleidoscopic changes in the attitude of the parties, factions and their leaders have almost shattered all hope, with the result that at the time of writing the fate of the Bill hangs in the balance. As mentioned in my last letter, Government had prepared themselves for a fight, but the various conferences of the leaders, including the one at Viceroyal Lodge, gave the Government a clear idea of their position and wisely did Government come down from their stiff attitude and held out a hand for friendly understanding. Sir Basil Blackett, who sponsored the Bill so far, showed in an able speech how the Bill was going to accomplish a revolution in the realm of Indian Finance; he also showed how he had cherished the idea of having the Bill passed before he relinquished office. He explained that it meant freedom from the dominating voice of Whitehall. He however opposed the Bill as presented by the Joint Select Committee. Mr. Pandya's amendment, that the Bill be recirculated for eliciting further opinions on the ground that the character of the Bill had been wholly changed, did not receive the support of the House. Speaker after speaker demanded that the Bank should be free from the control of Government. Sir Purshotamdas challenged many of the arguments of Sir Basil and said that from his personal experience he assured the House that the responsibility of Directors to Shareholders in a joint stock company was a mere phantom of the imagination. He strongly appealed to the House to see that those Directors would be appointed who would serve Indian interests first. Passion swayed with him more than reason when he attacked Sir Basil for his sins of omission and commission. Sir Basil, it must be remembered, has all along silently ignored the virulent attacks made on him. The discussion went on till Wednesday afternoon, when speaker after speaker had shown on what conditions they would support the Bill, making it evident that there was no agreement among themselves. Mr. Cocks, in so many words, regretted that even after three days' discussions, there should be no compromise in sight. But the House was taken by surprise when, within ten minutes of the above remark, Sir Basil rose to wind up the debate, and declared that a compromise had been arrived at; and that in due deference to the wishes of the House Government had given up the position as regards a Shareholders' Bank and would accept the proposal of a State Bank, provided the other side of the House would also faithfully keep to the agreement. When he thanked Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar for the willing co-operation he offered, the House gave ironical cheers and was moved to laughter that of all persons, the Swarajist leader should have gone over the heads of others and shaken hands with Government in compromise. About thirty amendments were disposed of within half an hour that day and it was supposed that the Bill would be safely piloted within two days. But the discussion on the question of the Directorate showed the dangers ahead. There are unfortunately some people in the Assembly who would not be sorry if the Bill is thrown out. Government insisted that the Legislature should not have representation on the Directorate

and appealed for a self-denying ordinance, now that Government had come down and held out their hand for co-operation. But Mr. Jayakar, among others, argued that it was ridiculous that an able man should be excluded for the mere sin of being a member of the Legislature. Government was defeated on this point. But the next question, that of the constitution of the Directorate, showed wide cleavages in the House. Government objected that the word 'Indian' in the clause about the Governor and the Deputy Governor smelt racial discrimination, and that on no account would they be willing to allow it to go on to the Statute Book. The other side of the House bitterly complained that promises of the appointments of Indians were violated more often than observed. In this uncertain condition the House rose for the day on Thursday; but Friday morning sprung a surprise on the House. Sir Basil Blackett, after question time, moved the adjournment of the discussion of the Bill since communal discrimination was being added to the racial one mentioned above. Amendments were tabled by Muhammadan representatives to the clause about the Directorate which, Government contended, should in the fitness of things be not pressed forward. Government also, it seems, wanted to review its position, as the compromise to which they had pinned their faith was no longer likely to be acted upon. The President therefore taking the sense of the House adjourned the House till Monday. Thus the hopes about the safe passage of the Bill in this week have been dashed to the ground and if people do not come to an agreement in the interval, the Bill might even be withdrawn; there is no knowing about it.

The Select Committee on the Cotton Yarn Industry Safeguarding Bill has submitted its report; six out of fourteen have appended minutes of dissent showing that this Bill also stands in danger of being attacked. Messrs. Jannadas Mehta, Munshi Iswar Saran, Doriaswamy Iyengar, Raja Gaznafar Ali Khan and D. Chaman Lal, would be prepared to leave the bill in the cold shade of neglect. Raja Gaznafar Ali Khan and Mr. D. Aiyengar declare that it gives no protection to the cotton industry, but dooms the handloom industry. Sir Purshotamdas complains that it is a mere eyewash and fears that instead of protecting yarn, cheap cloth would soon be dumped on India. Sir Victor Sassoon refutes the attacks on the industry and complains of inadequacy of protection. Thus it will be seen that the Bill has narrowly escaped being smothered in the Committee and cannot easily escape unhurt the final reading in the House. Mr. Neogy has already sent in an amendment to the effect that the Bill be recirculated for opinion, failing which he proposes that its discussion be postponed to the next session. In the meanwhile Sir Victor Sassoon has balloted a resolution for giving adequate protection to the cotton industry, which has a chance of being discussed on the floor of the House this session. It will give the House an opportunity to give the verdict on the problem of protection to the industry, which it could not on the Government Bill, as the scope was narrowed down.

The Council of Elders has so far done nothing, but has prejudiced the discussion of the resolution on the Skeen Committee, the Assembly having failed to get the resolution passed there. It was suggested that the Council should not press it to a division, but should withdraw it in view of the same resolution being discussed in the Assembly. Government can now congratulate itself on the Council having come to its help with their verdict. Thus it makes only tenuous a situation which is already tenuous vis a vis the Government. The Council has therefore nothing to record this week, of which one can be legitimately proud.

REVIEW SECTION.

THE GREAT WAR.

THE WORLD CRISIS 1916-1918. By WINSTON S. CHURCHILL. 2 vols. (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.) 1927. 9×6¼. pp. xvi, 302, x, 325. \$ 10.00.

A HUGE mass of literature has been steadily growing up about the Great War and is still bound to grow year by year. Soldiers and statesmen, who took part in the great war or who guided its policy and others who had any connection with it, have felt bound to contribute their experiences, observations and opinions about its innumerable aspects and about the personalities of the different leaders. The time is yet distant when it is possible to expect a comprehensive and balanced survey of the war and a fair and impartial judgment upon the leaders who figured on the stage. Many of the actors are still alive and busily interested in the discussion of the characters and incidents of the drama. Accusations and recriminations of incompetency, of errors of judgment or of neglect of opportunities are still rife and will continue for years to come. The spirit of detachment necessary for judicial conclusions can only grow up when the atmosphere has been cleared of prejudices and prepossessions and the personal motives for praise and blame are dead. History at its best should be a record of objective truth, but this ideal is not always attained even by conscientious historians writing many years after the events which they endeavour to narrate. It is doubtful also whether the icy glitter of absolute, achromatic truth will be as attractive as the glowing colours presented by the refractory media of contemporary observers. At the same time the many coloured impressions of contemporaries who depict facts and personalities as they see them furnish valuable material to the future historian who seeks the white light of truth by a scientific checking, adjustment and combination of his variegated sources of information.

Mr. Churchill has not set before himself the task of writing a history of the great war. His object is to furnish an aid to the study and writing of its history, to present a panorama of the war as it appeared to him and to record the impression and emphasis of the leading episodes as they struck him. He has unconsciously followed the example of a great author in hanging his narrative upon the thread of his personal experiences and telling his own story of the part he played and of his reactions to the great events and personalities with which he had to deal. His equipment for his task is of a high order. He was First Lord of the Admiralty during the first two years of the war, and during the remaining three years he was for some months commanding a battalion in France, and for about 15 months he was occupied in Parliament defending his conduct as First Lord of the Admiralty before the commission of enquiry into the Dardanelles expedition. During the second half of this period he was Minister of Muni-

tions. He was in touch with several of the military leaders and statesmen and had the privilege of constant and intimate access to Mr. Lloyd George and of being his confidant. A man of brilliant intellect and extraordinary ability, clear-headed, far-sighted and strong-willed, with the gift of oratory and imagination and a clear and graphic style, he has succeeded in producing a series of word-pictures, vivid, flashing and thrilling like the most sensational cinema films. His qualifications as a judge of military strategy and tactics have been questioned by military experts. His claim to accuracy and impartiality have been challenged. As a historical work, which it does not profess to be, the value of the book may be open to criticism, but who can gainsay its absorbing interest? The book is never dull and never tedious. He held strong views about the conduct of the war and seldom entertained doubts about their correctness. He had been attacked for the disastrous failure of the Dardanelles expedition and had been the butt of severe criticism. The failure of that expedition he attributed to the failure of the Government and of the military authorities to send adequate reinforcements and their inability to see eye to eye with him and appreciate the immense possibilities of a successful offensive in that quarter. With his supreme confidence in his own judgment and in his prescience, he does not hesitate to swipe those who differ from him. He is not slow to appreciate merit, especially when it was combined with concurrence in his views. The motif of the book is a vindication of his personal views and doctrines and of his foresight and judgment.

His exclusion from the Government during the first half of the three years' period dealt with in these volumes was the source of very natural annoyance. When Mr. Asquith was turned out and Mr. Lloyd George became Prime Minister, there was a strong faction in the new ministry opposed to Mr. Churchill and he was bitterly disappointed at finding no sphere of action in a ministry with whose aims and temper he was in the most complete accord. To use his own words, "In this world war, a great official place especially one connected with the fighting services was perhaps equal in scope to the command of an army or a group of armies; and loaded with my special knowledge and share in the whole series of events, with which this story is concerned, I found a sentence of continued and indefinite inactivity almost unbearable. . . . As a Privy Councillor, I still had my seat on the front Opposition bench with all the opportunities of intervention in debate which it confers on any one and which it confers in a special measure on one who has no relations except those of personal courtesy with its other occupants. . . . Not allowed to make plans, he was set to make the weapons". Having been a wire-puller behind the scenes in the first two years of the war, he was now assigned the humble but essential rôle of providing stage pro-

perties. It is no wonder under the circumstances of the case that in every one of the moving pictures presented by him there is an invariable inset containing the smug face of Mr. Churchill with the air of the man who says 'I told you so'.

Mr. Churchill's work in the Ministry of Munitions was of the highest quality and it drew out all his powers of organisation. When he entered it, the Munitions Ministry had a staff of 12,000 officials grouped in 50 different departments, all with direct access to the head of the Department. Within a month, he reorganised the whole staff, grouped the 50 departments into 10, each under a separate head, and the 10 together forming a council or cabinet to advise the Minister of Munitions. The result of the decentralisation and co-ordination of the staff was that instead of struggling through the jungle on foot, he rode comfortably on an elephant whose trunk could pick up a pin or uproot a tree with equal ease and from whose back a wide scene lay open.

We may now glance at a few of Mr. Churchill's differences with the military experts on matters of tactics and strategy. Far be it from us to plunge into any of these controversies. A layman, and much more an Indian layman, is hardly entitled to pronounce any opinion upon the questions of high strategy and tactics upon which Mr. Churchill runs a-tilt against great generals and admirals. If reference is made to them, it is only for the purpose of giving an idea of the controversies with which the book deals. The main question upon which he differed from the high command were whether victory was to be sought by the allies on the western front or on the eastern front, whether the allies should have adopted an offensive or a defensive on the west, whether the war should have been carried on as one of attrition by frequent offensive thrusts or by waiting and conserving forces until the favourable opportunity came for a sudden and furious onslaught with resources in men and material accumulated to a point of overwhelming superiority. Upon every one of these points, it is enough for us to know that there is a great deal to be said on the other side against Mr. Churchill's views. The orthodox military theory is that ordinarily the offensive is the best form of defence. The obvious criticism against Mr. Churchill's alternative of waiting and saving up resources is whether the Germans would have allowed the Allies to carry out this policy.

One important issue which arises out of this discussion is whether and how far a civilian is entitled to sit in judgment over the tactics of generals and admirals. It would be most hazardous and unwise for civilians to reject the advice of the expert on the conduct of operations. A civilian statesman at the head of affairs may be competent to suggest broad lines of policy or strategy, but insistence on such views in distrust of the general in the field or the admiral on the sea is perilous and impracticable. If a particular course of tactics or strategy has been proved by events to have been ill-judged, the remedy is to remove the expert in whom confidence has been lost.

In his criticism of the conduct of war, Mr. Churchill makes no distinction between Frenchman, German, or Briton. He is as severe in his criticism of Jellicoe and Haig as in his criticism of Joffre and Foch, of Falkenhayn and Ludendorff. The heroic efforts made in sealing up the harbour of Ostend and Zeebrugge are condemned as based upon an exaggerated value of the ports as the base of German naval operations. The attack on Verdun and the great German offensive in March 1918 on the western front are condemned as strategical blunders, while the battle of the Somme and the failure of the allies to seek a sharp final decision on the east are among the heads of indictment against strategy of the Allies.

Turning from these controversial questions upon which opinions may differ, it is a pleasure to refer to the charm of Mr. Churchill's personal sketches and his graphic description and narrative. His description of the way in which General Nivelle commended himself to the British War Cabinet is a good example of his satire. "The British Ministers had never before met in council a General who could express himself in forceful and continuous argument and they had never before met a French General whom they could understand. Nivelle not only spoke lucidly, he spoke English. He had not only captured Fort Douaumont, he had an English mother." His opinion of high military experts as wanting in vision and comprehension, as being more or less short-sighted or blind is bound to excite resentment in military quarters. The praise bestowed by him on Mr. Lloyd George is a worthy tribute to the greatest War Minister in England since the days of Chatham. While Mr. Churchill is severely critical and grudging in his praise of the great generals and admirals, his appreciation of the troops that served in the great war is warm and generous, be they Frenchmen, Englishmen or even Germans. He does nothing more than justice in the tribute he pays to the audacity, initiative and seamanship of the British sailors and officers in the navy and mercantile marine. His description of the bravery and cool heroism of Commander Campbell of the Dunraven brings a lump to one's throat. The various resources adopted by the British Navy to overcome the menace of the U-boat campaign are of wonderful interest. As instances of Mr. Churchill's vivid powers of narration, one may refer to the chapters on the high command, the encounter of Jutland, the British conquest of the U-boats and the victory. The fascination of the book is so great that we follow his accounts with breathless interest and it is impossible to lay down the book without reading it through from cover to cover.

P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYER.

INDIA'S DIET.

HEALTHFUL DIET FOR INDIA. By H. CARLSON MENKEL (Civil & Military Gazette Press, Lahore.) 1927. 8½ × 5¼. pp. 160.

THIS is a small volume written in a popular and simple style to give information to laymen about

food essentials which is ordinarily obtainable only from technical medical books. In the first few pages the author gives a short account of human nutrition and then explains the importance of each of the proximate constituents such as carbo-hydrates, fats, proteids and mineral substances. Carbo-hydrates and fats both supply heat energy, but one pound of fat supplies as much energy as 2.25 pounds of carbo-hydrates. Proteids are specially meant to supply the nitrogenous material to the body. Sugars and starches are all carbo-hydrates. Some of these are more easily digestible than others, but they are practically the same as suppliers of energy to the body.

All the proteids, however, are not the same. Proteids are built of amino-acids and each proteid has its own set of amino-acids. In order, therefore, to get all the necessary amino-acids to build human-body-proteids, we have to eat a variety of foods as deficiency of any amino-acid will cause trouble. Cereals, pulses and green leafy vegetables give the necessary amino-acids. The author has made it clear why excess of proteids must be avoided. They put on extra strain on the body system and so much energy is wasted. Mineral matter means inorganic salts. These are found in vegetables and fruits. The body tissues function in an alkaline environment and this environment is supplied by the mineral salts. Their deficiency will bring on "acidosis." Dr. Menkel says that many of the diseases may be traced to universal starvation of one kind or another.

There are some recently discovered food factors called vitamins. Their absence prevents growth or brings on such conditions as beriberi, scurvy and neuritis or rickets in young children. Green vegetables and fruits supply both mineral salts and vitamins and they should therefore be always present in our foods. The author rightly advises us not to use polished and mill ground grains as the inner parts of their upper coats contain important mineral constituents and vitamins. Some of the diseases can be directly traced to the use of polished grains.

He then discusses in short why we see great differences in the physical efficiency of different Indian races and shows that deficiency in physical condition is not due to absence of animal food but due to incorrect balancing of the nutritional factors abundantly supplied by the non-meat dietary of India. In order to show the ability of the non-meat eating people of India to endure severe surgical operations he quotes eminent medical authorities. Lieut. Col. H. Halliday, I.M.S., Civil Surgeon of Amritsar, says: "There was a remarkable consensus of opinion from all who had served with both races and classes that the Indian wounded healed more rapidly, were less amenable to infection and recovered from infected wounds more readily than did the French, British, and Australian troops." The author has pointed out at some length the various bad effects of flesh food and one who reads these will certainly try to desist from flesh food. It would have been fair if the author had mentioned how some of the bad effects can be remedied with our present scientific knowledge.

His description of the various foodstuffs with their good and bad points and suggestions for the feeding of babies and adults are valuable. The chapter on digestion in the alimentary canal is interesting. A good many pages have been devoted to choice recipes prepared by Mrs. H. C. Menkel, which may prove to be useful.

The author has given at the end of the book a table of food values, but does not mention the source from which he has taken the figures. They all seem to be from a foreign source. Now several analyses of Indian stuffs are available and it would have been better if he had used them as far as possible for his table.

The chapter on "Diet and Religion" is quite out of place in a book which, though popular, yet professes to be scientific, taking its basis on facts and reason. Barring a few defects which have been mentioned, the book is very useful for the general reader wishing to get information about his diet and the foodstuffs he uses.

D. L. SAHASRABUDHE.

PRESERVATION OF RURAL ENGLAND.

RUSTICUS OR THE FRUTURE OF THE COUNTRYSIDE. By MARTIN S. BRIGGS. (Kegan Paul Trench Trubner & Co., Ltd., London.) 6½ × 4½. pp. 94. 2s. 6d.

THIS handy book makes a powerful appeal for the preservation of Rural England against spoliation by modern and haphazard methods of treating the countryside. The charm of old England is admirably portrayed, and the gradual lessening of this charm is well traced. The part that industry plays in the process is made quite clear. The author pleads for better town planning, for the preservation of old buildings, and for adequate control over the indiscriminate raising of buildings all over the countryside.

The existence of coal fields is shown to have completely changed the landscapes over large areas. What once were beauty spots are now meeting places of holiday makers and tourists who can reach the most distant parts quite easily by means of motor vehicles. These places very often represent a scene of desolation, being covered with waste paper, bottles, cigarette boxes and such litter after a holiday. The author enters a vigorous protest against such prostitution of the countryside. The growth of motor traffic has entirely changed the aspect of the roads. While this change is desirable to a certain degree, other changes like unsightly petrol pumps, light-houses, hoardings on the roadside, ugly garages and cinemas have also appeared all helping to destroy the beauty of Rural England.

Absence of suitable restrictions has resulted in the springing up of ugly bungalows in all sorts of places, usually on the sides of high roads, most of them unsightly and not blending with the landscape. We see how people have to move away further and further from towns, how residential buildings gradually get converted into business places, and how these people cannot have any local interest in planning and keeping their surroundings beautiful. The existence of garden cities like Bournemouth and Port Sunlight, and places like Letchworth and Hampstead garden suburbs show how it is possible to control the growth of cities and suburbs resulting in a harmonious whole, and how the existence of factories need not necessarily mean ugly surroundings.

The suggestion made by the author that a plan ought to be made on paper long before it may actually be needed, of all developments in the matter of roads and new towns and suburbs, providing for natural growth and with an eye to the artistic possibilities of the places concerned, is one which should receive the attention of all publicists. Committees could be formed at convenient centres to see that in any scheme of road construction or the building of houses the beauty of the countryside is preserved. All lovers of the countryside will concur with the author when he says: "It is simply heart-breaking, to those of us who know how future uglification may be avoided, and how much of the blundering of the past may be remedied, to see the process of deterioration steadily continuing. With more of brains and less of greed, more of public spirit and less of vested interest, rural England may yet be

saved." Though the process of desecration of the rural parts here has not gone to such lengths as in England, still it is the earnest wish of all lovers of the countryside that the points brought out in this excellent book will receive attention from our publicists and legislators.

GUNDAPPA S. KURPAD.

THE ECONOMICS OF THE CHARKA.

HANDS-PINNING AND HAND-WEAVING. By S. V. PUNTAMBEKAR and N. S. VARADACHARI. (All-India Spinners' Association, Ahmedabad.) 1926. 8½ × 5½. pp. 234. Re. 1.

THIS book is the joint production of the prize-winners in the essay competition conducted at the instance of Sjt. Revashanker Jaggivan Mehta. As Mahatma Gandhi observes in his short introduction, the authors have applied themselves to the examination of the following issues:

"Are there millions in India who require a supplementary occupation, the majority being idle for want of it during at least four months in the year?"

"Is hand-spinning the only supplementary occupation, and if it is, can it be easily taken up by the people?"

"Is it possible to sell khaddar woven from hand-spun yarn among people in the teeth of the competition offered by foreign and Indian mills?"

To every one of these questions the authors have given an affirmative answer and striven to support their conclusion by weighty facts and arguments which deserve the earnest attention of all who are interested in building up India's premier industry. The story of the decline of the industry, its deliberate destruction by our alien rulers, coincides with the story of India's loss of freedom and is traced in the book at great length and in a manner which would command the attention and trouble the conscience of even the most ardent supporter of British rule. The change from freedom to slavery, from India's ancient glory to her present pathetic plight is also, according to the authors, coincident with the tragic transformation that has come upon the life of India's millions in the villages "from a prosperous, industrious and contented nation plying busy trades and endowed with an extraordinary genius for art and craftsmanship" to a "race ground down by misery, experiencing periods of enforced idleness for want of honest occupation and striving in vain to lift its head amidst growing indebtedness and poverty."

The authors start with the proposition that the story of India's golden age and of her immortal civilisation is summed up in the life of the vedantin or the true seer and the life of the weaver or the real artist and proceed to trace the history of the latter, "whose creative genius", we are told, "constituted the bed-rock upon which the trade and art of India were built up." The first chapter gives the history of hand-spinning and hand-weaving from the Vedic age up to the advent of the British in this land. The glories of the Dacca muslin, which marked the high watermark of the industry, are described in some detail and its superiority over French and English established with figures on such technical details as the diameter of the threads, number of twists, etc. The authors then proceed to trace the decline of the industry to show how art, which reached the acme of perfection under Moghul patronage, received its death-blow under British rule, how the Dacca trade was deliberately throttled by heavy duties and reduced to extinction in the space of 30 years, leading to the abandonment of the occupation

of almost every family in the once prosperous district. The whole of the second chapter which occupies over one-third of the book is devoted to a description of this calculated ruin wrought by the commercial jealousy of European traders, which was backed up by "the lust for political ascendancy". The authors have collected all available facts from historical records to expose the utter unscrupulousness, cruelty and sinful iniquity with which the dreadful policy of extinction was pursued by the alien exploiters with the prompt support of Parliament which, we are told, "in a series of statutes passed after 1700, prohibited the wear of Indian goods in Great Britain." The oppression and misrule which marked this policy are described by the authors without mincing words and yet with considerable restraint and regard for historical truth. They have also taken pains to substantiate their statements with undisputed facts or extracts from the writings of reputed authorities. The narrative is in many parts deeply moving, calculated to bring tears of blood to the eyes of every patriotic Indian. It is beyond the bounds of a review to give the details of the oppressive methods by which the industry was killed. For that the reader should turn to the heart-burning pages of the book itself. Suffice it say here that the authors have established beyond the shadow of a doubt that India's economic ruin was deliberately wrought to build up British trade and manufacture, that the prosperity of Manchester was founded on the misery of India's millions and that it was only by a highly unfair and iniquitous policy of cold and calculated exploitation that a nation which once held the world's markets in regard to cotton goods was reduced to the miserable position of "the biggest consumer of foreign cloth."

Till now the authors have trod on practically non-controversial ground, at least so far as Indian historians and economists are concerned. But in the remaining two chapters of the book, where the possibilities of reviving hand-spinning and hand-weaving on a nation-wide scale and the boycott of foreign cloth through the spinning wheel are discussed, we reach highly disputable ground. In these two chapters the reader will find an able and illuminating exposition of the economics of the Charka, the cult of Khaddar and the manifold advantages, material and moral, political as well as economic, claimed for the spinning wheel. Here we have a rehash of the arguments advanced by Mahatma Gandhi in season and out of season, ever since he launched his constructive programme. The authors do not display the perfervid style, the prophetic zeal or passionate love of the poor and down-trodden possessed by the founder of the Khadi cult. But they spare no pains to press into service as many economic and sociological laws and theories as possible and bring the weight of all available facts and figures culled from varied sources, European and Indian, official and unofficial, in support of the claims of the Charka as the supreme saviour of India's millions from the clutches of grinding poverty. Those who are unaffected by the merely moral appeal of the Mahatma in the name of *Duridranarayana* will find ample material in these two chapters to carefully consider and inwardly digest before arriving at a conclusion on the merits of an eminently economic question which is often presented in the garb of glorified politics and spirituality combined. This is not the occasion to enter into the controversy on which opinion is gradually getting more and more clarified. The reviewer must rest content with drawing attention to the valuable mine of economic matter, facts as well as theories, to be found in this book and leaving the reader to judge for himself after exploring the pages and assimilating the material to

be found therein. All those who are interested in solving the problem of Indian poverty owe it to themselves, if not to the diligence and painstaking care with which the essay has been prepared, to procure and go through a copy of the book.

M. R. RAMASWAMI.

SOCIALISATION OF CULTURE.

EDUCATION IN SOVIET RUSSIA. By SCOTT NEARING. (The Plebs League, London.) 1926. 7¼ × 5. pp. 159. 2s.

"THERE has probably been no greater revolution of ideas than in the new educational system as practised in Soviet Russia", thus sum up the British Trade Union delegation their report on "Russia To-day, 1925." Mr. Nearing has done a distinct service to the cause of education by publishing the book under review, every page of which, written in simple and readable style, has something new, inspiring and instructive to say, based as it is on first-hand information collected on the spot. All students of Indian education will particularly find this little book useful, for the problems here are to a large extent similar to those faced by the Soviet Union after the Civil War of 1918-20. An immense expanse of land surface, an overwhelming majority of peasants' and workers' population, their ignorance and superstition and their crushing poverty are common features of the two countries. Again, the system of education in vogue in this country is based on the principle of passivity and receptivity as found in Russia and other countries ruled by wealthy classes or alien bureaucrats jealous of their monopolistic privileges and fails to inculcate qualities of grit, grip and grasp. The Czarist Russia and bureaucratic India are once again yoked together in not being able to appreciate and utilize opportunities for power and responsibility, initiative and leadership, organisation and cooperation due to a system of education which is defective in conception, wrong in operation and un-national in outlook. But things have changed completely now in Soviet Russia. Educational institutions in the Union are like a battle-ground on which an entire people is fighting against ignorance, basing their whole system of education on the principles of self-initiative and activity. The book surveys the entire field of Soviet Education, beginning from Pre-School Educational Work (ages 3-8) through Labour and Professional Schools (ages 8-18) to Higher Technical Schools, Universities and Research Institutes. The chapter dealing with "Organisation among the Pupils" is remarkably interesting. Student organisations are to be found in schools of all grades and deal with students' activities such as sport and publication, discipline of student-body, control of academic work, economic and political organisation of pupils. These organisations are all being built up with the assistance of school authorities. The general principle of student self-government in Soviet Russia is an educational principle of the highest importance and constitutes the most drastic departure from the educational system that exists in other countries. More than 170 years of British rule have given India less than 10 per cent. of literates who are just able to read and write their names in their vernacular: the Soviet Union expects to transform the face of Russia in 15 to 20 years by liquidating illiteracy, banishing superstition and dispelling ignorance. And why not? The recruits in the Soviet army are expected to learn reading and writing within the first 30 days of their stay in the army: the departments of Health, Agricul-

ture and Co-operation are required to carry on educational work on a large scale: 48 per cent. of the Central Government appropriations and 30 per cent. of the local appropriations are earmarked for education. By 1927-28 every village in Soviet Russia is expected to have its own cinema set, reading room, clubs, libraries, etc.

The book also deals with "Experiments with Subject-Matter," "Methods of Instruction," "Organisation of Educational Workers," "Unifying Education" and "Socialising culture." Space forbids my touching on these. Leisure and culture, which are a monopoly of the ruling class all over the world, are now enjoyed by peasants and workers in Russia. All Soviet education is organised on the basis of "Socialisation of Culture." The book deserves wide publicity all over India.

S. P. ANDREWS-DUBE.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM.** By J. H. JONES. (Gee & Co., London.) 1927. 7½ × 4½. 2s. 6d.
- SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF BRITAIN.** By A. A. W. RAMSAY. (W. & R. Chambers, Ltd., London.) 1926. 7½ × 5. pp. 322. 3s.
- THE CITIZEN.** By Mrs. H. A. FISHER. (W. & R. Chambers Ltd., London.) 7½ × 5½. pp. 272.
- EDMUND BURKE.** By BERTRAM NEWMAN. (G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., London.) 1927. 7½ × 5½. pp. 348. 7s. 6d.
- TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNIONISM** By J. SASSENBAACH. (International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam.) 1927. 7 × 5½. pp. 140.
- FRANCIS THOMPSON.** Essays of To-day and Yesterday. (George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., London.) 1927. 7 × 4½. 1s
- MEMOIR OF THE LIFE OF THE LATE NANA FARNAVIS.** By A. MACDONALD. (Oxford University Press.) 1927. 9 × 6. pp. 184. Rs. 5.
- THE QUAKERS.** (2nd Edition). By A. NEAVE BRAYSHAW. (The Swarthmore Press, Ltd., London.) 1927. 7½ × 4½. pp. 301. 3s. 6d.
- THE KORAN.** By GEORGE SALE. (Frederick Warne & Co., Ltd., London.) 7½ × 4½. pp. 608.
- QUAKERS IN IRELAND, 1654-1900.** By ISABEL GRUBB. (The Swarthmore Press, Ltd., London.) 1927. 7½ × 5. pp. 158. 3s. 6d.
- THE EVOLUTION OF LABOUR.** By W. R. HAYWORD, and G. W. JOHNSON. (Duckworth, London.) 1926. 7½ × 5. pp. 221. 5s.
- THE INDIAN MYSTIC.** By J. C. WINSLOW. (Student Christian Movement, London.) 1926. 7½ × 4½. pp. 71.
- SEX PROBLEM IN INDIA.** By N. S. PHADKE. (D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.) 1927. 7½ × 5. pp. 348. Rs. 6.

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