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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

WITH regard to the attitude of the Liberals to the new concession to the Provincial Committees announced by the Simon latest concession. Commission, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad has made it clear that true equality of status can only be conferred by Parliament. It is an audacious travesty of facts, he says, to describe the withdrawal of the reservation about the *in camera* evidence as securing equality of status; and his final judgment is that unless equality of authority and powers is created it is not possible for politically-minded India to co-operate with the Commission on honourable terms. Sir T. B. Sapru thinks that there is no reason to alter or modify the attitude which the Liberals have already adopted. The same view is taken by the *Leader* of Allahabad. The *Hindustan Times* cannot believe that the status of the Committees of the Legislatures is any other than that of jurors, in spite of the new concession. *New India* and other nationalist papers also hold the same opinion. Even the Responsive Co-operators whom everybody expected to acquiesce in the new status for the Committees have declared their resolve not to co-operate with the Commission. The Madras ex-Ministers who recently resigned are unmistakably

against accepting minor concessions as long as full equality of status, which includes the right to formulate a report on the evidence recorded, is not conceded. Mr. Jinnah, whom we may regard as the spokesman at least of a section of the Muslims has said that no amount of tinkering with the procedure would create an equal status of the Indian counterpart. The only sections who have been completely gratified at the new concessions are the Justice party in Madras, the Non-Brahmans of Bombay and the section of the Muslim League following Sir Mahomed Shafi's lead. Mr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, editor of *Justice*, has actually counselled his party to make a *volte face* on the ground that equality of status is now assured. It is patent therefore to any unprejudiced observer that the new concessions have failed to placate the major portion of Indian opinion, for the simple reason that they do not go to the root of the matter. If in spite of this the Commission goes on with its work we can only say that self-respecting Indians would refuse to work the new reforms. Mrs. Besant has acted wisely in giving a timely warning to reactionaries in Britain in a speech made in London. This is what she said: "If you send back your Commission we would not touch their constitution; we would not work their Reforms." As will be seen from the following extract, the opinion expressed by the *Pioneer*, none too friendly to Indians, does not materially differ from that of politically-minded India :—

"The satisfaction which Lord Birkenhead feels over Sir John Simon's climb-down in regard to the matter of *in camera* evidence will not be shared by many people in India... If Indians, duly appointed by provincial councils, are fit and proper persons to hear all evidence and to examine all witnesses and documents, why could not they from the start have been appointed to the original Commission, or why can they not now be constituted as a parallel Commission with equal powers? The situation is like that when a man first insults his friend, denies the insult, and then at a later date, under pressure, apologises in full. India cannot forgive, and will not forget, the original insult contained in the composition of the Simon Commission. Sir John Simon's letter of February 6 contains a repetition of the offence and his withdrawal during the last few days does little, if anything, to obliterate the *fans et origo mali*. In any case, the concession is far too late, and taken in conjunction with the activities of the supporters of the Commission, will be merely read as a desperate attempt to salvage something from the wreckage. So profoundly do the supporters of the Commission misread the political situation that it would actually appear as if they believe that the granting of this

point about *in camera* evidence would answer the main objection of the boycotters to the composition of the inquiring body... Sir John Simon has lost prestige, if, indeed, he had any more prestige to lose. The boycotters are confirmed in their opinion that the supporters of the Commission are not nearly so confident as they pretend to be, but even the Government of India must have begun to think that most of the trouble, dissatisfaction and distrust, which now exists, could have been obviated from the start if only a mixed commission had been appointed, and Lord Birkenhead had not preferred to put his trust in an unpopular doctrinaire Liberal lawyer and a half-dozen parliamentary mediocrities."

THE Senate of the Bombay University has decided to appoint a Committee to consider the question of inculcating a theistic attitude in the educational system and particularly the collegiate section of it. The step taken by the governing body of the University raises important issues, which, we hope, will be tackled by the committee which will be appointed in due course. In the meanwhile we think it our duty to draw attention to the vagueness and impracticability of the scheme. In the first place it is difficult to arrange a curriculum of discourses on theism which will preserve a platform common to all the religions of India. Even in the case of Islam and Christianity which are predominantly theistic faiths, it will tax the ingenuity of all the professors of Philosophy in the University to deliver addresses on theism in general, without bringing in any of the dogmas of those religions or offending the susceptibilities of students adhering to those religions as they are expounded in their Churches and in their homes. The difficulty will even be greater in the case of Hinduism, which, we presume, is the faith of the major portion of the alumni of the Bombay University. Apart from esoteric Hinduism, the practical every-day Hinduism is a curious amalgam of Theism, Polytheism, and Pantheism and to inculcate a theistic attitude into the minds of the Hindu pupils, without causing an intolerable strain on the other factors will be a feat worthy of the mettle of the most subtle-minded lecturers. A glance at the 'Text-book of Hindu Religion' formerly adopted by the Central Hindu College at Benares will reveal the difficulties of the task which we have in mind. On the top of all this there is the difficulty rightly emphasized by the *Indian Daily Mail* that the Buddhist and Jain faiths are positively antagonistic to theism as ordinarily understood. To compel the attendance of the adherents of these faiths at theistic discourses will be a tyranny unprecedented in the history of the University. Consequently this also raises the important issue whether this teaching is to be made compulsory or left to the option of the alumni. The strongest objection to the new scheme is to be urged on the ground of its running counter to the policy of the Government to remain neutral in religious matters and impart a purely secular education. Unless this policy is modified with the consent of the Legislative Council it will be impossible for the University to impose the scheme on the schools maintained by the State. If an antidote to the growing materialism of the age is needed the proper place for administering it is the home or the church to which agencies we must trust for working in the religious sphere. If the churches do not perform their duty it is not for the seats of learning to step into their place.

THE Government of India have published the reports of Provincial Governments on the working of the Reforms since 1924. We single out for comment here the Bombay report. It says that agreement between the two halves has been reached with regard to the allocation of funds. It proclaims the failure of the non-cooperation movement and consequent good will shown by local bodies and notes with complacency the signs of growing interest in local self-government among the people. It deplors the tendency of the Council to interfere too much with the detail of the Executive Government; do the Government think it a heresy for the legislature to keep a close watch over the actions of the executive? The second Council was, in the opinion of the Bombay Government, distinctly poorer in quality on account of the displacement of Liberals by Swarajists. The failure of the Reforms is attributed in the report to the financial difficulties of the Government; there is not a word however as to the sins of extravagance and callousness which were in the main the causes of our financial difficulties. The report admits the considerable influence of the Council on the two halves of the administration but rather grudgingly, as if the influence had not been good on the whole. As usual communal differences are trotted out as constituting a bar to a further constitutional advance. As the report does not give any details of the communal question it is impossible to refute such a cryptic utterance. The Report declares that the Swarajists are the only non-official party united by bonds other than communal. This is not strictly true because the Liberal party too is not based on the communal principle. Curiously enough the communal parties which the Government deprecates were the only parties which voted in Government Lobbies on every conceivable pretext. Instead of combating communalism the Bombay Government has fostered it by the way in which Ministers are selected. The report, we are bound to say, is definitely one-sided.

M. POINCARÉ deserves to be congratulated upon having safely steered through his measure for the stabilisation of the franc. The Bank of France is obliged by the new measure to maintain a gold reserve equal to 35 p. c. of the total note-issue; the export of gold and silver is made free and the franc is stabilised at 124.21 francs to a pound sterling. As the convertibility of the notes into gold will be limited to large sums, France may be said to have adopted the Gold Bullion standard on the model of Great Britain. This step will hasten the general process of stabilisation of European exchanges and consequent stability of prices. As a result of the stabilisation, the Treasury will pay back the major portion of its debt to the Bank of France, and the two operations together will impart a stability to the currency position in France. After England and Germany had adopted the Gold Standard a few years ago, France was the only important country in Europe which had hesitated to take the plunge. Now that she too has adopted the Gold Standard the world exchanges will be assured a safe return to the normal pars. For months together M. Poincaré was working towards the result with remarkable steadfastness and he will now have the satisfaction of seeing the fruition of his efforts. Praise is equally due to the new French Chamber for its having given its support to this important measure fraught with such important consequences to Europe's financial stability.

THE SITUATION AT BARDOLI

S. I. SOCIETY'S INQUIRY

Messrs. Hirday Nath Kunzru, M. L. A., and S. G. Vaze were deputed by the Servants of India Society at the request of some friends to enquire into the situation at Bardoli and to report whether they considered a fresh enquiry into the settlement of Bardoli necessary. They asked Mr. A. V. Thakkar, their colleague in the Society, to assist them in their task and the enquiry was conducted jointly by Messrs. Kunzru, Vaze and Thakkar. Following is the text of the report they have submitted to the Society :—

The last settlement of the Bardoli Taluka of the Surat District, which was made in 1896 came under revision recently in the usual course of things. The Assistant Settlement Officer, to the regret of the Settlement Commissioner, "almost exclusively confined his consideration to the gross value of the produce" and recommended an enhancement of the Government demand by 30.59%. The Assistant Settlement Officer's method was open to the criticism that he had not taken into account the rise in the cost of cultivation, which might have neutralised the rise in the gross value of the produce. Anticipating this criticism the Settlement Commissioner observed in his Report, "The whole of his conclusions could be rushed and overthrown in a moment, without there being in his report a single word of reply, by any one who alleges that the cost of production has increased more than the price of the produce. Perhaps now when this is realised it will be seen how exceedingly important it is to base one's settlement proposals on rentals and not on gross produce and prices. Rentals of course do take into strict account every item of cost of production as well as value of produce. No man can possibly pay a single anna of increased rent until he had definitely ascertained that the value of the produce at the end of the year is likely to exceed the cost of the production by one anna more than it did previously". Treating rental values as his "one true guide he made proposals which would have raised the existing assessment by about 29% and in view of the great difficulty of determining assessment for a period of thirty years ahead", which, he remarked, was "as Government are well aware a task beyond human power," recommended that the revised assessment should be sanctioned "for not more than fifteen years". "I think it is impossible and also most unfair", he wrote, "to sanction rates for so long a period as thirty years."

These proposals gave rise to great dissatisfaction and the representatives of the Surat District in the Bombay Legislative Council, who took strong exception to the validity of the grounds on which the proposals were based, took the lead in carrying on a sustained agitation against them. Memorials against the proposed enhancement were sent to Government by a large number of villages. Government, while not meeting the objections raised against the procedure adopted in revising the assessment, and approv-

ing the principle followed by the Settlement Commissioner of basing the assessment on rental values, modified the proposals submitted to them and reduced the enhancement to about 22 p. c. This reduction, however, did not allay dissatisfaction and on the 6th February last Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel addressed Government on behalf of the peasants of Bardoli a letter challenging the principle on which the Settlement Commissioner had proceeded and asking either that the old assessment should be continued or that an impartial tribunal should be appointed to make a fresh inquiry. He informed Government that if neither of these courses was adopted he would be compelled in response to the wishes of the peasants of the Bardoli taluka to lead the agitation against the payment of the new assessment, which had already spread to 70 villages. Government declined to suspend or reconsider the settlement or to make any further concessions, but subsequently issued orders which had the effect of lowering the increase in the assessment to about 20 p. c. In consequence of the refusal of Government to examine the larger issues involved in the revision of the settlement a campaign against the payment of the enhanced assessment was started on the 12th February. The campaign is being carried on vigorously, the coercive methods adopted by Government to realise the assessment have proved a failure and the spirit of resistance among the people appears to be gaining in strength.

To understand the merits of the controversy regarding the resettlement of the Bardoli taluka, it is necessary to consider four questions. As the enhancement is based on rents which landowners demand from their tenants, it is of the utmost importance to determine whether the table relating to the rents paid by the tenants has been prepared with due care so as to exhibit economic rents only. If it is found to be seriously defective, all conclusions drawn from it must be regarded as being valueless. Again, it seems reasonable that before competitive rents are accepted as the foundation of the settlement policy, it should be determined what proportion of the cultivated area is in the hands of tenants paying cash rents. The third question which demands consideration is whether abnormal periods have been excluded in enquiring into the course followed by rents during the currency of the old settlement. Lastly, we have to consider to what extent the Land Revenue Code and the Settlement Manual justify almost exclusive reliance on rental values for the purpose of determining new assessment rates.

I

In order to obtain reliable figures regarding cash rents, the Settlement Officer is required by the Settlement Manual "to make careful local enquiries—village by village and group by group". It is further his duty to exclude abnormal rents, e. g. rents paid by mortgagor-tenants, as they are no

genuine rents but "repayments of capital and interest", and to enquire whether the recorded rents are paid in full and with regularity. We went personally to many places in the Taluka and our investigation covered more than a dozen villages. The Assistant Settlement Officer had passed through many of them, but we were informed in answer to our questions that in none of the places visited by us had any enquiries been made from the people concerned. They did not even know the exact purpose of his visit. Now, so far as we could ascertain, was the local knowledge of the taluka availed of. Our enquiries have led us to the conclusion that the figures relating to cash rents and the area cultivated by tenants were prepared by the talatis and accepted without any scrutiny by the Assistant Settlement Officer. We actually saw the calculations made in some of the villages for the Assistant Settlement Officer and found that the figures entered in his tabular statement were the totals of the figures prepared by the talatis for the years 1918-19 to 1924-25, which included uneconomic rents. We have good reason to believe, in the case of villages about which we made enquiries, that the talatis did not exclude either mortgage transactions, or rents which they knew were not realised in full, or nominal sales accompanied by verbal agreements that the vendor would recover possession of the land on repayment of the price received by him for it. No allowance was made for high rents charged in consequence of improvements made at the expense of the landowner. They compiled figures relating to the area cultivated by tenants without concerning themselves with the nature of the transaction between the landowner and the tenant. We have ourselves seen tenancy *pattas* in which the rent agreed to did not merely represent interest on the loan advanced to the tenant, but also included the assessment and the local fund cess. In genuine leases rents were much lower. Generally speaking, wherever rents were very high it was discovered that the tenants were really paying interest on the money borrowed by them. We are aware that the Assistant Settlement Officer states in his report that the figures had been checked, but the utter absence of scrutiny in the cases which we investigated disposes us to believe that the checks to which the Assistant Settlement Officer refers, were very perfunctorily applied. We find ourselves unable in these circumstances to attach much value to the table relating to rental values, appended to the report of the Assistant Settlement Officer, and are of opinion that no reliable conclusions can be based on them.

II

The Settlement Manual lays down that the Settlement Officer should always bear in mind that rents "cannot be used as the basis for definite conclusions as regards the general incidence of the assessments in a village or group, unless they exist in considerable volume and unless their reliability has been carefully tested." We have already express-

ed our opinion about the reliability of the Assistant Settlement Officer's figures. We shall now consider the extent of the area to which they relate. We learn from para 49 of the Assistant Settlement Officer's report that of the cultivated area about 97,500 acres are in the hands of the agriculturists and about 24,000 acres in the hands of non-agriculturists. Assuming that the whole of the latter area is tenanted and that a portion of the land owned by the agriculturists was leased to tenants, it would appear *prima facie* that the tenanted area was from 25 to 30 per cent. of the cultivated area. But we have been warned by the Director of Information that the old distinction between agriculturists and non-agriculturists is "quite unsound and meaningless" and that the figure relating to land held by non-agriculturists, although based on local enquiries, "has no value as an indication to the proportion of land tenanted". The Assistant Settlement Officer himself, however, says in para 51 of his report that "more than two-thirds of the land is in the hands of those who cultivate it". He further says, with reference to the Bardoli Taluka proper and the Valod Mahal of the taluka respectively, "There are 3,958 and 1,976 holdings of from 6 to 25 acres and these chiefly represent the great body of cultivators.....The holdings below 6 acres number 7,463 and 2,916, and this class consists of agriculturists who besides cultivating their own land, also cultivate as tenants the lands belonging to others". In the absence of more detailed enquiries the conclusion of the Assistant Settlement Officer, who is described in the communique of the Director of Information as "a capable and experienced Indian Official" and as having "carefully and fully given all the usual and available facts in his report and appendices" that about 30 p. c. of the cultivated area is tenanted may at least provisionally be accepted as correct. Of this 30 p. c. the area for which rents are paid in kind will form no small proportion. We shall assume that it is less than the cash-rented area and that it is not more than 10 p. c. The cash-rented area may therefore be taken to be in the neighbourhood of 20 p. c.

The Director of Information lays stress on the *Hali* system and seems to argue that the land for the cultivation of which *Halis* are employed should be regarded as tenanted. It is not easy to take this argument seriously. Cultivation by regularly employed servants and hired labour is not unknown in other parts of India, but we do not know if such cultivation is regarded anywhere as tantamount to the letting of land. Besides, the man who employs *Halis* continues to bear solely the economic responsibilities connected with his holding. He does not shift them to the shoulders of another person, as happens when the land is leased to a tenant.

The Director of Information has informed us that in order to have direct evidence with regard to the proportion of tenanted land "a good block in Valod has been tested and we find that the tenanted area is 55.2 per cent." We understand that enquiries were made in 11 or 12 villages out of the 44 villages in the

Valod Mahal. The Valod Mahal has a large Kaliparaj (Raniparaj) population. The Kaliparaj section is to a large extent in the grip of money-lenders and perhaps no small proportion of it is in a state of serfdom. We gathered from the information received by us that among the villages tested by Government there are many which in point of population are dominated by Kaliparaj cultivators. The proportion of 51.2 p. c. referred to above is therefore not likely to apply to the whole Mahal. Even persons well disposed towards Government did not think that the proportion would be higher than 40 p. c. in the whole Mahal. To be on the safe side however, we shall assume it to be 45 p. c. According to the figures given in para 49 of the Assistant Settlement Officer's report and referred to above, in 1923-24 out of the cultivated area of about 1,21,000 acres, Valod Mahal accounted for about 44,000 acres or 37 p. c. of the total area. The proportion of 45 p. c. for Valod would therefore mean that the tenanted area in Valod was about 17 p. c. of the cultivated area in the whole of the Bardoli Taluka. The social conditions in the Bardoli taluka proper are believed on all hands to be substantially different from those prevailing in the Valod Mahal, and the tenanted area is believed to be appreciably less. We shall probably not be guilty of any understatement if we say that the tenanted area in the whole Taluka may be taken to be about 30 p. c. of the cultivated area, and this proportion again includes lands for which rent is paid in kind. The direct enquiries made by Government therefore appear to confirm the Assistant Settlement Officer's conclusions. It must however be borne in mind that uneconomic rents are believed to be the rule in Kaliparaj area. As such rents should not be taken into account, the rents in Valod Mahal where mostly Kaliparaj tenants are found should not be relied upon in determining the relation between the assessment and economic rents.

It will be interesting to draw attention to the remarks made in this connection by Mr. Fernandez, who revised the settlement of the Bardoli Taluka in 1895. "I find", he said "that.....in Bardoli 94 p. c. of the occupants and owners cultivate themselves." The figures given by him in appendix I to his report show that only 3 p. c. of the Government and Inam numbers were cultivated by tenants either in partnership with the occupants or on the money rent or grain rent system. In view of this even a proportion of 30 p. c. as the land cultivated by tenants appears surprisingly large to-day.

The Assistant Settlement Officer collected figures of cash rents for about 43,000 acres. This led the Settlement Commissioner to remark that they related to about one third of the total area, and that if the produce rent area was taken into account, about half the area in the Bardoli Taluka would be found to be in the hands of tenants. It was pointed out that as these figures related to a period of 7 years, the average for one year would be found to be only about 6,000 acres, or only about 5 p. c. of the cultivated area. The Director of Information, however, says: "But all the leases were by no means for

seven years; many were for one year only," and adds that the "cash rented area as tabulated by Mr. Jayakar (Assistant Settlement Officer) was about half to one-third of 42,923 acres." As stated above, so far as we have been able to enquire, the talatis in preparing the figures for the rented area for the period 1918-19 to 1924-25 added up the figures for each year. Even if all the leases were annual, the average annual cash-rented area for which figures have been tabulated would still appear to be only a little more than 6000 acres, or 5 p. c. of the cultivated area in 1923-24. The period of the lease does not seem to affect the calculation in the least. As we have already arrived at an independent estimate of the total cash-rented area, the explanation offered by the Director of Information, even if correct, does not vitiate our conclusion. But it is in any case clear that rental values were obtained for only a small part of the cultivated area and that even these were not scrutinized.

III.

The period covering the years 1918-19 to 1924-25 will, we hope, be acknowledged on all hands to have been a boom period. It is well known that the price of cotton has fallen substantially during the last three years. Land too has fallen in value. The enquiries made by us in villages showed that the price of rice and jowari which are the principal food crops grown in the Bardoli taluka had also gone down and that rents too, in cases where old leases had expired and no special causes were at work, were on the downward grade. The high prices and rents prevailing in the period referred to above cannot therefore be taken as a criterion for revising the assessment. The Revenue Member of the Bombay Government, the Hon'ble Mr. Rieu, speaking on behalf of Government on R. B. Bhimbhai Naik's resolution about land revenue assessments, said: "Rents for any abnormal period are always excluded from consideration." Nevertheless the Bombay Government in their Resolution on the resettlement of the Chorasi taluka of the Surat district, in dealing with the representations received in connection with the revision of the Chorasi and Bardoli talukas, say, "Ifcotton cultivation is not now profitable the present cultivators of cotton can turn their attention to some crop, the price of which is not dependent on world-wide conditions." The crops which the cultivators should grow in future are not specified, but this argument leaves Government open to the charge that they are taxing, not present, but prospective, incomes. But they say that whatever abnormality there may have been during the period referred to above, prices had risen permanently since 1914 and add that by reducing the rates recommended by the Settlement Commissioner, "Government have made suitable allowance for the fall in cotton prices and for the probability of some decline in rentals taking place in consequence thereof." With regard to the first point it may be observed that the rise in the cost of cultivation and the difficulties that are being experienced owing to the fall in prices should

not be left out of account; and with regard to the second, that a proper basis for the revision of the assessment being wanting, reductions in assessment rates which may be more or less arbitrary can scarcely be regarded as satisfying the ends of justice.

IV.

The Land Revenue Code requires that in revising the assessment of agricultural land regard shall be had to the value of land and the profits of agriculture. The Settlement Manual prescribes the method for determining the profits of agriculture. It requires that both direct and indirect enquiries should be made, the direct enquiry consisting in the ascertainment of the prevailing rents. Rule 9 in "Instructions for Settlement Officers" lays down that the results of the direct enquiry should be used only "to check and supplement his general conclusions". Rule 18, which is more explicit, says, "It must however be clearly understood that the arguments for enhancement should be based primarily on the indirect evidence of the general considerations referred to in para 4 above and that the rental statistics should be employed only as a check to prevent the enhancement from going too high and as a guide to secure a proper distribution of the assessment between the various groups." Yet the Assistant Settlement Officer has been censured for having relied on an indirect line of enquiry and Government have approved the Settlement Commissioner's method of relying exclusively on the statistics of leases and rental values. It has been claimed that the Settlement Commissioner's method was actually advantageous to the peasants as, instead of an increase of 30.59 p. c. recommended by the Assistant Settlement Officer, he recommended an increase of 29.03 p. c. only. It is, however, evident from the remarks of the Settlement Commissioner that he chose rental values as his "one true guide", not to check the results of the indirect inquiry, but to avoid having to consider and allow for an increase in the cost of cultivation, which might have greatly reduced or swallowed up the profits of cultivation. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that rental statistics have been used not to moderate but to enhance assessment rates. In any case making rental values the deciding factor in revising assessments, as the Settlement Commissioner has done, whether the Bombay Government approve of it or not, is against the express instructions contained in the Settlement Manual. If the determination of the profits of agriculture is to be narrowed down to the ascertainment of rents, more than a change in the "Instructions for Settlement Officers" may be required. The law itself may have to be changed. The Bombay Land Revenue Code (Amendment) Bill, which seeks to base assessments primarily on rental values, shows that Government themselves are doubtful of the legality of the present procedure. For Government to use rental statistics of a very small proportion of the cultivated area in order to fix the assessment on about 70 p. c. of the area cultivated by the owners and occupants themselves is to reduce landowners to the

position of tenants and to act as a rack-renting landlord.

In view of the considerations dealt with above, we are clearly of opinion that the demand of the peasants of Bardoli for a fresh inquiry is fully justified. A new inquiry is necessary in the interests of justice. The recent announcement that the revision of the settlement of the Viramgam Taluka in the Ahmedabad District will be reconsidered makes the case for the reconsideration of the settlement of the Bardoli taluka unanswerable.

INDIAN AGRICULTURE—I

THE Royal Commission on Agriculture started its work in Poona in October 1926. It published from time to time the evidence collected by it and now after completing its labours has presented a full report on all the points referred to it. Although the leaders of the people asked Government to make enquiries on certain agricultural problems and insisted on the Government taking definite steps to improve the lot of the people wedded to the soil, they never wanted a Royal Commission to be appointed for the purpose, as they knew full well that a Royal Commission meant heavy expenditure—rather too heavy for the Indian purse. When the Commission was actually appointed the people were not in a mood to receive it cordially. It must, however, be acknowledged that it did its work enthusiastically. As is usual with such comprehensive inquiries, the report has been praised by some papers as a very valuable document and a monumental work, while others have condemned it wholesale. When, however, the first effusions are over, people will have to give the Report a serious thought and determine as to which of the suggestions made there should receive their immediate attention, which of them can be safely postponed and which rejected as unsuited to our present conditions, financial or otherwise.

So far it was the Commission that was examining the evidence submitted to it by others; but now it is the turn of the people to examine, and to examine without any prejudice, the document produced by the Commission. We might start with the consideration of agricultural improvement and its spread, dealt with in chapters IV, V and VI. One of the first items considered is the condition of the soil under cultivation. The Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India said in his evidence:

"Most of the area under cultivation in India has been under cultivation for hundreds of years, and had reached its state of maximum impoverishment many years ago"

The Commission also comes to the same conclusion:

"A balance has been established, and no further deterioration is likely to take place under existing conditions of cultivation."

The soil has reached its lowest level and it is creditable neither to the Government nor to the agriculturists that no effort has been made to improve it during a whole century. But this is not all. There are large areas which are still deteriorating on account of erosions and formation of injurious salts, which cry for prompt action—and the earlier it is taken, the better—to improve the soil so that it will slowly yield higher and higher outturns.

Definite soil surveys ought to be made to have all possible information about them. The Commission too has suggested that soil surveys on any large scale would be too expensive at present, but that each province should devote its attention to carrying on

intensive studies of important types of soils found within its limits. This is a very good suggestion and if each province slowly continues to work along these lines, enough material will become available which could be transformed into soil survey. There is however nothing new or striking suggested by the Commission for improving the soil, yet it is worth while considering its advice in the matter. It has been suggested that an intensive study of the recuperative powers of the soil should be made. This will enable us to help artificially its natural recuperative tendencies. Steps should be taken to stop soil erosion which is removing much of its fertility. Afforestation and bunding are recommended as the only remedies possible.

There will be general agreement with the Commission when it puts forward the suggestion that all possible sources of manure should be availed of to make up for the deficiencies in the soil. There are two valuable suggestions made. One is to carry on experiments with great care to find out how and what artificial fertilisers can be used most economically. This has not been done properly so far and the Agricultural Department would do well to follow the advice of the Commission. The Commission has rightly recognised the importance of oil cakes as manures and has proposed that the oil-pressing industry should be encouraged, as it would undoubtedly tend to promote the use of oil-cakes locally for purposes of manure. Oil-cakes, bones and fish manure are exceedingly valuable and yet it is difficult to understand why the Commission sees no justification for the restriction of their exports.

There are three methods of improving the existing varieties of crops. These are selection, hybridisation and acclimatisation. The best method is selection, as it offers the readiest means of effecting improvement under Indian conditions. With regard to hybridisation, the Commission rightly warns that it should be taken only by those officers who have had special training and long experience of Indian conditions. There should be no rush or hurry made in spreading any hybrid. A similar warning is also given with regard to exotic species or exotic varieties.

The Commission strongly recommends that the engineering sections of the provincial Agricultural Departments should pay greater attention than at present to the improvement of agricultural implements and machinery, and in its opinion the improvement of the existing implements offers a more promising field than the introduction of new types. The new implements must be manufactured in India. At present the Indian manufacturer is very much handicapped on account of the fact that foreign implements and machinery with few exceptions are allowed into India free of duty, while high protective duties are levied on imported iron and steel. The Commission recommends for the consideration of the various authorities concerned (1) the rebate of the import duty on iron and steel used in the manufacture of agricultural implements, (2) lowest possible railway rates on materials connected with such manufacture and (3) proper classification of agricultural and non-agricultural implements.

The Commission recommends more vigorous work in connection with the problems of cultivation in dry tracts including the introduction of suitable implements to allow the cultivator to do his work in time. It also recommends that greater attention should be paid to the protection of crops from pests and diseases and also from wild animals. But this is impossible without a liberal working of the Arms Act so that bona

fide agriculturists wishing to use arms for protecting their crops from wild animals should have no difficulty in getting them.

The Commission has devoted one whole chapter to the consideration of the question of the subdivision and fragmentation of holdings. It is definitely of opinion that fragmentation of holdings is one of the most important factors tending to prevent agricultural improvement. It further says that the administration should not rest until a remedy had been found. The Commission, however, has not been able to make definite suggestions as to how to bring about the desired object and there is nothing in the report except platitudes on this point. The Bombay Legislature will not get any light from the report on this question.

How to carry improvements to the door of the agriculturists is really a very important point and the Commission has given its opinion as to the lines which it thinks should be followed. It recommends that the experimental farms should be separated from the demonstration farms. In the opinion of the Commission, the best way of demonstration is to carry on the experiments on the farms of the cultivators themselves. This is a good method of convincing the agriculturists that the proposed improvement is real and will bring him greater profits. The Commission gives a warning that nothing should be demonstrated to the agriculturists unless it is fully tested on Government farms. The Commission naturally supports all the usual methods for the spread of agricultural knowledge. But there is one novel suggestion put forth by the Commission. It proposes that the Government of India should award an annual prize of about Rs. 10,000 for the most striking agricultural improvement of the year. The service men are to be excluded from competing. How far it is in the right direction must be left to the judgment of public opinion. There is another thing which strikes one in going through the chapters referred to above and that is that the Commission does not put forth its suggestions in a clear cut manner as expected from such a body. It always goes on swinging from one side to the other leaving the decision to the man who may have to deal with a particular problem.

AN AGRICULTURIST.

SIR LESLIE SCOT'S SCHEME.*

*IV—FUNCTIONS OF THE VICEROY IN THE INDIAN STATES' COUNCIL.

THE third function of this Council is to advise the Viceroy as to his intervention in the event of gross misgovernment or flagrant injustice in any state. The safeguards provided and the procedure laid down are so cumbrous as to stultify the Viceroy. The scheme expressly states that the constitutional responsibility for intervention will rest upon the Viceroy personally and exclusively. This is a departure from present conditions under which the Governor-General-in-Council is responsible for such a step. Before, however, the Viceroy can interfere on this ground, three conditions must be satisfied. Firstly, he must consult and seek the advice of the Indian States' Council; secondly, the facts of the case must be ascertained by a process of investigation to which the Prince, against whom action is to be taken, is to be a party entitled to know and meet all the evidence against him, with the normal presumption of innocence in his favour. The scheme does not say whether this investigation is to be by a Commission such as is contemplated

* Previous articles in this series appeared in our issues of May 31, June 7 and 14.

in paragraph 309 of the Montford Report—a Commission to be appointed by the Viceroy to advise himself and to consist of five members ordinarily including a High Court Judge and two ruling Princes. Who the other two members are to be is not specified in the Report. The names of the Commissioners are to be communicated in advance to the defendant Prince, and the proceedings are to be made public if he so desires. Sir Leslie Scott's scheme is, in my opinion, positively cumbrous and impracticable. If the facts are to be ascertained, the authority before whom this evidence is to be recorded must possess powers of appreciating evidence and coming to certain conclusions about facts. This scheme does not say to whom this power is to be entrusted in this investigation. It is equally silent on the point as to whether the findings of fact in such an inquiry are to be binding upon the Viceroy's Council. The third condition is about giving a hearing to the accused Prince before the Viceroy's Council tenders its advice to the Viceroy. If the Prince has a right to represent his case at the first stage of the inquiry, we fail to understand the propriety of this additional opportunity provided for him. Similarly it is not clear whether this opportunity is by way of an appeal or cross objection against the findings of facts arrived at in the first inquiry. If the Viceroy is to be a party to this hearing, is he not to be guided by the will of the majority? Can he set at naught the majority opinion of his Council and independently decide whether to interfere or not after these two stages have been gone through? If the Viceroy cannot go against the majority of his Council, how can he be personally and exclusively responsible for the exercise of this prerogative? The scheme does not make the Council responsible for intervention in the case of gross misrule or flagrant injustice in any State. This is simply shirking responsibility; of what use is this Council if it cannot courageously take up this responsibility? Lord Reading has clearly laid down that a Commission has the power to give findings on facts and offer independent advice. To accept or not to accept the advice given by the Commission rests entirely with the Government of India and with His Majesty's Government. In the well known trial of Malharrao Gaikwar the Commissioners were hopelessly divided with the result that His Majesty's Government could not accept the findings either of the European or of the Indian element and they followed a course quite independent of the findings of this Commission. The Government of India considered the report of the Commission and arrived at conclusions of their own which were embodied in a resolution. These were telegraphed to His Majesty's Government who sanctioned them. The biographer of Sir Richard Meade has made some pertinent remarks which deserve to be quoted:—

"We say this so-called trial (of Malharrao Gaikwar) because it was not a judicial proceeding but an inquiry made for the purpose of informing the mind of His Excellency the Viceroy in Council representing the paramount power in India in respect to alleged misconduct by a feudatory. The Commissioners were to give no verdict, simply to report their opinions for the consideration of higher authority. The inquiry, though political, was conducted on judicial principles."

These observations generally hold good even at the present time and for this reason the Commission of inquiry provided in the Montford Report is decidedly superior in status. Sir Leslie Scott seems to forget that it is the responsibility of the Paramount Power to protect a Prince on his gadi and to secure the continuance of the same, in exchange for which the Paramount Power reserves to itself the right of intervention in case of gross misrule and flagrant abuse of power for the welfare of the subjects. Sir Leslie

Scott's scheme neither approves of the Montford suggestion nor offers a better substitute. On the contrary it is feared that it would embarrass the Viceroy on whom alone is to rest the constitutional responsibility to secure good administration to the subjects of a State. As the Viceroy's Council is to be composed of three Princes, it is a foregone conclusion that they would generally support the aggrieved Prince. The experience of the Gaikwar trial strengthens this inference. It is also said that Lord Reading found it extremely difficult to secure capable Princes willing to sit on a Commission of this character during his time. The shining lights of the Chamber of Princes behaved in a cowardly manner in the case of the abdications of Indore and Nabha. They had neither the courage to support the Government nor to espouse the cause of the Princes in trouble. They occupied the position of indifferent on-lookers when as a matter of fact it was necessary for them to take the initiative in this matter, their rights and honour being at stake. It will be thus seen that this third function assigned to this Council cannot at all be adequately discharged by the same.

The question of maladministration and flagrant abuse of power by a prince is one connected with the well-being of the subjects who in any such inquiry ought to be allowed adequate representation. Unless therefore they are included in such a Commission, as was done in the case of the Gaikwar trial, the ends of justice would hardly be satisfied. From this point of view Sir Leslie Scott's scheme is sadly defective.

The fourth function of this Council is to direct and control the Political Department. The safeguard provides that a limitation shall be imposed by a Royal Proclamation upon intervention in the affairs of the States and Princes are to be authorised to bring every violation of this limit to the notice of the Indian States' Council or the Union Supreme Court for redress. It further provides that a new manual of instructions to Political Officers should be framed and this manual is not to authorise interference with the domestic concerns of the States. The existing records of the Political Department are to be transferred to the Indian States' Council. In a word it means that the Political Department is to be separated from the Government of India and handed over to the Viceroy in Council. It also means the establishment of permanent diarchy with the Government of India divested of their control over the army and the Political Department. The scheme practically amounts to the creation of so many independent units each autonomous in its domestic affairs and all under the nominal control of the Viceroy in Council but really as so many thorns in the sides of India's future swaraj Government. This would make self-government in British India a sham and a delusion. The foreign bureaucracy through the Political Department will hold this country in perpetual bondage and the subjects of Indian States would be reduced to slavery under the sway of their autocratic masters in whose internal affairs even the Political Department is not to interfere and even the Indian States' Council cannot interfere unless it is prepared to defend its action before the Union Supreme Court! This scheme makes one thing quite clear. It discloses in an unequivocal manner the antagonism of the Indian Princes to future swaraj and permanently ensures the irresponsible position of the alien bureaucracy. Sir Leslie Scott's scheme fails to say who is to pay for the maintenance of the Political Department or even the Viceroy in Council.

And, lastly, what about the interests of the subjects of the Indian States? Their grievance is that the Political Department is neither responsive nor responsible to them. They had been fondly hoping that when responsible government would be establi-

shed in British India, this Department would be amenable to the criticism of the people and the member in charge would be made responsible to the legislature. Sir Leslie Scott's scheme on the other hand would make neither the Viceroy in Council nor the Political Department responsible to the people. The fear that the Political Department would interfere, though as a matter of fact it does not interfere, generally acts as a wholesome check on the Indian rulers and deters them from misrule. Sir Leslie Scott's proposed manual declaring any interference in the States' internal administration by Political Officers as taboo would remove this restraining influence and will worsen the position of the subjects. In the words of the *Manchester Guardian*, we have to remind the Indian Princes and their paid champions like Sir Leslie Scott that the rulers of the States cannot expect any privileges unless they furnish clear proofs that their subjects have substantial constitutional guarantee against arbitrary power exercised either secretly or openly by them.

G. R. ABHYANKAR.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

Geneva, June 7.

THE DIRECTOR'S REPORT.

THE discussions in the plenary sessions of the Conference have so far centred on three principal subjects, all of which form the usual features of the Conference year after year. The Director's annual Report about the working of the International Labour Office is naturally part of the agenda every year, but for some years past, two other points, the Hours Convention and the credentials of the Italian workers' delegate, have also assumed the character of a rite as one of the delegates called them.

The Director's Report was the subject-matter of a very large number of speeches, and each of the speakers concerned himself with pointing out either the slight corrections which some of the passages thereof seemed to him to occasion, or in drawing attention to the special conditions and interests of the group he represented. Generally speaking, the Director and the staff of the International Labour Office received very high tribute, and there was general recognition that if the Office was making headway despite the odds it encountered, the progress had, to a large measure, to be attributed to the personality of Monsieur Albert Thomas. All the three principal Indian Delegates, Sir Atul Chatterjee, Mr. Narottam Morarjee, and Mr. Chaman Lall spoke on the Report, and the remarkable harmony which has characterised the present session of the Conference was reflected in the cordiality which marked their references to each other. Mr. Morarjee took the opportunity "to draw the attention of the Conference to the significant fact that the employers' delegation this year was entirely national in character" and added that to realise that this was achieved only after two years of struggle, it was necessary to understand the peculiar political conditions in India. He was constrained to state that the Labour Office concentrated its attention on the conditions which prevailed in Europe and had failed to appreciate the state of affairs in the non-European countries. He welcomed the Director's initiative in opening a branch of his office in India and invited him home on behalf of the Indian employers so that he might acquire a firsthand knowledge of the labour conditions in India. The employers were prepared to co-operate whole-

heartedly with the I. L. O. in all its efforts, but it could not be ignored that the fundamental remedy for the improvement of the conditions of the working classes in India lay in the hands of the Government of India. Illiteracy of the masses was the root-cause of much of the social evils at home, and for over a generation Indian statesmen and publicists had pleaded for the introduction of compulsory primary education, though in vain.

Mr. Chaman Lall was of opinion that the Director's Report was open to the criticism of excessive optimism. "Keep on keeping on" was the watchword of Monsieur Albert Thomas, but in his calmer moments he surely would have to agree with Mr. Lall that the successive conferences had touched but the fringe of the subject with which they dealt. The conception of the International Labour Office did not mark, as it was alleged, the Magna Carta of the workers' freedom, and speaking on behalf of those whom he represented, he would say that he did not believe that the International Labour Office could bring any peace to the workers of the world. All that it could give them was a platform for propaganda, and while he was pleased to note that the Report bore evidences of nearer approach to Russian Communism than was the case in previous years, he was sorry to notice that they were not on speaking terms, so to say, with a-third of the world's population represented by Russia, the United States of America, Turkey, Persia, and China. Nor was the position of the coloured workers at all satisfactory, as was seen in the reception which the Conference accorded to Mr. Giri's proposition on their behalf. He charged the Government of India with neglect of the welfare of workers and cited figures of unemployment, infant mortality, etc. The Indian Government was similarly lax in its observance of the Eight Hours convention and used the Famine Code as a screen for inaction. Sir Atul Chatterjee questioned Mr. Lall's figures, attributed infant mortality to social customs, drew a distinction between unemployment as it was understood in the Conference and the unemployment among the middle classes which was the real trouble in India, and considered that Mr. Lall had blundered both in mixing up famine and scarcity and in not taking into consideration the conditions attached to the ratification of the Washington Convention by India. There was a handsome reference to Mr. Joshi in Sir Atul's speech and the Conference showed its respect for the well-known Indian labour leader by electing him as one of the substitute delegates to the Governing Body of the I. L. O.

THE ITALIAN DELEGATE.

The discussion about the credentials of Signor Rossoni, the Italian workers' delegate, was, if so it may be described, the sensation of the Conference. Monsieur Jouhaux, the French workers' delegate, condemned the Fascist control of trade unions in Italy on the same grounds on which they condemned the Soviet influence over Russian trade unions. The trade union movement had been and would be directed by the Communist Party, said Mr. Trotsky of the Federation of Trade Unions in 1926, and in Rome in November 1927, the Fascist Grand Council adopted sixteen regulations concerning trade unions, the third of which required that their control should be carried out with an increasing degree of strictness. Article 13 of the Decree of the 1st July 1926, also authorised the refusal of recognition for trade unions in Italy for political reasons. In the opinion of M. Jouhaux and his friends, therefore, Signor Rossoni did not represent the larger part of Italian workmen, but only that section of them which submitted to Government control. Signor Rossoni's answer was that the Conference should distinguish between political and industrial conditions in Italy

and that it had no right to use its platform for the condemnation of Italian politics which was Italy's own affair. Italy as a whole was disciplining herself in a certain manner so as to bring about her regeneration, and within that framework, Italian Trade Unions had as much liberty as the unions elsewhere. By 100 votes to 30, Signor Rossoni's credentials were upheld.

THE EIGHT HOURS DAY.

Considerable space has been given in the Director's Report to the subject of Eight Hours Day, and with his customary frankness, Monsieur Albert Thomas states therein that by calling for a revision of the Eight Hours Convention without indicating the precise difficulties in the way of its ratification and the nature of the modifications desired, the British Government was running the grave risk of its position being misunderstood, though for himself he was prepared to believe that no motives such as undermining the principle involved actuated the move. I have already referred to the animated discussion in the Governing Body of the International Labour Office on this subject, in this correspondence. The outstanding feature of the discussion in the Conference was the following important declaration from the representative of the British Government:

"The British Government, while adhering to the principles of the Washington Convention and proceeding in the light of what was discussed at the London Conference, desires, as a means of ensuring progress to, define those principles more precisely, thus laying the basis for uniformity and providing what is needed to secure that international action is practicable."

REVIEWS.

INTOLERANT NATIONALISM.

ESSAYS ON NATIONALISM. BY CARTON J. H. HAYES. (The Macmillan Co., New York.) 1926. 8¾ x 6. pp. 279. 12s. 6d.

THIS is an eloquent, incisive, thorough, root and branch criticism of nationalism by one with a tremendous enthusiasm for a wider and more generous outlook on humanity. In the opening chapters the author discusses the various meanings and phases of nationalism and nationality in all ages from the earliest periods of history down to the present day, and gives an attractive history of its development in modern times. The analysis of the various strands of history which have gone to make up modern nationalism is strikingly original and arresting. It is somewhat startling to learn, for instance, that the philologists who in the last century discovered the linguistic affinities of various peoples contributed their quota to the growth of the composite nationalism of today: and, though one may feel the argument fastening responsibility on this branch of scholarship to be anything but convincing the case made by the author is skilful and thought-provoking.

In chapters IV, V, VI and VII, the author unfolds his main thesis by a trenchant criticism and ruthless analysis of some aspects of nationalism. Nationalism has, in his opinion, become a new religion with its own liturgy and rituals—such as, for instance, saluting the flag, parades, processions, &c., but

a religion which unlike the great religions of the past has not been a unifying but a disintegrating factor putting up nation against nation. His exposure of the propaganda of nationalism and its incidental falsification of history is almost cruel but nevertheless extremely truthful. In his treatment of "Nationalism and International Wars," and "Nationalism and Militarism" the author traverses ground which has been covered by others before, but he nevertheless puts a new colour on the subject by his mode of treatment, his refreshing truthfulness and the wealth of his historical studies in which he never hesitates to call a spade a spade. In his chapter on "Nationalism and Intolerance," he dwells on the various aspects of national intolerance which is not only confined to things foreign, but tends to break out in morbid antipathies against the people of the nation itself. Some people imbued with extreme ideas of nationalism develop notions of idealised characteristics of the nation and become intolerant of anything opposed to those notions. Thus, speaking of such intolerant sects in America, the author says:

"Its members do not specialise in intolerance; they are broadly and comprehensively intolerant of all fellow-Americans who dissent from them in economics, theology, tradition and race. These American sectarians are, or think they are, the exclusive heirs and divinely designated custodians of particular traditions of the white Nordic race, of the British stock, of evangelical protestantism, of Plymouth rock, of Declaration of Independence, of individual liberty, of public schools and of 'manifest destiny'.... They are resolved to make of America a white country, a Nordic country, an English-speaking country, a Protestant country. They inveigh unceasingly and indiscriminately against Negroes, Catholics, Jews, Socialists, Italians, Slavs, Japanese, Chinese or any other category, foreign or domestic, that they deem to be different in any respect from themselves and, therefore, inimical to their conception of American nationalism."

The author gives illustrations which clinch his arguments and in this respect he is somewhat favourably placed in the wealth of material that modern American politics furnishes. But even in this country with its almost nascent nationalism, evidence is not wanting that our nationalists have learnt the latest lessons in nationalism from the west. For do we not hear every day loud invectives uttered against 'traitors' who are seldom more than persons who do not believe in a particular programme which is for the time being popular?

In the last chapter "Nationalism—Curse or Blessing" the author gives his final judgment which comes more or less unexpectedly after his all round denunciation of Nationalism in the previous chapters. He is not against nationalism *of a sort*, nor oblivious of the great benefits derived by man from it. He would have a nationalism which is a sort of feeder to internationalism. He believes likewise in patriotism which promotes humility and service as distinguished from what he calls *patriotic snobbery*. What he finds fault with is really the nationalism which is

"a proud and boastful habit of mind about one's own nation, accompanied by a supercilious or hostile attitude."

toward other nations"—"a form of mania, a kind of extended and exaggerated egotism."

The whole work is informed by a lofty Catholicism and truthfulness, a spirit of genuine freedom and love of humanity which overpasses the narrow bounds of nationalism, creed or colour. The author feels the narrowness of nationalism in all its aspects with equal warmth, whether it is the Negro, the Indian, the Chinese or the savage races. His study of history is inspired by a search for truth at all costs and he does not scruple to tear off all the alluring drapery of myth with which nationalist history has adorned the stories of the past.

Yet one feels that the zeal of the author has made him somewhat unfair to some aspects of nationalism. He says no doubt that nationalism as a process is unmoral and professes to pass no moral judgment on history, but the narration of that history betrays an evident bias which has made him hardly just to the propagandists of nationalism in the past who were assuredly inspired by very lofty sentiments rather than the narrow self-interest which is generally ascribed to them by the author. He seems to be likewise unmindful of at least one outstanding fact, that nationalism was in its origin not really a narrowing but a liberalising agency. Nationalism is only one of the forms of organisation through which human society has passed and at the start it furnished a principle which embraced a wider range of people and involved a widening of human sympathy than principles which preceded it. It built up units of society which has made internationalism possible. A true view of modern nationalism would seem to be that it has outlived its utility and in the presence of the wider concept of internationalism to which human history is inevitably leading, it is acting at the present moment as a retrogressive rather than a progressive force.

The work is nevertheless a notable and forceful contribution to the thought on the subject and will help to develop correct thinking which will ultimately place nationalism in its proper perspective and make it helpful to the attainment of the bigger ideal rather than an obstacle to it.

NARES CH. SEN-GUPTA.

THE BRITISH POST OFFICE.

THE POST OFFICE. By SIR EVELYN MURRAY
(G. P. Putnam's Sons, Ltd., London.) 1927.
7¾ x 5¼. pp. 229. 7s. 6d.

AMONG the numerous departments of a modern government, the activities of none touch the every day life of the individual to the same extent as those of the department of Posts and Telegraphs. Through its manifold branches of work, it counts almost every individual of the nation as its customer. It serves the rich and the poor alike, and on its efficient working depends to a great extent the regular performance of the public and private business of the nation. It is the most utilised and the most criticised of all public departments. It is responsible for a very large number of interpellations in the Indian Legislative Assembly and among the hardy annuals of Assembly resolutions, those relating to the postage rates find a conspicuous place.

The general public, however, has little knowledge of the machinery of the department, the problems it has to deal with and the difficulties it has to surmount. Criticism is consequently often wide of the mark, based on misapprehension and singularly unhelpful. The only information with regard to the Department, to which the public has access, is contained in the Post and Telegraph Guide, and in the annual report of the Director-General of the Department—books which form unattractive reading to the public and which moreover do not supply information about the problems and policy of the Department. Six years ago, Sir Geoffrey Clarke, then Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs in India, published a book entitled "The Post Office of India and its story." That book, however, dealt only with the postal portion of the Department and while it was written in an attractive style, it gave little information about the machinery, problems and policy of the Department.

The present book deals with the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone organisation of the British Post Office. It forms one of the Whitehall Series, the earlier five books in which deal with the Home and India offices, the Ministries of Public Health and Education and the Colonial and Dominion Offices. The object of this series is apparently to supply the British elector and especially his representative in Parliament with full and authoritative information regarding the different departments of Government so that criticism, being based on accurate knowledge, and not on misapprehension, may be helpful and not merely obstructive.

The present book written by one who was for over twelve years the permanent official head of the Department in the United Kingdom, has been singularly successful in achieving this object. Within the compass of just over 200 pages, the author has given a masterly account of the origin and development of the various branches of the Department, the existing machinery, the problems to be dealt with and the policy followed. The book is written in an easy style and forms most attractive and interesting reading.

The Post Office in England developed, as it did in all other countries, from the organisation which the sovereign maintained for the collection of information and for the conveyance of his orders to different parts of his kingdom. Privileged private individuals were first permitted to take advantage of the service on payment and later the general public was admitted, as it was found that this became a source of revenue. Later, to prevent loss by competition, the sovereign's monopoly was asserted and now, in every civilised country, the conveyance of letters on payment is a State monopoly. The fact that no serious attempt is or has ever been made to infringe the monopoly is due to the cheapness, efficiency and reliability of the service rendered by the State. We owe to the British Post Office and to Sir Rowland Hill in particular, the modern system of uniform charges for postal articles irrespective of distance and prepayment by means of stamps. To a generation accustomed to these facilities, a conception of the complexities and trouble due to charging according to weight and distance as it prevailed in the earlier part of the nineteenth century is impossible. The ideas of Sir Rowland Hill are now adopted by every civilised nation in the world and a grateful country has erected a statue to Sir Rowland Hill's memory in front of the London G. P. O.

In his book, the author deals with the international organisation for Posts and Telegraphs; and the quinquennial world congresses held for drawing up and revising Postal and Telegraph regulation represent a League of Nations more real than the on

we are used to at Geneva. For postal and telegraph traffic, the whole world is one and it is to the credit of humanity that it has achieved in the twentieth century such progress that a letter or message can be sent from anywhere to anywhere on this terrestrial globe with absolute safety and secrecy and the minimum of delay.

The wonderful development of the electrical telegraph from the old slow signalling to modern wireless telegraphy and telephony due to the series of remarkable discoveries by Signor Marconi forms romantic reading. A perusal of the book shows how far behind we in India are and what progress we may look forward to with the spread of education and development of commerce and industry in this country. Compared to England the Post and Telegraph Department in India is in its infancy; but it is a lusty and promising infant and in its organisation is second to none.

The British Government has always treated the Post Office as a Revenue department, and at present, the Department is earning a profit of five million pounds sterling which goes to the Exchequer. The postal rates in the United Kingdom thus contain an element of taxation. The Government of India have, on the other hand, declared on more than one occasion their resolve not to treat the Post Office as a revenue-earning department but as a public utility and commercial department which should fix its charges so as to cover its cost and if any profits occur, they should be utilised either to reduce the postage or to extend postal facilities to the public. We have no hesitation in saying that the latter is the correct policy, for once the idea of earning revenue is admitted, we should be subject to an insidious form of taxation, most tempting to all Governments as it is least felt by the individual.

To the Indian reader, the book is as useful as to the English reader, for postal organisation and postal problems are practically the same all the world over. In the last session of the Assembly, the Government Member for Posts and Telegraphs quoted extensively from this book in the debate on postage rates and we feel sure that a perusal of the book will enable our M. L. A.s to understand correctly the working and policy of the Department and to make useful and helpful criticisms.

G. V. BEWOOR.

EDUCATION AT WORK.

EDUCATION AT WORK. By H. BOMPAS SMITH. (Manchester University Press.) 1927. 7½ x 5. pp. 167. 7s. 6d.

THE progress made by England in different branches of education is an object lesson in what a government and people, united in aims and modern in outlook, can do for raising the moral and intellectual stature of the nation, just as education in India is a study in divided aims and cross-purposes between the rulers and the ruled. The linchpin of the English educational fabric is the vivid realization both by the State and the citizens—perhaps in different degrees—that their goal should be

“the achievement of a national system of education which shall provide for all children, adolescents, and adults full opportunities for complete individual and social development.”

It is becoming more and more recognized in the advanced countries of the West that schools and universities are not only the training-grounds for individual boys and girls but also centres of the intellectual and social life of the community they serve. The school should be a microcosm which mirrors and preserves the finest culture, the noblest

achievements and aspirations of the nation while revitalizing its special skill and knowledge. The best educationists are getting more alive to the fact that culture in the past has tended on the whole to be “the kind of culture characteristic of the leisured and professional classes,” smacking of its origin among the slave-owning peoples of Greece and Rome.

The product of the public school, who helped to shape the different parts of the Empire and of whom Britain is justly proud, was an aristocrat in his own way. The “high-brow” formed a caste by himself. But the nascent educational consciousness of England wants culture not be caviare to the general, but permeate the common life of the people like living water and touch it to fine issues. The work of the best technical schools in modern England shows how much they can achieve in the way of starting from industry and advancing through industry to culture. Education has moved from cast-iron methods and regimentation to flexible and sensitive adaptation to individual needs. The new teacher adapts his teaching to the boy instead of compelling the boy to adapt himself to his teaching.

Again the new creed does not lie in the ram-rod of repression but in the fishing-rod of expression. The modern system gives free play to a child's inquisitive instinct.

“Rambles in the country, lessons in the parks, outdoor geography, interesting and instructive visits to places of interest form part of the week's school work of thousands of Manchester children.”

Knowledge thus becomes not merely intimate and first-hand to the child, but its pursuit becomes a positive pleasure. The child's universe of experience widens, its thought is roused, and it develops a sense of the intricate web of economic and communal life of which it forms a part. The feeling of part-ownership in the great institutions visited awakens the civic sense and the dawning perception of the value of corporate life. Nor are visits to museums which form part of the regular curriculum of English school children, less valuable in making them feel the filaments that bind them to the rest of the world. When they are taken to witness the handiwork of other folks beyond the sea, unhealthy insularity begins to dissolve while a livelier appreciation grows of the contribution made by different lands and ages to civilization.

The most remarkable feature of educational activity in England at the present day is the vast scale on which multitudinous agencies seek to socialize knowledge. Look at the variety of institutions that cater to adult education: University Extension Courses and Tutorial Classes, Summer Schools, the Ruskin College, the Labour College, Educational Settlements, the Rural Community Councils, Women's Institutes, The Seafarers' Education Service, Prisoner's Education Committee, the British Drama League, the Arts League of Service, the Village Drama Society and the various country Libraries! Regarding the extra-mural work of the Universities the Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge (1922) explicitly laid down that such work must be “definitely accepted as an established and essential part of the normal work of the University.” All English Universities and University Colleges now provide extra-mural classes, which are controlled either by a Board or by a Joint Committee. Discussion, and vigorous at that, is a common feature of these classes so that a visitor at Swansea may expect to be enlivened by the spectacle of a Welsh miner criticizing the doctrines of Greek thinkers! Of the Educational Settlements or Guild-houses, which must be distinguished from Residen-

tial Settlements like Toynby Hall, there are now 15, together with four Residential Colleges—Avoncroft (for rural workers), Fircroft and Woodbrooke at Birmingham, and the College for Working Women at Beckenham. In addition to formal classes, Guild-houses usually include dramatic and musical groups, debating and other clubs, and give opportunity for handicrafts; more than all they enable their *habitues* to feel the atmosphere of a college.

For a detailed knowledge of the multifarious and proliferating educational agencies in England the reader must go to the book under review, which is a collection of studies on contemporary education by eminent contributors; the development of Manchester University, the social aspect of education in an industrial area, the problem of the village school, adult education, the work of the Joint Matriculation Board of the Northern Universities, the schools of the future, constituting the different themes. Prof. Bompas Smith's own paper resumes the main threads of the others and suggests forward-looking thoughts. These surveys are of no small interest to educationists.

R. SADASIYA AIYAR.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM IN THE FAR EAST.
ALONG THE MISSION TRAIL IN CHINA
AND JAPAN. Vols. IV. & V. By BRUNO
HAGSPIEL. (Mission Press, S. V. D. Techny,
Illinois.) 1927. 8½ × 5½. pp. 392, 373. \$ 2.00 each.

These two books complete a series of five volumes describing the author's travels in the Far East and the Pacific on his visits to Roman Catholic missions. The books are written in the form of a travel diary and in a light style, devoid of literary pretensions, such as one would expect in works of this nature. The volumes are of attractive appearance and are copiously illustrated with excellent photographs. Their object would appear to be primarily to kindle missionary enthusiasm among American Roman Catholics and to promote further interest and support for the splendid work which their missionaries are carrying out in various non-Christian countries.

Interspersed in the narrative of the author's travels and his descriptions of missionary life is much miscellaneous general information about the countries concerned, the traditions and customs of their peoples, and their past history. There are also some accounts of the various national religions, Confucianism, Taoism, Japanese Buddhism, and Shintoism, and the peculiar obstacles which each presents to the advance of Christianity.

It is not generally known that Roman Catholic missions to China date back to the thirteenth century of the Christian era. In Japan, however, they only go back to the sixteenth century. In both countries Christians have from time to time suffered the most cruel persecutions, thousands having been put to death on account of their religion. In Japan in the seventeenth century foreigners of all kinds were expelled, and at the same time a fierce persecution of the Christians was commenced, many were tortured and killed and the priesthood was exterminated. Nevertheless when the Roman Catholic missionaries returned after 200 years they discovered that there were still some secret Christians who by means of the most desperate stratagems had kept alive the faith in the face of the utmost watchfulness on the part of the authorities.

An extraordinarily interesting subject is touched upon all too briefly in the volume on China, and that is the problem of what is called "accommoda-

tion." The early Jesuit missionaries deliberately adopted "an accommodating" attitude towards many Chinese customs and ways of thinking which, they believed, would render Christianity less foreign in Chinese eyes. But the Dominicans who came on the scene later considered that the Jesuits had gone too far and had in reality compromised Christianity by allowing it to become contaminated with false religion and philosophy. A bitter controversy ensued and was only brought to an end in the middle of the eighteenth century by a decree of the Pope forbidding any further discussion on the matter. The author does not make clear what subsequently happened, but may we not assume from the very large proportion of Chinese priests (not to mention the six Chinese bishops recently consecrated by the Pope) that the Roman Catholic Church has been very successful in accommodating herself to Chinese ways and making herself thoroughly 'at home among the Chinese people'?

In these two books we have the record of a great mass of steady unselfish work which in a materialistic age is most inspiring. In spite of the shortage of funds, in spite of the difficulties in the way of establishing anything like the number of schools and colleges required, in spite of the dead weight of tradition and prejudice against foreigners, in spite, we may add, of the failure of Europe as a whole to live up to the Christian ideal, in spite of all difficulties, the work goes steadily ahead, and by acts of mercy and love, the care of the sick, the outcast and the afflicted, no less than by the spoken word, the spirit of the living Christ is daily being revealed to the millions of China and Japan through the devoted lives of these missionaries of the Catholic Church.

O. F. CLARKE.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE DECCAN AGRICULTURISTS' RELIEF
ACT. By K. S. GUPTA. (Ramkrishna Bros., Poona.)
1928. pp. 355. Rs. 5.

INDIA is mainly an agricultural country, and there have always been grave political dangers and evil effects attendant upon the expropriation of agriculturists from their lands. The Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act was therefore passed in the year 1879 and was in the first instance made applicable only to a few districts. The actual working of the Act in these places showed the desirability of extending its provisions to the whole of the Presidency including Sind, which was done from time to time. The Act was intended to check the growing indebtedness of the agriculturists and also to afford special protection to the poor and illiterate cultivators from the clutches of the rapacious and crafty money-lenders.

The D. A. R. Act is one of those few Acts, which are required in every-day practice. And yet no reliable, up-to-date, exhaustive and critical commentary on the Act was so far available. The want of such an edition was felt all the greater, especially because of the unhappy phraseology and clumsy language of the Act. The great bulk of High Court decisions during the last fifty years had resulted in creating confusion. Mr. Gupta's commentary has removed this want of the profession and the litigant public; and he deserves congratulations for his learned, exhaustive and critical commentary on the Act.

Mr. Gupta has taken great pains in sifting the large volume of case law that there is on the subject

and in arranging it under appropriate headings. The history of each section, together with the underlying principle, will be very useful. The special feature of the commentary is that the author has given copious quotations from judicial decisions. The lucid explanation of the most intricate and important provisions of the Act has rendered the subject easy and brought it within the comprehension of a layman.

The author's own opinions and views on points, where he differs from judicial pronouncements, are well considered, and show his deep study of the subject. The rules, framed by the local Government on several points relating to this Act, have been published in the appendices.

S. C. JOSHI.

CHRIST AT THE ROUND TABLE. By E. STANLEY JONES. (Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., London.)

DESPITE the nature of the subject and the author's apparent sincerity, this book is bound to have much the same effect as "Mother India" in the circles to which it addresses itself. Its technique is the same and one wonders whether the author does realise that in employing the loud-speaker for a subject of this nature, he often impresses his reader as if his relations were with the God of the Old Testament rather than with Him of the New. For all his free thought, here we have one who is as orthodox in his Christianity as orthodoxy can be, and an Anglo-Saxon to boot. The Christian Sadhu, Sundar Singh, has said things about other religions in his mystical moods, which would not be tolerated in a drawing room, yet they do not hurt, for they are part of the psychology of a tradition to which the Sadhu belongs. One considers it the natural limitation to a mode of creation in which intellect can play little part. Here, on the other hand, we have a deliberate attempt at bull-like charges recalling strong Northern liquor and very different from the effects of the subtle wines of mysticism. Is it the theory of Karma? Blindness, the Hindu believes, is due to Karma, modern science proves its origin in hereditary diseases, ergo, Karma is all rot. Mahatma Gandhi has said that the realisation of God needs ages and no miracles need be expected, he is a Hindu, ergo, Hinduism fails to bring man to God here and now, and shuts him out from the experience of divine miracles. Such simple reasoning—and the book is full of it—so characteristic of adolescence, has its place in the evolution of religious consciousness and comes irresistibly to those who are blissfully ignorant of the insistent urge of the Ultimate. It is not that the author's unburdening of his soul which is evidently helpful to him and may help others like him, which is so bad, as his lack of contemplation and his failure to appreciate the fact that the task which India and Gandhi envisage is equal in magnitude to the one to which the Master had addressed himself. Judged by lesser standards the task must, of course, appear futile. In the course of the book there is frequently a presumption which borders on insinuation that Hinduism must be deemed a failure by the side of Christianity because the Hindu civilisation has failed to hold its own alongside with the modern. That the author should forget that the implications of this position would hardly sustain his creed is another illustration of the fact that the loud-speaker cannot be used in the service of Christ.

R. RAO.

INDIAN CULTURAL INFLUENCE IN CAMBODIA. By BIJAN RAJ CHATTERJI. (Calcutta University Press.) 1928. 8½ × 5¾. pp. 303.

THIS volume, accepted as a thesis for a Doctorate by

the University of London, has been published by the University of Calcutta. It is a valuable addition to the rapidly growing literature on the subject of Indo-colonial history and culture, in which the younger generation of Indian scholars are naturally taking considerable interest. The reconstruction of the history of Cambodia from extant ruins and inscriptions has been almost solely due to the indefatigable zeal of French savants, but there is ample scope for Indian scholars not only in making the result of their labours better known in India through the medium of English, but in tracing out in detail the various links connecting the parent country with 'Greater India.' In the present volume, the author has successfully attempted this task in connection with ancient Cambodia. Besides giving a résumé of the political and cultural history of Cambodia, from the early centuries of the Christian era to the fourteenth century, he has brilliantly summarized the phases of Indian influence on Cambodian society, religion, art, architecture and other spheres of human activity. A synchroistic table of the Indian and Further Indian kingdoms, attached at the end, helps to form an idea of India's eastward expansion at a glance. On the whole, we find that the learned author has treated his subject in an attractive and at the same time in a thoroughly scholarly manner. The printing and get-up are satisfactory.

ORIENTALIST.

HUMANITY AND LABOUR IN CHINA. By ADELAIDE MARY ANDERSON. (Student Christian Movement, London.) 1928. 8¾ × 5½. pp. 285. 10s. 6d.

THE Hindus believe that highest merit is the reward of those who toil for ameliorating the lot of the countless unhappy who throng this earth. It is moreover the privilege particularly of women to interest themselves in the enviable task of humanising the inhuman humanity. Industrialism diminishes the sources of livelihood for average people and the people in general are divided into two classes—the wealthiest and the poorest. The selfishness of the wealthy makes them exploit the helplessness of the poor and hence the necessity as well as the urgency of State interference for regulating the relations between the employers and the employed. The volume before us—an interesting survey of the labour conditions in China—confirms the view expressed above. The book furnishes evidence that the gifted author possesses keen power of observation, shrewd commonsense and a capacity to express her thoughts in an attractive language. A cynic may ask whether benevolent Europeans find no opportunities of philanthropic work in their own countries. We think however that however laudable the efforts of Dame Anderson or of the National Christian Council whose representative she was, they were out of place in view of the unsettled political conditions of China which was then making heroic effort at self-realisation.

N. G. CHAPEKAR

MISCELLANEOUS.

INTERNATIONAL TEXTILE WORKERS' CONGRESS, GHENT.

MR. BAKHALE'S SPEECH.

The 12th session of the International Textile Workers' Congress commenced at Ghent (in Belgium) on Monday, the 28th May 1928. The Congress was attended by 105 delegates from 11 countries representing 12 national organisations of the textile workers. After the welcome speech of the Belgian President of

At the first sitting was over, Mr. R. R. Bakhale, the Fraternal Delegate of the Indian Textile Workers, was invited to make the first speech of the Session. In the course of his speech Mr. Bakhale said:—

On behalf and in the name of the Textile Workers of India it is my proud privilege to offer to you, the organised workers of the world assembled in this International Congress, our most cordial and heartiest fraternal greetings and wish this session all success. This is perhaps the first time in the history of the Trade Union Movement in India that she has been invited to attend the kind of the International Congress where we all are assembled today and, therefore, the textile workers of my country feel themselves all the more honoured for the invitation sent to them by Mr. Shaw on behalf of this International Congress, although they are not yet officially connected to it. May I recall to your mind the fact that you were one of the few Labour Organisations in Europe that came to the rescue of the Bombay Textile Workers when they were fighting against the wage reduction of 11½ per cent. ? This splendid help was soon followed by the visit of your Delegation to my country to secure firsthand information about the condition of the textile workers. The report published by your Secretary is a valuable document and has the special merit of restrained and moderate language and balanced views. We thus feel that though we are not yet officially on the list of your affiliated Unions, yet a link has been forged between you and us and it will not be long before that link will be strengthened by our official affiliation with this International. I may even go a step further and hope that a day will soon dawn when in addition to India other Eastern countries such as Japan and China will join this International and thereby help to make it more powerful and an inter-Continental organisation. (hear, hear.)

You are all aware that India is a vast country, equal to the size of Europe minus Russia and has its own difficulties the like of which you may not have experienced in your countries. Mr. Shaw has in his report characterised those difficulties as a "spider's web of problems" and I think this description is accurate, politically, economically, socially and educationally. To get rid of this spider's web we may have to devise means and ways which may be different in certain respects from those which you may have adopted in the past. But whatever methods we may adopt, I can assure you on behalf of the textile workers of India that they have no desire whatever to see your standards of life lowered in any way. (hear, hear). They realise that the textile industry is a highly technical and competitive industry and that unequal conditions obtaining in the industry in different parts of the world have the tendency of the higher standards of life of the workers being lowered. They also realise that you have won your standards by sustained efforts and hard struggles of a century; and their ambition is to secure for themselves the same standard which you have obtained for yourselves. (hear, hear) They believe in the process of levelling up and not in the process of levelling down. (hear, hear)

Before I attempt to place before you a picture which, I am afraid, cannot be complete within the time at my disposal, of the condition in which the textile worker lives in India, you will expect me to say a few words about the gigantic struggle which the Bombay workers are waging against the employers' attempt to worsen their conditions of service. There is now a complete deadlock in the Bombay mill industry for the last 40 days and yet there does not seem to be any prospect of an early settlement. The present depression in the Indian textile industry is stated by the Tariff Board appointed by the Gov-

ernment of India to investigate the condition of the industry, to be due, among other things, to world conditions, Japanese competition in yarn and cloth of 30's and above, their employment of women and children at night and the double shift, and the competition in India itself between the Bombay industry and the up-country industry. The depression has also been stated to have been accentuated by the over-capitalisation in Bombay. The Tariff Board suggested several remedies to tide over the depression, the most important of which are the internal reform of the mill administration of the industry and the increased efficiency of labour. While forgetting, at any rate we feel so, the important recommendations regarding the internal reforms, the Bombay mill-owners have shown considerable enthusiasm and vigour in tampering with the workers' wages, hours of work and other conditions of service under the guise of increasing the workers' efficiency. I may state here quite frankly that the Indian textile worker is not against increasing his efficiency. Illiterate though he is, he understands that his wages and his standard of life will be raised if he begins to produce more. But what he insists upon, and quite rightly in my opinion, is that the conditions suitable for increasing the efficiency, such as improved raw material, better machinery with labour-saving appliances, better wages and other improved conditions in the factory, should first be given to him. (hear, hear). If he is asked to get more production under existing conditions, it is impossible to do so; and it is exactly this thing which is responsible for the present struggle in Bombay. We deny, and have denied before the Tariff Board, that, unless proved to the contrary by a suitable test, the Indian textile worker is less efficient than the textile worker in any other country. (hear, hear)

Well, coming to the present strike again, I may state briefly that direct and indirect reduction in wages, attempts to increase the hours of work of persons who have been for years working less than ten hours a day and serious unemployment resulting from the stoppage of about 10 to 15 per cent. of the spindles and looms are the most important causes that have led to the present strike. Thanks to the firing of the Bombay police on the strikers struggling against starvation, in the earlier stage, the dispute at once assumed a grim appearance and a general stoppage of work followed. The strike has been going on for over a month; and yet negotiations are not opened! The latest information from India shows that the millowners still refuse to meet the Joint Strike Committee. I do not, therefore, think that there is any prospect of an early settlement. The workers are determined to stand firm against the attack of their masters on their wages and hours and, on their behalf, I request this International to give its moral and material support to their brethren in Bombay.

Mr. Shaw in his report has dealt with the conditions obtaining in Bombay as regards the textile workers' position and I do not think it is necessary for me to say much on that point. The textile industry in India is not localised as in Lancashire but is spread over the whole country and the conditions obtaining in each province vary so much that it is almost impossible to give a general idea of the existing conditions. I may however divide the textile workers in three broad groups, viz., those in the cities, in the rural areas and in the territories of the Indian Princes who are, so far as their internal administration goes, independent units. What is true in the case of the city workers is equally, perhaps in a greater degree, true in the case of the rural workers and is far more true in the case of the workers in Indian States. In the rural areas the grip of the employer on the operatives is tighter owing to

the absence of public opinion and of even a week labour organisation. Whether with regard to the system of recruitment, or with the wages, or with the other conditions in the factories such as treatment, fines, etc., or with regard to the housing and home conditions, the worker's lot is miserable and pitiable. He has to pay, speaking generally, a bribe to secure employment and, occasionally, to continue paying it to retain the employment; he is fined heavily even for minor mistakes which sometimes are not his; he has to receive spoiled cloth though he may not be responsible for it; a part of his earned wages are either withheld or forfeited as punishment or for his failure to receive them within a prescribed time limit; he has to incur heavy debt the interest on which runs from 75 to 300 per cent when he finds his wages to be inadequate to meet his legitimate and reasonable needs; he is liable to be dismissed at any time; he does not get any leave with pay and at times finds it difficult to get leave even without pay; his housing condition is horrible, the house he stays in has been aptly described as "pestilential plague spot". It is stated that 97 per cent. of the working class population in Bombay lives in one-room tenements and also that one room is many times occupied by more than one family! The result is that illness becomes the general rule rather than an exception and the infant mortality is reported to have reached, in some years, the figure of between 500 to 600 per 1000 children! The wages that are given to a man and woman in Bombay are £ 2-18-6 and £ 1-11-6 a month respectively; and in a mofussil place like Sholapur the figures are £ 2-0-6 and £ 0-16-1½ respectively. Even these averages, worked out by the Bombay Labour Office, have been challenged for many reasons one of which is the fines which, it is calculated, amount to from 8 to 10 per cent. As there are no insurance schemes either on compulsory or voluntary basis, the textile worker has to suffer in times of unemployment; has to pay heavily during sickness and has no provision for his old age. I admit that a few employers have made some provision for illness by having dispensaries, paying some benefits such as maternity benefits to their women workers, gratuities to some and do some welfare work; but these exceptions only prove the general rule.

As regards the worker's status as a citizen, the textile worker is again in the same deplorable condition as he is industrially. He has no vote in the sense that qualifications for a voter are, generally speaking, beyond his reach. Very few workers in Bombay, for example, pay 15 shillings a month as rent which is the qualification required for municipal and legislative franchise. The representation that the worker has got, by nomination, in all the Legislatures in India is only 11 seats as against 107 secured by the employers by election. Labour legislation in India is very inadequate. We have only the Factories Act which regulates the hours of work, fencing of machinery and so on, and the Workmen's Compensation Act which is not liberal in the amounts of compensation allowed. We have no Truck Act regulating fines, no Trade Boards Act and no arbitration or conciliation machinery. In Indian States there is either no factory legislation or, where it exists, the hours of work are reported to be longer than those in British India and other conditions of service are worse. To put the condition of the textile worker in India in one word, I may say that he has no security of employment, no security of wages and no security of life.

We recognise that the best and the only cure for all these ills is "organisation"; and I am glad

to inform this Congress that efforts are being made to organise the workers. At present 45,000 out of 700,000 textile workers that is to say, nearly 6.4 per cent. of the workers are organised. The Shaw report has pointed to the enormous difficulties in the way of labour organisation in our country and the greatest of the difficulties is the appalling illiteracy of the working classes. In spite of this heavy handicap, efforts are being made to strengthen the working class organisation and it is to be hoped that our strength will soon be increased to an appreciable extent.

As regards the affiliation of the Indian textile workers to the International, I may say that we recognise its importance and we cannot afford to remain aloof from the International movement. Unfortunately we have not got at present an all-India body of the textile workers; but some time ago such of the textile unions as are working to-day were consulted about the formation of an all-India body and, I am glad to say that most of them have expressed themselves in favour of that idea. I fervently hope that it will not be long before an all-India Federation of the Textile Workers becomes an accomplished fact and that it will link itself up with the International Movement. (hear, hear).

I thank you, comrades, again for the cordiality with which you were good enough to receive me and for the patience with which you listened to me.

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