

THE Servant of India

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE death of Lord Haldane removes another stalwart from the ranks of the already thinned Liberal Party in England and creates a gap, soon after the passing away of Lord Oxford, which it would take years to fill up. In 1905 he was selected for the office of the Secretary for War by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannermann and became the author of the famous scheme of Territorial Force. In 1912 he became Lord Chancellor, after being a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council only for a year. He was also Lord Chancellor in Mr. MacDonalds' cabinet formed in 1924. In the world of philosophy, he was known for his translation of the principal work of Schopenhauer and for his deep interest in German philosophy. His "Reign of Relativity" is a masterly performance, showing his great erudition and his critical acumen. To us in India, the tribute that he paid to Indian philosophy in a recent speech is significant as showing how the highest minds in Europe are appreciative of all that is best in the East, instead of being supercilious and carping like politicians immersed in the insular politics of the day. He was a great educationalist and as Chairman of the Commission appointed in 1911 to reorganize the University of London he helped to make it one of the premier Universities in the Empire. His pro-German sympathies prevented his being included in the Coalition Ministry formed

on the outbreak of the Great War and he practically retired from politics in 1915, and devoted his time to the promotion of educational schemes and to his favourite pursuit of the study of philosophy.

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IN opening the C. P. Legislative Council last week His Excellency Sir Montagu Butler The C. P. and advised it to emulate the example the Commission, of some provinces which had appointed committees to cooperate with the Simon Commission. The advice was backed up by what appears to be a veiled threat that if the Council refused to do so, it would be interpreted as the unfitness of the province to receive more reforms. In holding out this threat, Sir Montagu Butler seems to have taken his cue from Lord Birkenhead who in moving in the Lords for the appointment of the Commission last November used words to that effect. So the idea is apparently seriously entertained to penalise non-cooperating provinces by treating them as backward ones with the result that no further reforms would be granted in their case. We are confident that even this threat will not induce the C. P. to change the only attitude which a self-respecting people can adopt to the Simon Commission composed as it is at present, viz. the attitude of non-cooperation with it. The absence of any official motion for the appointment of a committee to cooperate with the Commission from the agenda of the Council gives ground for the belief that the Government even with the help of the official bloc does not hope to carry the Council with it.

The rumours of a Ministerial crisis in C. P. which were in circulation for some time past have after all come true. One of the two Ministers, Mr. Deshmukh, has resigned as a result of a vote of non-confidence which it was sought to move in the Council, and which, though actually not moved, appeared to have much support. Mr. Deshmukh has made it clear that the Nationalist party which so long supported him had latterly dwindled down in strength and that he had serious differences of opinion with his colleague, Mr. Rao, which made smooth working between them impossible. But by resigning the Ministership Mr. Deshmukh did not want to burke a discussion of his official acts and policy and was fully prepared to meet all attacks that may be made against him.

* * *

IF one took into account the recommendations made by the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon in their memorandum submitted to the Simon Commission only about the provinces, the Chambers will have to be dubbed more progressive than the Marwaris of Calcutta. For the Associated Chambers recommend the transfer of all provincial departments to the control of popu-

lar Ministers, though under their scheme there are to be Second Chambers in the provinces. Like the Marwari Association of Calcutta they do not ask for the reservation even of law and order. The Chambers rightly consider that the official bloc in provincial councils having been consistently used to support Ministers has blurred their sense of responsibility and has involved both halves of the dyarchic provincial governments in opprobrium. For these reasons they ask that it should disappear, making the Ministers really look to the Legislative Council for support. The expedients of centralising the Police and of placing them under the Governor do not commend themselves to the Chambers for the reason in one case that they would be looked upon "as the myrmidons of a remote and uncontrolled alien bureaucracy" and in the other that "the position of the Governor in being made to assume duties of a controversial nature would quickly become impossible." At the same time the Chambers are not free from the fear that at times when feelings run high the police and the magistracy may be subjected to unfair and wrongful treatment at the hands of a popularly elected legislature against which they should be protected. In the opinion of the Chambers, this could be done by the provision of some special safeguards resting with the Governor.

But the value of the Chambers' recommendation about full provincial autonomy is greatly diminished by their reactionary suggestions about the relations that should subsist between the Central Government and the Assembly. They say that though Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford set out to remedy the great defect of the Morley-Minto reforms, viz. the divorce between power and responsibility, their own reforms cannot be said to be wholly free from that defect, as the working of the Assembly has shown. According to the Chambers, the position of the Government of India in relation to the Assembly is greatly weakened and needs to be strengthened. To this end they want the strength of the Government and anti-Government parties in the Assembly to be approximately equal so that Government could carry through measures they consider important. The Chambers want the discontinuance of the present system of direct election and of course the continuance of communal electorates! As their scheme contemplates intervention by the Central Government in case of what might to them appear to be a breakdown of Government in any province and as the Government of India is to continue to be responsible to Parliament, it follows that the Secretary of State will continue to have his finger in the pie as hitherto.

SIR G. H. HIDAYATALLAH must be given credit for having made an earnest effort to bring about a compromise with regard to the textile dispute in Bombay City. In opening the Conference the General Member offered to set up a Conciliation Board and the terms of reference were agreed to, but the representatives of labour were, in our opinion rightly, unable to agree to resumption of work except on receipt of the wages prevailing in 1925. Although it has been represented that the breakdown of the negotiations was due to the obduracy of labour leaders, we do not see how the leaders can be blamed for refusing to call off the strike immediately. As Mr. N. M. Joshi has declared, this would be tantamount to regarding the Board as a body whose findings would be binding on both sides, whereas the labour leaders had only consented to a Conciliation Board without any coercive power. Besides there would be the possibility, as he said, of striking work again, if the decisions of the Board were unacceptable to the workers. The bare truth

is that none of the disputants are prepared to abate any of their vital demands and unless a disposition in that direction is developed it is doubtful if lasting peace can be effected. For the present we see no reason why the Mill-owners should not recede from the position that work must be resumed before the Board or the Committee of enquiry should begin their work. If the Board works strenuously a decision might be reached within a fortnight or so and in that case a prolongation of the strike for a little longer duration would hardly signify anything derogatory to either party. It is a pity that such a serious attempt to reach agreement should have failed for what appear to outsiders at least as mere trivialities. As for an Arbitration Board with binding powers it is no use throwing wistful glances at it since the proposed legislation does not make provision for it; it can work only if the two parties agree to obey its decisions beforehand by means of a written instrument. This however is too much to hope for in the present atmosphere. The only avenue leading to a settlement would be a Board of Conciliation and we would call upon both the parties to persist in seeking it out.

ON the 18th inst. was announced the grant of some Reforms in Bhor. reforms to the people of Bhor. Frankly, these do not come up to our expectations. The proposed legislative council is to consist of 21 members—10 officials and an equal number of nominated non-officials with the Dewan as President, which secures an official majority of one. It is a great pity that the occasion was not taken to introduce an elective principle in the composition of the Council. We are of course free to confess that even if the people had been allowed to elect their representatives to the Council their choice would perhaps have fallen on most of those who have been nominated by the State. All the same it would in our opinion have been better if they could have come in by the front door of election. An element of election would also have considerably helped in the political education of the people of the State which will now have to stand over, nobody knows how long, for the period of gestation in the present case has been six long years! Nor do we think that the powers of the proposed legislature of the State are wide enough. Members can of course ask questions, promote private legislation and bring forward resolutions on matters of public interest; but none of these which fails to commend itself to the authorities will have any chance of being carried in a body in which there is a standing official majority. The State budget is to be discussed, not voted upon, by the Council only if and when the ruler chooses to send the same to it; and the Council is obviously powerless to make any changes therein.

Even these reforms, extremely insufficient as they seem to us to be, would have meant something if His Highness had taken the opportunity to announce a definite limit to his personal expenses. For one who inherited the large private savings of his father, this should really not have been difficult. But not only is this not done, but the matter is positively excluded from the jurisdiction of the Council! Under the proposed constitution it would be open to the Ruler to incur limitless expenditure on himself, his family, his stables, and such other matters as he may consider useful to the State under the very nose of the legislative council. While the proposed constitution undoubtedly makes some provision for the representation of public opinion to the State authorities it cannot be said to place the people on the road to responsible government for which they in

their annual conferences have been repeatedly asking. And if they welcome the present boon it is because it is so difficult to get even a slight move on in Indian States. It is to be hoped that the people will make the new constitution yield the best it can; also that some non-official members will make it their business to expose mercilessly cases of bribery and corruption which is said to be rampant in the State and will make the care of the interests of the backward and depressed classes their particular concern.

* * *

IN a recent article Mr. Sachchidanand Sinha has shown how garbled is the version of the working of the Reforms, contained in the Report of the Bihar Government submitted to the Government of India. Mr. Sinha does not give the least credence to the assurance given in the Report that there have been no constitutional difficulties between the Governor and the Ministers; he quotes from the speech of one of the Ministers in that province who says that the Ministers are powerless and are regarded both by the Executive Members and the local officials as mere clerks preparing schemes, without any power over the purse. Similarly Sir Ganesh Dutt Singh, another Minister, says in a Memorandum that the apparent success of the administration "has been rendered possible by a degree of forbearance on the part of the Ministry." Mr. Sinha interprets this forbearance to mean the domination of the Governor and the willing or unwilling acquiescence of the ministers individually in it. Mr. Sinha next draws our attention to the spectacle of the Governor quoting in the Report the opinions of the Secretaries, and of other heads of departments criticizing the work of Ministers and of the Legislative Council as if they along with the Governor had as much right to sit in judgment on them. This in his opinion is subversive of all discipline in the administration of the transferred side. The fact is that the officials are losing their old power and position and are reluctant that the Legislative Councils should exercise a more effective control over the Executive; and this, Mr. Sinha says, explains their spleen against the ministers. The Report makes much of the district officers' disapproval of the policy of allowing local bodies to train themselves in the art of self-government and Mr. Sinha does not think that any heed ought to be paid to these notorious die-hards. As for the mistakes of local bodies he quotes the saying of Gladstone that "it is liberty alone that fits men for liberty."

Mr. Sinha says that the Bihar Government have studiously avoided all reference to the earnestness, enthusiasm and ability displayed by a large number of the non-official members of the Legislative Council and have shown the most amazing incapacity to understand the ordinary implications of democratic government. Mr. Sinha quotes a few instances of carping, cavilling criticism of the Council by the Governor to show the general spirit underlying the Report, which is to pick holes in the work of non-official members and to prove them to be unfit for further responsibility. Wherever the Executive differed from the Council, the latter is regarded as perverse. Mr. Sinha rightly thinks that failing the real power of initiative, the criticism of the Executive is the only thing left for the Council to do. Mr. Sinha shows that there is wide divergence in the assessment of the merits of the Council between the Reforms Report and the Administration Report for 1926-27 which latter is simply gushing over with praise of the Legislative Council. It is clear that the Reforms Report is written with a

different purpose altogether. Mr. Sinha further points out that the most vehement attack on local bodies in the Reforms Report is not borne out by the earlier administration reports—a somersault due in his opinion to the advent of the Statutory Commission. He himself regards the progress of these bodies as perfectly satisfactory and commendable. Lastly, Mr. Sinha protests strongly against the gibes and sneers of Indian nationalists indulged in in the Report and which are uttered in the spirit of invective and not of argument; this is all the more discreditable since the impression conveyed by these sneers has no substratum of truth. For all these reasons he thinks an emphatic protest must be entered alike against the substance and the form of this Report.

* * *

As a contribution to the clearing up of the Federal idea Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer's recent lecture at the Mysore University deserves careful attention. He complimented the M.-C. Report for visualizing the conception of future

India as a Federation of self-governing States autonomous in most matters with a Central Government acting only as an arbiter between them and dealing with matters of common interest. While reviewing the ancient constitutions, he referred to some republican experiments in post-Vedic India and other indications of a system of Federated States. The great defect of the U. S. constitution, in his opinion, is the possibility of the States governments encroaching on the power of the Federal authority on account of their being the residuary legatees of all power, the only check to this being exercised by the Supreme Court. A marked defect of Federations is the difficulty of passing uniform legislation on important matters and the hampering of common action and common projects; and the lecturer pointed out several illustrations of these which constitute a warning. Surveying the Federations all over the world, we observe, he says a bicameral Federal Legislature, one house representing the people and the other the constituent States; we find a notable difference in the extent of the authority and jurisdiction of the Federal authority: in some cases the Executive is responsible to the Legislature: in others it is not amenable to the control of the Legislature: in spite of this we note a general tendency to resort to Federation for uniting diverse political units.

All the schemes adumbrated in India so far suffer in his opinion, from the serious defect of ignoring the people of Indian States and ignoring the need to coordinate the political ideas of Indian States and those of British India. Examining the purpose of Government, Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer mentions the following characteristics essential for securing it; every Government must be strong enough to keep peace at home and defend itself from outside attack; it should be able to diagnose the evils affecting the body politic; it should adapt itself to the national genius and express the nation's special aptitudes and outlook. Whatever may be the form of government, a strong executive is indispensable and it is the duty of the Parliament in any country not to impair the authority of the executive, in its attempt to control it. In this connection he thinks that the idea of a second chamber which will provide all the essential knowledge, and prepare the ground for legislation, instead of being merely revising, is worthy of serious consideration.

* * *

COMMUNAL PROBLEM.

THE Nehru Committee's Report has on the whole met with an encouraging reception in this country. Nationalist opinion is of course united in its support. In giving this support some leaders have taken care to make reservations in respect to several points, as was only to be expected, but on no point is their criticism unfriendly or fatal to the adoption of the scheme as a whole. But the fate of the Report will be determined, not by the Nationalist India, but by the Communalist, and this latter section has not yet indicated its feeling so clearly as either to give an assurance of the acceptance of the Report or to cause concern for its rejection. Yet even here signs are not altogether wanting which give ground for hoping that the recommendations contained in the Report will meet with the approval of the communalists. On the Mahomedan side Sir Abdur Rahim has publicly supported all the essential features of the Nehru-Sapru scheme: full responsible government extending to national defence and foreign relations; adult suffrage; and abolition of communal electorates. Adult suffrage, Sir A. Rahim says, is particularly in keeping with the democratic principles of Islam, and if it is granted he frankly admits that there is no longer any need for special provisions, by way of communal electorates or any other devices, for the protection of Moslem interests. The same view is expressed by Malik Barkat Ali, Vice-President of the Punjab Provincial Moslem League, who says that "with a franchise reproducing in the voting register the proportions existing in the census papers, the necessity of all communal safeguards vanishes, and at one step the country takes a leap forward in the realms of nationalism, without which the United India of the future as a free and self-governing Commonwealth can never come into existence". Against this must be set the unceremonious rejection of the Report by Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan, who may be assumed to voice the feeling of rank communalists among Mahomedans. Of the support of the class represented by him we have no hope, but if the Report is able to win the solid support of the Jinnah section of the Moslem League and the individual support of the more reasonable elements in the other section, we can truly say that the Report embodies the national demand, the voice of all important and influential ingredients of the country's political life.

We are not unmindful of the existence of Hindu communalists, who complain of the reservation of seats for Moslems on the legislative bodies in all provinces except two, whereas Hindus enjoy the privilege, according to this scheme, only in one minor province, viz. the N.-W. F. Province. If there is an inequality in the arrangements proposed, let us be sure of its extent. If the principle is once granted that no seats need be reserved for a majority community in any province, it follows that Hindus become disqualified for it in six and Mahomedans in two of the major provinces. That Hindus have to give up their claim for a special concession in a larger number of provinces is no disadvantage to them,

unless they prefer the spoon-feeding which a minority community requires to the advantage of a preponderance of numbers. The only point for consideration is whether Hindu and Moslem minorities will have seats reserved for them on identical principles. Hindus are 42.5% of the population in Bengal and 31% in the Punjab. In none of the Provinces where the Report recommends reservation of seats for Moslems are the latter in an equally strong position. Their proportion varies from 4% in C. P. and Berar and 6.7% in Madras to 29% in Assam. Hindus are 6.6% in the N.-W. F. Province and in that Province they are to have a proportionate number of seats reserved for them. It is difficult to see therefore how the arrangement proposed in the Report is likely to bear hardly on Hindus. Sikhs on the other hand will be justified in claiming the benefit of reservation of seats as they form only 11% of the population in the Punjab where alone they are to be found in sufficiently large numbers, but Sardar Mangal Singh on their behalf gave an assurance to the Committee that they can well dispense with the aid which the Committee is prepared to give to minority communities in general. It is a tribute to the large-heartedness as well as to the organisation of the Sikhs that they are willing to forego a provision intended for the security of all minorities.

The only grievance of which Hindus can legitimately complain is that in Sind, when it is separated from the Bombay Presidency, they will constitute 25.6% of the total population and yet are to go without reservation of seats, while in Assam Muslims are to get this concession though they are 29% of the total population. But, we understand, that Hindus of Sind, like Sikhs, are prepared to give up all claim to it, and perhaps, again like Sikhs, they will not require it either. It may also be contended that by parity of reasoning Muslims should have no seats reserved for them in the Legislative Assembly as they form 24.6% of the total population of British India, or only 1% less than the proportion of Hindus to the total population in the province of Sind. But this argument is fallacious inasmuch as Muslims, being distributed in unequal proportions in different provinces, will be labouring under a disadvantage from which Hindus of Sind do not suffer. It would be well if Mussulmans of Assam could be persuaded to relinquish their claim to reservation of seats, but if this is impossible and if Hindus of Sind, contrary to expectations, insist on the same measure being dealt out to them as to Mahomedans, seats should be reserved for them too, and for Sikhs also if they advance a similar claim. For, after all, it must be remembered that reservation of a proportion of seats in joint electorates is much less of an evil (and here we are aware that the Report produces a somewhat different impression) than separate communal electorates.

One other objection may be noticed. It is contended—and the contention is obviously urged as *reductio ad absurdum*—that the claims of smaller minorities who should if any receive the benefit of

special protective clauses are entirely neglected in the Report. They are, and no possible provision by elective means can be recommended for such minute fractions of the population. Indian Christians, who are the largest among the smaller communities, are 3% in Madras and 1.68% in Assam. After these come, by a long interval, Parsis in Bombay Presidency, where they form 0.5%. For such communities seats cannot be reserved except in certain constituencies where they may have concentrated, e. g. Indian Christians in Chota Nagpur or Parsis in Bombay. The Nehru Committee has obviously not been able to give such detailed consideration to the claims of various communities in various localities.

If however adult suffrage is not adopted, and several of the leaders who have expressed an opinion have grave doubts of its wisdom, these arrangements will require modification in several respects. We do not wish at this stage to consider any other aspects of the Draft Constitution because they are all subsidiary to the main question of healing communal differences. We cannot believe that the question will still await a solution after the All-Parties Conference meets.

COST OF GOVERNMENT.

IT is unfortunate that the numerous surveys made by the National Industrial Conference Board, Inc., of New York in the field of industrial economics have not attracted the serious attention of the scholar and the layman that they so eminently deserve. This Board was organised in May 1916 and has since published a very wide range of research reports embodying the results of scientific and therefore open-minded and impartial investigations into problems affecting the industrial development of the United States. The Board has a large and competent research staff, which also seeks and invariably receives the assistance of other experts both in the collection and appraisal of material, with the result that its publications have a vogue and a value far transcending the country with whose questions it primarily deals. More with the object of commending the whole series to the careful study of the Indian intelligentsia than with that of introducing them to a particular publication in it, we give below a very brief summary of the "Cost of Government in the United States, 1925-1926,"* intended to disseminate knowledge of public fiscal affairs.

Governmental expenditure has undergone a rapid increase all over the world, and in the United States the increase is even steeper than in many others, due mainly to the expansion of the country in population and wealth which has necessitated increased activity on the part of all branches of Government concerned and the steadily broadening scope of the functions of Government. Gross public expenditure increased from \$855 millions in 1890 to \$1,570 millions in 1903, to \$2,919 millions in 1913 to \$10,265 millions in 1923 and to \$11,124 millions in 1925. From 1890 to 1925 the total of public expenditure increased 1,201%; the increase from 1913 to 1925 was 281.1%. The figures given here are in dollars of current purchasing power; that is, dollars with a buying value measured by the price level of the year to which the data refer. In

* COST OF GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES, 1925-1926. (National Industrial Conference Board, Inc., New York.) 1927. 9½ x 6½ pp. 294. \$3.50.

order to eliminate the effect of price fluctuations and to indicate the "true" trend of the expenditure of governmental agencies, the current dollars are converted into "1913" dollars and governmental costs expressed in wholesale prices of commodities prevailing in 1913. When this is done, the increase is found to be much less; for the figures then become respectively \$1,062; \$1,836; \$2,919; \$6,678 and \$7,009. If public expenditure grew within the period of 35 years mentioned above, the population of the country grew more rapidly and its wealth still more rapidly. The former increased by 3.3% and the latter by 456.6%. Per capita public expenditure thus increased from \$13.56 in 1890 to \$96.41 in 1925 in current dollars or from \$16.84 in 1890 to \$60.75 in 1925 in "1913" dollars. On the basis of the number of persons gainfully employed, public expenditure increased from \$36.67 in 1890 to \$259.24 per person gainfully employed in 1925, when expressed in current dollars; and from \$45.54 to \$163.35 when expressed in "1913" dollars.

The tax collections show a similar expansion. They amounted to \$875 millions in 1890, to \$2,194 millions in 1913 and totalled \$8,838 millions in 1925. Expressed in terms of "1913" dollars these figures become respectively \$1,087 millions; \$2,194 millions and \$4,972 millions. The tax burden is best measured by the proportion of national income which is absorbed by taxes for government functions; and when this test is applied it is found that the ratio of taxes to national income was 7.2% in 1890, 6.4% in 1913 and 10.9% in 1925.

All the figures given above represent public monies disbursed by all governmental agencies: the Federal Government, State governments and local governments. The book under notice gives figures for these agencies separately as well. What will most interest the Indian reader is the functional apportionment of these disbursements. National defence absorbed in 1926 61.1% of the net total expenditure of the Federal Government, or 34.6% of the gross expenditure for the upkeep of the army and the navy. State expenditure for protection of persons and property, which includes highway patrol and the support of the National Guard, was in 1925 12.4% of the net total of state expenditure, and local expenditure for police, fire and other protection 10.5% of the total local disbursements. Taking all disbursing authorities into account, we find that the protection of persons and property and national defence in 1925 accounted for 24.1% of the net total expenditure and 18.7 of the gross total. General government expenses, i. e. the costs of the executive, legislative and judiciary branches of government, totalled in 1925 17% of the net total of Federal, 6.1% of state and 7.8% of local expenditure. The combined governmental expenses of administration amounted to 10% of the net total expenditure. Economic development including agricultural encouragement, expenditure for the eradication of the crop-destroying insects, conservation and reclamation projects, &c. accounted for 2.4% of the net total for all governmental agencies; social welfare activities (representing the costs of charity and relief of the poor, aged or sick, workmen's compensation, &c.) for 11.8%; public utilities covering public service enterprises operated under governmental authority for 6.7%; highways for 18.1% and education for 25.1%.

The fiscal aspects of education deserve special study. Public education contributes the largest proportion of public expenditure, viz. 25.1% of the net total, the next largest item being, as seen above, of the military services which contribute 24.1%. The country's bill for all educational institutions in 1925 was \$2,166.7 millions, of which \$1,946 millions went to the

support of grammar schools and high schools. In 1890 public school expenditure was \$140.5 millions; in 1900 \$215 millions; in 1910 \$426 millions; in 1920 \$1,036 millions; at present over two billion dollars. "Two billion dollars annually is a huge bill." But the Board is not appalled by it, as it is conscious that "the taxpayer's money could not be better invested," and its conclusion is that "Progress in education must continue;" and that "The future will see greater expenditures for schools than in the past." In the fifteen years' period, 1910 to 1925, expenditure for public education increased 356.5%. But of this "stupendous" increase the decreased purchasing power of the dollar was responsible for 195.8%, while increase in the number of children of school age, a higher proportion of enrolment and better attendance accounted for 90%. In 1910 there were 24.2 million children of school age in the country; in 1925 the number rose to 29.7 millions. But whereas in 1910 73.5% of the children of school age were enrolled in schools, in 1925 the percentage was 83. Moreover, whereas in 1910 72.1% of the children enrolled actually attended school each day, improved attendance laws increased this proportion to 80.5% in 1925. Thus, when price changes and all factors of material expansion are excluded, the true increase in public expenditure for education from 1910 to 1925 was only 37.1%, which is by no means overmuch.

This is a book not merely for the expert, as may perhaps be imagined; it is primarily for the general reader, because the avowed purpose is to help the voter and the taxpayer, who in a democracy are in a position to control public expenditure, to understand the business of government.

If any one applied the method of inquiry pursued in this pioneer study to Indian conditions he would render an exceedingly useful service.

INDIAN AGRICULTURE—IV.*

ORGANISATION OF AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH.

FOR the proper organisation of agricultural research in India the Lialithgow Commission has proposed the establishment of an Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. The primary function of this Council as stated in the report would be to promote, guide and co-ordinate agricultural research in India and to link it with agricultural research in other parts of the British Empire and in foreign countries. It will make arrangements for the training of research workers; and act as a clearing house of information. It will also act as an advisory body to the Government of India and to the provincial Governments; and will take over the publishing work at present done by the Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India.

It will be admitted on all hands that some arrangement is necessary to discharge these functions and duties which are doubtless important. But the leaders of the public must give their careful attention to the various details relating to the constitution and the powers of the proposed Council. It will not be out of place to consider at this stage why the present arrangement has failed. The Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India with the council of experts at Pusa has been so far discharging these functions. The Commission found that the provincial departments nowadays do not look to Pusa for help and guidance; and the reasons for this, in the opinion of the Council, are (1) inaccessibility of the Pusa Institute, (2) Relative decline in the prestige of the Pusa staff and (3) the spirit of provincial in-

dependence which the Commission thinks to be natural and praiseworthy. But this does not exhaust the list. There are some more reasons also for the failure of Pusa. The Pusa staff is not necessarily superior in qualifications to the provincial staff and its efforts to domineer over the latter could not succeed. Instead of raising their standard of training workers, they tried to lower the standards of the Provincial Colleges. Naturally this was resented by some provinces and those that revolted at the undeserved influence of Pusa and affiliated their colleges to the local Universities found they could produce workers of the same standard as were produced at Pusa, if not better, with the result that Pusa found itself practically deserted, notwithstanding the baits of higher posts that were offered to those trained there. Another important reason for Pusa's break-down is that the research workers in the provinces felt that some investigation work of no special merit done at Pusa was published by the Imperial Institute, while very valuable work turned out in the provinces was sometimes thrown away as unsuitable. These and similar other points must not be lost sight of in considering the establishment of the Imperial Council.

In the first place we must remove a wrong impression which is likely to be created by a statement made by the Commission. It says:

"Thus, since the Reforms, the provincial departments have, in the all important matters of research, been left without the stimulus of a central organisation which could guide and coordinate their policy and the fact must be faced that the lack of coordination has prejudicially affected progress."

A careful examination of facts such as the development of agricultural colleges and agricultural education and an investigation of important problems carried on in the various provinces will show that the progress has been more rapid after the introduction of the Reforms than before but there was no coordination. We want therefore a central organisation for coordination, but not for guidance.

Let us now examine the functions and the constitution of the Council as proposed by the Commission. The training of research workers is put down as an important function of the Council and it is suggested that the post-graduate training required as a qualification for admission to the superior provincial agricultural services should ordinarily be given at Pusa. This will have the effect of subordinating provincial research stations to Pusa and will have a degenerating effect both on Pusa and on the provinces. This proposal is clearly untenable when the Commission itself says in one place that the possibility of subordinating the provincial research institutes in any way to Pusa must be dismissed. Then Pusa is not to be affiliated to any University (perhaps to avoid popular control) but the research work carried out there is to be submitted as a thesis for the degree of M. Sc. or D. Sc. of the University to which the student belongs (perhaps to make Pusa popular) and yet the Commission looks forward to a time when the Indian Universities will not only initiate agricultural research but will also undertake schemes of research suggested by agricultural departments! For our part, we feel that the proper institutions for training in research will be those affiliated to Universities. The work will then be done in the proper research atmosphere free to a great extent from officialdom and there will be a healthy competition which will keep the standard of all the institutions on a high level. In this case necessary funds may be made available to the Universities by the Government of India to facilitate research and the training of workers.

With regard to the position of the Council in

* Previous articles in this series appeared in our issues of July 5 and 19, and August 2.

relation to research, it is suggested that it will be for the Council to decide whether any particular piece of research is of all-India or merely local importance, and if the former, whether it can best be carried out at an Imperial or provincial institution or somewhere else; and it would then make the necessary grant to enable the work to proceed. The Council will be perfectly right in exercising this control where it was going to supply the requisite funds but without undertaking financial responsibility in all cases it will be enabled under the arrangements proposed by the Commission to spread its control practically over the whole field of agricultural research in India. It would be a body, according to the Commission, to which the Imperial and provincial departments could look for guidance in all matters connected with research and to which such research programmes as they might formulate would be submitted for criticism and approval. Such a control was looked upon with great suspicion in other countries having such central Councils. The suspicion however proved to be groundless there: because the conditions in those countries are not favourable for such a control. Owing to the peculiar conditions in this country, however, the suspicion is very likely to prove true. Centralisation of power or control in Government departments is bad enough; it is worse in scientific research and is attended with undesirable results in a vast country like India with wide variations in climatic and soil conditions. The Council will meet only twice a year and leave the actual working in the hands of a small Committee. None of these men will however be carrying on any kind of research. Their head-quarters will be away from any research station and the Chairman will be an experienced administrator. Such a committee can give but very little guidance and will naturally be more for control than for guidance.

Now let us turn to the constitution of the Council. It will consist of 39 members including the whole-time Chairman and two whole-time members of the Council. Out of these 39 there will be 25 officials and 14 non-officials or roughly 30 Europeans and 9 Indians. It will be such a committee that will exercise all the powers of the Council in regard to the control and disposal of its funds and also such other powers as might be delegated to it by the Council! The majority of the Council will be from the administrative class of men and there will be only a few in direct touch with real scientific research. Thus the whole idea behind the Commission's recommendations about this body seems to be to produce eventually a central administrative body. This is also clear from the insignificant minority in which non-officials will find themselves on it.

While everybody interested in the progress of scientific agriculture in India would be for co-ordination of scientific work and also for help from the Government of India, the proposed scheme will do anything but promote research and in the conditions which prevail at present in India, will bring into existence a central body for control of work which is included under some of the Transferred subjects. The Commission knows full well that this is the weak point of its scheme and goes out of its way to make it clear that that is not what it aims at. It says:—

"We wish to make our position in this matter perfectly clear. It is not our business, nor have we any desire to suggest any changes in the constitution which would reverse the present position and would restore to the Government of India powers of superintendence, direction and control over the administration of what are now transferred subjects."

This is nothing but a sugar-coating on a bitter pill

so that it may be swallowed easily. The scheme of the Imperial Council runs counter to the accepted principles of decentralisation and transfer of administration to popular control. It is well known that the provincial ministers have no control over the Cotton Committee and its work carried on in the provinces. The same will be the case in practice in respect to the proposed scheme of the Imperial Council with regard to all research work.

AN AGRICULTURIST.

(Concluded.)

OUR EUROPEAN LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

BOURNEMOUTH, August 1.

DAWN IN CHINA.

WITH Chang Tso-lin's death and the occupation of Peking by the Nationalists, a landmark has been established in Chinese history. That fact has been registered in the annals of diplomacy by the commercial treaty, recently revealed, between China and the United States. The instrument relates exclusively to tariffs and has only two paragraphs. The first grants China full autonomy in Customs matters on a basis of equality with the United States within the limits of "the treatment accorded to the most-favoured-nation", and the second paragraph provides that the agreement will come into operation from the beginning of next year if ratified. It is true that the Treaty contains no political clauses and its practical importance is limited by the most-favoured-nation treatment which secures for the United States every privilege which Japan or any other Power may wish to preserve. It is true that it does not mention ex-territoriality, naval and military occupation, or any other important political problem of Chinese relations with the United States. Nevertheless, it marks the dawn for China, the beginning of the end of the *bloc* of foreign Powers which, for over a quarter of a century have dictated their policy to the unfortunate country. It is a tacit recognition of the Nationalist Government as the *de facto* government of China, and the employment of the Nationalist name Peiping—Northern City—for Peking which means Northern Capital, is significant as conceding to Nanking's claims to be capital. Nanking's rise in this regard comparable to the emergence of Angora. The analogy is by no means exaggerated for there is evidence of wide appreciation abroad of the change in China.

"As it appears to London opinion, the main importance of Mr. Kellogg's treaty with Nanking is that it constitutes by implication the first recognition of the Nanking Government", says the Diplomatic Correspondent of an important London paper and adds, "some disappointment is felt that Mr. Kellogg has not yet seen fit to go as far as the British Government has gone in offering to meet Chinese wishes; but no doubt it is felt that when the time comes for a general settlement with China the United States Government will be counted among the progressives"

And yet the British are surprised that abroad they are considered hypocrites! The Paris *Matin* says:

"In spite of all objections, the North American Republic, in concluding an important convention with the Nationalist Government, without quibbling over its solidity and without demanding juridical guarantees of its duration, has assured itself in the new China a position of first rank"

The general opinion in Paris seems to be that the French Government should follow the American precedent. The American agreement has stirred Japan

profoundly and here are some of the characteristic reactions:

"this treaty shows the intention of the United States to assume the part of dictator in Chinese affairs as it is already dictator in European affairs"—*Ashai*.

"the signature of the treaty is an attempt to discredit and embarrass Japan in the midst of her crisis with the Chinese Nationalists."—*Jiji*.

"America's independent action is a violation of the principle of common action which was the basis of the treaties which followed the Washington Conference."—*Hochi*.

In answer to a question in the House of Commons Sir Austen Chamberlain has stated that in the opinion of the British Government Manchuria should form part of China. Japan will have a lone and probably losing fight to put up in China.

THE SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS.

The Sino-Japanese conflict which was foreseen for months came to a head the other day when the Imperial Japanese Government broke off all relations with the Nationalist Government of China. If this report is correct the coming weeks will see much diplomatic manoeuvring on the shores of the Pacific. There can be no question of open warfare. Japanese military strength is overwhelming and no Chinese government can be rash enough to engage itself in any such step. Their newly gained weapon of diplomacy and their old tried method of economic boycott which has proved so effective in the last three years are the means of defence for the Chinese. The Japanese nation is not in a mood for war with China, nor apart from the question of military strength is Japan in a position to undertake such risks. More important than these reasons perhaps the vast complexity of the Chinese problem involving as it does almost every Great Power will make war impossible. The outstanding issues between China and Japan are two. The first and more immediate is that of abrogation of treaties. The second and in the long run very much more important is that of Manchuria. Manchuria, it must be remembered, is the largest and richest undeveloped country known to the world. It is a granary and gold-mine of the Far East, virgin-soil for Japanese enterprise, expansion, and ultimately the very basis for the perpetuation of Japan's power and prestige. There nominally Japanese sovereignty has always been recognised and for twenty years now, half of which at least have been devoted to consolidation, Japan has been making the country a Japanese province. Considering the extent of Japanese investments in Manchuria its cession at this stage to the Chinese Nationalists who lay claim to it will, it is estimated, result in little short of financial bankruptcy for Japan. As to the treaty question, the Japanese treaty of 1896 with China giving Japanese subjects ex-territoriality and other privileges besides admitting Japan to full participation in tariff control expired recently. This treaty was renewed every ten years and the last revision was in 1926. Chang Tso-lin had pressed for its renewal in his time. The Japanese urge that with his fall from power those negotiations must be considered to have come to an end. They insist on attributing *status quo* to the 1896 treaty which they hold comes into effect automatically for another ten years. Nanking has retorted by a simple abrogation of the old-time contract. The Japanese in their turn have challenged the legality of this action. A more effective challenge than diplomatic notes and break-offs will, however, come when a Japanese subject is arrested by a Chinese policeman or a Chinese tax-collector finds himself unable to collect taxes from a Japanese trader in China.

THE ANSCHLUSS CONTROVERSY.

Europe is agitated over the *Anschluss*; the word

signifies the addition of Austria to the States making up the German Reich. Literally it means "sticking on", or attachment of Austria. Although the partisans of the *Anschluss* have never yet definitely formulated their plans, the very idea is enough to cause a ferment in Europe. The adherence of Austria to the German Confederation would make little difference to the ordinary life of either of the two countries for in most political matters they are already united. But in external affairs the change would be considerable. It would create in Central Europe the very same tension which resulted in the Great War. That is why the report current in Paris, London, and Berlin that Monsieur Eduard Benes, the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, summed up the position of his country in the controversy by saying "*Anschluss* means war" is considered credible. The present discussion is due chiefly to the speech of Herr Loebe, President of the German Reichstag, at the recent Pan-German demonstration in Vienna. He declares that the *Anschluss* must be brought about because "the will of 70,000,000" cannot be thwarted for ever. The question is naturally of primary interest to France. There it has come to be as much of a domestic issue as a factor in foreign affairs on account of the differences between the various parties. The position of the French Socialists, as clearly stated by their leader Monsieur Leon Blum, is that the *Anschluss* is inevitable and proceeds from the general principle of self-determination. They think that it is going to harm no one as long as it is left alone, and they feel that there is far greater danger to the peace of the French Republic in interfering with its formation than in the fact itself. The Conservatives, on the other hand, are indignant and quote Article 80 of the Versailles Treaty and Article 88 of the Treaty of Saint Germain as express prohibitions against any such formation. The purpose of these Articles was to prevent what the Allies considered would be a danger to their victory and to the peace of Europe. The Germans argue that self-determination is the underlying principle of the Peace Treaty and their present aim is fully in accordance with it. To this the French Right Party's reply is that neither in the Fourteen Points nor indeed in the Four Principles, Four Ends, and Five Particulars is there any mention of self-determination and as such the German argument has no legal basis. Morally, the peace of Europe, they say, stands higher than German self-determination. As the controversy spreads great passion is generated and other countries are drawn in. On the side of the Germans there are now French Socialists and British Liberals while the French Conservatives are supported by Czechoslovakia and in a general way by all the Balkans and Italy.

OUR SOUTH AFRICAN LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

CAPE TOWN, July 27.

CONDONATION.

THE question of the condonation of illegal entrants is still causing excitement and anxiety in the mind of the Indian community. A fairly vigorous campaign against the acceptance of the scheme is being carried on by the South African Indian Federation. Some of its members have pointed out a feature of the scheme which even the Congress people admit is now blocking the applications for condonation. The scheme offers protection to the illegal entrants themselves, but offers none to those who abetted them in their illegal entry. For every single illegal entrant there may be several persons who either aided or abetted him. Further, when Indians who illegally

entered this country wished to pay a visit to India, they took out Certificates of Identity to facilitate their re-entry. These certificates would not be issued to an illegal entrant. The applicant was required to prove that he was a legal entrant. No Indian was a legal entrant who entered Natal, for instance, after 1903 without satisfying certain tests. Many Indians did not. But when later on they wished to visit India, they had to produce evidence that they were legal entrants, that is to say, that they were here before 1903. Such evidence was invariably faked with the assistance of kindly old souls who were not overscrupulous in such trifles! And among these are many Europeans. Now all such abettors stand in danger of being convicted of perjury and such of them as are immigrants liable to deportation. It is therefore feared that for every single illegal entrant that is protected several abettors stand the risk of deportation. Would it be honourable, it is asked, for the illegal entrant, in order to secure his own individual safety, to expose the friends who helped him in the past and even implicate Government Immigration officials?

Mr. Sastri in his interview, published in the *Natal Mercury* gave the assurance that Indian as well as European abettors would be left alone. Government had already declared that they had no intention of proceeding against officials here or in India or local Europeans who abetted illegal entry. The assurance, however, did not extend to the Indian abettors, which he thought was an oversight, and he was confident that the amnesty would cover them also. Even the supporters of the condonation scheme apprehend that, if no official assurance is forthcoming to this effect, illegal entrants are not likely to come forward and seek Protection Certificates.

The application form for condonation contains a question regarding the date and place of first entry. It is urged that this question is both superfluous and dangerous. Superfluous because, it is immaterial for the purposes of the condonation scheme when actually a person entered the Union. What is material is whether he could prove that he was here before the 5th July 1924. Dangerous because if the correct date is now revealed,—which, by the way, is very difficult in most cases after such a long lapse of time—and if it should be different—as it is bound to be—from the date now on record, proof is at once furnished that perjury has been committed by the party and his abettors.

The delay in seeking condonation is in some measure due to the wording of the Protection Certificate which says that if the wife and minor children of the condonees are not in the Union "at the date hereof," they would not be allowed to enter hereafter. The phrase, "the date hereof" refers, according to the text of the Certificate, to the date on which it is issued to the party. Which means that illegal entrants may introduce their wives and children right up to the end of September and only thereafter, say, the 1st of October, seek condonation! This is obviously not the intention of the Government. If it were, it would have saved so much bother. The intention of the Government was to prohibit any further immigration rather than allow a certain time within which wives and minor children could be introduced. In view of the wording of the Certificate, however, some confusion is likely to arise.

ASSISTED EMIGRATION.

During the last few months the number of Indians proceeding to India under the Assisted Emigration scheme has fallen a great deal. Various explanations are offered. The number of persons whom the present bonus would tempt is exhausted. Another is that the sugarcane season, which is on now, attracts persons who would otherwise have gone to India.

INDIAN SCOUTS.

Mr. Sastri, who is the President of the Indian Scout Organisation in Johannesburg, entertained at dinner the scouts that had come down to Durban from Johannesburg, and presented each of them with a silver medal. Mr. Sastri complimented them on their turn-out and promised to do all in his power to get their scout troop recognised. The scouts enjoyed a sumptuous dinner and after dinner exhibited their skill in music. The proof of the dinner was in the singing thereafter.

GOVERNMENT AID FOR TAMIL INSTITUTE.

One of the first fruits in the forward move in Indian education as the result of the recent enquiry is the conversion of the Durban Tamil Institute into a regular Government-aided school. The Institute has a fine building built entirely at the expense of the Tamil community. There was provision for teaching Tamil only to about two hundred boys and girls. The management have now decided to convert it into an ordinary English school teaching according to the Government educational curriculum, and secured the sanction of the Education Department for the change. It is proposed to impart education in Tamil in out-of-school hours. It is greatly to be desired that other private institutions, of which evidence before the Education Enquiry Committee disclosed quite a number, will follow the excellent example of the Tamil Institute.

MR. SASTRI IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The Indian community has already begun what may be called an organised agitation to induce Mr. Sastri to prolong his stay in this country. The *Natal Mercury*, which has the reputation of being unfriendly to Indians and which a year ago accused Mr. Sastri of putting the cart before the horse, etc., has now joined the Indian chorus. In a sub-leader on the 26th inst. (extracts from which appear in this issue elsewhere Ed.) it pays a high compliment to Mr. Sastri's personality and work in South Africa and hopes that he will find it possible to prolong his stay in this country.

REVIEWS.

BRITISH EMPIRE'S ECONOMIC POSITION.
THE ECONOMIC RESOURCES OF THE EMPIRE. Ed. by T. WORSWICK (Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd., London.) 1927. 7½ x 5. pp. 167.

THE book forms a collection of various lectures by competent authorities with an adequate knowledge of the several countries which are constituents of the British Empire. The salient points in the economic position of Great Britain are described to be the loss of manufacturing monopoly, the vital necessity of trade and the wonderful recuperative power she possesses. The principal means towards this last is co operation between the mother country and the dominions. Canada's exports of grain alone amount at present to some 80 millions of pounds; her marvellous electric power enables her to produce 2½ times the wealth produced in Great Britain by an average worker. The per capita excess of exports over imports in Canada is the highest in the world. Mr. Walker, the lecturer on Canada, wishes that the fertile vacant spaces in Canada should be occupied by the virile manhood and womanhood of the motherland. The economic progress of South Africa has been remarkable. The gross value of industrial output to-day is nearly £80 millions; the aggregate value of minerals produced is to-day nearly £55 millions. Even in agriculture there is remarkable progress, the exports of foodstuffs being in 1925 valued at £10

millions. The great feature of Australian production is wool; next to that cereals. Australia is one of the best customers for British goods and is consequently one of the best places for the emigration of British men and women; it is also the most remunerative field for the investment of British capital. The income per head in New South Wales is larger than that in England and is second highest in the world. The further development of the mineral and other resources of the state awaits the growth of population and capital. All the public services in Victoria are owned and run by the State; the total deposits in all the banks come to £163 millions and the total production is valued at nearly £101 millions. In New Zealand pastoral and agricultural enterprise is the chief pursuit of the country and the country ranks high as a supplier of food-stuffs to Great Britain. Similarly, half of her imports were purchased from Great Britain showing how important a factor New Zealand is in inter-Empire trade. New Zealand was the first to introduce compulsory arbitration in labour disputes and the first to give manhood suffrage and provide old-age pensions.

A large space is naturally devoted to India and we find here a fine succinct account of the economic position of this most important customer for British products. Arranging the countries according to the total volume of trade, India occupies the fifth place from top. Mr. Lindsay, the lecturer on India, admits that her yearly purchases help to a very large extent to maintain British labour in employment. Mr. Lindsay however does not seem anxious to ask whether this state of things is good for India; this of course is the besetting sin of all who think imperially. He emphasizes one point which is generally overlooked, namely, that India is more interested in internal trade than in external trade. One good effect of the war was to encourage the export of manufactured jute goods in preference to raw jute. India shared with the world the characteristic feature of post-war trade, viz. the widest fluctuations of prices. Besides, since 1921-22 India has had to pay for her imports proportionately higher prices than she has obtained for her exports. In spite of this Indian exports have been increasing. In Mr. Lindsay's opinion Britain should give a preference to Indian goods so that India might reciprocate by buying British goods in larger proportion. Altogether the book supplies a good survey of the economic position of the Empire.

V. N. GODBOLE.

A PUNJAB VILLAGE INQUIRY.

AN ECONOMIC SURVEY OF GAGGAR BHANA, IN AMRITSAR DISTRICT. Ed. By W. H. MYLES. (Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, Rural Section.) 1928. pp. 235. Rs. 4.

THIS investigation was carried on by Sardar Gian Singh, B. Sc., a graduate in agriculture and from the report presented by him the material was practically rewritten by Mr. C. M. King.

The village of Gaggar Bhana belongs to the Amritsar Tahsil of Amritsar District and is situated 25 miles to the east of the famous city of Amritsar. The snowy range of Himalayas to the north is visible on a clear day. The nearest railway station is at a distance of seven miles and the nearest metalled road is five miles away. The Subraon Branch of the Upper Bari Doab Canal passes through the middle of the village area dividing it almost into equal halves. Opposite the village site there is a canal rest-house.

The total area of the village is 1644 acres of

which 1386 acres or 84.3% of the total area are cultivated, 27 acres or 1.64% are culturable waste and 231 acres or nearly 14% are unculturable being occupied by canal and its distributory, while the rest is occupied by village site, rest-house, roads and foot-paths.

The surface soil is described as a rich loam, with 3 to 4 feet of reddish clay below. Still lower down clay with lime nodules forms a layer changing to sandy layers of varying coarseness to the sub-soil water level of 24 or 25 feet. The lands are level and quite suitable for irrigation. The quality of the soil is said to be homogeneous throughout the village area.

This general description of the village is followed by a very interesting and detailed account of the population. It has been shown how the total population rose in 50 years from 991 in 1851 to 1776 in 1901. Ten years later however in 1911 there was a fall of 14% in the total population, which was reduced to 1436 due to the devastation by plague. The influenza of 1918 took a further toll of human life and resulted in a very small increase of 2% during the next period of 10 years, the total population then being 1468. In the year of the present investigation in 1925, the population rose to 1795 or to 1564 if we exclude the absentees from the village who numbered 231. The striking fact about the village is its proportionately high population. The population of 1564 with a culturable area of less than 1400 acres is comparatively very dense, when compared with the villages in the Bombay Deccan. This gives an area of less than an acre per head.

The population consists of Sikhs and Mahomedans, each forming a little more than 40%, while Hindus formed 19%. There is a distinct excess of males over females. The average number of members per family is 4.9, practically the same as is found in a Deccan village. The Jats form a large proportion of peasant proprietors, though other castes also hold and cultivate lands. About 50% of the population of the village is directly dependent on agriculture for their livelihood, while the rest earn their living by trade, industry or mendicancy. Details of the nature of work of the different classes of workers given form interesting reading. Ten per cent. of the total population were literate, which also included school-going children, who formed more than 4 per cent.

Crops and cultivation forms the subject of the second chapter. No improved implements have been introduced into the village, nor is any artificial manure used for any crop. The only manure employed is farm manure. A wooden cane-crusher has been replaced by iron crusher and the earthen pots of the Persian wheel are replaced by light iron buckets. The crop of sugar-cane is of recent introduction and an improved strain of wheat, No. 11, has found its way into this village. The total number of land-holders in the village is 189 and the cultivated area of village is 1386 acres, which works out at 7½ acres per owner. The areas of holdings of more than 53.4% of the owners are less than 5 acres, while 75.5% of the owners have holdings of less than 10 acres. The areas held by the owners are not in single blocks but are divided into smaller plots or fragments. There are in all 854 distinct plots held by the owners either singly or jointly. A majority of the holdings consist of more than 10 fragments and there are some holdings which are of more than 40 fragments. In addition to the land assessment the occupiers are required to pay charges for canal irrigation at varying rates according to the nature of the crop. The chapter on land revenue shows that in the year 1924-25 the total amount paid to Government amounted to

Rs. 8559 on account of land revenue, other cesses and water rates, giving incidence per acre matured at Rs. 5-4-0.

The chapter dealing with indebtedness, mortgages and sales throws a great deal of light on the economic condition of the village as a whole. In spite of the increase in irrigation and consequent certainty of crops during the last 25 years and increase in the prices and wages during and after the Great War it is astonishing to find the peasant proprietors and non-agriculturist as well, so greatly indebted. The amount of unsecured debt existing in 1925 was as much as Rs. 81,124. While the debts on mortgages amounted to Rs. 24,747, which gives an average debt per family of Rs. 290-0-0 or Rs. 58-0-0 per head of the population. Nearly three quarters of the debt is incurred within the village itself and what is more interesting is, that quite a good part of this comes from the agriculturists themselves. Nearly 32% of the total debt is incurred by Jats, 16% by Jogi-Rawals, while the rest is distributed amongst various other castes such as weavers and sweepers who are mainly field labourers, carpenters and Mahomedans. The important item for which loans are taken appears to be purchase of cattle and involves 28.5% of the total amount borrowed. Next come marriages and social functions which claim 28%. Family expenses involve 13% while 11% is accounted for by business; and payment of Government dues, repayment of old debts, litigation and other items account for the balance. The rate of interest varies from 12 to 30% per annum. The effect of this indebtedness is noticeable in the fact that some of the villagers migrate for work or else take service in the army. When the possibilities of getting loans either on personal security or on land mortgages are exhausted, as the last resort the cultivators try to obtain money by selling portions of their lands.

The only cottage industries of the place are the weaving of rough cloth and shoe-making. Improved looms are in use along with the old ones. The total number of looms in the village is 16. There are four oil presses in the village and some of the oil is exported. There are six flour mills drawn by bullocks which are all owned by carpenters.

The chapter on social habits makes interesting reading. Excepting the Mahomedans most of the villagers are vegetarians. The vegetarian diet in most cases includes milk, butter milk or ghee. This necessitates a fairly large number of milch cattle and at the time of the enquiry these numbered 292, of whom 177 were in milk. The total supply of milk was about 1024 seers a day, which meant a little more than a pound of milk per head of population. This is undoubtedly very satisfactory when compared with the very meagre supply in a Deccan village. From the data obtained, it is computed that even in ordinary years there is not a sufficient supply of local wheat to provide for the requirements of all the inhabitants. The poorer inhabitants replace wheat with maize in times of scarcity. Rice, pulses and condiments are usually imported, while wheat, oil seeds and guls are usually exported.

Such is the rural economy of the central part of the Punjab. It is surprising to see that in spite of these enormous debts, mortgages and consequent heavy burden of interest, there are no cooperative organizations in the village. It is always taken as axiomatic that the sovereign remedy for the uncertainty of agricultural produce due to vagaries of rainfall is the introduction of canal irrigation. But the above account of an irrigated village shows that there must be some other factors at work which are responsible for the present unsatisfactory economic condition of such rural areas.

On the whole the book is an important contribution to the discussion of the question of rural economics and we very strongly recommend it to all those who are interested in rural development.

N. V. KANITKAR.

A FRENCHMAN LOOKS AT AMERICA.

AMERICA COMES OF AGE. By ANDRE SIEGFRIED. Translated from French by H. H. HEMMING and DORIS HEMMING (Jonathan Cape, London).

THE coming of age is usually a period of disillusionment, never without some readjustment of values, and the Americans, who Monsieur Siegfried finds are inclined to accuse Frenchmen of cynicism, would no doubt detect a special significance in such a title. The book, which is a brilliant study of American conditions fully in accord with the high standard of the rest of the author's work, is divided into three main sections dealing with the ethnic, economic, and political situation. In all these three respects the conditions which prevailed in America in the years immediately before, during, and after the War have brought certain problems to the surface. The effect of this has been the discovery that the standards with which the American nation started, so to say, would not work and others have to be evolved. Not that some of the primary factors of the American temperament in general have had to be changed, but certain material conditions in which the history of the people was set need to be readjusted so as to maintain the national originality. Such changes, which are usually spread over a long period of time and take place imperceptibly, tend in America, American-wise, to rush and fuse most visibly. Ethnically, far from being a happy paradise for all those willing to start anew and sever with the past or a laboratory of races that it once was, the United States now strictly regulates the composition of its population in accordance with the ideas of the hundred-percenters. Economically, great as is her self-sufficiency even now, America is increasingly forging new links with the outer world both on account of the glut of gold and enhanced production. Political repercussions follow of course, and it is becoming quite impossible whether from the point of view of political realities or of the great moral responsibility which her position in the world's affairs has brought her, for the United States to maintain her cherished isolation. The various factors responsible for this change, its nature and its consequences, have been admirably discussed by the author, whose native insight is as great as his information is considerable. India, we are accustomed to being told by Western observers, is a land of paradoxes; *ahimsa* and cruelty to animals, sensuality and asceticism, Vedanta and Caste, say they, and smile. The America of to-day has also her contradictions. The South which is the stronghold of the Democratic party is the land of the Negro, where the White man's reign is supported by the principle of racial superiority. The Republicans are the men of big business. A rich man is a man of God because Providence always provides discreetly. There are many like this, and the greatest paradox of all for the men of older cultures is the adoption of standardisation and civilisation as interchangeable terms. But contradictions are perhaps essentially signs of age and maturity. No one in these days can be un-mindful of what is happening in America. Here is as illuminating an account of it as one can ask for.

R. RAO.

SHORT NOTICE.

CROOKS AND CRIME. By J. KENNETH FERRIER. (Seeley, Service & Co., Ltd., London.) 1928. 8¾ × 5½. pp. 314. 18s.

THE police all over, young and old, must be highly indebted to the author who has succeeded in compressing within the limits of a handy volume his vast experience in matters of crime and criminals. The book will be found useful as a guide to police officers of all ranks. It also makes interesting reading to the layman giving him a clear insight into the ways of the criminals and the author has spared no pains to make it as attractive as possible. The book is divided into twenty-one chapters with a valuable introduction, though of only eleven pages, which does great credit to the author. Of these twenty-one chapters as many as nineteen relate to the activities of the various types of criminals and a good number of illustrative cases is narrated and described with clarity under each head. These give the policeman valuable hints for a successful investigation of a case. Chapters relating to "Burglars", "Forgerers," "The Blackmailer", "Crime in the United States," and "Finger Printing," in particular show how far crime has been perfected in Great Britain and the United States, and how difficult it is for the police to tackle with it. The author has rightly devoted a chapter to the "Training of Recruits". He would have done well if he had given a few chapters on "Information" and "How to get Information." Though it cannot be quite exhaustive, as in the nature of the subject it cannot be, a few valuable hints from such an experienced police officer as the author would be of immense use to a beginner in the line. Fortunately for India, one does not find here that variety of crime that is prevalent in other countries, especially in Great Britain, the United States, etc.; and the criminal in India has not the same facilities as in those countries.

T. VENKOBÄ RAO.

MISCELLANEOUS.

MR. SAS TRI IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The Natal Mercury has the following leader on Mr. Sastri in its issue of 26th July:—

So admirably has Mr. Sastri, the Agent of the Government of India in this country, identified himself with the public life of the Union, so completely has he won the respect of all classes of the community, that it is difficult to realise that he arrived here over a year ago and that before very long we shall have to contemplate the end of a term of office already extended by six months . . . But we sincerely trust that not for some considerable time shall we find ourselves deprived of those services which Mr. Sastri has so signally rendered to this country, to his own and to the Empire as a whole.

Mr. Sastri sacrificed a great deal when he accepted the office of Agent-General in South Africa. And it might seem unreasonable to expect him to sacrifice still more. Apart from his duty to his own country and to the Indian in this country, his personal inclinations, to say nothing of his family ties, naturally draw him strongly towards India itself . . . Nevertheless, we feel that the Agent-General could best serve India if by that high sense of duty to which he has always listened he could be prevailed upon to remain beyond the year as the servant in South Africa of his Government. Much of the value of the Indian Agreement depends upon its interpretation and the manner of its interpretation. Mr. Sastri, by his culture and personality and by his really statesmanlike qualities, has

been ideally suited to the office he has occupied. He has been able to reveal to the vast majority of South Africans a new type of Indian opinion, to show us India and her people in an entirely new light. Moreover, he has gone a long way towards reconciling those differences in the Indian community which have for so long been a barrier to any settlement. There is one paramount consideration which we would strongly urge on Mr. Sastri, however. South Africa to-day stands at the verge of a political change. A General Election looms in the near future. Fresh personal factors are bound to emerge as a result of the appeal to the electorate. And it is absolutely vital to the success of the Indian Agreement that when the change comes the Indian Government should have in this country an Agent who possesses not merely the intellectual stature of a statesman but also great gifts of culture and personality. We have that man at the moment. It depends entirely on Mr. Sastri whether we have him when the time arrives that he may be most urgently needed.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- STANDING ROOM ONLY? By EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS. (Chapman & Hall Ltd, London.) 1928. 8¼ × 5½. pp. 368. 16s.
THE LAND OF THE FIVE RIVERS. By HUGH KENNEDY TREVASKIS. (Oxford University Press, Bombay.) 1928. 8½ × 5½. pp. 372. Rs. 9-0-0.
OUR INHERITANCE. By STANLEY BALDWIN. (Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd., London.) 1928. 9 × 6. pp. 309. 12s. 6d.
INDUSTRY IN SWEDEN. (The Federation of Swedish Industries, Stockholm.) 1928. 9½ × 6½. pp. 260. 10s.
WITH GANDHIJI IN CEYLON. By MAHADEV DESAI. (S. Ganesh, Madras.) 1928. 7½ × 4½. pp. 159.

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