

Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

Open Challenge to British Ideals.

NEVER before was the British ideal of equality of status of British citizens, irrespective of race, colour, creed or caste, so flagrantly and so openly challenged and so completely disowned and repudiated at the very centre of the Commonwealth as when Gen. Hertzog spoke at the Empire Parliamentary Association Dinner in London last week, in the presence of the statesmen of all parts of the Empire. In several parts of the Commonwealth, and in particular, Africa, the British ideal has been lamentably violated in practice, but except in South Africa, homage, if only superficial, was paid to it consistently. As long as the ideal was avowed, there was hope that tomorrow, if not today, it would be worked up to. But the repudiation of it crushes that hope. South Africa had always opposed the British ideal of the Commonwealth and openly excluded herself from its operation or influence. Emboldened by the fact that she was allowed to pursue her wicked policies unchecked in her own territory, she has now presumed to impose them on all parts of Africa. No Government in Africa should follow a policy different from that followed by South Africa : a kind of Munroa Doctrine.

In the special conditions of South Africa, it may be granted that the interests of neither natives nor whites should be paramount. South Africa is as much

the father-land of the whites as of the Natives and the interests of neither should be subordinated to those of the other. But Gen. Hertzog is not content to take up that position. He rules out equal rights for white and black also and insists on white supremacy. It is not merely the supremacy of modern civilization that he wants, of a civilization which may be acquired by the non-whites as well as by the whites, but of the white man. While his policy is inadmissible even in the special circumstances of South Africa, it is wholly repugnant when applied to other parts of Africa, where the white population, even if permanently established, bears but an insignificant proportion to the Native population.

Gen. Hertzog's speech is a challenge not only to British ideals but to those of the League of Nations and to the peace of the world. Far from permitting the extension of the sway of his policies they should not be allowed to survive even in South Africa.

* * *

Classification of Prisoners.

THE treatment of political prisoners to which we have previously referred in these columns still leaves much to be desired. There are loud complaints that the classification of prisoners is very invidious, members of the same family sometimes finding themselves in different classes! But if the classification by the magistrates is unsatisfactory in the first instance, the Government make it still more so by going behind the magistrates' orders and lowering the classes in which the magistrates have placed them. The general feeling is that vindictiveness has got something to do with the way the classification is managed and it is not mere petty-mindedness that is responsible. In the interview which Mr. Mahadeo Desai recently gave to the Press, he gave vent to this feeling and characterised the classification as "a grave scandal." There is general surprise at the extremely small number of people who are placed in class A. The reason is stated to be that the magistrates have been warned against being too liberal in the matter.

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Treatment of Prisoners.

NOR are cases in which political prisoners are severely and even inhumanly punished for failure to do the allotted task or for so-called discipline quite rare. If people choose to go without food as a protest against the ill-treatment in jail of any of

their colleagues or for a similar cause, the remedy obviously is not to put them in fetters or restrict them to solitary confinement, as is done in the case of ordinary criminals. That will not help matters. What is really needed is a change in the spirit of administration of the jail rules. The sooner this comes about the better it will be for all concerned.

But if the treatment of prisoners has become such a scandal, the hardships some of the satyagrahi prisoners have to go through in some of the lock-ups while under trial must be a source of shame to any Government which calls itself civilised. We have in mind the case of the Bandra lock-up where Mrs. Sonawalla who had to pass a number of days there found her life a burden owing to want of privacy. No wonder therefore that people, instead of wishing to prolong their agonies by offering defence and adding to the length of the trial, prefer the discomforts of jail life. This is far from creditable to the Government who ought to be careful that people who choose to go in their charge for offences not involving moral turpitude or violence are spared all needless and avoidable hardships and inconvenience.

* * *

Police Excesses.

WHILE on this subject, we cannot allow the opportunity to pass without recording our strong condemnation of the methods used by the police in dispersing the crowd on the Esplanade maidan in Bombay on the 26th October last in connection with the flag salutation ceremony. We are told that lathis were used against people in the more vulnerable parts of their bodies e. g. behind the head and the physical fights of policemen with individual ladies in their attempts to wrest the flags from them were very provocative, most undignified and full of grave possibilities. Nor can we understand their spiriting away women far from their homes and leaving them in a defenceless condition. We know that the allegation that they were left in a jungle is officially denied; but the reason underlying their removal to a distance of several miles from Bombay is itself not too clear to us. The conduct of the police on this occasion is regarded with universal approval which will find vent at the public meeting which the citizens of Bombay are asking the Sheriff to convene at an early date, as it has already done at a number of ladies' and other meetings. It is to be hoped the Government will place no obstacles in the way of this meeting. If they did so, it would give rise to the suspicion that police action will not stand public scrutiny, as their ban on the nonofficial inquiry into the Chirner firing has done.

* * *

Vindictive Sentences.

THEN, some of the sentences inflicted upon satyagrahi prisoners seem to us outrageous. To take the most recent case of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Where was the necessity to sentence him to rigorous instead of simple imprisonment? One can understand the Government wishing to restrict his freedom; but the object could easily be gained by merely locking him up somewhere. Why subject him to rigorous imprisonment and add to your own unpopularity which is already wide-spread in all conscience? If it is the Government's belief that such severe sentences would act as a deterrent, they are under a delusion. People who from high patriotic motives court imprisonment are not going

to be turned back from the path they have chalked out for themselves simply because of the hardships they may have to face. In these circumstances, chivalry and sportsmanship pay as nothing else does.

Repression and R. T. C.

MR. H. N. BRAILSFORD who has been in this country now for three weeks seeing things for himself has found people doubting the sincerity of the Labour Government in their dealings with India, owing largely to the policy of coercion now in force. About the possibilities of the Round Table Conference his view, as expressed in his recent Press interview, has been that given good leadership on both sides, some good might come of it. But, its results would be judged calmly by the nation "only if it is in a normal state of mind, but this nation has been exasperated by needless and often brutal severities." "How is it possible" he asked, "that Bombay should believe in the sincerity of the Labour Government after the experience through which it passed last week." Apart from other considerations, it is clear the Government must hold its hand if only to give a chance to the Round Table Conference.

* * *

Police Officers' Fears.

THE proposal made by the Simon Commission to transfer law and order to popular Ministers has struck terror in the hearts of the British members of the Indian Police Service. This has found expression in the memorandum recently submitted by their Association to the Government of India. As is well known, the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms treated law and order as a reserved subject; still, we are told, they caused "profound uneasiness among the Indian Police Service Officers." That is to say, these officers do not need any prospect of change in their status or emoluments to get alarmed; the mere idea of any the slightest constitutional change is apparently repugnant to them. Else it is difficult to explain their uneasiness due to the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. But from what follows a little later in their memorandum, they appear to be in a bargaining mood. Perhaps they do not in their heart of hearts regard the Simon proposals as wholly unacceptable; but their fear is that "the Round Table Conference is likely to make even more radical recommendations and changes." Their present protest really appears to be mainly directed against such radical modifications. While their feeling in this matter is intelligible, they are under a delusion if they think that by their protests they would prevent the impending constitutional changes from being given effect to. But what is their real objection to the proposed transfer of law and order? It is that its results will be "decreased efficiency, abuse of power and interference in internal matters of Police administration." This, according to them, is already happening under the Ministers even in the existing regime, and would be considerably aggravated when the Police department is under the control of a Minister "highly susceptible to criticism and exposed to political pressure especially from his own community and his own friends." But apart from this, they are afraid that the proposed change would destroy all sense of security which is necessary to efficient service. The remedy suggested by them is the appointment of an independent commission to go into the matter, which in other words means another Lee Commission with still fatter salaries and more attractive concessions to these British officers that it brings in its train. If that is all that is intended, all this beating about the bush was quite superfluous.

* * *

Articles.

AN IMPOSSIBLE DIEHARD.

GEN. SIR GEORGE BARROW has had long experience as a soldier in India and rose to high rank. In a paper which he read before the East India Association on 14th of October last, the full text of which arrived here by the last mail, he examined at some length whether an Indianised Indian Army would be able to discharge the functions which the present Indian Army was discharging, whether the rate of Indianisation of the Indian Army could be accelerated and if the Simon proposals regarding the Army were satisfactory. On the first point he came to the conclusion that an Indianised Indian Army would not be able to discharge the present functions of the Indian Army. The functions were external defence and internal security. He agreed with the Simon dictum that the external defence of India was an Imperial question, for Empire communications and Empire trade were involved. From this premise he draws the conclusion that a very large proportion of the units of the Indian Army and a "preponderating number of regimental officers of the Indian Army must be British for a very long and indeterminate time." He did not say why, for the same reasons, namely, Empire communications and Empire trade, etc., the external defence of the other Dominions was not considered an Imperial question and why it was not considered that the higher command and a preponderating number of officers in the armies of the Dominions should be British officers imported from Great Britain. If Imperial interests could be secured by the co-operation of the armies of the Dominions raised from and officered by their own nationals, there is no reason to suppose that a friendly India with her own army will not do the same service to the Empire.

The defence of the North-West Frontier of India says Sir George, "cannot be left to an Indian Army administered and directed by a popularly elected Indian Government". The thesis was so axiomatic to him that he did not consider it necessary to say why, if in other countries popularly elected Governments directed their external defence, in India alone such a system was unthinkable.

The Indianised Indian Army was, in his opinion, incompetent to safeguard internal security of India because the vast majority of disturbances were Hindu-Muslim riots, and the British soldier was "neutral and is under no suspicion of favouring Hindus against Muhammadans or Muhammadans against Hindus." If there is any substance in this argument, it is even more necessary to Europeanise the Indian police, for it is the police who have to deal with communal disturbances more often than the military. But no such proposal has been made. Apart from that, there are Indians in India who are neither Hindus nor Muslims and who are neutral,

as for instance, the Anglo-Indians, the Indian Christians, the Parsees and the Sikhs.

The real justification for the retention of a large element of British personnel in the Indian Army is something which Sir George says the Simon Commission did not mention. The Indian "instinctively recognises that he (the British soldier) is a son of a dominant race": the racial superiority complex. This is the vilest crime of which the British in India have been guilty. Not only have they carefully inculcated and nursed the inferiority complex in the Indians but they have resolutely resisted any attempt on the part of the latter to throw it off. This deliberately fostered policy "rested on the belief", says Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, "that the British rule in India could only be maintained by the sword and by inculcating in the Indian's mind the idea of his permanent racial inferiority to the British soldier and the invincibility of the white races." The Army Secretary admitted in a recent debate in the Legislative Assembly that the real object of the eight-units scheme of Indianisation of the Indian Army was to prevent the remotest possibility of a junior European Commissioned officer having to serve under a senior Indian officer. The crusty old diehard in Sir George has not yet recognised that the inferiority complex of the Indian is fast disappearing.

Having thus proved to his utmost satisfaction that an Indianised Indian Army was incompetent to secure India against external attack or internal disorder Sir George enters on what must, from his previous argument, be a wholly superfluous task, namely, whether Indianization could be accelerated. There were many difficulties in the way. As he has already stated, the external defence of India was an Imperial question; the British soldier, on account of his neutrality and his dominant race, was necessary for internal security. The number of Indian candidates for military service in the higher ranks was small; and if it increased, the quality of the candidates was poor. Indians who entered the Army would not stick to it, but would retire very early. Moreover, the average Indian aged rapidly, and would not retain the combined mental and physical vigour required of military officers in the higher ranks when they reach the age when they attain those ranks. An Indian Army with Indian officers would not, because of the "diversity of tongues, castes, customs and creeds," maintain the same standards of efficiency which it did under British officers. On the authority of Sir Reginald Craddock, it was patent that Indian officers lacked leadership. They lacked quick decision in emergencies and the readiness to take responsibility. A mixed army of Hindus of all creeds and castes, of Muslims, and Christians, of Punjabees, Bengalees and Gujratis and Madrassis, was not going to follow the lead of any of them as whole-heartedly as it followed that of a British officer. The nationalities which took readily to a military career were not the ones which asked for self-government. And finally he was dead certain that:

in a self-ruling India the men of the North—the Pathans, Punjabi Muhammadans, Sikhs, Dogras and Jats, and Rajputs and Garhwals—will not submit to the

dictatorship of the Bengalis, Madrassis, and other non-martial nationalities of Hindustan, that the provinces that provide 77 per cent. of the Indian Army of to-day will not consent to be governed by the representatives of the rest of India, who only provide 23 per cent., and least of all by Bengal, which provides nothing.

This is indeed a formidable array of insuperable difficulties in the way of Indianisation. Even if some of them could be got over, there are others which, if they are valid, are really insuperable. Unless a catastrophic change in the climate of India occurs, Indians will continue to age in India earlier than in colder climates. There is no prospect of the diversity of languages, castes, customs and creeds disappearing. If lack of quick decision and of capacity to shoulder responsibility were congenital weaknesses of the Indians, there is no prospect of their being shaken off.

As we have stated already, Sir George does not tell us why Imperial considerations require a British Army only in India and not in the other Dominions. Nor does he tell us why India should not depend upon her own "neutral" nationals to deal with communal disturbances. Nor does he tell us what justification he has to presume that Indians will not stick to an Army career. A few statistics regarding retirements would have been more illuminating than his *ipse dixit*. There are hardly 77 Indians in the Commissioned ranks and what percentage of them have retired prematurely? He does not explain why the diversity of race, language and creed of the Indian soldiers militates against their following the lead of an Indian officer between whom after all there is something in common and not of a British officer, who is an utter stranger. Nor does he tell us who proposed that the martial races of the North should *submit* to the *dictatorship* of the non-martial races of the South. He does not pause to explain how in the civil departments not only the members of the martial North but Europeans as well are serving under members of the despised non-martial South. Why, Sir George himself is not ashamed to admit that in the old days Englishmen served in the armies of Indian rulers.

Sir George is however an optimist; he believes that Indianization is possible—subject to one condition: "Indians must learn to command and be commanded by men of different origins and with the same mutual respect as in the British Army, where English, Scotch, Welsh and Irish command and are commanded by each other, free from the trace of inequality, mistrust or disfavour." An excellent prescription—if it were given a chance in the Army as it is in the civil services. Having instigated the Pathan not to obey the Bangalee, and having given the Bengalee no chance to command the Pathan, Sir George insists that the Pathan must learn to obey the Bengalee before India can have a national army! Indianization is certainly possible—when the sun rises in the west! Or, to use the phraseology of Sir George himself, it is not possible until the day arrives "which at present appears as distant as that when the wolf shall dwell with the lamb and the leopard lie down with the kid."

Sir George then turns to examine the proposals of

the Simon Commission. He finds that the proposal to place the Indian Army directly under the control of the Viceroy is not only inconsistent with the pledge to advance India towards complete self-government, but a step in the reverse direction. Instead of aiming at the gradual extension of the authority of self-governing India over the Army, she is to be deprived of even such control as she now has. He disapproves of the proposal, hinted at in the Simon Report, to create a separate Dominion Army under the control of the Central Legislature while the Imperial Army continued to be controlled by the Viceroy, for the reason that two forces, with different allegiances, with two army headquarters, etc., would be a source of endless jealousies and friction. Nevertheless, he himself proposes the creation of two armies, an Imperial garrison to be stationed in the military province west of the Indus and a national army stationed in India proper. His own substantive proposal is to let Indianization of the Indian Army continue and as each unit becomes completely Indianised, hand it over to the Government of India. He computes that the Indianization of the eight units already initiated will not be completed before 1949 and anticipates that the Indianization of "104 battalions, 21 cavalry regiments, and 7 pioneer battalions of the Indian Army is not going to proceed by leaps and bounds. The course will be very gradual." The Indianization of the whole Indian Army at the rate at which it is progressing today will take, according to Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, "a few centuries." With due respect to the gallant old diehard, India must refuse to take his advice.

BRITISH PRESS ON THE R. T. C.

ADDITIONAL newspapers received from England by the last mail confirm the view expressed last week that the announcement of the personnel of the British Delegation had on the whole a good reception in the British Press. There appears to be general agreement that the Conservative batch might easily have been worse and particular importance is attached to the inclusion of Lord Zeltand who as Lord Ronaldshay will be recognised by the Indian public as an ex-Governor of Bengal. The *New Statesman* draws attention to the fact that none of the Liberal four is a House of Common front bencher and makes it clear that it does not share Lord Burnham's regret at the absence of Lord Lloyd from the Conservative Delegation, while the *Nation and Athenaeum* emphasises Mr. Lloyd-George's fitness for the chairmanship of a Conference such as the forthcoming one which involves much negotiation. "All his gifts" it points out, "would be exerted in evolving harmony out of the discordant elements which will be gathered there." It even goes so far as to ask Mr. MacDonald when he is too busy otherwise to occupy the Chair of the Conference to avail himself of the services of that "unequaled negotiator who has never failed to respond to a call to public service." The *Manchester Guardian*, while approving the Premier's decision to spare time for the Conference, refers to "Mr. Henderson's reserves of patience and good humour so notably demonstrated at the recent Anglo-Egyptian negotiations" which "should be invaluable at the Round Table Conference." Dwelling upon the complexity of the task before them, it says:

These men have to face a terrific problem on the successful solution of which much depends now and hereafter. They have to meet men of another race, long considered an inferior one and now determined to be inferior no more, to understand a political situation quite outside any actual experience of their own lives. It is to be hoped that they will start with no formulæ and be prepared to consider every suggestion on its merits alone. If they do this courageously and the Conference is brought to a successful issue, then they will have helped to achieve something unique in the history of the world.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer, as expected, strikes a jarring note, though he does not deal with the British, but with the Indian, Delegation. While the Indian States delegation is to him admirable, he cannot say the same about the Delegation from British India. It is interesting to know his reasons:

No doubt most of the gentlemen chosen are men of influence in their various communities, they represent fairly well various shades of political opinion, but with a decided tendency to the Left. The Indian papers received by this mail show that a large section of Moslem opinion is uneasy on this point. But the Indian peasantry—70 per cent. of the population—are not directly represented at all; the great landlords have very inadequate representation, and the Sikhs, who play such a great part in the Punjab as agriculturists and are among the finest fighting material in the Indian Army, might well be given more than two delegates. The depressed classes number some 60,000,000, and to give them only one or two representatives is not doing justice to the "underdog." The Conference may be fairly representative of the politically advanced classes of British India, but it is certainly not representative of the Indian masses.

Correspondence columns of British journals show that the fear generally entertained in this country that the present repressive policy of the Government might imperil all chances of a peaceful settlement of the Indian problem is widely shared even in England. Mr. Richard Lee writing to the *Manchester Guardian* of October 13 points out that "the extreme policy of coercion" is one of the obstacles to real co-operation and expresses the view that the latest Viceregal ordinance "will certainly not help to bring a conciliatory spirit into the field." He proceeds:

The argument for this stern policy is that used by W. E. Forster, Mr. Balfour, and Lord Salisbury for their resistance of Home Rule and years of "resolute government." You imprison national leaders in the name of "law and order." Mr. Gladstone, in one of the first political speeches I read, tore this argument to tatters. So long as law comes "in a foreign garb" it is not likely to be obeyed. To change the garb of law is more difficult in India than in Ireland. But it is not being done and it will never be done by the shilly-shallying policy of the present Government. When Gladstone made up his mind that Ireland must have a measure of freedom he stopped coercion and treated the Irish as his friends. The defeat of Gladstone's policy led to thirty years' delay, and justice spoiled by coming too late. Just as I was convinced that Lord Salisbury was fatally mistaken in 1886 in his adhesion to coercion in the name of law and order I am sure that the present Government is mistaken.

Mr. Joseph Robinson writing in the same paper also puts forward an earnest plea for "the replacement of force in India by generous concession" which, in his opinion, "would end a situation that, already intolerable, is fraught with a menace of worse in store."

D. V. A.

THE CASE FOR BRITAIN.*

AMONG several English politicians interested in India for one reason or another there has been growing of late some uneasiness at the vivid sympathy with which America has been watching the Indian National Movement, of which Mr. J. T. Sunderland's book, "India in Bondage," was an expression. Naturally anxious to stand well at the bar of American public opinion, Britain has never been lacking in able advocates to plead her cause before that tribunal. This time it is no mean champion who has gone to America to take up the gage, for Dr. Thompson, novelist, poet, playwright and professor of Bengali at Oxford with a firsthand knowledge of India, who is as well known in America as in India, can write with a cogency and unctious all his own. If he is one-sided, his Indian experience can be trusted to cover it up; if he is prejudiced, his sincerity will atone. At any rate a book from his pen is an event.

The main business of *The Reconstruction of India* is to trace with admirable compression and colligation of facts India's past evolution, social, political and administrative, and to limn her present features as they have taken shape under Britain's providence; the title being an instance of *lucus a non lucendo*. Dr. Thompson might have consulted, with advantage alike to truth and constructive value, Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar's *Indian Constitutional Problems*, a work of massive wisdom and penetration, Sir M. Visweswaraiya's *Reconstructing India*, Dr. Wingfield-Stratford's *History of British Civilization*—and one could easily mention a dozen others of all but equal importance. The error on p. 61 might have been avoided—the identifying of G. Subramania Aiyar, who moved the first Resolution in the Congress of 1885, with the gentleman who wrote to President Wilson in 1916 (Dr. Sir S. Subramania Aiyar). But Dr. Thompson is an excellent craftsman in prose, skilled in subduing facts and quotations to his master-aim of convincing America that under British rule Indians are living in the best of all possible worlds. The very concessions and admissions made on the Indian side invest the book with an air of plausibility, while from first to last it bristles with observations that are not less provoking than thought-provoking. We are concerned in this article with the sections of the book affecting India's future.

The Americans in their abysmal ignorance of India see in her struggle for Dominion status an image of their own fight for independence; they see in the Satyagraha Movement a unique effort for freedom by non-violent means made by "a united nation of 330 millions led by an emaciated, frail figure whom the world reveres as a saint." The author is out to show that this view of the Indian problem would not stand a day's criticism in England and, for decades to come, there is a genuine need in India for the undiminished continuance of the 'steel frame'. The sheep (the depressed classes) have to be protected from the wolf (the higher classes); villages and municipalities helped along, forests preserved from

* *The Reconstruction of India*. By Edward Thompson (Faber and Faber.) 1930.

decay, irrigation ensured by British engineering, and whining inefficiency staved off. "Myself, I think that India stands to lose far less by the going of a British Government than by the going of British administrators" (p. 274). Government must revise up their salaries (p. 298) and do all it can to educate and assist the domiciled European and Eurasian community (p. 275). For an indefinite period of tutelage India, while being honestly assured of Dominion status, must remain in a state neither wholly bond nor wholly free, although her pride may be "conciliated in the gilded and gaudy ways," and herself admitted to "the ground floor" of the Empire, say, by Oxford and Cambridge sometimes giving "an honorary degree to an Indian who is not a Ruling Prince," by the Royal Society conferring an F. R. S. on Sir P. C. Ray, and so forth (pp. 272, 274, 276). But the author is not so much concerned with the future as with the vindication, if possible glorification, in Brother Jonathan's eye, of Britain's stewardship of India—his thesis being that "the British have done as well in India, in the main things, as any nation would have" (p. 257). "India is not poorer but better off, by the new industries that have been brought to her by the planter and business communities" (p. 275), and if in spite of this her *per capita* income is only 25 dollars she has only to thank her own shiftlessness for it. Perhaps she has hoarded wealth secretly stowed away somewhere which she might disgorge some day when the Britisher is away ("she has vast accumulations of private wealth" p. 295). Britain's fiscal and currency policy are governed solely by the considerations of India's economic welfare. The Indian is but lightly taxed—only to the extent of Rs. 8 out of his magnificent annual income of Rs. 75, he has been assured whatever has been humanly possible within the slender revenues of the Government, and yet, like the typical ingrate he is, he grumbles because the Government have not provided such 'frills' as civil aviation research (p. 294), which the author to his good luck has discovered somebody doing. Villages have been transformed, while drainage, education, agriculture have been improved to the last pitch allowed by the poor revenues. The Indian is graceless enough to complain that 44% of the Indian revenue is spent on the army, forgetting that it works out at less than half-a-crown a person,—that is, for a song!, if he will only look at the map at the end of the book for a moment and estimate the length of India's coastline and the North-West Frontier (pp. 224, 300). Yet all this kindness, incalculable and vast, the Indian not only returns with black ingratitude but has also the temerity to attribute his national evils to the Government, instead of tracing them in their entirety to his own social system which is an Augean stable. And for vilification, where was there an equal of the Indian Press? (p. 295). It is an irony and a thousand pities that America should sympathize with the struggle of such a land for freedom!

The Reconstruction of India proves to the hilt its author's skill in advocacy. Massing together things found by muckraking, it is easy to paint the people of any country on the face of the globe in such a way

as to horrify all other countries. Miss Mayo is such an artist in pure black; she seems to have breathed a little of her genius into Dr. Thompson as he wrote the chapter, 'Are Indians fit for Self-Government?' Were his aim to draw a fair picture, would he not have mentioned, along with India's flaming social evils, some of those movements, personalities and forces that are silently renovating the Indian social system, so that the lump is being faster and faster leavened? But if the omission of this is egregious, the sin of commission is even more so; for he mentions a sporadic case of *Sati*, in 1927, in such a manner as to leave the impression on the American mind that *Sati* is not only common in India now but is actually countenanced by some professors, school masters, landowners and educated Hindus (p. 267). It is as if one should cite half-a-dozen fatalities of Indians caused in the course of ten years by Englishmen practising the hobby of potting at random—cite them in such a way as to make an American reader infer that the Englishmen in India are not far removed from the dyaks of Borneo!

This chapter examining the fitness of Indians for self-government makes us speculate for a moment. Let us suppose that England, by a misfortune, had been conquered by Napoleon in 1802 and that a couple of decades later she began to ramp and chafe against foreign domination. It provoked a French professor examining impartially the fitness of England for self-government to argue to the English thus: "In your country hundreds of children of the ages of six and seven are sold to mill-owners to work from 14 to 18 hours at a stretch, in factories that are a veritable ogre's den to them, your chimney-sweeps in London hawk about little boys in the streets at 1d. a day to do odd jobs that make their life a regular toss-up from day to day. Your Protestants are so fanatic that they tyrannize the Roman Catholics, though they are equal in the eye of the law that we have passed, your Protestant landlords oppress and fleece their tenants in Ireland, in a manner for which a parallel can be found only in India where there are a class of people called Brahmins who treat the lowest classes as if they were worse than dogs. Your sanitation and education are at an unspeakably low level, which badly need French supervision." We wonder whether the English, recognizing the awful justice of this irrefragable argument, would have sunk down into glad acceptance of the French rule as the only panacea of their evils and the only tonic to develop their manly self-respect! We live in no fool's paradise about the many cankerous evils, sanctioned by religion, that infest the Indian social system, and it is but a melancholy truism to say that India's real salvation lies in her educated sons and daughters developing a social conscience strong enough to cleanse society and religion, and rid the country of the incubus of caste-tyranny. But this does not vitiate the fact that those Englishmen who exploit India's social abuses to postpone her political emancipation are not, for all their pretence to the contrary, alleviating, but protracting and augmenting, the miseries that are bound up with foreign domination.

The same *ex parte* zeal inspires the author's attitude towards the Indian military expenditure and policy. A writer anxious to be fair-minded would have stated that the real motive for keeping the proportion of British troops to Indian as high as 1 to 2.26 is to safeguard any possible insurrection of Indian troops against the Government and any possible national uprising, and he would have further pointed out how a British soldier costs five times as much as an Indian. Instead, he acutely reckons, lawyerwise, that the best way to convince a country like America, where the average income of a person is about 3000 dollars (*i. e.* 100 times that of an Indian), is to say that the *per capita* charge in India for national defence is only half a crown.

In a compunctious mood, however, he says: "It is on this side, that of defence, that we have done least to set India on her own feet. Probably the best way out would be the setting apart of units to be officered throughout by Indians" (p. 298). But no sooner is this statement made than it is regretted, the author hastening to aver that the real bar to the Indianization of the commissioned ranks is the unwillingness of the youth of Provinces other than Punjab, Nepal, and the United Provinces, to enter Sandhurst (p. 300). He does not stop here, but, like a good disciple of Sir John Simon, he drives home the conclusion that so long as the whole nation does not share out the burden of defence, India cannot claim self-government. The argument, ingenious even for the author, is disingenuous, to say the least, and would not deceive even a mouse in India. It is based on the presumption that there has been already in existence at least one Indian Military College and that the recruitment so far, instead of being confined, as it has been, to the friends and relatives of retired Indian subalterns, has been open and offered promising careers to young men perverse enough to keep away. As *The Nation* & *the Athenæum* pointed out in its criticism of the Simon Report, recruitment has so far been governed by a crude fascination for large stature and martial appearance, in utter disregard of the fact that in the mechanized warfare of to-day intelligence, leadership, endurance and other qualities count for more than mere physical strength.

On the problem of the Princes and Native States, the author is content with endorsing and blessing *en bloc*, without one word of comment, the recommendations of the Simon and the Butler Reports.

There are moments in the book when a sense of justice deeper than the author's dialectal self rouses up, when he can write: "Dominion status is promised to India. It is India's right. It will be a stupendous step forward in the world's history. But the long tale of evasion, of postponing of fulfilment of pledges, of letting resentment accumulate, has prevented the process of training which should have existed, and has compelled us to pay all our debt at once." But the real drift of this is seen in the next three sentences rubbing in the author's brief that what India needs most is British administrators. Literature of this sort, with its left-handed compliments and hesitant judgments barbed with insinua-

tions, is calculated to warp the American mind against India and prevent it from understanding aright her actual conditions and her travail. It is mischievous propaganda.

R. SADASIVA AIYAR.

THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE. INDIA AND INTER-IMPERIAL TRADE AGREEMENTS.

THE Imperial Conference now holding its session in London has, as an important part of its programme, the concerting of measures for close economic cooperation between the various parts of the British Empire and for the consolidation of the Empire into a single economic unit, if possible. There is greater need now than ever before for this kind of consolidation to be effected, for there never was with-in the memory of the present generation so serious an economic crisis threatening the world as at present. The universal phenomenon of trade depression and loss of markets and the consequent intensification of unemployment has some bitter-lessons to teach and some experience to impart to every country. England, though highly organized industrially, is threatened with as serious a crisis as any other country, her industries, which have already to bear the burden of an intolerable taxation, having to encounter the further bad effects of a falling off in her export trade. Every European country has not only surrounded itself with high tariff walls which tend gradually to grow higher but has refused to pay heed to Britain's plea for the reduction of their protective barriers for at least a limited period so as enable a freer exchange of goods to take place. Isolated as England is on this account, she has no other alternative, if she is not to put herself into a tighter hole than she is in at present, except to turn her attention to her dominions, as the most promising countries with which she can enter into an economic partnership.

FREE TRADE vs. PROTECTION.

In spite of her admittedly bad internal economic situation, England is precluded from resorting to retaliatory measures against the European nations, on account of her traditional free trade policy, though the concatenation of circumstances is gradually constraining her to effect a modification in that policy in the direction of introducing protection in some shape or other. There is, therefore, a contrast between the forces of those who advocate Protection by means of import duties and those who are for complete freedom of trade. And, between these two extremes, there is a middle path which is gradually but surely recommending itself to the vast majority of thinking folk and which seeks the establishment of inter-imperial trade coordination. The section which is out to secure the adoption of this method of settling the fiscal enigma is drawn from people of such widely divergent views as the Empire Free Traders on the one hand and the Trade Union Congress Committee on the other. It considers that the Empire alone is the best and the most reliable market for Empire products, both of the raw and the finished variety, and that it should be, if properly brought together, a self-sufficing economic unit. It desires that the various parts of the Empire should enter into reciprocal trade agreements, the idea being that each one of them should show preference to the goods of others, as against countries which are outside the Empire. Some such formula will have to be evolved if Great Britain and the Dominions are to tide over the present crisis successfully.

THE OBSTACLES TO BE FACED.

The success, however, of the proposal does not appear to be so easy of achievement as it is commonly or generally imagined and the path to its achievement is beset with certain obstacles of a fundamental character. The Dominions are quite unanimous, as amongst themselves, in insisting upon a final and authoritative verdict upon the question of their political and constitutional status within the Empire before giving their assent to any scheme involving preferential treatment of Britain in fiscal matters. The acknowledgment of their status as completely autonomous, self-governing dominions within the Empire, linked to England by no other bond except a common allegiance to the Crown, a status which had been conceded to them by the Imperial Conference of 1926 and the subsequent Report of the Dominion Laws Conference Committee, and the recognition of their right to secede at will from the Empire are, it appears from the speeches of the Dominion Ministers, postulated as essential preliminaries before any economic alliances are proposed and accepted. And though there is nothing to suggest that the British Government will resist the Dominions' rights in any of these matters, there is also not much to indicate that a final economic agreement is at all easy, the attitude of the Labour Government itself in regard to preferences to the dominions being as yet uncertain and dubious. [Labour Government is decidedly opposed to Imperial Preference—Ed.]

THE POSITION OF INDIA.

The people of India are interested, notwithstanding the indifference with which the representatives of the country are treated in International Conferences and even in the Imperial Conference itself, in both the economic and constitutional subjects coming up for discussion before the latter body. For while, on the one hand, India demands the status of a Dominion with necessary transitional safeguards, which will be on a par with that of the other Dominions and which secures to her the same privileges and rights as those enjoyed by the latter, it must be recognized, on the other hand, that no economic or fiscal solution would be at all effective or adequate unless it carries with it the willing consent of India, which is the biggest of the British possessions. India demands complete fiscal autonomy and any decisions arrived at in the Conference ought not to be and will not be binding on her if she is herself not a party to their being accepted.

INDIA NOT OPPOSED TO PREFERENCE ON PRINCIPLE.

On the other hand, India will not be opposed to any fiscal arrangement in the making of which she is afforded an effective voice and provided it is not rammed down her throat by outside pressure. If her political aspirations are respected and conceded there is no reason for either her refusing to play her part as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations or of her thinking of seceding from the Empire in exercise of her right to do so which is "inherent", as Prof. Keith admits, in Dominion Status. Her representatives will be quite prepared to discuss any proposals made to her as part of her duty to the Empire. India does not want merely to enjoy the advantages of Dominion Status and the benefits of being within the British Empire, which, as everyone must concede, are considerable; she is also willing to fulfil her obligations, not the least important of them being in the economic and fiscal sphere. The psychological distrust that is ingrained in the mind of the average Britisher and which is being sedulously cultivated by interested persons in England inimical to India's political aspirations is the worst obstacle to the establishment of that mutual confidence, which is so necessary for the harmonisation of apparently

conflicting viewpoints. Swaraj does not connote to Indians merely the right of seceding from the British Empire irrespective of other considerations: it represents to her a recognition on the part of Britain of her rightful place in the comity of nations. Even the Congress leaders who harp on Independence will not be found to press their theories, or even if they press them, will not be able to secure a wide following for them, if this equality of status is once and for all guaranteed by the grant of Dominion Status. In that case, India, with her vast population and her vast potential resources, will be a source of immense strength to the Empire, while, if the contrary unfortunately happens, nobody can blame her if she resorts to such retaliatory measures as are open to her to make her dissatisfaction and resentment felt. It is earnestly hoped that in this hour of crisis, statesmanship and wiser counsels will prevail with the powers that be and that no short-sightedness on either side will mar the prospects of a better understanding.

C. V. HANUMANTA RAO.

Reviews.

POLITICAL SCIENCE.

MODERN POLITICAL CONSTITUTIONS. By C. F. STRONG. (Sidgwick and Jackson, London.) 1930. 23 cm. 380 p. 12/6.

THE object of the author has been to supply a text book which may serve as an introduction to the study of constitutional politics by the general reader as well as the student. While the book does not claim to make any original contribution to the learning on the subject, it admirably fulfils the purpose which the author has in view. It is a concise and compact exposition of the principles underlying the science of constitutional politics. Several States have been newly formed in Europe after the War and each of them has adopted a written constitution contrived to meet its political requirements in accordance with the views of its people. There has been a large addition to the number of political constitutions as the result of these experiments. Except in the case of Italy and perhaps Spain, the general tendency of all these experiments has been towards democratic government. The author has included in his survey the constitutions of almost all modern States and his discussion of the principles is illustrated by a reference to the various constitutions. The result of his comparative study of modern constitutions is presented in a very readable form. He has dealt with nearly all the important constitutional topics such as the types of governments and constitutions, the structure and composition of the legislature, the different kinds of executive, the judiciary, the initiative, the referendum, the League of Nations and the economic organisation of the State. The value of the book to students is enhanced by lists of books for reading and reference, by suggestions of subjects for essays appended to each chapter and by a classified chart of constitutional States. As a handy book on a subject of growing interest, the book will be appreciated by the general reader as well as by the students for whom it is intended.

P. S. SIVASWAMY AYYER.

EGYPTIAN POLITICS.

THE DETHRONEMENT OF THE KHEDEVE. By ARDERN HULME BEAMAN. (Allen and Unwin, London.) 1929. 20cm. 190p. 6s.

THE late Sir Valentine Chirol in *The Egyptian Problem* (1920) gave a general outline of the issues rais-

ed by the conflicting interests of the British Imperialists and Egyptian nationalists; and George Young followed him with fuller historical details with special emphasis on post-war aspects of the case upto 1927. The work under review carries the story still further by supplying upto date information on 'reserved points' and kindred subjects accompanied by a sympathetic statement of the demands made by Egyptian leaders and thus enables the reader to follow intelligently the intricate mazes of the Egyptian accounts in current periodicals and magazines. But the main thesis of the present work is specific, viz., to expose the hollowness of the grounds advanced by British statesmen for deposing the Khedive, Abbas Hilmi Pasha, "as soon as the war broke out." In these days of full-blown democracies the justice or injustice of the claims in favour of despots and Pashas is not likely to attract attention; but the exceptional opportunities afforded to the author as an Intelligence Officer during and after the war and his earlier Egyptian career no doubt made him an expert in all matters touching Egypt and the moral issues involved in the problem have been fearlessly and plainly stated in this work for the first time. The notion that Cromer and Kitchener were straightforward plain dealers is 'an absurd delusion' and, as the author has proved, Cromer practised forms of espionage of which some of his subordinate English countrymen 'were ashamed'. Official documents and bluebooks or white books are, of course, mainly responsible for the pernicious existence of such absurd delusions. The disillusionment in this connection must therefore be expected to come only from a person who can authoritatively say, 'I rely almost exclusively on my personal knowledge or on first hand statements and opinions from the British and Egyptians of all classes whose acquaintance and friendship I have the pleasure to enjoy'. The opening chapter gives a vivid and interesting description of 'Cromerism' and the relevant incidents in connection with the first Egyptian Nationalist leader 'Arabi' who, when exiled by the British, could not leave a penny behind him for the support of his family 'which is a striking testimony to the honesty of men who for nearly a year had had almost absolute control of all the country's resources'. The second chapter deals with the administration of the 'Kitchener of Chaos' who owed his appointment as Sirdar to Khedive Abbas Hilmi Pasha, whose dethronement was mainly brought about by this well-known 'K'. The next three chapters make somewhat dull reading, being devoted to facts about the deposed Khedive whose case the author tries to present without making any impression, favourable or unfavourable. The last three chapters, on the other hand, are full of suggestive and thought-provoking remarks which will enable the reader to look at the Egyptian question from a standpoint which, for want of a better name, we can describe as 'non-diplomatic and non-national' or neutral.

D. V. APTE.

SECRET SERVICE WORK.

MATA HARI. COURTESAN AND SPY.

By THOMAS COULSON. (Hutchinson) 23 cm. 256 p. 12/6.

"SECRET Service" a concomitant of "Diplomacy" is always viewed with contradictory feelings. Administrators naturally require confidential information about the affairs of the state, and from time immemorial a moderate exercise of this process has been permitted under every system of government. When this confidential information concerns a rival nation the agent who collects it is vulgarly and aptly called "a spy" but in his own country he is popularly

known as a "Secret Service Man." Since the idea is to get information anyhow, by hook or crook, by moral or immoral methods, the agent will have often to run grave risks and adopt very questionable methods.

The amazing depths of degradation that can be touched, especially in war time, while engaged on this miserable work is most graphically told by the author of Mata Hari. As mentioned earlier, the exploits of a spy may be looked upon as the selfless deed of a devoted patriot by the nation wanting secret information and the very same person will be looked upon as a mean, despicable cur by the other nation which will show him no mercy when he is caught.

In this miserable business, ordinary decencies of civilized life will have to be abandoned. Low cunning is the trump card. Thieves and harlots play the game. But the most stupefying thing is that Governments think it is necessary to give countenance to the miscreants openly and officially.

In a book entitled "What is Diplomacy" by Charles W. Hayward (pp. 150-51) the following official account is reported:-

The amazing degradation of morality which follows in those responsible for this Secret Service, is proved by a question and answer in the Reichstag by Mr. Richter, a deputy, and the leader of the Opposition, 'on the more than doubtful morality of the individuals employed by Councillor Ruruff for the services of his police,'

He criticised and exposed in the Chamber, amongst other charges, the following:-

(1) Recruiting as secret agents members of Parliament and their wives, Ministers, Court officials, and even the wife of the Prefect of Police himself.

(2) Seeking to entrap persons of prominence connected with politics, commerce, industry, the magistracy, and more particularly foreign embassies, by the use of the houses of Krause, houses which were specially and exceptionally stocked by this woman, and her subordinates in the provinces, 'for the benefit of these highly placed gentlemen.'

What was the result of this inquiry, and what was the reply?

The Minister of the Interior, Von Puttkamer, pronounced, from the tribune of the Chamber, the following exact words—'It is the right and duty of the State to employ extraordinary and special methods, and even if that honest and estimable functionary, Police-councillor Rumpff, has employed the methods of which he is accused, in order to secure for the State the benefits of useful intelligence, I here publicly express to him my satisfaction and thanks.'

This reply was actually endorsed by a vote of the Parliament.

This is terrible, is it not? By the way, what happens to a man who is a forger? Of course penal servitude. Yes, penal servitude to an ordinary mite of a human being, whatever may have been the reasons for the forgery. But a Clive can cheat Umaichand with a forgery or a Bismark may alter the Ems telegram and they are Empire builders and we raise statues to their memory. What should one call it? Diplomacy? or -?

Coming for a while to the book Mata Hari, one fails to understand why such books should be written and why respectable firms should publish them at rather high prices. A certain type of intellect-morbid of course—may find some temporary excitement of his degraded curiosity while reading the book. But nonetheless, I hold, such books are undesirable. From another point of view it is a case of "pot calling the kettle black." Every nation has its spies and its traitors. Can't we leave these plagues of existence without recording their damnable actions?

It is only, after all, a question of degree, but every nation is doing it—this reprehensible spying. The remedy is not publication of such books but the abolition of Secret Diplomacy.

S. G. SASTRY.

SHORT NOTICES.

MARRIAGE AND THE STATE, By MARY E. RICHMOND & FRED S. HALL. (Russell Sage Foundation, New York.) 1929. 20cm. 395 p. \$ 2.50.

THE authors of this book present the results of their investigation into the administration of the marriage laws in the United States of America. They find that both the issues of marriage licenses and the licensed officiants at marriages are so dishonest that all sorts of clandestine and unfit marriages can and do take place in several of the States, the elaborate system only involving much expenditure for the parties concerned. Needless to say, the purposes for which marriage laws are enacted stand utterly defeated in a large number of marriages. To meet the situation the writer proposes a number of reforms both in the marriage laws and in their administration. It appears to the reviewer, however, that with the psychology of the couples and of those who are authorised to supervise the proper observance of the marriage laws remaining what it is, the suggested remedies may not lead to the desired end. The book must be read by all those who believe in the efficacy of legislation as the method of social amelioration. Legislators and their supporters would do well to remember the conclusion these authors arrive at viz. that "in any states' successful handling of the problem of marriage, administration of the laws will play a more important part than the laws themselves."

G. S. GHURYE.

THE SUBSTANCE OF ECONOMICS. By H. A. SILVERMAN. (6th. Edn.) (Pitman, London.) 1929. 19cm. p. 355. 6/-

THIS book meets the needs of students and contains a concise yet exhaustive account of the fundamental principles of economics. While the elucidation of the first principles is carried out in an admirable manner it deals with the whole field of modern economics and would be of invaluable help to the general reader, the student and the teacher. It deals with the development of economic thought, labour problems, public finance, population, the trade cycle, currency and banking, and the economics of distribution. Under all these headings it includes most of the subjects of the wide field of current economic inquiry.

The author does not pretend to present the conclusions of his original research but prepares the reader to grasp effectively the subject which is presented in a small compass of 331 pages. The book is furnished with a valuable bibliography and an exhaustive index and these heighten the value of this very businesslike manual.

As an example of its marvellously comprehensive nature a few specimen conclusions in the different pages are referred to and these would decidedly prove that the treatment of the subject is accurate and intelligent. See p. 26, p. 51, p. 117, p. 168, p. 178, p. 195, p. 236, p. 307, and p. 310.

The tabular statements and the diagrammatic illustrations are well executed and the explanations are very clear. The book would be peculiarly serviceable to readers.

[B. RAMACHANDRA RAU.

Miscellaneous.

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN MALABAR.

WORK OF THE DEVADHAR MALABAR RECONSTRUCTION TRUST.

IT is a happy sign of the times that considerable interest is now shown by the Government and the public in the problem of 'Rural Reconstruction'. The word 'Reconstruction' is not a happy word, for it implies the existence of something that was valuable which has been destroyed and which it is our attempt to reconstruct. Any unprejudiced student of the history of the country cannot certainly feel proud of the inglorious past in our village life. Life is a mixture of good and evil and it is the part of wisdom to eradicate evil and enthrone good in its place. There were institutions in our village life which promoted the welfare of the rural population; there were also institutions which exercised a cramping influence and which in modern times would prove more a deterrent than a help for the growth of the village life in relation to national life. It is best to conserve all that is best and suitable and replace the disintegrating factors by those calculated to promote solidarity and progress. Times have changed. The influence of education and the introduction of quick means of communication have brought with them influences whose effect on village life has been almost staggering. Unless village life adjusts itself to the changing conditions, progress will be wellnigh impossible. Caste and creed can at best be individual concern and as promoters of national life they play very little part. On the other hand emphasis on them leads to disastrous results affecting the future of the Indian nation. So any scheme of 'Rural Uplift' which fails to take note of these facts and attempts to promote communal or sectional feeling in village life will do more harm than good. The scheme should include within its purview all classes and communities and should attempt to promote feelings of Brotherhood by bringing together all classes for following common pursuits, working towards a common end to make the village a progressive unit, as a part of the body politic, the Indian nation. In Malabar the problem of 'rural uplift' presents peculiar difficulties. Besides the disintegrating forces observed in other parts of the country, peculiar social customs prevailing in this district, the traditions on which the structure of society is built up, the system of land tenure, absence of compact villages as seen in the East Coast, and above all, the presence of the Moplah who has earned notoriety for his religious fanaticism and who is too slow to come under any liberalising influences render the work of 'Rural Uplift' extremely difficult. Caution and tact are required in an abundant degree and any attempt to force new ideas will be met with a rebuff. But there is no place in the whole country where more difficulties will have to be encountered and if 'Rural Uplift' work in Malabar proves a success, a great problem will have been solved.

The relief work after and during the course of the late Moplah Rebellion enabled the members of the Servants of India Society engaged in relief work to notice prominently and study deeply the various problems affecting rural Malabar. Most of these, it was felt at the time, could be solved if ignorance and poverty, the two prominent evils, were treated radically. So when after the relief work, with the balance of funds, the Devadhar Malabar Reconstruction Trust was formed and the Servants of India Society were asked to take up the work to deal with the many socio-economic problems of the district, a scheme of work was prepared the preamble of which may be usefully quoted:

The future work in Malabar for public and philanthropic bodies will have to be economic, educational and social. Some means have to be found by which the poverty of the working classes in the Rebellion affected area has to be alleviated. Since large capital and costly expert management are out of the question, the co-operative movement might be tried with advantage for

encouraging thrift, starting small cottage industries suited to different localities, and in general, to promote and encourage production on a small scale. The importance of education in addition to and as distinguished from mere literacy, in expanding the minds of the people so that they may respect each other's religious feelings and rights and take an intelligent interest in the larger civic life of their places is very urgent. Efforts have to be made also to improve the health and the general standard of living among the masses of the population.

To put into effect the scheme of work in the whole of the Rebellion-affected area was an impossible task. Resources were limited; appreciation of this kind of work on the part of the public was scanty, nay almost nil. Moreover, workers imbued with enthusiasm for rural uplift were rare. So it had to be concentrated in a particular area. After seven years the Trust congratulates itself on this decision, for in this limited area it has gained experience which will stand its workers in good stead for work elsewhere. Tanur was the place chosen. In accordance with objects stated, the Trust started night schools where in addition to instruction in the 3 R's equal attention was paid to the imparting of general knowledge by means of readings from books, newspapers, lectures and magic lantern shows. At first only three schools were started. The teachers appointed to be in charge of these schools were those engaged in the Taluk Board's Day Schools. A Supervisor was appointed whose duty was not only to supervise the working of the schools but also to deliver lectures illustrated with magic lantern slides and to attend to such other items of work as the Trust may undertake from time to time. The apathy and ignorance of the people were appalling. To induce the adults to attend the schools and derive benefits of education was no easy task. The teachers employed could not do much to dispel ignorance and create enthusiasm as they were employed in day schools during most part of the day. Moreover, being accustomed and even trained to teach children, the methods of instruction employed by these teachers did not appeal to the adults. It should not be forgotten that the adult though illiterate is not a child. He has common-sense, knows to distinguish between right and wrong, good and evil, and has gained experience of the world in most cases as a house-holder and labourer. He would certainly resent to be treated as a child and the methods of instruction employed, the nature and treatment of the subjects taught, should be different. If the aim of education even in regard to the children is to rouse and guide their latent faculties, it is more so in the case of the adults. Moreover, these teachers were themselves ill-equipped and required education before they could impart it to the adults. Their contact with the villagers was not enough to take sufficient interest in their uplift. Efforts were made to make the teachers efficient and enable them to teach the curriculum specially prepared to suit adults. It may here be mentioned that the progress of the adults in regard to the 3 R's is very rapid and to adopt the curriculum used in day schools in these schools is to court disaster. Another fact that emerges out of our experience is that the adult is generally satisfied with the knowledge of the 3 R's and does not like to attend the school after he learns to read and write. The teacher must be in a position to make the classes interesting and sustain the interest of the adult pupils. The teacher should pay as much attention to the imparting of general knowledge as of the 3 R's. The teacher himself should not only possess sufficient knowledge of men and things but also be actuated by the desire to gain knowledge by reading newspapers, magazines and books. All these qualifications were wanting in the teachers appointed. Moreover, their day school work itself with its routine was sufficiently taxing and they were hardly fit to continue the work in the night schools. So the Trust tried the system of appointing at least a few whole-time teachers. This decision was also forced on the Trust by the circumstance that the Taluk Board refused permission to their teachers for employment in the Night Schools. Even the employment of these whole-time teachers without the necessary training for work of the kind in which they are to engage themselves did not

produce the expected results. But their contact with the villagers was much more intimate and they could be trusted to identify themselves with the interests of the villagers. Owing to the paucity of funds we are now forced to employ day school teachers for the adult schools. But most of them have been specially trained for the work and they are employed in the Trust's Higher Elementary School. Besides the Trust is conducting Adult Education work in other places, begun in June last, employing whole-time workers. The scheme has been approved and is aided by Government. There were requests from various places for opening Night Schools. But very soon it was realised that the response was not adequate and the Trust did not hesitate to close down three of them. It may here be mentioned that in all villages where the Trust started schools, literacy in the ordinary sense has spread. Many adults picked up enough to read printed books and write letters, petitions, etc. In the two weaver villages of Kattilangadi and Puthantherruvu, where the schools continue even now most of the adults are literate. But literacy is not the object of Adult Education. It is much more; acquisition of useful knowledge, promotion of community life and the spirit of associated service. Knowledge useful to the villagers and helpful in widening their outlook on life is not only imparted in the Adult Schools but also through general lectures and magic-lantern shows. The Trust owns a magic lantern and seven sets of slides—(1) Co-operative Credit, (2) Co-operative Stores, (3) Thrift, (4) Maternity and Child Welfare, (5) Agriculture, (6) Health and Sanitation and (7) Temperance. Besides slides are secured from the Y. M. C. A. and the District Educational Officer to supplement those with us to provide a variety of topics. These lectures are attended by the public of the village including women and children. Every effort is made to bring together people of all communities to schools, lectures, etc. The celebration of the Health Week every year is availed of as a special occasion to promote healthy rivalry by organising baby shows and village sports. The keen interest evinced by the villagers in these items is really remarkable. In the school, in the lecture place, in the sports field and in fact, in every place emphasis is laid on Brotherhood and, the inculcation of the spirit of associated service.

As part of rural uplift work and at the request of the public, the Trust has started a Higher Elementary School introducing a rural bias in the curriculum followed. Besides instruction in ordinary subjects, the pupils are taught nature study and gardening (I do not use the word 'agriculture' as its use is not tolerated.) The pupils irrespective of caste or creed are made to work in the field. Besides inculcating the spirit of dignity of labour in the children most of whom consider it *infra dig* to touch a spade, it also helps to promote team spirit. The Trust maintains an agricultural farm which is now under the direction of the Agricultural Department. The Annual Day of the school is availed of to invite the parents of children and other villagers to see what is being done on the Farm and also visit the Agricultural Exhibition usually arranged on such occasions. Adult school students contribute their items to the function by enacting some scenes, bearing on the social life of Malabar. Music is also taught as a compulsory subject both in the Higher Elementary School and the Adult Schools. But the Moplah adult is slow to appreciate the value of music as a liberalising influence and he is averse to acting on the stage as it is considered to be against the tenets of Islam. To popularise education of the kind imparted in the Higher Elementary School a nominal fee is charged, and that leads to great deficit in the finances of the Institution. Fee remissions are also freely given to encourage backward classes to derive benefits of education. In the Higher Elementary School, instruction in weaving as part of manual training has just been introduced. It is too early to assess its value. But from what one observes it is clear that the pupils are taking to it kindly and are capable of exhibiting considerable skill in the course of a few years.

In any scheme of rural uplift it is necessary to provide special facilities for the backward and depressed classes to enable them to come up and keep pace with other advanced

communities. The development of every limb of the body politic is necessary for rural welfare. So in our scheme of work the Depressed Classes receive special attention. Though institutions are started to afford special facilities for them, such institutions are open to all classes by allowing them to participate in all the special privileges and inducements offered to the Depressed Classes. This is done of course more in the interests of the Depressed Classes who suffer from various social disabilities. There is an Adult School in Tanur with a fairly large number of adults of the Depressed Classes. The Trust has organised a colony for the Depressed Classes in Gopalapuram (near Quilandy) where model houses on approved plan have been built and families have been settled. They are encouraged to cultivate the small plots of land allotted to them. Besides a school is maintained there. It is interesting to note that pupils belonging to other communities as well take advantage of this school. The Trust also maintains a Boarding House for the children of the Depressed Classes. The Boarding House is run with the help of the boarding grants given by the Commissioner of Labour. The boarders and the school children are encouraged to work in raising vegetables, etc., required for the Boarding House and the free mid-day meal and the latter is provided regularly for all children. The unoccupied portion of the colony is being developed on the lines laid down by the Agricultural Department and under their supervision. The colonists are induced to copy the methods adopted in the farm. The initial cost of the Scheme was met from a generous grant given by the Malabar Flood Relief Committee and the land required was very kindly acquired by Government under the Land Acquisition Act, the cost being borne by the Trust out of the grant already referred to.

With a view to improve the economic condition of the villagers, the Trust made it a part of its programme to start co-operative societies for villagers. It was felt that mere credit organisations, unless the credit obtained is used for productive purposes, would hinder rather than improve the economic condition of the villagers. So the Trust organised two purchase and sale societies for weavers in two weaver villages near Tanur. The weavers, once a prosperous community, have now become hopelessly impoverished owing primarily to ignorance and the lack of initiative to adjust their methods to the changing needs of the times. The weavers generally live in streets and not in isolated homesteads. Being a community living in a compact area, it was presumed that it was possible to work the societies satisfactorily. Adult Schools and educative propaganda by means of lectures and magic lantern shows were utilised as aids to work the societies. But the appalling ignorance, the deep-rooted superstitions and the apathy towards their own improvement at one time appeared to be insurmountable obstacles. But persistent efforts all these years seem to be now yielding satisfactory results. The Societies have been purchasing large quantities of yarn, preparing different and improved varieties of cloth and reaping good profit out of the sales kindly found for the finished products by the D. M. R. Trust. The members have come to realise the benefits of real co-operation, the responsibilities and duties of members and what organised and well regulated business means. The bonuses they receive are being usefully utilised, in some cases to pay off their prior debts and in others to improve their dwellings or to add to their equipment. The Weaving School attached to the Court Hill Higher Elementary School where improved methods of weaving are demonstrated is also having some influence and there is a persistent demand from the weavers to teach them improved methods. The Trust hopes to open a part time school for weavers to satisfy this demand. Habit of thrift is encouraged by inducing members to deposit a portion out of their meagre wages. To prevent wastage of money on drink, with the consent of the members, rice is doled out in lieu of wages in cash. There are various problems connected with the working of the weavers' co-operative societies

which try the patience and energy of the workers. But this report is not the place for their enumeration.

It will be seen from the foregoing paragraphs that rural uplift in a wider sense is being attempted in Malabar. However much the conditions may be unfavourable, a serious attempt is being made. The work of the Trust in and around Tanur and the new scheme of adult education which the Trust has inaugurated in other places in Malabar may in course of time yield beneficial results on which the Government and the Trust can congratulate themselves. But it is well to realise that the effect of this kind of work cannot be seen or even visualised in a short time, if we only remember the appalling ignorance and apathy of the Malabar villager. It would indeed be a miracle if the change in his outlook is rapid. The villager may be pardoned if he cannot all at once become enthusiastic about any work started for his uplift and take to it kindly, for his experience in the past has been very unfortunate. People have often come in the garb of friends and have exploited his ignorance to their utmost benefit. Experience has taught him to be wary of his 'well-wishers'. But once he is satisfied that those who have come to help him are sincere and honest, he will put his implicit faith in them and abide by their advice and guidance. It is the task of every organisation started for rural uplift to create a body of honest and sincere workers who will consider no sacrifice too great for this noble cause and identify themselves wholeheartedly with the interests of the villager, sharing in his joys and sorrows, standing by him in times of prosperity as well as adversity. To create this confidence and faith in the work is a necessary condition precedent to the successful working of any scheme of rural uplift. This the Trust has been trying to do facing all obstacles, undaunted by failures, treating failures as stepping stones to success, and keeping before it the objective for which the Trust stands.

R. SURYANARAYANA RAO.

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