

The Servant of India

EDITOR : P. KODANDA RAO. OFFICIATING EDITOR : S. G. VAZE.

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Topics of the Week.

Federal Structure Sub-Committee.

THE Federal Structure Sub-Committee is announced to reassemble, with a possible addition of eight members, in London by 5th September. As this date appears to suit every party or interest concerned, we have no right to quarrel with it, but it seems to us a great pity that the Sub-Committee could not meet on 29th June as the British Government had proposed. It is a mistake to suppose that much of the work of this Sub-Committee has already been accomplished. The addition of new members will necessarily throw open to discussion every question that was debated there, even those on which a large amount of agreement was arrived at. We do not imagine that the members to be now added will but echo the views of the sitting members. If it were so the enlargement of the Committee would be entirely meaningless. On the contrary, we expect some of the new members at any rate to voice views totally different from those which found expression at the previous sittings of the Sub-Committee. Therefore the work of the Sub-Committee will practically begin afresh on September 5 or any date thereafter which may be fixed for its summoning. If so, the time that will be available for a detailed consideration of the many intricate problems that will arise for solution will be found, we are afraid, too short. Those who know how the proceedings of the first Round Table Conference and its Committees were hurried and remember the imperfect condition in which the work has been left cannot but deplore

that the Federal Structure Sub-Committee should not have found it possible to resume its sittings at once.

Muslims' Unhelpful Attitude.

WE are afraid we cannot congratulate the president of the Muslim Volunteers' Conference held at Bombay on Monday last upon his inaugural address. The most outstanding need of the situation is, as everybody knows, the establishment of a lasting understanding between Hindus and Muslims which the speech has by no means made easier. He talked of the famous fourteen points as being the irreducible minimum of the Muslim demand. As if to emphasise this point, he blamed Muslim leaders that they did not pitch the demand a little higher so that it should be capable of reduction, if need be, in the course of negotiations between the two communities. If, according to him, the Muslims will insist upon the fulfilment of their demand embodied in those fourteen points and will have not a whit less than those fourteen points, where is the scope for negotiation between the two communities which Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy obviously does not altogether rule out? In laying undue stress on the fact that the fourteen points constitute the rock-bottom requirement of his co-religionists he seems to be indulging in bluff for which he blamed the Hindus. We should of course not be understood to approve of the Hindus' resort to bluff. Bluffing should indeed be avoided as far as possible, because it deceives nobody and only helps in delaying a settlement. That is the last thing any man, to whatever community he might belong, should make himself responsible for, especially at the present time when the fruition of our aspirations seems to be so near and is only waiting for the establishment of concord and amity between the two great communities. But there is so much mutual distrust that everything, even the most unobjectionable thing emanating from one side, is invariably looked upon with suspicion by the other. Take adult suffrage as an example. Because it is supported by Mahomedans, it must not be endorsed by the Hindus. That may appear incomprehensible to some; but that is the very unreasonable attitude which the extremest section among the Hindus are recently taking up, if the proceedings of the recently held conference of the Punjab and Frontier Hindus are any index to their mentality. Mr. Suhrawardy obviously represents the Muslim counterpart. The attitude of the Nationalist Muslims in supporting joint electorates is nothing but gall and wormwood to him. We do not know with what truth he made the assertion that some of the Muslims holding these views were paid out of Congress funds in order to carry on that propaganda. This is not the first time the charge has been levelled at the Congress which would do well to publish facts for public information. That the Congress is trying to buy support for its views is a serious accusation which no institution, least of all an institution having Mahatma Gandhi

as friend, philosopher and guide, can afford to ignore. But even Mr. Suhrawardy surpassed himself when he pleaded for the establishment of a parallel organisation both with the Government and the Congress, wherever Muslims live. His speech is thus an illustration of abundant ginger unmixed with commonsense.

* * *

Work of the Retrenchment Committee.

ALONG with the second Indian Sandhurst Committee, another important committee is at present sitting at Simla. That is the Retrenchment Advisory Committee which was opened by the Finance Member Sir George Schuster with a speech which explained what the committee was expected to do. The present idea seems to be to split the committee into smaller bodies which would be asked to examine retrenchment proposals received from the different departments. This is a step in the right direction, and though the committees would be only advisory and not mandatory, their association with the Finance Member will serve the purpose of assuring public opinion that retrenchment of the proper kind was being attempted. Our past experience tells us that when there is great need to retrench public expenditure, the axe has invariably fallen on low paid employees like clerks and peons and left the highly paid staff untouched. Even if these advisory committees are able to prevent this calamity, they will have served a not unimportant purpose. But they can do more. They can examine the expenditure of the different Government departments and spot out waste, wherever it may be taking place. So far as the biggest item in the Central budget, viz. military expenditure, is concerned, it is perhaps not open to the committee to suggest any reduction in the fighting strength of the army. But, as pointed out by the Finance Member, the Army expenditure committee can certainly go into the question "whether the whole service was maintained in a most businesslike and economical way and whether the system of financial control was effective." In this connection one fails to see why there should be all this delay in remitting the problem of capitation charges for consideration to an independent tribunal, as announced by the Government nearly two months ago. We hope the personnel of the tribunal will be announced soon. Public opinion would have also liked to know something of the decisions of the conference of representatives of provincial governments which met last month at the head-quarters of the Central Government and considered the question of salaries of Government servants. To borrow the Finance Member's phraseology, the present is a period of "national emergency when a complete readjustment of values was necessary so that public expenditure might be adjusted on a different basis." Was the question of salaries considered in this spirit by that conference? Did the question of the pay and allowances of the Army officers, to which Dewan Bahadur Rangachariar drew pointed attention in his recent speech at Simla, engage the attention of the Committee to any extent? In all likelihood, not. To set all doubts at rest, however, it would be well if Government took the public into its confidence with regard to the work of the Conference.

* * *

Kolar Accident.

THE following comments by the *Times of India* on the recent accidental fire at the Kolar Gold Fields in Mysore State resulting in serious loss of life add strength to the demand of champions of labour that labour should be a federal subject:—

The whole world knows that underground mining is a dangerous occupation, and at the Kolar Goldfields, where

one mine has a depth of 7,000 feet and is the second deepest in the world, it would naturally be expected that the risks would not be less than elsewhere. But when every allowance has been made for necessary risks, it is not at all clear to the outside public that the Company controlling the mines has done everything possible to safeguard life and limb, or that it takes a sufficiently serious view of its responsibilities towards its employees. The record for the last year includes a strike of a month, apparently caused by mismanagement of labour, a long list of rock-bursts and now a fire which has caused 50 deaths and sent as many more to hospital. It is extraordinary to read that the fire originated in a workman leaving a lighted candle on a piece of timber and forgetting about it. Presumably there is some explanation; but to the outsider it seems incredible that any one with any knowledge of the casual habits of Indian labour should allow workmen to carry naked candles and the means of lighting them into mines. Experts may possibly be able to explain that what school-boys are taught about the miner's lamp is all rubbish; but until the explanation arrives the impression will remain that the Kolar Goldfields are controlled with too much regard for profits and too little for the safety and welfare of the workers. If these mines had been situated in British India, rightly or wrongly there would by now have been an outcry against the management which would probably have spread all over the country in a very short time. Lying in Mysore territory, they are to a great extent protected from criticism, and naturally they enjoyed exemption from the scrutiny of the Labour Commission, as the terms of reference of that body excluded Indian States. This does not absolve the Mysore Government from its duty of satisfying itself that ignorant workers living on Mysore territory are being properly treated. The personal intervention of the Dewan, which ended the strike last year, showed that the State is fully alive to this urgent duty. Its efforts to secure better and more sensible management should now be resumed.

* * *

If the Princes Decline?

IN the opinion of the *Indian Social Reformer*, which is widely shared by students of constitutions, "even the full federal scheme which alone Indian nationalists can accept is inferior to the unitary system". But the federal scheme sketched in the Sankey Report is miles and miles away from the full federal scheme, and yet, we are told, it represents the maximum which the Princes will ever yield. What then is to happen? What are the British Indian politicians to do in the event of the Princes declining to come into the only kind of federation which appears to such politicians to be worthy of consideration? The *Social Reformer* poses this question, for it says that the refusal of the Princes to enter any but a loosely organised union best described as "confederation" is not a mere possibility but a probability. The *Reformer* itself then proceeds to answer the question as follows:—

Our suggestion is that we must then drop the idea and concentrate upon the unitary plan for British India. We are told that if the Princes stand out, we cannot get responsibility in the Central Government. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald said he was willing for his own part to give this even without the States, but the other British parties were opposed. It is, then, the business of the latter to get the Princes to fall in with British India. But British India cannot agree that her right to responsible government is contingent on the action of the Princes who, until Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru 'popped the question' in the London Conference, were not in the picture at all. Let us not forget that the grant of responsible government to India is as much a necessity from the British as from our point of view. This British statesmen fully realise, but Moderatists like Sir Chimanlal Setalvad cannot.

* * *

Articles.

SAFEGUARDS.

A SHORT contrast is to be observed in the attitude of the public towards reservations and safeguards proposed to be introduced in the future constitution on the one hand and towards the proposal of nomination of the States' representatives in the federal legislature on the other. The first will only limit the area over which self-government is to operate; but the second will reduce to nullity popular government even in the area to be reserved to self-government. One should have thought that the public mind would be far more keenly exercised over nomination by the Princes than over reservations. For, ordinarily, the first concern of any political community would be to see that over matters to be released from the bureaucratic grip a real democracy will be in control, and the second concern would be still further to reduce the sphere of bureaucratic control by substituting democratic control for it. In India, however, a most curious phenomenon is to be noticed. If the first Round Table proposals are allowed to prevail, nominees of the Princes will clearly dominate the situation; they will not only have a predominant influence in federal matters, but will have a large finger in the British Indian pie. Of this effect of the new constitution no reasonable doubt can be entertained, and yet public opinion seems much too complacent about it. It concentrates its attack on reservations which are supposed to shackle India's self-government so closely as to render it of no practical value. Some of these reservations and safeguards must certainly be fought; but some others are not too unreasonable, and yet all are subjected by Indian publicists to an indiscriminating and uncompromising attack. This strange contrast can only be explained, harsh as it is to say so, by the racial bias working sub-consciously in the minds of the critics. In the final analysis we are not so much opposed to a bureaucracy as to foreign rule; we are not so much in favour of popular government as of self-government. Ours is a nationalist movement; our aim is not really to establish a democracy, but to oust foreigners from power. Our politicians will be quite content if they succeed in replacing white bureaucrats by brown autocrats.

This mentality is the most serious danger to public life in India to-day. Fortunately several eminent men have given the warning in clear terms and their warning becomes the more impressive because these men represent no particular school of thought but pure academic learning. We showed last week how Mr. Purkayastha would insist as an essential condition of federation that the States should be represented in the popular house of the federal legislature by election. His opinion so strongly expressed and the opinion of others similarly placed, will, it is hoped, correct the vicious tendency of politicians which is now observable. Mr. Purkayastha's insistence upon popular election in the States will

perhaps appeal forcibly to the politicians because he shows, when dealing with reservations and safeguards, how these can be mitigated in certain respects even to a greater extent than is generally believed to be possible. Public opinion seems ready complacently to accept the reservation of defence and external relations to the Governor General and paramountcy over the States to the Viceroy. Mr. Purkayastha would however on no account agree to the setting up of a sort of dualism in the Central Government. He realises of course that these subjects require special treatment, but to take them altogether out of the field of popular government seems to him too drastic a remedy. The needs of the situation would be fully met, he thinks, by assigning foreign relations and paramountcy to the upper house. As for defence he is of opinion that the guarantee which the British Government require that the funds needed for the army will be forthcoming should be secured not by making a cut in the military budget restorable by the Governor General but by making it effective only by the vote of a three-fourths majority of the lower house. The overriding powers of the Governor-General are similarly to be invoked, under the Round Table proposals, for the maintenance of India's credit abroad. In this matter Mr. Purkayastha suggests a similar measure as being more acceptable to Indian opinion and as affording an effective guarantee to the British Government, viz. that the decision of the legislature on a question relating to public debt should take effect only when in the lower house it is supported by a three-fourths majority. These proposals go so far beyond the most far-reaching proposals yet made for establishing some sort of popular control over these subjects that we hope they will induce the public to defer to what he says about the necessity of introducing election in the States as an indispensable condition of the acceptance of the federal idea.

Mr. Purkayastha's treatment of the subject of safeguards, though it may appear radical to some in certain aspects, is characterised throughout by a sanity which is rarely to be found in current literature. He scouts the suspicion widely entertained that British policy in India is still characterised by economic exploitation. "India has suffered grievously," he says, "for the loss of her political power but much less for the British economic exploitation than is usually supposed. In the economic field the worst results of British rule are due not to what the Britishers have done, but to what they have failed to do." This observation may not be palatable to Indian nationalists but is substantially true. We value greatly Mr. Purkayastha's criticism of the proposed safeguards because of the right perspective in which he surveys the effects of British policy in India. On the subject of safeguards in the economic sphere the author suggests that an understanding may be reached on the following terms between Indian nationalists and the British business community. "In the first place, subject to the reservation of mining, wireless, coastal and inland navigation and railway transport exclusively to the natural-born citizens of India, it shall be open to a British enterprise to register itself in this

country and to engage in any commercial or industrial activity precisely on the same conditions as a purely Indian enterprise. Secondly, in the reserved field an enterprise shall be regarded as Indian if seventy-five per cent. of its share capital, number of directors and interest in managing agency firms is held by Indians; further in any scheme of Indianising the existing enterprises in the reserved field if and when adopted, the pace of Indianization, which must proceed on an uniform annual rate, should be spread over a period of not less than twenty years. Thirdly, notwithstanding the first proposition laid down here it shall be legitimate for the future government in India to restrict the enjoyment of direct state aid to such enterprise alone as shall satisfy prescribed conditions, ensuring their national character. A fourth term unconnected with the British business interests operating in India but which nevertheless can be stated here with advantage is that India must agree to treat Great Britain as the most favoured nation in pursuing her tariff policy." What safeguards would be reasonable on the financial side, i. e. in order to maintain India's credit in the international market? The fear entertained by the British financial interests seems to be that Indian nationalists, when they get the power, would remove a large part of India's gold reserve from London. This fear India may well set at rest by giving an undertaking that "no transfer of bullion shall be made when the bank rate in London rules higher than a particular rate," say 6 per cent. For the rest, India should have no objection to giving the pledge for the pay and pension of British officers, as indeed the Nehru Report proposed, and for the proper service of the foreign debt of India. No other safeguards are needed in Mr. Purkayastha's opinion. These constructive suggestions should prove valuable to those who are searching for a reasonable solution of the difficulty.

THE C.-IN-C.'S REACTIONARYISM.

THE Commander-in-Chief's speech at Simla on the 25th of last month starting the committee of experts appointed for the purpose of preparing a detailed scheme for the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst will arouse keen disappointment in India. The Committee, as will be remembered, is the result of a recommendation by the Defence Sub-Committee of the first Round Table Conference. This Committee laid down the important principle that "with the development of the new political structure in India, the defence of India must to an increasing extent be the concern of the Indian people, and not of the British Government alone." It did not stop with the "mere pious expression of opinion"; but went further and suggested a substantial increase in the rate of Indianisation of the Indian Army, by way of giving practical effect to that principle. It was not slow to see that the more rapid substitution of British officers by Indian ones in the Indian Army would be unattainable without the provision of suitable facilities for the training of Indians as military officers in India itself. The Committee therefore suggested

the establishment "at the earliest possible moment" of an Indian Sandhurst. This was to prepare candidates for Commissions, be it noted, not only in the Cavalry and Infantry units, but "in all arms of the Indian defence force." It was in order to work out a detailed scheme for the establishment of such a military college that it recommended that a committee of experts be set up. It may be stated that the Indianisation referred to by the Sub-Committee relates only to the Indian Army and not to the British troops in India. All that is suggested in their case is a reduction "to the lowest possible figure" of their number. How this is to be brought about is again left for "early expert investigation." We do not know when it is intended to start such an inquiry; indeed nothing has been heard about it since the Defence Sub-Committee submitted its report. We would therefore urge Government to take early steps to implement this recommendation of the Sub-Committee with a view to find out how and to what extent the strength of the costly British troops—they are between four and five times as costly as their Indian brothers—stationed in this country could be arranged.

Our more immediate concern however is with the Indianisation of the Indian Army. In his speech referred to above Sir Philip Chetwode announced that the Government proposed to take in hand for the purpose of Indianisation "a complete division of the Indian army of all arms." This is not to say that the hated Eight Units Scheme—hated because of the segregation of Indian officers in these units which it involves—is to be abandoned. That scheme is going to be persisted with, in spite of its admitted unpopularity not only with the general public but also with the Indian officers themselves and in spite, let us add, of its strong condemnation by the Sken Committee. We do not know what is gained by such callous disregard of public opinion and even of an influential section of military opinion as well. It is true the Defence Sub-Committee has given no specific direction on the point; but then it was concerned more with the broad question of Army Indianisation than with its details. But that is no reason why the Commander-in-Chief should go on with a measure which has aroused almost universal dislike. To do so is to start their new scheme of rapid Indianisation in an atmosphere of public prejudice which should be avoided. We trust that as a result of the pressure that may be exerted by the experts' committee wiser counsels will even yet prevail.

The capacity of the proposed military college has of course to be dependent upon the pace of Indianisation. That is easily understood. What exactly should be the rate of Indianisation has not been specified by the Defence Sub-Committee. But it has made it clear beyond doubt that it wants the present rate to be substantially increased. The Commander-in-Chief seems to us, as to Indian opinion generally, to have interpreted the Committee's wishes too narrowly. He apparently thinks that the Committee's wishes would be met if the proposed Indian Sandhurst provided for less than one half of the yearly requirements of the Indian army in the matter of the supply of officers. He wants the committee of ex-

perts to formulate the scheme of a college which would train a maximum of 60 Indian cadets *plus* such additional number as may be required for Indian States Forces. According to information officially furnished to the Sub-Committee, the normal annual wastage of the Indian army is 120, though in the course of its deliberations even higher figures were mentioned. If there had to be complete Indianisation, the proposed Sandhurst would have had to be able to deal with at least 100 cadets on the assumption that the 20 seats reserved for Indians at the English Sandhurst would still be available to them, an assumption which the Sub-Committee's report fully bears out. Even if this had been done, the Indianisation of the Indian army would not have been over in a few years but would have taken more than a generation. For a British officer takes as many as 35 years for rising to the position of a General and if recruitment in England is stopped today, it will be 35 years before the last British officer leaves Indian shores for good; but even this was too much for the bureaucracy, which is not yet in a mood to loosen its hold on India. Whoever else may be keen to see the Indian army fully officered by Indians at the earliest possible date the bureaucracy is not and may be trusted to do everything possible to postpone the satisfaction of Indian aspirations till the Greek Kalends.

As compared to other schemes of army Indianisation prepared under official auspices Sir Philip Chetwode's proposal will have to be characterised as extremely reactionary. Let us take the proposals of a committee which was appointed nearly ten years ago. Its report was kept a dead secret all these years, even the Indian Sandhurst Committee not being allowed to know anything about it. The public would probably have remained ignorant even today if it had not been for the insistent demand in the Defence Sub-Committee for its publication from Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir Muhammad Shafi, who alone, as members of Lord Reading's Government, knew of its existence. This committee originally provided for the Indian army being completely Indianised within a period of 42 years, which on reconsideration was brought down to 30 years. If this committee's proposals had been accepted, by 1936 or 14 years after the enforcement of its scheme, assuming it was given effect to in 1922, the annual average number of King's Commissions granted to Indians would have been 81. If, as suggested by the Commander-in-Chief, the proposed Indian military college only provides for 60 cadets, the number of Indian officers available for appointment to the Indian army, trained both in India and in England, would very nearly be the same. But that scheme had also this additional advantage that whereas Sir Philip Chetwode's proposal mentions no time limit within which complete Indianisation would be achieved, the 1922 scheme proposed to finish the process positively in 30 years. Even the scheme prepared by the Skeen Committee, unsatisfactory and disappointing as it was, must be said to be an improvement on the Chetwode proposal in that it had laid down a definite time-table of Indianisation and had recommended the establishment of a military training

college with provision for 100 cadets. That scheme aimed at 50 per cent. Indianisation. One wonders if the present Commander-in-Chief's proposal aims any higher. It is moreover very vague and indefinite. In our opinion, the Defence Sub-Committee would have more effectively served the cause of Indianisation if it had given the authorities in India some definite indication of the time in which the Indianisation was to be completed. But the demand for such a specific direction was, contrary to general expectation, unfortunately not strongly supported by the Indian members of the Sub-Committee, Mr. Jinnah being the only one to press it to the extent of recording his dissent.

The Indian demand for a more rapid Indianisation is generally resisted, as it is resisted by Sir Philip Chetwode, on the plea of want of sufficiency of material for the proposed military college in India. This fear seems to be somewhat exaggerated. Indian young men being new to the profession of arms, it is only natural that they should be slow in taking to it. But with the lapse of time the position is sure to improve with the result that there will be a regular scramble for entrance into the Indian military college. That the Indian authorities are needlessly nervous on the point is clear from the fact that the number of Indians seeking admission to the Sandhurst is steadily rising and that last year the number of applicants exceeded the number of seats reserved for Indians.

Much is also made of the absence in India of the type of English public school which prepares candidates for a military career. Indeed it seems to be supposed in some quarters that a military college unaccompanied by an adequate number of public schools is unthinkable. As pointed out by Sir P. C. Sethna, however, in his recent letter to the press on the subject, there are countries like Japan, France and Germany which officer their armies with their own men which do not boast of any public schools. And yet nobody can say that their officers are in any way less efficient than those produced under the British educational system. Why should India not be allowed to follow the less costly example of these countries rather than that of Great Britain? But if that is done it will deprive the bureaucracy of a plausible excuse for delaying army Indianisation indefinitely.

Another point which will go far to reduce the utility of the prospective military college is that it will not take Kingston as its model. In this college side by side with the military education imparted there, the cadets are also trained for other walks of life. Thus everybody who gets into that college comes out with two strings to his bow so that if he proves a failure in the military profession, he has something else to fall back upon which will enable him to earn his bread and prevent his time spent in the college from being altogether wasted. But such a sensible arrangement has been, as announced by the Commander-in-Chief in his speech, declared to be unsuitable to India! Here too it is up to the committee of experts to persuade the authorities to revise their decision, which, if allowed to

stand, will considerably prejudice the chance of success of the proposed college.

That all the profuse expressions of good will towards India which were such a pleasing feature of the first Round Table Conference should have been followed by such niggardly treatment by the military authorities of India's claim to man the higher ranks in the Indian army by her own sons is very disheartening. The manner in which Britain will tackle this problem will, as pointed out by Indian opinion repeatedly, be the test of Britain's sincerity to India. We cannot say Sir Philip Chetwode's scheme will successfully stand that test. It is based on distrust of Indians and will not satisfy politically-minded Indians.

Reviews.

A MAKER OF MODERN EUROPE.

MEMORIES OF LENIN. BY NADEZHDA K. KRUPSKAYA. (Martin Lawrence.) 1930. 20cm. 213 p. 5/-.

LENIN (1870-1924), the disciple of Marx, was the one man who founded and guided the Soviet Republic of Russia. The deliverance of his country from Tsarism and serfdom—that was, from the start, the goal he kept in view. He organised his revolutionary programme among the masses so well and so widely that, at the close of the Russo-Japanese War, he was able to strike the first blow against Tsarism. During the great European War, his movement gained an international importance. Then, he led the forces of the proletariat against capitalism, fought for the attainment of political power and won the cause of Socialism. Eventually, "he emerged from the turmoil in which myriads were butchered, to be the virtual autocrat of a vast Empire."

In a deadly struggle like that, there would be loss of many lives and of much property. But Lenin, according to dispassionate critics, cannot be held responsible for the excesses of the Revolution. By temperament and training, he was opposed to them. That will be clear from this book, where we get an intimate account of his life, written by one who is in every way competent to write it. She was his wife and life-companion, and devoted her whole life to the cause for which her husband dedicated his. Although she was the centre of the organising work, she found time to write *The Working Woman* and *Popular Education and Democracy*, two very important works, and to be the Educational Secretary of *Iskra* (The Spark), the Party organ, the motto of which was "From Spark to Flame".

The account is not complete; for it covers only the period from 1894 to 1908: his life in Petersburg, the time spent in exile, the Munich and London sojourns, the storm and stress of the Second Congress and a few eventful years after that. But the reminiscences of those days are sufficient to indicate his tireless industry, his wide and varied reading, his persevering greatness, his matchless powers of organisation and his sublime simplicity. He was master of English, German and French and had a working knowledge of Italian, Swedish and Polish. She gives an artless tale, and the partiality of the wife has not given any colour to its narration. That this is so can, more or less, be inferred from an article about Lenin by Mr. J. C. Squire, who saw Lenin during his London days. A short para from it shall be extracted here.

He was a neat, little man, short and slight, in comfortable quiet clothes. He spoke to few; but when he did speak, it was with an easy courtesy. ... He was a barrister, ... At the British Museum, he was the most regular of attendants; he read very persistently.... He lived with his wife. Those who visited him there said that everything was extremely tidy and clean. The couple was poor but not oppressively so. The allowance he received was ample for their needs which were few.

Today his name is known all over the civilised world. Some regard him as 'one of the makers of Europe.' That view is put forth by Mr. D. S. Mirsky in his life of Lenin. Others consider him as 'a god of the godless' and the destroyer of Russia. Mr. Ossendowsky holds a brief for these. The book under review will show that Lenin cannot possibly be the original of the picture portrayed by the latter. If Lenin were so bad, his portrait would not be now hung in millions of homes in Russia; Petrograd would, especially after his death, never have been altered into Leningrad, and "through the darkest and bitterest of nights, silent, uniformed sentries, with bayonets aloft, would never stand (as they do now) at guard round his crystal coffin."

T. K. KRISHNA MENON.

THE POWER OF THE PRESS.

THE PRESS AND THE PUBLIC. BY GEORGE BLAKE. (Faber & Faber.) 1931. 20cm. 36p. 1/-.

IN this small pamphlet the author, who is described as "an experienced Fleet Street journalist", tries to give us some idea as to how the so-called "popular Press" in Great Britain is vulgarising the public mind. From this category he of course excludes newspapers of the type of the *Times* and the *Manchester Guardian* which show a "high sense of responsibility to the Nation." The "popular Press" is owned, he reminds us, by four noblemen viz. Lords Riddell, Beaverbrook, Rothermere and Camrose. But it was not these Lords that started the process of vulgarisation. According to the author, this vulgarisation of the public mind dates back to the year 1881 when the *Tit Bits* came into existence and has been going on systematically since. The craze for wide circulation, wider circulation and still wider circulation gives rise to such stunts as "Should red-haired girls marry black-eyed men?" and "Can bob-haired mothers go to Heaven?" It is such stunts that go a long way, in the author's opinion, to vitiate public taste. But the point requiring serious consideration is: what can be done to stop this decline? To this important question the author with all his experience of journalism has not been able to give any satisfactory answer, or for that matter any answer at all. Though from this point of view the pamphlet makes disappointing reading, it is otherwise very interesting and tells us many things not too generally known. Thus e.g. we come to know for the first time that "even a prosperous morning paper like the *Daily Mail* does not employ a staff of much more than seventy trained journalists, writing men, that is, and it is calculated that the number of professional journalists in the whole country does not exceed ten thousand altogether. But ten thousand virtually directing the thought of forty millions—rich food for the social philosopher here." Apart from the writing men, more than a thousand people—printers, packers, advertising canvassers, clerks, and so forth—are needed for the production of a great London daily. It is generally supposed that what influences public opinion most in a newspaper is its leading article. This, according to Mr. Blake, is a delusion. "The leading article" he says "does not make converts; appeals to the electorate are so much waste of space,

...serving only to back up and, perhaps, elaborate a point that has already been made much more effectively in the sub-editor's room." But though editorial writings in a newspaper may not have material political influence, that it possesses much "crushing power" in "material issues," is undoubted, with the result that if a newspaper takes it into its head to make anything unpopular, it has unlimited opportunities of carrying out its unholy design. If the author is to be believed, by far the most important person in a newspaper office, next to the editor of course, is the sub-editor, "the hired assassin of the trade" and "a prostitute in facts" as the author chooses to describe him. While one such may be enough for carrying on Indian newspapers with their pigmy circulations and sizes, the great organs of opinion in western countries are required to maintain a whole army of them. The sub-editor's methods of work are selection, emphasis and suppression of news which, it should be remembered, is not a bare statement of facts. As an American anecdote points out, "if a dog bit a man on Broadway, that isn't news; but if a man bit a dog on Broadway, that certainly is news." By the judicious use of these methods, the author points out, a sub-editor "may exercise more influence than all the leader-writers that ever lived." The way Indian journalism is developing makes one think that it would not be very long before the sub-editor comes to wield the deadly weapons with as much effect as his confrere in the West. Of the three methods referred to above, it is easy to see that the last one is sometimes for obvious reasons the most effective. It is a wonder to many how certain newspapers in whose production a variety of people are concerned boom only particular persons and studiously ignore altogether certain others. Is a regular list kept in every newspaper office of people to be favoured and to be avoided? The explanation is given by Mr. Blake.

Every journalist can tell you that in the offices in which he works the sub-editor must have regard for the promptings of the official (but unwritten) Black List—a list which, by the way, is generally a fairly accurate reflection of the personal prejudices of the proprietor. The names of two or three politicians may be upon it; they are those who "must not be mentioned." One or two authors may figure in it; they are those whose works "must not be reviewed"... But the silliest exercise of this great power of suppression is to be seen almost daily in the care that certain periodicals take, even in the most trivial association, not to mention a rival paper by name lest that rival be given a free advertisement.

But even when all is said, the author does not hesitate to give to British newspaper-proprietors "certificates of reasonably good conduct in the matter of politics."

One of the most curious reminiscences of the late Mr. Tilak is that though he was himself an extremist, he once wrote an article in the approved moderate style for a journal of the opposite school in Poona, only to oblige the newspaper proprietor who was his friend and it is well known Mr. Tilak was a good friend. A parallel is to be found, as Mr. Blake tells us, in "a man of brains who, each day, having completed his leading article for a Conservative paper, walked across the street and wrote a slashing reply to it on behalf of its Liberal rival." The shrewd reader will not fail to observe that while Mr. Tilak did the trick only once, this professional journalist did it day after day.

We think we have said enough to bring out the interesting nature of the contents of this little pamphlet. Those who are curious to know more about it are referred to the pamphlet itself whose perusal will, we promise, make a dull hour interesting.

K. G. L.

DEVELOPMENT OF PORTO RICO.

PORTO RICO AND ITS PROBLEMS. By VICTOR S. CLARK & OTHERS. (The Brookings Institution, Washington.) 1930. 23cm. 707 p. \$ 5.00.

PORTO RICO was a Spanish possession before it came under the American flag in 1898. It is a small island of 100 by 35 miles. It is one of the most densely populated agricultural countries of the world, with nearly four hundred people attempting to eke out a living from each square mile of area. The cultivated crops cover only one-fourth of the total area. The population does not exceed one and a half million. It is a curious blending of the descendants of early Spanish settlers, of the sixteenth and seventeenth century migrations of African slaves and of a few American Indians. The island has its difficulties and problems.

It is poverty, it is insufficient income for proper nourishment, it is the lack of a permanent home, it is the lack of a right to a piece of land, it is the absence of social organisation in the scattered and isolated community—that is at the root of the problem.

The panacea for all these evils lay in some change that must be wrought in the economic status of the people.

So a survey of these conditions and problems was undertaken by the Brookings Institution, with an expert staff under the directorship of Victor S. Clark. Their chief aim was to find out (1) "how to raise the incomes and the standard of living of her people" and (2) "how to establish mutually satisfactory public relations between the island and the main land." This is a most exhaustive survey, including the descriptions and discussions of the conditions of rural and urban workers, public health, education, Government organisation, fiscal administration, financial organisation, external trade, the commercial system, and agricultural and industrial possibilities. In short it touches every economic, political and social phase and problem of the country. As a result of this investigation a number of solid and practical recommendations, based on thorough study and deliberation have been made in the book, with a view to ameliorate the condition of the people.

It is recognised at the outset, "that the economic progress is conditioned at every stage by the knowledge possessed by the masses of the people." Hence in 1928 nearly six million dollars were spent on education and 40 p. c. of the boys below 20 years of age were attending schools and 97 per cent. of the urban children were on the school register. This is certainly marvellous progress, considering the short period of thirty years in which it was made. They fully realise that, "the school house is the only sign of hope in the primitive and poverty-stricken rural communities. It is the promise of a new day and so it seems to the poorest of them. Take the school house out and the rural community in Porto Rico would be hopeless indeed." It has been made the sole centre of social activity and a home of democratic ideas. They define the aims of the education in the island as (1): "To raise the standard of living in the rural communities; (2) to improve the productive capacity of the island; (3) to carry out a program of social and health instructions based on the needs of the people in the rural centres and (4) to improve the life and home conditions of the people." Thus they want to turn out from the public schools graduates capable of bettering the economic conditions of the people, rather than economic misfits who are the products of our system of education. Hence manual arts is a compulsory subject. Home economics courses are given to the girls in grammar schools. They have a polytechnic school where the courses

are given to the students which prepare them for practical vocations. Great stress is laid on the dignity of labour.

Their municipal organisations are highly organised. The tendency in the Government organisations is towards greater simplicity, smallest number of officials and a greater concentration of power and responsibility. The chapters on Taxation and Finance are not only very interesting but also very illuminating. Their Public Health Department seems to be doing valuable work. We see that while the birth rate during 1900-1928 has gone up from 29 per thousand to 40.5, the death rate has fallen from 26.4 to 22.4. Their public works have been developing at a rapid pace during recent years. Their activities can be favourably compared with those of the U. S. A. In short, the work of a century has been accomplished in a single generation.

The island has certainly greatly benefitted by its contact with the U. S. A. But being a part of the American customs system, it must import everything from that country, at a high cost, owing to the protected nature of that market and the high cost of production. Again, the American coastal shipping laws require that all goods between Porto Rico and U. S. must be carried in the American ships. This of course is meant to encourage American merchant marine. The element of exploitation, so common with other Imperial powers, is not absent even here.

Everyone interested in the social, political and economic welfare of India should read this book. It has a great deal to teach. Some of the chapters and recommendations would serve as a very useful practical guide to Indian statesmen and social workers. Herein are discussed the conditions and problems identical to those prevailing in India e. g. poverty and illiteracy of the masses, high birthrate and still higher death rate, systems of education, the ways and means to increase the earning capacity of the individual and to raise his standard of living. Even the question of diet including the monotonous and debilitating consumption of polished rice has been given proper attention. This book, so methodically and well written, is therefore of special utility and value to the Indian reader.

M. S. CHEEMA.

INDIAN LIFE THROUGH MISSIONARY EYES.

TALES OF INDIA. BY E. T. BARTON & OTHERS.
(Church Missionary Society, London.) 1930.
21 cm. 62 p. 1/-

AMIYA, A BENGALI GIRL. BY MARGARET M. URQUHART. (Edinburgh House Press, London.)
1930. 18cm. 64 p. 1/-.

ALL these tales are attempts of Christian missionaries to depict Indian life, as they saw it, while living in India. There are generally two ways of describing one's sojourn in a foreign country; the first is to record events as they happened during one's stay in the country or to record directly or indirectly the sum total of the impressions left upon an observant mind. The authors of these stories have followed the second method by attempting to draw pictures of Indian life—pictures which they intend to be realistic life photographs. The main motive, however, is the ardent desire to advertise the philanthropic work, which is carried on in India by different missionary organizations. But this presiding motive is so skillfully concealed that an unwary foreign reader is easily taken in and led to believe what is not exactly

true. We can easily pardon the authors for portraying only the dark side of Indian life, as the stuff comes from all those who lived in India to do some reclamation work or other, and as such their preoccupation with the seamy side of Indian life is not at all surprising. Naturally, therefore, women who are (rather were) 'cribbed, cabined and confined', depressed classes and aborigines who are (according to the Christian missionaries) friendless and faithless form the material for their tales. The impression that they create upon a foreign reader is that India is a land where fellowship and charity are unknown virtues. True it is that there never existed a poor law in India, but the conclusion that "India has a poor law that is unwritten" drawn by the Famine Commission of 1880 (Report App. II p. 65) is equally true. Even today it is not an unfamiliar sight to see even a highly sophisticated house wife awaiting a mendicant before finishing her midday meal. We do want to deny that there is absolutely no scope to rationalise the Hindu sense of charity, which is essentially rooted in sentiment. Apart from the distorted impressions of India which these tales give, they are sure to disappoint any reader if he wants to enjoy them as art. If grip on life and art of narration be considered as the criteria of realistic fiction these stories will not stand the test.

Amiya, a novelette, which tells the life-story of a modern Bengali girl, is a sympathetic and sensible study of Hindu life. The heroine of the tale, *Amiya*, is a type, we may say, of modern Hindu womanhood, which was, for the last several decades, "hovering between two worlds, one dead and the other powerless to be born." The authoress shows a deep and critical understanding of Hindu life, with its age-old traditions and customs, the very existence of which is challenged by a more virile and realistic culture. The ordeal to which men and women in general and women in particular are subjected during these days when tradition and experiment are at loggerheads in the arena of social life, is a very stiff and strenuous one. For it is the woman in any society that gives colour and stability to life, as being more conservative by nature, she accepts all change with a certain amount of reserve; and thus determines the dynamics of all social reform, by "putting the brakes on", as the authoress rightly observes, when she finds men carrying things to extremes. The heroine of this novel has got a double part to play; on the one hand she has to restrain her England-returned husband, who is an uncompromising advocate of adopting (without even trying to adapt) all the Western manners and methods; on the other hand she has to pacify her old mother-in-law who is a stronghold of orthodoxy. She very shrewdly restrains all the excesses of her husband by appealing to his re nascent sense of nationalism and cools her mother-in-law by appealing to the mother in her. The authoress has deservedly lavished her admiration upon the heroine, who is, after the fashion of Hindu women, "a picture of gentleness and love." At places she has succeeded beyond expectation in projecting her mind into the mind of an ideal Hindu woman; and such places are not few and far between. She has made the heroine assure her mother-in-law, in her extreme anxiety for her son, "Do not be anxious, mother. We women must be patient. Men are not like us. They are eaten with ambition . . . etc." By such deft and sly touches, the authoress has shown her deep and penetrating understanding of Hindu life and thought for which, it seems, she has secretly cherished great admiration.

Y. G. NAIK.

ANCIENT INDIAN CIVILISATION.

OUTLINE OF ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION. By RAMESH CHANDRA MAJUMDAR. (To be had of Chuckervertty, Chatterjee & Co., Calcutta.) 1928. 20cm. 628p. Rs. 7/8.

THE need of a book dealing not only with political history but also with the main facts of the civilisation of ancient India has long been felt by students of Indian history. Dr. Majumdar's book supplies this long felt need. His qualifications for writing the book under review are very high. His book may therefore be safely relied on as an accurate account of the history and civilisation of ancient India.

The book is divided into three parts, the first part dealing with the history and civilisation of ancient India from the dim beginnings of history to 600 B. C., the second part from 600 B. C. to 300 A. D., and the third part from 300 A. D. to 1200 A. D. It is usual with some historians to deal at great length with the rise and fall of dynasties in North India and the cultural development in the North, and to pay scant attention to the history and civilisation of the South. Dr. Majumdar has not committed this mistake. His book contains an accurate account of the history and civilisation not merely of North India but also of the South.

Dr. Majumdar is a true student of history. He is a humble devotee before the altar of truth. He has not exaggerated the glories of ancient India nor has he minimised the shortcomings of Indian culture. His estimate of men and things is just and untrammelled by any European or Imperialistic point of view. Assamples of his correct judgment we shall take his treatment of Alexander's invasion and the character of ancient Indian monarchy. The learned author has not fallen into the groove of European historians who sing paeans of glory over the achievements of the Greek General. On the contrary, he regards Alexander's invasion as a mere raid. "It can hardly be called a military success" remarks the author, "as the only military achievements to his credit were the conquests of petty tribes and states by instalments". The exertions made by Alexander to defeat Porus, a petty Raja, do not certainly favour the hypothesis that he would have subdued the mighty Nanda Empire. And the author rightly concludes that Alexander's retreat from Hyphasis might not have been due solely to the mutiny of his soldiers; it might have been caused by the terror of the mighty power of the Nandas.

Again, the author's estimate of the character of the ancient Indian monarchy shows his historic judgment. He carefully points out the many indirect restraints on the authority of the king. He shows from *Arthashastra* that the people were recognised as one of the three important factors of the state in ancient India, the other two being the king and the bureaucracy. The ancient Indian monarchy would therefore approximate in spirit to the pre-War German constitution.

The author has avoided all discussions on controversial topics and has merely presented a "comprehensive, intelligible and interesting picture of ancient Indian history and civilisation." This method of treatment may be found useful by students, though it may not satiate the curiosity of the educated public. We wish the author had paid greater attention to controversial topics and chronological puzzles.

The book has at the end a good bibliography where information of a special kind may be sought. It is to be hoped that this bibliography will lead the

discerning reader to study some of the knotty problems of ancient Indian history.

The book is written in a fascinating style and Dr. Majumdar has succeeded in writing in an attractive manner on a subject of the utmost difficulty. We have no hesitation in saying that the book is a welcome addition to the growing literature on the history and civilisation of ancient India.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

SHORT NOTICE.

INDIAN WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY CALENDAR. (Dr. Mrs. IRAWATI KARVE, Yerandavana, Karve Road, Poona 4.) 1931. 23 cm. 210 p. Rs. 2

THIS University, as every Indian knows, is an experiment in Indian education on lines hitherto untried on such a scale anywhere in India and all those interested in it—and their number is quite large—have every reason to thank Dr. Mrs. Irawatibai Karve, the first lady Registrar of this University, for making available in a handy form in this publication full and detailed information about this University. The Calendar prints the constitution of the University and its course of study, regulations about the Senate, the Syndicate and office-bearers, grants-in-aid to aided schools and election of ordinary fellows. Not only is information about the examinations conducted by the University found in the Calendar but also about affiliated institutions as well, of which there seem to be twenty. But over and above the information usually found in similar publications, the reproduction of its convocation addresses since 1924 is a feature which is particularly useful to the general public. It is to be hoped that the publication of this Calendar will lead to greater public interest in the University and its doings.

A. V. T.

Miscellaneous.

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES OF MALABAR.

Mr. R. Suryanarayana Rau, member, *Servants of India Society*, read the following paper on the above subject at the *Second Geographical Conference* recently held at Palghat:

TO a casual observer Malabar appears to be a land of lotus eaters, peculiarly rich in every way with a copious rainfall, abundant and luxurious vegetation and in fact with all blessings which nature can bestow on a people living on this earth. But a careful study of the economic conditions prevailing in the district will dispel all such exaggerated notions. Almost all the land in Malabar is the private property of a few landlords. The density of population in the presidency reaches its maximum in the Malabar district. While the number of persons per square mile of the total area in the presidency is 297, it is 535 in Malabar. Taking the area under cultivation alone, it is 1498 in Malabar while it is 780 in the presidency. Considering only the agricultural population of the area under cultivation, the density is 901 in Malabar and 558 in the presidency. These figures are according to the Census of 1921. It may be safely asserted that the Census of 1931 will tell even a worse tale as the population of Malabar has increased without adequate increase in the area of cultivation. There is not much scope for extension of cultivation as much of the uncultivated land consists of hilly places and jungles.

Besides there are certain other economic and social factors peculiar to Malabar which render the problem of employment in agriculture much more difficult of solution than elsewhere. Under such conditions the importance of cottage industries not only for subsidiary occupation but also as the sole means of employment can hardly be exaggerated.

In dealing with the subject of cottage industries, it will be beyond the scope of this paper to deal with organised industries such as tile manufacture. In view of the fact that most of the garden lands are devoted to the cultivation of cocoanuts, cocoanut fibre industry is an important cottage industry engaging a fairly large number of people in the district. It is also a subsidiary occupation to those engaged in agriculture during the off season especially to women workers. Owing to the introduction of the dry system of cultivation which saves considerable trouble and expense and also the demand for cocoanuts which brought good price till recently, cocoanut planting has taken place extensively and even paddy lands have been converted into cocoanut gardens. The Malabar Tenants' Compensation Act also encourages extensions of cocoanut plantation. So cocoanut fibre industry is one of the most expanding industries of the district, providing profitable employment to a large number of people if properly organised. There are various processes through which the cocoanut husk has to pass before it is converted into coir useful for making ropes, door mats, etc. The process of extracting fibre by soaking the husk in salt water is considered to be the best as the fibre obtained is better in colour, fineness and strength than that obtained by the 'dry' process practised in areas where there are no backwaters or shallow pools. There is a good deal of loose thinking on the quality of soaked and unsoaked yarn which needs careful investigation by the Department of Industries. There is also great need to investigate and suggest better and easier methods for the conversion of husk into yarn and then into ropes, etc. so that large quantities of coir exported to foreign countries may be utilised here to prepare finished articles for sale. The question of eliminating the middlemen in the various processes through which the husk passes before it is converted into coir and then into finished products is a problem that can be tackled by co-operative effort alone. A few co-operative societies for coir workers have not been successful mainly due to the fact that the co-operative societies have not been successful in eliminating the middlemen in all the processes through which the husk passes and also due to lack of facilities for marketing. Any effort made in this direction by the Government and non-officials interested in co-operative production and sale will prove a great boon to the large number of coir workers and will ultimately place this growing industry on a sound and stable basis. The need for improving the shape, size and colour of the cocoanuts and also the yield of cocoanut trees by adopting improved methods of cultivation, by the use of manures, etc. is great and the Agricultural Department can with benefit redouble the efforts that are already being made in regard to this.

The industry next in importance is handloom weaving. Unlike other communities the Chaliyans of Malabar live and carry on their occupation in *theruvus*. To most of them weaving is the main occupation. The Chaliyans of Malabar are peculiar in many ways. They are very conservative and will not take advantage of upto-date appliances even though they are aware that the use of such appliances would greatly improve their economic condition. They are also slow to adapt themselves to the changes in fashion, style, etc., of the consumers. On the slightest pretext such as a festival they absent themselves from work. Owing to their poor economic

condition the weavers are generally in the clutches of middlemen from whom they receive yarn and return the finished products, receiving such wages as the merchants may be pleased to give them. The hold of these yarn merchants on these weavers is so strong that any movement started to better their condition will not thrive unless these middlemen are also benefitted. In some cases the yarn merchants hold some important places in their caste guilds. From the experience gained in the working of two weavers' co-operative societies conducted by the Devadhar Malabar Reconstruction Trust, I feel the problem of weavers resolves itself into these propositions:—

(a) How to tackle the question of prior indebtedness so that freed from their present shackles the weavers may be free to take advantage of the facilities offered by any movement started for their benefit such as the joint purchase and sale societies;

(b) How to provide adequate facilities for joint purchase of yarn and sale of finished products;

(c) How to increase their capacity for more production;

(d) How to improve the moral condition by weaning them from the habit of excessive drinking, avoidance of unnecessary expenses on festivals, etc. which result in debts and to save them from disease due to unhealthy and insanitary conditions of living.

The problem almost baffles solution, in view of the fact that sufficient finance is not available to relieve the weavers from their prior debts and also to make joint purchase of yarn necessary for their work. To increase their earning capacity fly-shuttle slay, warping mills, etc. should be introduced. This means large outlay of capital. When these improved appliances are introduced, the quantity of goods produced will be larger and ready market must be found for their finished products. So loans on easy terms are required, firstly, for clearing prior debts, secondly, for purchasing fly shuttle slays, warping mills, etc., thirdly, for keeping sufficient capital to keep the looms busy, and lastly, for organising the marketing of goods.

The State should give these loans if weaving as a cottage industry is to exist at all. Otherwise the prospects of weaving as a cottage industry are gloomy. There are also other conditions that sometimes make one feel that weaving cannot be successful as a cottage industry in Malabar. At the instance of dealers and middlemen the weavers have adopted all kinds of devices in weaving which in good business will be put down as dishonest. In spite of the best efforts made by the Devadhar Malabar Reconstruction Trust in the two societies mentioned already, it has been found difficult to wean the weavers from these ways. Often the finished products are not equal in weight to the yarn given and also of the particular texture and kind required and of approved samples. The skill of weavers in weaving differs from one another. But the consuming public naturally demand the same variety of cloth in texture and kind. If no careful watch is kept the weavers become so demoralised often owing to circumstances beyond their control, that either the finished products or the yarn itself is sold in the bazar instead of returning the goods to the societies in return for wages to be received. A system of watch and ward has to be maintained which means a lot of trouble and expense. At the same time such a system demoralises the workers. So an alternative method for carrying on weaving as an industry though not in the strict

sense as a cottage industry I venture to place before the public for consideration.

The method suggested is to run a co-operative weaving factory where workmen who are all members of the society can come and work. The workers will get wages for the work turned out and at the same time bonuses. There are no evils of the sweating system, nor of the capitalistic system. All the profits go to the society and each member is paid wages according to his capacity. There will be an expert weaving master who will supervise the work and who can be paid by the society. The work will then be conducted by proper businesslike methods. The quality of cloth produced will be better and more uniform and the quantity will be commensurate with the wages paid. The weavers are not then subject to the attention of the middlemen for they have no cloth to offer for sale. The middlemen cannot grasp the finished products to the detriment of the workers. The workers also will not be able to sell finished goods for any price in order to meet their daily requirements and thus one cause of their impoverishment is removed. Moreover at present weavers do not work regularly and often do not work as many hours as they ought to, not even six hours a day. They have formed indolent habits. But if they are to live at all as weavers, they should be made to work longer hours and that too regularly. A factory alone can inculcate in them all these habits.

I venture to suggest that the method suggested for weaving may, with such modifications as may be deemed necessary, be applied to coir and other industries as well, for the evils mentioned with regard to weaving are seen in a greater or lesser degree in their case also.

Another cottage industry which can be developed is the mat industry. Its success depends on the availability of raw material. This industry is specially confined to Palghat Taluka though there are other places in the district where mats are prepared out of palmyrah leaves. If a regular supply of raw material is provided and the industry is organised on a co-operative basis with facilities for marketing the industry is sure to expand. It is gratifying to learn that the Government have undertaken to organise this industry on a co-operative basis. Better methods of weaving mats by means of improved looms etc., may also be introduced to increase the output and thus better the economic condition of the workers. The Forest Department should be approached to permit free cutting of the raw material required from the neighbouring forests.

Bell-metal and bronze industry is another industry that needs encouragement. Dining dishes which are generally prepared out of bell-metal at one time found good sale outside the district. The introduction of enamel and porcelain ware has affected this industry greatly. But the utility and durability of the bell-metal wares should be impressed upon the public by means of propaganda undertaken by Government. Most of the workers engaged in this industry are indebted to the merchants and are obliged to work for them. Organisation of this industry on a co-operative basis at least in places where the workers are sufficiently large in number is a necessity.

Besides the cottage industries already mentioned, there are cabinet-making, umbrella-making, soap making, fish oil manufacture, fish-curing, rattan work, manufacture of knives and locks etc., which are practised in one place or the other in the district. If industries have to thrive as they must have thrived in the past, they should all be organised on a co-operative basis. Marketing facilities should be provided by bringing to the notice of the consumer where the articles manufactured can be had by open-

ing a depot in a central place like Calicut or Palghat for selling the goods manufactured. Adequate finance and supervision to run these societies should be provided either by Government or the District Co-operative Banks.

At the beginning of this paper I have pointed out the special importance of cottage industries in a district like Malabar. I have tried to understand whether the existing cottage industries will suffice to provide employment to all the workers whom agriculture alone cannot support. If the chronic poverty and the consequent physical deterioration are to be stopped, more cottage industries which do not involve large outlay but which will at the same time provide employment to the large number of the unemployed should be started. Goat-rearing and poultry-farming are two cottage industries which may be usefully introduced in the district even on a large scale. Improvement in the diet of the population, which has become absolutely necessary, is possible only by the larger use of milk and eggs as articles of food. The two cottage industries suggested will provide the necessary supply to meet the demand created by any propaganda undertaken for the improvement of diet. While the coastal towns and villages are supplied with fish, the places in the interior in Malabar need such articles of food as eggs and milk to take the place of fish.

In conclusion, permit me to emphasise again the importance of cottage industries in Malabar if the growing population is to live at all under improved conditions of life. Unless cottage industries are well organised and run on proper lines, and as agriculture can no longer provide occupation for all the workers, the economic future of Malabar is bound to be gloomy and no one interested in Malabar can ponder over it with equanimity realising what economic discontent would lead to elsewhere and more so in Malabar.

Correspondence.

DISTRESS AMONG THE ANDHRA RYOTS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR—The present trade depression has hit the Andhra peasants specially hard in view of the fact that many of them are dependent upon paddy which has become dead cheap and most of them are too heavily immersed in debt and all of them are absolutely in need of fresh credit to carry on their agricultural operations from year to year. Land values have gone down suddenly, in most cases by more than half and it has indeed become almost impossible to find buyers for the land even at reduced prices. This development has had a specially unfavourable effect upon the solvency and credit-worthiness of the Andhra peasants in that the creditors have been rushing to the courts and frantically resorting to all sorts of measures in the hope of collecting at least a portion of their money. In view of the fact that the average debt per acre has been estimated, after a careful and extensive enquiry by the Krishna Resettlement Economic Enquiry Committee, to be Rs. 100 and the interest upon it per annum is Rs. 12 and the tax Rs. 10 if the land is deltaic, there is scarcely any net return to the ryot from his lands after deducting Rs. 40 as the minimum out-of-pocket expenses. As has been stated by the Committee already referred to, most of the ryots have borrowed money in the hope of repaying it either with the returns from cultivation or from the sale value of their lands and now that their agricultural

returns as well as the land values have gone down so precipitately, the peasants are today in a hopelessly despondent condition.

The Imperial Bank of India and the National Bank and the Indian Bank which have lent large sums of money on the security of lands and the paddy stored by them have been pressing the ryots with disastrous effects for the repayment of their loans. The numerous Marwaris who have captured the money market of the Circars in the last decade are clamouring for money. Neither the banks nor the Marwaris desire to take possession of the ryots' lands and therefore the ryots are in a fix as to what to do, for there are no buyers among themselves unless it be that the prices are so low as to tempt someone or other to purchase their lands with borrowed capital.

Most of the ryots are feeling highly aggrieved at this policy of the banks and Marwaris. The ryots think that their creditors still have their lands as security for their debts and all the help they expect of their creditors is that they should wait for the recovery of their dues until more favourable times, bringing with them higher prices. They are willing to mortgage their properties as security for their debts but find themselves helpless in face of the refusal of the creditors to accept such security. As a consequence of the pressure put upon them by their creditors, a large number of ryots have been obliged to apply for insolvency, many more to create false liabilities, another set to bequeath their properties to all kinds of relatives or friends, several to commit suicide, not to speak of the numerous peasants who have lost all they had in order to discharge their debts honourably and fully. It is doubtful if even 10% of the Andhra peasants can be said to be solvent or free from the worries caused by their creditors and it is even more questionable if even 5% of these Andhra ryots can escape ignominious insolvency and ruin if the present conditions were to continue for another two years, unrelieved by any governmental action.

What wonder is there that under these hopeless conditions there should prevail widespread and intense dissatisfaction among the ryots against the apathy and inactivity of the Madras Government which has coolly dismissed the recommendations of the Economic Enquiry Committee? Though it is recently learnt that the Government is considering the recommendation of the Committee to advance more credit to the ryots, agitation among the ryots is gaining strength every day and protest meetings are held all over the country to demand help from Government. The feeling amongst ryots against Government, *scoundrels* and bankers is so bitter that it is even feared that before long it may take an undesirable turn as in the Maharashtra and the Punjab. The cry of "No payments to bankers" and "No respect to the decrees of the Courts" is daily gaining strength and unless immediate steps are taken, the situation may very likely become very serious indeed.

Prof. N. G. Ranga, the well-known Socialist and champion of the peasants, has so far succeeded in keeping the peasants' movement under restraint. In all places visited by him he is exhorting the ryots to have patience while he is demanding on their behalf from Government more and cheaper credit and time for the settlement of the debts. He has so far controlled the situation but it may get out of his control any moment.

What the ryots ask for are extremely reasonable terms. They want that the Courts shall decide only

in favour of 6% interest at the most from the time of re-writing the promissory notes, and the repayment of debts in long and easy instalments, and the cancellation of warrants for persons to remain in debtors' jail and attachments for the property of ryots. This is no new policy and it has been followed by several judges in many cases but the ryots desire that it shall now be universally followed. The ryots also desire that the collection of co-operative credit shall be suspended and only 6% interest charged upon all such debts. Lastly, they want Government to supply credit at 6% interest through co-operative societies and under taccavi acts. Yours, etc.

A CHAMPION OF PEASANTS.

Madras, May 31.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE FIGHT FOR FINANCIAL SUPREMACY. By PAUL EINZIG. (Macmillan.) 1931. 22cm. 144p. 7/6.
- ECONOMICS OF RURAL BENGAL. By K. B. SAHA. (Chuckervertty, Chatterjee & Co., Calcutta.) 1930. 22cm. 296p. Rs. 8.
- ANCIENT LAW. Its Connection with the Early History of Society and Its Relation to Modern Ideas. By HENRY SUMNER MAINE. (Oxford University Press.) 1931. 15cm. 344p. 2/-.
- THE LIFE OF TOLSTOY. By AYLMER MAUDE. Vols. I & II. (Oxford University Press.) 1930. 15cm. pp. 490 & 570. 4/- for both.
- INDIAN CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE, 1914-1930. How Government Have Managed it. (Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce & Industry, 28/30, North Beach Road, Madras.) 1931. 28cm. 67 p. As. 8.
- STUDIES IN INDIAN CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE. By H. L. CHABLANI. (Oxford University Press.) 1931. 22cm. 263 p. Rs. 5.
- THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA. By NALINI MOHAN PAL. (The Book Company, Calcutta.) 1930. 19cm. 342 p.
- SOME SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE LAND SYSTEMS OF BENGAL. By NALINI MOHAN PAL. (The Book Company, Calcutta.) 1929. 18cm. 148 p.
- INDIAN CURRENCY, BANKING AND EXCHANGE. By H. L. CHABLANI. (Oxford University Press.) 1929. 19cm. 166 p. Rs. 3.
- THE CHRISTIAN MISSION IN RURAL INDIA, REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS. By KENYON L. BUTTERFIELD. (International Missionary Council, Nagpur, London & New York.) 1930. 23cm. 162p. Rs. 3-3-0.

Protection of Minorities in India.

A limited number of copies of two pamphlets on the problems of the 'Protection of Minorities in India' written by the late Mr. K. T. Paul and Prof. Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, M. A., Ph. D. are available for the public. Any person who wants the pamphlets for study can get them by sending postage stamps of five annas to cover postage and part of the cost of printing etc. to the Secretary, Servants of India Society 17, MacLagan Road, Lahore.