

# Servant of India

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## NOTICE.

Owing to the celebration of the anniversary of the Servants of India Society this week, there will be no issue of this paper next week.

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## Topics of the Week.

### Outlook for the People of Indian States.

DR. A. BERRIEDALE KEITH writes as follows to Mr. D. V. Gundappa of Bangalore in a letter dated May 14 :—

"I have received your letter of the 23rd of April and a copy of your work on "the States and their People in the Indian Constitution." I have read the latter with interest and appreciation. The facts upon which it insists are fundamental; and if political changes were governed by logical considerations, effect would have to be given to the just claim that, if responsible government alone is good enough for the people of British India, it is equally due to the people of the Indian States. Unfortunately the spokesmen of British India appear to have sacrificed the claims of the people of the States in order to secure the readiness of the Princes to accept federation, with the result that the British Government has failed to appreciate the unfair character of the position. I hope that some enlightenment may proceed from your

statement; but it would be idle to pretend that this aspect of the situation is intelligently understood in this country or that due attention will be paid to it."

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### Mr. Chatterjee's Address.

THE address which Mr. Ramanand Chatterjee delivered to the third session of the Indian States' People's Conference in Bombay on Tuesday last as its President, is entirely worthy of the exceptionally high reputation which he holds among Indian publicists as a thoroughly disinterested, independent and well-informed critic of affairs. He has presented in his speech a searching analysis of the federal scheme, and given his weighty support to all the demands contained in the memorandum which was submitted recently on behalf of the Conference to the Working Committee of the Congress. With unerring judgment he puts his finger on the weakest spot in the scheme and devotes much space to showing how, among the many anomalies contained in the scheme, the capital anomaly of autocratic States federating with democratic Provinces will have the most disastrous consequences. If the federation is to redound to the good of British India or the Indian States it is necessary he says that the system of internal government in the States must correspond to the system that will come to prevail in the Provinces. As a matter of compromise, he is willing to let the federation be formed immediately even with the autocratic States as they are at present, but he insists, as an essential condition, that the States that desire to enter the federation should agree before admission to place their administration under a system of responsible government within "a definitely fixed short period" of five or ten years. And even during this short interval the States' members in the federal legislature must be elected by their people. Otherwise the Federal Assembly would be "useless for the common weal" and only "a tool in the hands of Indian autocrats and British bureaucrats," a conclusion to which every thinking person will agree.

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### Plea for Abolition of Separate Electorates.

WE do not suppose that the anti-national and anti-democratic nature of communal electorates is doubted by anybody. Moulvi Majibur Rahman presiding over the recently held conference of the Mahomedans of Barisal district has adduced additional

considerations which go to establish their unsuitability as an instrument for safeguarding Muslim interests. In the first place, he pointed out, people elected by separate electorates are not always the true representatives of their community nor do they make the care of their community's welfare their primary concern. If only one carefully followed the proceedings of our legislatures and closely scanned the division lists, it would lend ample corroboration to Mr. Rahman's statement. The division of the whole population into two watertight compartments, Muslims and non-Muslims, has a very unfortunate effect on the latter. Far from making them solicitous about the welfare of the Muslims, it throws the non-Muslim groups into each other's arms and hardens their opposition to purely Muslim requirements. Needless to say that this widens the gulf between the two communities instead of reducing it. The President of the Barisal Muslim Conference drew special attention to this aspect of the matter. But even more telling was his argument that by restricting its vision only to its own communal limits, communal electorates result in the mental and intellectual dwarfing of the community which takes advantage of them. They make the community depend upon adventitious aid and take away from it all temptation to be self-reliant. This is greatly to be deplored. The advocates of separate electorates should ineradicably inscribe on their hearts the president's wise remark that unless children are allowed to use their legs, they will never learn to walk. It is true that in learning to stand on their own legs by themselves, they might subject themselves to occasional falls. But who will doubt that left to themselves they would sooner and more surely learn the use of their legs? Undoubtedly there is much force in Mr. Rahman's contention and he has rendered a public service by so forcibly focussing public attention on it.

#### Mr. Satyamurti On the Situation.

Nobody expects the presidential addresses of Congressmen to provincial and district conferences to be anything more than attempts to cross the t's and dot the i's of resolutions passed by the Congress and as such to contain hardly any fresh points. But Mr. Satyamurti's address as president of the Tamil Nad Conference held at Madura in the first week of this month contains one or two things which deserve special mention. However much the Congress may profess not to care for what others think of its doings, its decisions are sometimes at any rate shaped by such considerations. According to Mr. Satyamurti, its decision to take part in the R. T. C. was considerably influenced by its effect on world opinion, particularly American opinion. The Congress did not "want to take any risk of alienating it by seeming to sulk." What Congress participation in the Conference may result in nobody can say nor did the president of the Tamil Nad Conference essay that difficult task. But his observations in this connection make one thing perfectly clear. Whoever else may delight in warfare, Mr. Satyamurti certainly does not. Indeed he expressed his strong disapproval of the conduct of those who indulge in a "perpetual talk of the next war." He is right when he says that such talk is unnecessary and unhelpful. If there is to be war again as a result of the breakdown of the

R. T. C., why need anybody talk about it from now?

His remarks on the proposed federation with Indian States are also full of commonsense. In the first place, he would not like the British Government to make the introduction of responsibility at the centre contingent upon the Princes coming into the Federation. Nor is he particularly anxious that they should do so with any reservations. If the Princes wish to join the Federation "with a full realisation of the duties and obligations of the members of the federation" he would welcome them. But there is not much chance of that happening now. For everybody knows, the Princes are claiming full freedom to join or not to join the Federation or to join it, not immediately, but whenever they like, and are insisting upon the retention of their internal sovereignty intact and the continuance of their relations separately with the British Crown. All these conditions strike Mr. Satyamurti as "politically unsound," and "wholly inconsistent with the harmonious or efficient working of the Federal Government of India." He would therefore first bring the provinces into the Federal Constitution, leaving the states to come in later if they so chose. In the case of states wishing to join the Federation now, he would, as a condition precedent, insist upon their statutorily guaranteeing to their subjects fundamental rights of citizenship, with freedom to go to the Supreme Court whenever those rights are invaded by the executive and the Princes agreeing to the election of the states' representatives in the Federal Legislature by the people of the States.

#### Anti-Separation Opinion in Burma.

DID the R. T. C. agree to the principle of separating Burma from India? That is still a moot point even among the delegates to the Conference themselves, as the Burma debate in the last session of the Assembly made clear. Let us however assume that the principle has found acceptance by the Conference. But the absence of any action on the part of Government to implement that decision leads one to suppose that the Government have not finally made up their mind on the subject. In the meanwhile Burmese opinion seems to be hardening against the idea of separation. An all-Burma Conference of the opponents of separation was recently held at Rangoon and had for its President one of the most prominent of Buddhist monks. This was as it should be, for Burma boasts of a very large Buddhist population—10 million Buddhists as against 3 million non-Buddhists. That such a large Buddhist population should not have been allowed representation at the R. T. C. and that attempts should have been made to rush the question of separation of Burma through the Conference with the help of people who at best represented only a minority in the country seems to be deeply resented by Buddhist opinion in Burma. The Governor of Burma naturally came in for much criticism by the speakers at the Conference on the ground that in selecting Burmese representatives for the R. T. C. he studiously ignored Buddhist claims. Opinion in Buddhist circles as expressed at the Conference favours the continuance of Burma's association with India, unless separation brought with it "full and responsible government." The absence of any indication of the Government's intentions on this point simultaneously with the decision of the question of separation has made Burmese opinion nervous as to the political future of Burma. It is suspicious that the ulterior motive of those non-Burmans who are hastening Burma's severance from India is to have that country as a close preserve for the exploitation of her plentiful natural resources by themselves. These views found emphatic expression at the Conference which was un-

animous in asking that Burma should not be severed from India.

#### The Rural Uplift Conference.

THE Deccan Agricultural Association has arranged for a conference of rural uplift workers on the 20th and 21st inst. at Khed Shivapur near Poona. The exodus of the educated from the village to distant parts in search of employment, the apathy of the Government for rural welfare, the ignorance and the uneconomic wasteful life of the villager, his prejudices and utter indifference to all wholesome outside influences, his total inability to adjust himself to the spirit of the times—all these have made the village problem a very acute one. Already, it is reassuring to find a large number of young men and young women devoting their attention to the work in the villages. The Congress workers, members of the Y. M. C. A., the Poona Seva Sadan and the Servants of India Society have been engaged in this work for some time past. Still, it requires an army of workers who would go about their business in a missionary spirit with real love and zeal for the work. We hope the proposed conference will give greater impetus to the rural uplift work, by inducing a large number of educated young men and young women to take it up. Problems of agricultural improvement, sanitation, education, promotion of cottage industries and provision of marketing facilities, raising the economic status of the rayat through co-operative societies, organizing village panchayats, adult education, medical relief, games, plays and recreations, will, we hope, be among the subjects which the conference will discuss.

#### Local Boards in Madras.

THE review of the Government of Madras on the working of local boards in that Presidency in the year 1929-30 has not only been published with commendable promptness but gives far more information than similar reports of some other provinces do, e.g., that of the Bombay Presidency. In Madras, at the end of the year under report, there were, in addition to district and taluka boards, 457 union boards and 3,756 village panchayats. These latter are a special feature of local self-government in Madras and are given, through a special officer, special encouragement by Government in the shape of direct grants for roads, water supply and schools. Until August 1929 they were being governed by the village Panchayat Act of 1920, but now they are governed by the Madras Local Boards Act which was amended last year with the object of being made applicable to the panchayats. The special encouragement given to the panchayats by the Madras Government deserves careful study at the hands of other local Governments. In the district and taluka boards of Madras there is a marked tendency for establishment charges to grow, against which they are cautioned by the Government. In the Local Fund area of the Presidency as a whole, 43 p. c. of the boys and only 15 p. c. of the girls of school-going age were at school. Compulsory education was in force in the year in the whole area of the Saidapet Taluka Board and in selected areas of five other taluka boards and in only one union board. Of the children attending school, the percentage of those in classes I and II to the total number in classes I to V ranged between 61 and 73 in the case of boys, and between 76 and 88 in the case of girls—which shows the great wastage in education that is taking place in this country. The local boards maintained 734 allopathic and 113 ayurvedic dispensaries. Of the former as many as 413 were rural dispensaries started under a specially assisted scheme.

## Articles.

### CAWNPORE AND U. P. GOVERNMENT.

THE Cawnpore riots which are almost unprecedented in the recent history of India will be fresh in the minds of our readers. Hardly had the disturbance subsided and before Government could have been in full possession of the facts relating to the situation, the acting Governor, Sir George Lambert, in the teeth of the unanimous condemnation of the district administration by responsible Hindus, Mahomedans and Europeans, proceeded with indecent hurry to praise the district authorities for the excellent way in which they had dealt with a highly dangerous situation. This naturally created intense dissatisfaction in Cawnpore and elsewhere. Indian opinion might have been ignored but European opinion could not be lightly brushed aside. It was mainly due to European pressure that the local Government were forced to appoint a committee of inquiry. Its personnel did not give satisfaction, but its report, judging from the resolution of the U. P. Government, which is now presided over by Sir Malcolm Hailey, is a slap in the face of Sir George Lambert. The Committee, after making all possible allowances for the difficulties of the District Magistrate Mr. Sale, has unanimously come to the conclusion that he failed to discharge the duty which rested on him as the head of the district and the Government of which Sir George Lambert is a part has accepted this finding and decided upon the transfer of the District Magistrate. Public opinion in U. P. will not endorse all that has been said in the Committee's report and Government's resolution in extenuation of the conduct of the District Magistrate. But it is pleasing to note that Sir Malcolm Hailey has not allowed the expression of an unwarranted opinion by the acting Governor to prejudice the matter at issue.

It will be interesting to know how Sir George Lambert regards his performance as acting Governor in the light of the report of the Committee. Will it impel him to take any step which may show to the public that he is endowed with a sense of responsibility? He was of course not responsible for the riots; but his praise of the district authorities undoubtedly strengthened the hands of the opponents of Indian nationalism who were only too glad to take advantage of the Cawnpore affair to carry on a bitter campaign against Indian aspirations. But for the accidental circumstance that Europeans lent their support to the Indians, an inquiry would in all probability not have been held and the true facts would never have come to light. The report of the Committee will prove not a little disconcerting to our enemies. It is too much to hope that it will make them pause in their unholy course; but impartial men should now be able to look at the Cawnpore tragedy in its proper perspective. In the first place, while any disturbance can grow to serious proportions if the district authorities encourage it by not

taking proper steps to quell it, the riot cannot fairly be held to have been due to a sudden and unprecedented growth of communal antagonism. The official evidence received by the Committee does not support such an assumption. In the second place, an Indian District Magistrate under a Swaraj Government could not have been guilty of a more glaring failure than an European District Magistrate under a Government responsible to Parliament and the British public. The events at Cawnpore instead of weakening the demand for the transfer of law and order to Indian hands demonstrate its imperative necessity.

### FOREIGN MISSIONARIES AND MR. GANDHI.

THE Press in India seems just now to be full of what some papers call Mr. Gandhi's "outburst" on Foreign Missionaries in India: a singularly ill-chosen term, since Mr. Gandhi has by no means come forward to unroll this question, but simply has given a civil answer to a question put to him by a curious interviewer. The latter, it seems, had in fact greatly misrepresented Mr. Gandhi's meaning: and Mr. Gandhi (in *Young India* of April 23rd) has now corrected the statement imputed to him. Hence all the remarks I have seen about "the singularly ill-chosen moment for such a pronouncement" &c. fall to the ground. Mr. Gandhi did not provoke the controversy and has throughout remained on the defensive, after somebody else had started it.

But, as he says, "his views on foreign missions are no secret:" they are in fact the views of any devout Hindu, who naturally holds his own religion to be superior to any other. For if he did not, how could he remain a devout Hindu? The excitement which these views have caused in Christian circles therefore seems to me astonishing.

(1) Mr. Gandhi, as a devout Hindu, naturally would like foreign missionaries to withdraw from India; but, as he expressly points out, he would of course not ask for their withdrawal. Many papers profess to see no difference between *liking* and *asking*. Perhaps I can make the difference best clear by stating that, as Catholics, we naturally would like all Protestant missionaries to withdraw from India, but that of course we never would ask for such a thing. And we do so on the same reasoning as the devout Hindus: what is true and good in Protestantism, we hold, is included in Catholicism; what, in Protestantism is opposed to Catholic doctrine, must therefore be false and evil.

Why, then, this indignation about Mr. Gandhi's perfectly logical views, so entirely analogous to our own?

(2) Mr. Gandhi, as a Hindu, considers all religions as partial aspects of truth and therefore can and does extend to the Christian Religion a latitude which we Catholics for instance could not reciprocate. To us  $2 \times 2 = 4$  and not 5 nor 3; we hold that it is by no means unimportant that all men should hold that  $2 \times 2 = 4$ ; and that the other solutions, e. g.  $2 \times 2 = 3$  or  $2 \times 2 = 5$ , are not other aspects of the same truth, but are falsehoods—falsehoods

which human nature is only too prone to adopt, when for instance it is a question of buying (when  $2 \times 2 = 3$  would be distinctly handy) or selling (when  $2 \times 2 = 5$  would seem a most desirable basis)...

Mr. Gandhi, then, has not even any theoretical objections to other religions, such as we Catholics for instance would have. He does not object to missionaries of other faiths: he only objects to foreign missionaries. And he objects to them, because he believes that they denationalize their converts: he is opposed to their Europeanism and not to their Christianity. Of course, all the papers I have seen are full of the "absurdity" of this view, and—quite rightly—point out that our religion is *Catholic* just for the reason that it can and does express itself in any national form and inspire any civilisation. I say, this is right enough—in theory: but will anybody deny that in practice, during the nineteenth century at least, foreign missions, certainly in India, have tended to denationalize Indians and to Europeanise and anglicize them? The fact is incontestable: why then get indignant at Mr. Gandhi's ignorance of our doctrine, as long as our past practice contradicts it?

But it is not our past practice alone which prevents Mr. Gandhi from taking Catholicism at its word. In the *Catholic Leader* of Feb. 5th, 1931, Mr. George Joseph for instance asserts: "Who are the people interested in the connection with European values, European culture, European civilisation? Only three sets of people—Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians. If Swaraj means Independence, the Christians in India will be cut off from all the values and ideals which they have received immediately or ultimately from Rome. Any Christian Catholic or non-Catholic, can see that Europe and Britain in some sense stand for the innermost inspiration of his life in a manner that India cannot."

Manifestly, this is very far from what the true Catholic doctrine is: it is very much what—*mutatis mutandis*—certain Frenchmen might have written about France and it is as a heresy that this "Action Francaise" has only in quite recent years been authoritatively condemned as incompatible with our Catholic Faith. But why blame Mr. Gandhi, when Indian Catholics, as well known to him as Mr. George Joseph, thus identify Europeanism and Christianity? And why grow indignant, when Mr. Gandhi—acting on such incorrect information—draws the conclusion that he would be devoutly thankful, if foreign missionaries withdrew from India? Our indignation, as Catholics, I think, had better be directed to the wrong doctrine spread about Catholicism and the evil effects of our own past wrong practice.

(3) But Mr. Gandhi does not even wish all foreign missionaries to withdraw from India: even this abstract wish is subject to the proviso that they do not "use their humanitarian activities for proselytising." Now "proselytising", as used by all non-Christians (and by a good number of Christians as well!) in India is invariably used for "converting by underhand means." It is therefore beside the point,

to use arguments which would be valid, if the word "converting" had been used. The right of trying to make converts is conceded by Mr. Gandhi, as it is by everybody else; it was for instance a right incorporated in the Nehru Draft Constitution. Certainly under Swaraj, Saratanist, Arya Samajist, Moslem, Christian, all will be guaranteed that right: simply because all of them passionately demand it and because it cannot be granted to some and not to others. That is obvious: equally obvious is it that men of a faith, which is not militant, would much prefer "a friendly contact of our respective faiths," as does Mr. Gandhi: but he is the last to deny and never once has denied the fundamental right of every faith to gain adherents, provided the methods employed do not include fraud or violence.

This latter proviso is of course one in complete agreement with all Catholic teaching. For Mr. Gandhi therefore to say that "proselytising under the cloak of humanitarian work is, to say the least, unhealthy," is quite understandable, nay obviously true, if "proselytising" is understood in the sense of "underhand conversion," as he always uses that word.

A Catholic wants a Catholic school and a Catholic hospital for himself, because he meets there with an atmosphere of piety and devotion, with the mental and physical discipline, which, he holds, only his religion can provide. And because he prizes all this so much for himself, he must want to make it available for all others as well. Merely from a civic point of view, for instance, a Catholic must wish that all Indians could pass through Catholic schools, just because he feels that, quite apart from any question of conversion, a Catholic school imparts a "tone", which is of the utmost value to the individual's character and to the quality of his citizenship. In fact, Catholics stand not alone in this respect: generations of non-Catholics frequent our schools and send their children there, just because they know that they get there a moulding and character-building which "neutral" and other schools cannot give. But nowhere in our schools is fraud or violence employed—or merely low cunning—to make a pupil change his faith: however desirable in itself such change must seem to us.

St. Thomas (IIa IIæ, X, 12, e) sums up admirably Catholic doctrine on this point: "It would be contrary to natural justice, if a child, before coming to the use of reason, were to be taken away from its parent's custody, or anything done to it against its parent's wish." As for the adult, conversion is a matter of the will i. e. of human freewill and the Vatican Council has once more laid it down, that assent to the Christian Faith must and can only be entirely free, and that it cannot even be extorted by logical argumentation, (Canon. 5 on Faith). So, what is exactly the difference between what Mr. Gandhi says in this respect and what we Catholics hold and practise? I can see none.

Then why all this froth and fury?

When all is said and done, Mr. Gandhi has once more asserted two things: (1) that he considers his own faith of Hinduism superior to Christianity; (2)

that he would very much like foreign missionaries, who employ underhand methods in converting Indians to their faith, to withdraw from India.

As for (1), what exactly is gained by addressing hectoring leaders and leaderettes on the superiority of Christianity to Mr. Gandhi? And as for (2), why squeal, before we are hurt?

In conclusion, may I just add, that nobody is more passionately aware than myself of the great contribution which Catholicism has already made to India and of the even greater one, which it, and it alone, can still make to India's nationhood: but this does not render me blind to the other fact—the sad, but stubborn fact—that we have got also a good deal to live down in India, where our faith has in recent times come and been propagated in the wake of foreign invaders and—exploiters.

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

### FRENCH COLONISATION.

THE International Colonial Exhibition of Paris, which was declared open early this month by the President of the Republic, although at first meant to be no more than a local entertainment, has now grown to be an example of what French colonial enterprise has done and hopes to do and also a comparison of the work of France with other nations in the colonial sphere. The "colonial idea", which has suffered vicissitudes in France, cannot yet be said to be the established institution that it is in Great Britain. French pioneers, it is true, set out to discover new lands in common with other Europeans as early as the fourteenth century and by the end of the seventeenth century over sixty French colonial companies were in existence, but most of them perished for lack of encouragement from home. The streak of provincialism which one discovers right in the heart of Paris is characteristic of French civilisation which, even while inculcating versatility and universalism, makes them Parisien in brand.

After the loss of Canada the French colonial spirit manifested itself again after the conquest of Algiers in 1930, but only to come under the fire of the Revolutionary idealism with its precept; "*Périssent les colonies plutôt qu'une idée*". Nevertheless the ambitious and adventurous runaways, reinforced by the soldiers of fortune, after the defeat of 1870, succeeded in building up Tunisia, Morocco, the west and central African Dependencies, Madagascar and the Asiatic possessions. At the commencement of the War France had come into the possession of the second largest colonial empire in the world, even more absent-mindedly than Great Britain. If the War taught the Frenchman the advantages of the connexion with Africa from the point of view of facilities of man power and raw material, the years immediately following the War gave him a lesson in the art of utilising the colonies for promoting prosperity. The chief purpose of the Exhibition is to vindicate the usefulness of the colonies to France so that ordinary Frenchmen and women may not lose sight of the advantage in their calculations and to erect at the same time a monument of French success confidently

side by side with the best that other colonial Powers can show.

One effect of the Exhibition, whether it was intended or not, would undoubtedly be to justify the attitude of France latterly in the discussions concerning naval disarmament.

There are those, says a French newspaper, who are astonished that France would not have her naval tonnage fall below a certain level and, notably, would not consent to parity with Italy which, considering the diverse coasts of French territory and divided forces of the Republic, in grave circumstances would render the communications between North Africa and the capital more than dangerous and would put France under the protection of England in some way or other. A people who have distant and coveted possessions are not apt to put themselves under the protection of any people, and the British themselves may be consulted about their opinion in this regard. A hard lesson of history has taught the French that they lost their oversea possessions owing to insufficient naval force. This is an adventure which one does not want to recommence with the new colonial empire which has been laboriously built. The times have changed but certain great laws of history remain the same. The almost instinctive resistance (this is new) against a capitulation in naval matters is thus explained. A tour of Vincennes will make one understand this attitude. The Exhibition which has just been opened, rich in all kinds of instruction, is equally instructive from the point of view of politics.

It is to be hoped that the realization of their colonial power on the part of the French people will be accompanied by a new and enlightened colonial policy. Monsieur Paul Reynaud, the Minister of Colonies, in his speech at the opening of the Exhibition said that the French had a natural sympathy for foreign races "because France is at the cross-roads between the Mediterranean world and the Nordic world, because the French are not a race but a nation. Hence they do not speak in the name of a race, proud and cruel criterion, unbridgeable gulf, but in the name of a civilisation, human and sweet in whose nature it is to be universal."

The doyen of recent French colonial enterprise, Marshall Lyautey, also said:—

The object of colonial conquest should not be to destroy the adversary but to attract him. The purpose of colonial penetration is not to extinguish or to kill the native but to enter into association with him by modernising him...The great lesson I would like to see learnt from this international Exhibition is the great lesson of union. Union between the races—these races which cannot be really classed in hierarchical fashion and divided into superior and inferior, but must be regarded as different, learning to adapt each to the other's differences. Union between the peoples, who are the issue of our civilisation and who in coming to our side in this exhibition give us a good lesson in solidarity on the morrow of the most bloody divisions in history. Union, finally, among us French, because it is obvious that our colonial policy and our empire cannot be maintained except by unanimity at the centre.

Between the British ideal of self-government and the French ideal of centralisation there is obviously a difference, but the most urgent problem of colonial administration is perhaps moral, not material, and the French conception of racial equality, if successfully practised, will undoubtedly be a great contribution to human progress.

R. R.

## Reviews.

### PLEA FOR ECONOMIC GOVERNMENT.

#### WEALTH AND LIFE: A STUDY IN VALUES.

By J. A. HOBSON. (Macmillan, London.) 1929.  
20 cm. 489 p. 15/—

IT is now years since Mr. J. A. Hobson made himself known as the exponent of the view that economics is a human science dealing with souls that have a value that cannot be measured simply in terms of prices. And this latest book of his which is now in our hands is an attempt to trace the relations between economic and human values.

Modern industry is a cooperative process, both as regards the production of wealth and the determination of its value. If wealth is a social product, organised society should see that it is produced and consumed according to the principle of minimum human cost and maximum human welfare. A sound economic society is one in which all surpluses are absorbed in public income; surpluses fall into two categories. Scarcity and differential rents of land and other resources fulfil no economic function, and can be taken by taxation. To endow persons with the power of living without performing any useful function is to inflict a double injury first to their personality, and secondly to the society, from which they withhold the personal services they might have performed. Certain large elements of profits and dividends fall into the same category. The case of large incomes of business men made by superior skill, industry and enterprise falls under a different category. It will be sound social economy to offer considerable prizes to evoke the use of such skill and enterprise. There are thus considerable obstructions to the displacement of an acquisitive society by a purely functional society. These obstacles are to be found at the bottom and the top of the economic system. Workers performing essentially disagreeable work which has a high social utility will tend to get rates of pay which have no relation to their needs or capacity to put to a good use. The other disturbance in the higher reaches of income is due to the insistence of certain owners of ability upon claiming for themselves a larger share of the gains than they are able to put to a good use.

But Mr. Hobson finds countervailing considerations. A more refined art of consumption supervening upon a full provision for the primary needs of life will cancel or diminish the demand for goods and services which involve dull and degrading toil from fellowmen. Machinery can take over operations that are definitely dull, while toil that cannot be thus taken over can be alleviated by shorter hours or alternative occupations. As for the higher levels of disturbance, the organisation and management of great capitalist enterprises are passing more and more into the hands of men no longer actuated by the craving for large monetary gains but of men who are inspired by ideals of service.

Mr. Hobson contemplates the necessity of a scheme for economic government which would direct the use of economic resources by considerations of permanent welfare. The first step in the policy of such an economic government would be directed towards the elimination of processes harmful to human physique, intelligence or morals, and to a destruction of the product based upon considerations of maximum enjoyment. The socialisation of functionless surpluses in order to apply them partly to communal service, and partly to a raising of the general standard of living will be a chief method of economic reform.

Mr. Hobson looks forward to a new society in which the distinctively economic activity will occupy a dwindling part, leaving an increasing volume of human energy for the free creative activities of persons and communities. It will be a society in which there will be increasing productivity by improved control over nature and better human organisation of economic activities. There will be an equitable distribution of the wealth thus produced, with improving standards of consumption. And finally, there will be a control over the quantity and quality of populations in the light of better knowledge of strains and racial values.

We welcome this volume as a valuable addition to the list of books that have recently registered the protest of economic thought against the economic environment that faces it—books that mark the effort of struggling humanity to mould the economic environment into a closer affinity with the Kingdom of God, so that the souls that live in this environment may find a stimulus to the initiation and unfolding of the best that is in them.

P. A. WADIA.

### CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GERMANS.

**GERMANY AND THE GERMANS.** By EUGEN DIESEL. (Macmillan, London.) 1931. 23cm. 229 p. 10/6.

THE book, originally written in German and very skilfully translated into English by W. D. Robson-Scott, was intended "not to describe Germany from any particular angle or point of view, whether political, historical, philosophical or racial;" ... but "to show how Germany appears to one who approaches it entirely objectively, with the help only of his eyes and ears." The author has succeeded in drawing a very interesting, though in some places vague, picture of his fatherland, his fellow-countrymen, their past, present and future. He starts with a geographical background, describes the various features of German landscape, the rivers, the mountains and the plains and traces the effect of all these factors on the history and culture of Germany. He then passes on to a general description of the villages, the towns, the races that go to form the country and also describes the food, clothing and general habits of the modern German. The cultural aspects of arts, education and religion are then dealt with and finally the economic and political conditions of present-day Germany.

Especially interesting is the chapter on German mentality and the author's keen observation and subtle humour is obvious in passages like the following:

As their language has not been crystalized by universally accepted social or national standards, the Germans have been free to do what they liked with it. Hence they have developed a thousand and one jargons: administrative jargon, business jargon, ecclesiastical jargon, parliamentary jargon and so on. Other peoples develop jargons too, but they cannot succeed in getting so far away from the spirit of the language as the Germans do ... The German feels proud of deserting the already half-dead spirit of his language in order to surrender himself body and soul to his own particular subject. Thus it is that the specialist's German is often so painfully, so offensively uncultivated.

If it is true that the English express their personal and National dignity in their self-respect, the French in their self-satisfaction, it is quite impossible to say where the German express theirs, except in programmes and ideologies.

Again, his gift for organisation is quite different in kind from the American variety. It is the capacity for bringing order out of chaos, and the pleasure in observing the advantages that spring from it.

About German music, the author rightly waxes eloquent. It is probably the only art where the German is stirred to the depths of his soul and where all differences of social and political life are forgotten. Even today, in the days of innumerable parties and of economic struggle, music is the one force in Germany that draws together labourer and managing director, priest and typist girl, professor and "Hausfrau".

The unnatural development of education in Germany is pointedly described by Herr Diesel. A German will accuse his neighbour of being "uneducated" and has the habit of tapping himself on the forehead as a visible token of his stupidity. "To the Englishman personality and character are what really matter; the reproach he brings against his fellowman is more likely that of being a liar, the Frenchman's that of being a coward, while in America knowledge is only valued in so far as it can be put to what the American considers to be practical use. Thus it is that the German people seem to consist entirely of those who teach and those who are taught. ... The whole country seems to be covered by one gigantic system of educational machinery, which seizes in its grip every fruit that falls from the tree of knowledge."

The German awe of the official, his trust that everything necessary in a given situation must have been contemplated by and provided for by regulations, the love of even insignificant but high sounding titles, and above all the love of order have been very clearly and sometimes humorously described by the author. The chapters on "The New Germany" and on "The Future of Germany" are exceedingly interesting but want of space prevents any lengthy discussion of the points contained in them. Suffice it to say, that the author has given us a very thought-provoking and absorbing book which is worth while being read by every student of international affairs.

D. D. KARVE.

### A NEW CONCEPTION OF HISTORY.

**HISTORY AS DIRECTION.** By JOHN S HOYLAND. (Hogarth Press.) 1930. 20 cm. 175 p. 7/6.

THIS is a book small in compass but rich in thought and weighty in its contents. It was inspired by the method employed by Spengler in his *Decline of the West* in his treatment of history or rather historical philosophy. History is not, according to Spengler, a post mortem view of the dead past. No civilisation is dead or defunct. It may be past its prime but the ideas revealed and incarnated in each have influenced other cultures and civilisations and have helped to shape them although they may have taken different shapes in each. The study of history thus becomes an elucidation of the contributions made by each of the cultures to the life of mankind as a whole which may not be studied by itself apart and isolated, but in relation to one another.

Historical study is therefore primarily a study not of being but of becoming, of dynamics not of statics. Individuals and whole cultures are to be looked upon as movements, not as cross sections. Biography is an important part of history, not the usual biography which is in fashion today which is concerned with the painting of an arresting picture of a striking personality made up of a choice selection of anecdotes but biography like that of Johnson by Boswell, of Gladstone by Morley. The biographies of great men are vital to history because they represent the crests of cultural waves—the peaks of a graph.

In the new type of history so conceived by Spengler there will be no dates, few accounts of battles and few names of kings. It will concern itself more with the unravelling, through long periods of time, of thought and motive and the rise, decline and fall of cultural waves.

From the new conception of history of Spengler, the author develops his doctrine of thrusts. Thrusts are forces, motion and movements which together represent the life of a culture. They take different forms in different cultures but are essentially the same. Thrusts are eternal. Parental instinct, for example, is a thrust common to all cultures. In China it makes the father pay the penalty for the crime of the son. In India it insists on obedience to the mother's wishes when they are in opposition to the father's. It wears a different aspect in the *patria potestas* and infant exposure of classical culture and in the story of the prodigal son of Arabian culture. Similarly freedom is interpreted as "patriardial undisturbedness" in China, as the freedom of mind from the domination of desire in India, as guarantee against tyranny in classical culture, as the security in right belief and right achievement in the Semitic world. It is the business of the historian to ascertain by careful study why the same primary instinct manifests itself in such different forms in different cultures. He has to bring to bear on such study all the resources of psychology, an ability to feel and think in terms of the culture he studies and a breadth of view as broad as the world itself. He should be able to relive in himself the culture which he studies. Such a task is of enormous difficulty but the value of it is impossible to exaggerate. It will help forward and support the idea that though men are different mankind is one, that the differences which now distinguish one culture from another are but surface phenomena, that deep down the forces are the same, that cultures have had and have a common matrix from which they draw their nourishment.

Having developed his doctrine of thrusts, the author deals with various thrusts as thrusts for beauty, goodness, freedom, truth, self-sacrifice, etc. The main features of each are dealt with and also their varied manifestations in each culture. Each one of the great movements is brought under one or other of the categories. For example, the Renaissance represents in the main the thrust towards beauty; the Reformation the thrust towards religion, the Darwinian theory towards truth. We may not agree with the classification of these movements but there can be no question of the value of an attempt to bring many movements in different cultures under one comprehending impulse.

The book makes fascinating reading. The subject-matter is itself eloquent testimony of the matter of treatment. There is right through a highly commendable equipoise of thought. It is to be hoped that the book will have a very wide circulation, for it will speed up the change of view in regard to history which has long been coming and which will divert it from the exploration of the dung heap of dead events and decomposing facts to the rich abundant flora that originated and have their common nourishment from them.

K. KUNHI KANNAN.

### COM. KENWORTHY ON INDIA.

INDIA: A WARNING. By J. M. KENWORTHY.

(Elkin Mathews and Marrot, London.) 1931.

18½ cm. 117 p. 2s. 6d.

COMMANDER KENWORTHY, who is well known as a friend of India, visited this country last year in order

to study the situation at firsthand. During the seven weeks he spent in this country, he came in contact with leaders of different shades of opinion and did his best to understand their point of view. This book embodies his thoughts on the Indian problem; but most of it seems to have been written before the Round Table Conference began its work in November last. Nevertheless Commander Kenworthy has taken care not to omit to notice its proceedings. In the last chapter he reviews its work and indicates what he would like done immediately with a view to create a better atmosphere for the resumption of its work in September next. He wants the Government to do all that is possible within the four corners of the present Government of India Act in order to give Indian leaders "an effective control of, and responsibility for, Policy at once, and even before the new Constitution can be brought into operation." In other words he wants the Prime Minister to carry out his pledge, contained in his concluding speech to the Round Table Conference, to explore the possibilities of political progress under the law as it is. Nothing has since been done to carry out the promise nor is any explanation given for this inaction. The author's second suggestion about the amnesty to political prisoners has already been carried into effect, thanks to the conclusion of the Gandhi-Irwin agreement to which the book makes no reference. But the Government can still give serious consideration to his recommendation "to wind up the farcical eighteen months' proceedings of the Meerut trial," and to "appoint Indians to the next vacant Governorships." In another connection he joins to this suggestion the further one that more Indian Peers should be created.

Considering as he does Defence to be "the crux" of the Indian problem, it is not surprising that he should lay special emphasis on the establishment of military training colleges in India "without a day's delay" and the admission of suitable Indian army officers to the Staff College at Quetta "forthwith." One thing deserves special note here. It is that Commander Kenworthy does not regard the Commander-in-Chief's proposal to bring into being one Sandhurst in India and that too with accommodation only for 60 cadets as at all adequate to meet the requirements of the situation. Indeed he wants three or four of them to be established and also one or more Indian Woolwich's for training gunner and sapper officers and also Indian Cranwell's for training flying officers. The fear entertained by opponents of the Indianisation of the Indian army that "an Indianised army would not be as efficient as a British officered Army" strikes him as illusory. For he asks:

Now, why should an Indianised army be expected to meet the Army of a first-class Power like Japan or France? The problems before an Indian army are the defence of the Frontier and the maintenance of internal security.

Nor does the Simon scheme relating to the Indian army which he looks upon as the "weakest" part of the recommendations of that Commission, commend itself to the author whose solution is "an Indian-officered and controlled army responsible to the Indian Federal Government at Delhi." "Only along these lines," he adds, "can real progress towards Dominion Status be made."

As regards his insistence upon the immediate admission of Indian military officers to the Staff College, he tells us to our surprise that not a single one has been so far admitted to the Staff course either at Camberley or Quetta. Nor has any attempt been made to establish an Indian Staff College. The excuse put forward by the present Secretary of State that "no



Indian Officer has attained the requisite seniority to sit for the Staff College Entrance Examinations" he characterises as "a quibble and a feeble one at that." The fact that Commander Kenworthy's attitude is so liberal in regard to the Indianisation of the Army in refreshing contrast to that of the Indian military authorities is due evidently to the difference in their mental outlook. While Commander Kenworthy thinks that the old-world notion of holding India by the sword has been replaced by a policy of reconciliation and trust, the military hierarchy apparently thinks that British rule in India is still based in the last resort on force. If the Government take action at once on the lines indicated by the author, they will have done something to assure the Indian public that this time at any rate they mean business.

His views about the R. T. C. will serve as an eye-opener to those who fondly imagine that the R. T. C. has been an unqualified success. He thinks the Conference was hazarded, using the word in the naval sense. Hazarding is a naval crime and anybody who handles a ship recklessly or without judgment, short of course of wrecking her on the rocks or running her ashore, is considered to be guilty of that crime. For this he holds up to blame both the British Government and the British Indian delegates, the former because they went to the Conference without due preparation and the latter because they could not settle the communal problem. Commander Kenworthy would apparently have preferred that the British delegates attended the Conference with some plan of common action. Had that happened, it would have amounted to a virtual violation of the promise authoritatively given that the Conference would be a completely free one. With "almost quixotic generosity" and "to the unconcealed amazement of the India Office and the Indian Civil Service" "the Princes declared for Federalism with British India" subject to the only condition that India did not break away from the British Empire. This combined with the British Indian Delegates' insistence upon responsibility at the Centre created such an impression on British opinion that what was agreed to in January could, he thinks, have been proclaimed in November. And if Parliament's support to a measure of Indian reform on those lines had been sought at that time, the author believes that there would have been a large and favourable majority in both Houses. Failing this, the Labour Party at any rate should, in his opinion, have unequivocally proclaimed its adherence to Dominion Status for India "at the earliest possible moment" to the extent, if need be, of making India a party issue. Whether this would have been to India's a ultimate good is more than one can say. But this at any rate is clear that if the Labour Party had acted as Commander Kenworthy wants it to, it would have at once alienated the sympathy of the other two British parties with the result that the Conference would have been still less of a success. But whether one shares all his views or not, one must admit that Commander Kenworthy shows a sympathetic understanding of Indian aspirations.

We are afraid however we cannot say the same thing about what he writes on the subject of the conditions of life in Indian States. What he writes is obviously based on what he saw in the eight Indian States visited by him. His remark that he found States' subjects generally happier, better fed, and better clothed than their counterparts in British India is only a half truth. It is undeniable that the burden of taxation in some states is less heavy than in British India and the cost of life is also less. But there is also a corresponding lack of even the necessities of life like water, much less any amenities. But food,

clothes, jewels etc. certainly do not constitute the *summum bonum* of human existence. There are other things besides that make life worth living. What about the provision for the education of the people of the States he visited? How did he regard the arrangements for their medical relief and sanitation? We wish he had told us something about this. We suppose Commander Kenworthy did not fail to inquire whether the subjects enjoyed the elementary right of freedom of speech. Did it not strike him as strange that in no state is independent journalism flourishing? No doubt there are States which in some respects are even better governed than British India; but their number is insignificant. It would have been well if he had told us which states he visited; but we remember reading in the newspapers at the time that he was the guest of a state in which a sort of semi-slavery existed without his having been allowed to know anything about it. Then, what about representative institutions? He refers to a ruler having told him that there was a healthy rivalry among the members of his order for political reform, to another who informed him that when he offered to his people a mildly democratic constitution, they expressed their preference to personal rule and to still another whose subjects so completely confided in him that they rejected his magnanimous offer of an elected municipality! If Commander Kenworthy had mixed more freely with the people we do not doubt that he would have accepted these *ex parte* statements with a good deal of reserve. If, as he seems to suppose, the generality of the Indian States is well governed, why should it have been necessary only last February for Lord Irwin to lay emphasis on certain essentials of good government in the case of the States like e. g. a fixed civil list for the ruler, separation of judicial from executive functions and security of tenure for state servants? The fact is that Commander Kenworthy was unable to see the real Indian India. This apart, we welcome his suggestion to the Princes' Chamber to prepare a set of model constitutions for large, medium sized and small States. But he need not be told that what is really important is not so much the preparation of model constitutions as their introduction in all States. People of Indian India would have thanked him more heartily if he had placed greater insistence upon all States democratising their constitutions as soon as possible. Before leaving this point, let us not forget to draw his attention to a slight error into which he has fallen. On p. 72 he states that the "subjects were well represented at the Round Table Conference." This is not a fact. He will remember that the states' people's demand for direct representation at the R. T. C. was turned down, though it is only fair to add that some of the delegates have all along been associated with the states' people's movement.

But where is the warning to which the author gives such prominence in the title of his book, some may ask. Commander Kenworthy's book is really an earnest plea addressed to the British democracy to find urgently a solution of the Indian problem. Else, he warns it, things will get out of hand. He fears that though Britain has succeeded in weathering the last storm it is doubtful if she will be able to do so with regard to the next one, which, relying on precedent, he foresees in another ten years and which, he is rightly afraid, will be attended by graver disorders. There is also the additional consideration, present, we suppose, to every Britisher, that unless India is pacified by a satisfaction of her political and economic ambitions, Britain stands every chance of losing her Indian market. We hope the second Round Table Conference will result

in a solution which will help in the establishment of better relations between India and England.

Before concluding, let us draw the author's attention to a slight inaccuracy on p. 98. The attempted outrage on the Viceroy's train did not take place early in 1930, but on December 23, 1929.

K. P. K.

### SHORT NOTICE.

**PRESS AND PRESS LAWS IN INDIA.** By H. P. GHOSE. (D. K. Mitra, Calcutta.) 102 p. Rs. 1.

THIS book is an attempt at a systematic presentation of the history of the law relating to the press in India. Though savouring of a legal character, the brochure is by no means an essay on the legal position of the press in this country. Far less it is intended to be legal *vade mecum* of the workaday journalist in India, as one might presume it to be from the title. The author is a journalist of experience and in an avowedly historical treatment of the law relating to the press, what has interested him most is the changes in the attitude of the British authorities to the political press in India. Tracing the history of the press from 1780, the year of publication of *Hicky's Journal* the author divides it into four periods, the first ending with the passing of the Press Ordinance of 1823, the second with the enactment of the Vernacular Press Act of 1878, the third with that of the Press Act of 1910 and the fourth which is still in progress since. The history of the first period is crowded with interesting episodes illustrative of the summary methods of administration of the John Company. The treatment of the later periods is featured by extensive quotations from the speeches and writings of public men, both Indian and British. The book is admirably documented and the valuable appendices containing the texts of the various acts and a memorable address by Gladstone in the British House of Commons in 1878 add to the merit of the work. The author, it seems to us, has curbed his journalistic susceptibility almost to a fault and has preferred others to tell the story which he might have himself told infinitely better.

K. M. P.

## Miscellaneous.

### ADULT EDUCATION.

*Mr. R. Suryanarayana Rau, member, Servants of India Society, read the following paper on the above subject before the Madras Provincial Educational Conference recently held at Palghat.*

ANYONE with even a cursory acquaintance with the growth of the adult education movement in all parts of the world will easily recognise that the purpose of adult education in the varying conditions of this human world cannot be single and that it must be inevitably influenced by the conditions in which it is inaugurated and pursued. If this fact is borne in mind it will be realised that there are various influences affecting the growth of the adult education movement. Among such influences three trends are prominently noticed.

(1) While the acquisition of knowledge is still the main objective the purpose of adult education is to make an endeavour to arrive at intelligent relationship to the world of men and things around us by keeping alive the spirit of inquiry so that useful knowledge may be gained without being choked by

the distractions of daily life.

(2) Emphasis is laid on the social aspect by promoting a "community life and the spirit of associated service transcending the narrow limitations of the individual and expanding the separate life into a larger usefulness through co-operation of fellow workers." This aspect has been so well expressed in the prospectus of an English Educational Settlement that I take leave to reproduce it here.

We seek through organised classes to increase knowledge; through the community life to promote understanding; through the sharing of a common meeting ground, to enable those groups and bodies which have a common cause in Adult Education, to learn of one another and to co-operate more effectively."

(3) The purpose and orientation of the work of adult education is determined by some antecedent principle, religious, political or social.

In a country like ours where most of the adults are illiterate though they have culture enough to understand and appreciate the good things of the world, and where practically real community life is non-existent owing to too much emphasis laid on caste and religious differences it is difficult to discern any antecedent principle on which the purpose and orientation of the work of adult education can be determined. It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the circumstances which have brought about this state of things. Suffice it for our purpose to recognise the existence of a disordered community life and consider how best to bring about a real change. In India not only mere acquisition of knowledge but also promotion of community life and the spirit of associated service based on a principle common to all classes of people irrespective of caste, creed or race, is the need of the hour. So the scope of adult education is much wider than what is commonly understood as the conduct of the adult classes for imparting knowledge. In order to make adult education centres fulfil the purpose and radiate from them healthy activities of all kinds calculated to promote the economic condition, health and a better standard of living, in fine to transform the community life by means of co-operative organisation, development of cottage industries, promotion of education, propagation of knowledge of improved methods of agriculture, etc., it is necessary that as far as possible influences promoting communal or sectional feeling should be carefully avoided. Any scheme of work undertaken should include within its purview all classes and communities and it should attempt to promote feelings of brotherhood by bringing together all classes for following common pursuits working towards a common end—to make the centre a progressive unit in the body politic.

It will be seen from the nature of the work of adult education suggested above how necessary it is that the workers in charge of these centres should be persons specially trained, for the work capable of taking initiative and offer guidance with regard to various movements meant for the promotion of community life and the spirit of associated service. The worker should play the role of a friend, philosopher and guide of the people amidst whom he works. He should have a wide outlook on life capable of rising above narrow considerations that often crop up among people belonging to different castes and creeds. These workers should be given special training with regard to methods of teaching adults, for the methods employed in teaching children are not suited to adults. The centres should be made interesting places to which the adults are drawn by the variety of programmes adopted. As most of the adults come to the centres after a day's hard work, the methods employed to impart knowledge should

be such as will not impose additional strain but will combine recreation and instruction.

The Devadhar Malabar Reconstruction Trust has started a scheme of adult education in Malabar on the lines indicated in the previous paragraphs. There are five centres, each in charge of a whole-time worker who, in addition to the teacher's training course already undergone, has been specially trained for the work of adult education according to a syllabus specially prepared. These workers not only conduct adult classes but also interest themselves in all movements promoting community life and a spirit of associated service in the villages. They also serve as the out-posts for the various beneficent departments of Government spreading knowledge by means of propaganda. In fact the adult education workers of the Trust are playing the part which in an English village the clergymen played two centuries ago. I take leave to quote from a lecture delivered some years ago by the officiating Director of Public Instruction in the Central Provinces on the subject of the 'Village Teacher and How He Can Help Rural Uplift' to show the part played by the adult education worker in the life of the village.

The village teacher can do much to help the work of the beneficent departments of Government. He is principally engaged in the work of what may be called the basic beneficent department, the Department of Education, because some general education must be the basis of all progress. But he can do much to help the work of other departments, such as the Department of Public Health, the Agricultural Department, the Co-operative Credit Department and Veterinary Department. He can pave the way by arousing in the villagers the desire for improvement, by learning something of the aims of these departments and by co-operating with the officers of these departments when they come round on tour. In the sphere of health he can use his influence in ensuring that the village and its surroundings are clean, that the water supply is pure, that the children are clean, that quinine is available for those who suffer from malaria. In the sphere of agriculture he can find out what seed and what implements are recommended by the Agricultural Department as being suitable for the conditions that exist in his village and he can influence the villagers to use them. He can assist in the formation of co-operative societies, he can run a village library, manage a night school, run a troop of scouts or cubs, influence people to send their girls to schools, discourage litigation, and in numerous other ways assist in raising the standard of health and prosperity in the village.

It is too early to assess the value of the work that is being done in our centres of work. Nor is it possible to pronounce judgment, favourable or unfavourable, on the experiment that is being tried. In work of this kind miracles cannot be wrought in a day especially when poverty and ignorance are appalling; response to liberalising influences and new ideas cannot but be slow. But it is hoped that by identifying himself whole-heartedly with the interests of the villagers, sharing in their joys and sorrows, standing by them in their times of prosperity as well as adversity the adult education worker will be able in time to come to influence the life of the village and fulfil the mission of adult education. In conclusion, I may be permitted to quote the lines of a writer on the mission of adult education which may serve as a motto for all organisations undertaking the work of adult education.

To knowledge and faith must be added charity which will deal gently with human shortcomings. To give knowledge for understanding and joy, to free judgment from prejudice, to strengthen faith and to let charity abound, that is the mission of adult education.

## SELF-RELIANT VILLAGE ORGANIZATION.

Mr. G. N. Kanitkar, a Congress worker in Poona, has recently prepared a scheme of self-reliant village organisation. In view of the session in Poona on the 20th and 21st inst. of the Conference of rural workers, the following summary of the scheme, will be found interesting:—

WHAT does village organisation mean? The spread of discontent with the existing conditions of life, teaching the three R's, Khadi work, cow protection, the co-operative movement, sanitation, physical culture, agricultural reform—any one of these things, singly cannot mean village organisation in its fullest sense. A complete and permanent all-comprehensive organisation of all these different aspects of village life constitutes village organisation.

Only such workers, as are decently paid properly trained and married will be able to do the work with responsibility and in a manner which is effective and permanent.

The main idea of this scheme is that village organisation should pay its own way. It must not depend wholly and permanently on the wealth and generosity of an individual or a group of individuals or even an institution. Public subscriptions, charity or individual sacrifice will not solve the uplift problem of the seven lakhs of Indian villages.

### SCHEME EXPLAINED.

Self-reliance in the matter of cloth (वस्त्रस्वावलंबन) will solve this knotty problem. Take, for example, a village with a population of 1200. It will require cloth, 24000 yards in length, at the rate of, on an average, of 20 yards per individual. The cotton for the yarn of this cloth ought to be produced and the yarn from it must be spun by the villagers themselves locally. Where ordinary cotton cannot be cultivated due to excessive rainfall the cultivation of *Deo kapas* (देवकपास) will do the work. Ordinary cotton cultivated in  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an acre suffices for the 60 yards of cloth required by a family of three members.

On an average one can spin, with a little practice, about 400 yards of yarn with an ordinary Bardoli pattern Charkha, the weight of the yarn being 2 tolas and the count from 12 to 15. Twenty yards of cloth (36 inches in breadth) will require, at this rate, 6 lbs. of yarn, which will be equivalent to 240 tolas, the length being 48,000 yards. To spin this much yarn one will require 120 days, that is 4 months, if one works for one hour daily. Supposing all the people in the village do not work all the time, still 400 persons out of 1200, will be able to spin the yarn, required for 24,000 yards of cloth by working only one hour a day.

This yarn should be woven by a professional weaver, who will not charge more than two annas per yard, provided the yarn is even, strong and well-twisted. The village worker should charge four annas per yard from the spinner as weaving charges. Two annas per yard should be given to the weaver, while the remaining two annas should be credited to the village uplift account, for defraying the expenses of the village uplift. If possible, the four annas per yard should be taken in the form of corn.

In accordance with the account given above, the village institution will get about Rs. 3000 annually. In order to make up this sum in times of difficulty due to famine, drought, epidemics, etc. mango and other income-yielding fruit trees, such as Shewga (drum stick), tamarind, pepsin, lemon should be planted in the compound of the village institu-

tion. At the same time the income from manufacturing soap, ink, tooth powder, as well as the income from the dispensary, co-operative shop and the co-operative bank, the annual Congress subscription and the Tilak Swaraj Fund contribution will help to make up the deficit.

The sum of Rs. 3,000 should be spent in the following manner:—Rs. 500, the pay of the *Madhyastha* (मध्यस्थ) whose duty will be the treatment of ordinary diseases; management of the co-operative bank, the night-school, the panchayat; giving advice to the villagers about law, co-operation, cattle-breeding, manure-preservation, bunding of the land, selection of seeds, finding out a market for the local produce, etc.; redressing the grievances of the villagers by negotiations with national leaders and Government Departments: Rs. 300, the pay of the *Vastad* (वस्तद) whose duty will be to look after the gymnasium, the reading room and the library, to give first aid and teach drill to the villagers; Rs. 300 the pay of the *Muneem*, (मुनीम) who will manage the co-operative shop and look after the khadi work; Rs. 300, the pay of the *Sevika* (सेविका) who should serve as a nurse, teach sewing, the 3 R's; and spinning and carding to the women folk in the village; Rs. 200, the pay of the *Rakshaka* (रक्षक), who should do the work of an ordinary errand-boy and watchman. He should know how to repair the Charkha and should help the Muneem in Khadi work; Rs. 500 for the co-operative bank; Rs. 100 each for (1) the night school, (2) the gymnasium and the Seval, (3) the interest of the sum borrowed for erecting the building of the village institution which should of course be a very cheap structure, (4) the co-operative shop, (5) khadi work, (6) medicines, (7) panchayat, (8) The Library and the Reading Room and (9) contribution to the Central Workers' Training Institution.—Total Rs. 3000.

#### HOW TO BEGIN.

A central village, with a dozen villages around it, but within easy reach, should be selected. The chief organiser should spend the first six months there along with about 50 to 60 would-be voluntary village-workers. The work should be begun in the first or second week of June. If it be not a cotton tract, cotton seed should be distributed for cultivation in the surrounding dozen villages. The programme of sanitation, literacy, cloth self-reliance, physical culture, manure preservation, etc. should be carried out in the central village with the help of the volunteers. During the first six months the would-be workers will get the necessary initial training for village work and at the same time the cotton for making the experiment of self-reliance in clothing in the surrounding villages will have been produced. Then the 50 or 60 volunteers should be distributed in the surrounding villages, five for each, and they should be asked to carry out the fixed programme. The chief organiser should supervise their work, till these villages are completely self-reliant, so far as their clothing is concerned. The supervisor should also see that the other items of the village uplift programme go on regularly.

It will need at least from one to three years to make the programme successful in the villages first selected. After this important initial work of preparing a model object lesson has been done, the next duty before the chief organiser is to choose a site for founding a Village Uplift College, where village workers will be trained on similar lines. They will be expected to found an ideal village just near the College which will serve as a model for other villages.

## Correspondence.

### SELF-DETERMINATION FOR BERAR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—The Berar Nationalist Party under the guidance of Mr. R. M. Dashmukh has recently submitted a memorial to the Viceroy on the peculiar and anomalous constitutional position of Berar. As the memorial is published in extenso in the Press, I need not summarise it here. Suffice it to say that the memorial demands the constitution of Berar as a separate unit of the proposed Indian Federation with full powers of a British Indian province. So far so good. But the memorial also suggests that "the fundamental principle of governance being now completely changed, there is nothing to prevent His Exalted Highness the Nizam from reopening a question on which Lord Reading effectively set his seal in 1926." "Should that contingency occur," the memorialists go on to say, "and if Berar cannot hope for a fair and an equitable treatment in India, or if Berar has to choose between the non-regulated rule of the Resident of Hyderabad and the rule of His Exalted Highness the Nizam with adequate constitutional guarantees for the governance of Berar, the people of Berar will have seriously to reconsider their position." I object most strongly to this statement. The meaning of this "reconsideration" will be evident from speeches recently made by Mr. Dashmukh in which he openly says that the people of Berar "would prefer its return to the Nizam on the conditions which the latter had agreed to in his letter to Lord Reading." I do not know how far Mr. Dashmukh is justified in making this statement. So far as I know, public opinion in Berar will not favour any such thing. For as early as the year 1923 when the question of the retrocession of Berar was mooted, the Berar Liberals in their first conference at Akola presided over by the late Sir Shankarrao Chitnavis passed a resolution protesting against such a retrocession. Public meetings were also held in support of this view. Moreover, the late Rao Bahadur K. G. Damle had definitely ascertained by private correspondence that the leaders of all the political parties in Berar did not favour the idea of Berar being handed back to the Nizam. The Berar Nationalist Party ought to realise that in holding out the threat referred to above, it is unconsciously playing into the hands of the Nizam. In my opinion, the Government of India should do nothing in this matter unless they definitely ascertain the opinion of the people of Berar by a referendum or otherwise.

I would also suggest to the Government of India to redress the grievances of Berar enumerated in the memorial. Perhaps they may be inquired into by means of a small committee consisting of a majority of non-official Beraris. This committee should also be allowed to consider the question of the feasibility of developing the Berar Legislative Committee into a Berar Legislative Council and the constitution of a separate High Court or Chief Court for Berar.

Before I conclude, I would strongly urge on the attention of the Government the urgent necessity of giving adequate representation to the people of Berar at the second Round Table Conference. Yours, etc.

T. R. GADE.

Akola, June 6.