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Topics of the Week.

Gandhiji and the States.

THE *Bombay Chronicle* and *Swarajya* between them prove to the hilt, in their defence of Mahatma Gandhi's attitude towards the States against the criticism in our issue of 23rd July, all the points in our criticism. Both agree that Gandhiji left the elective representation of the States in the federal legislature to the good sense of the Princes and did not make it an essential condition of federation. The *Bombay Chronicle* says that the Mahatma could not insist upon elective representation because he was in a fix. He had already agreed in the Gandhi-Irwin Pact to federation, and the Princes would not have federation unless the question of the States' representation were left to their own discretion. Ergo, he had to give up his insistence upon elective representation of the States.

IT is obvious that both the parties, Mahatmaji and the Princes, could not have their way. Mahatmaji wanted election of the States' people and the Princes wanted nomination. One of them had to give way, and since the Princes would not Mahatmaji did. The *Bombay Chronicle's* plea is that the Gandhi-Irwin Pact left him no choice. Having accepted federation, he could not possibly make demands which would make federation impossible, even if it be because of the unreasonableness of the Princes. What is true of elective representation is equally true of providing safeguards for the elementary rights of citizenship of the States' people in the federal legislature.

IF this was the position what becomes of Gandhiji's assurances to the States' people? We do not wish to bring in here any private information avail-

able to us. If we did the *Chronicle* would not believe us. We would be content to refer to Dr. Pattabhisitaramayya's statement in his presidential speech; "You had secured promises from Mahatma Gandhi that he would not deem as acceptable any form of government in which the States' people would not secure a guarantee of their fundamental rights, obtain direct representation in the federal legislature and enjoy the privilege of enforcing their rights in the federal supreme court." This promise, unless the *Chronicle* refuses to give credence to Dr. Pattabhi's statement, implies that the Mahatma, despite the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, felt free to make both elective representation and protection of fundamental rights of the States' people essential conditions of federation and to say to the Princes if they did not agree to these conditions: "In that event the Congress will not accept federation." In fact the promise laid upon him the obligation to push these demands even to the point of breaking federation. But this obligation was not discharged. The *Bombay Chronicle* seems to think that the Gandhi-Irwin Pact and Mahatma Gandhi's pledge to the States' people were mutually contradictory, and that one of them had to be broken. Apparently, in our contemporary's judgment, it was preferable to break the latter.

THE real explanation of Mahatma Gandhi's position appears to us to be as has been described by *Swarajya*, when it says:

It would be criminal folly to alienate them (the rulers of States). They must be won over. It is necessary to remember that the British Government has been setting the Princes and minorities against the Congress; it hopes, with the help of these allies, to put the Congress to rout. It is therefore up to the Congress to win to its view-point these misguided Indians and to fight the Government.

The British Government wishes to make allies of the Princes and with their help to fight the Congress. The proper strategy for the Congress therefore is to seek alliance with the Princes and with their help to fight the British Government; and just as the Government will do nothing to alienate the Princes, so must the Congress do nothing to alienate them. The Government, in effecting its purpose, has often to ignore the misrule in the States; so must the Congress be not too censorious about the autocracy of the Princes. Mahatma Gandhi can occasionally allow himself some preachments to them about democracy just as Lord Irwin did, for instance. But beyond this neither the British Government nor the Congress can afford to go. The friendship of the Princes must be preserved at all costs. It is the hard logic of facts, according to most Congressmen.

An Outrage on Civil Liberty.

IT is reported that the authorities of Hyderabad State have refused permission for the holding of the

third session of the State Educational Conference which was proposed to be held in October next. We are sure the action will meet with strong disapprobation from all sections of the public. Freedom of public meeting is the well recognised right of every citizen in a state which has any claim to be called civilised. The refusal of permission even for the assembly of such an innocuous gathering as the educational conference by the Nizam's Government clearly constitutes a calculated outrage upon that elementary right. But probably we err in making the assumption that Hyderabad at all cares to be taken as civilised.

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THE refusal of permission was, however, not an isolated act. It was the culmination of a series of attempts to impose impossible and grossly humiliating conditions on the organisers of the Conference, which greatly adds to the gravity of this encroachment on the citizen's right. To begin with, they were asked to furnish a cash security of Rs. 2,000 before their application could at all be taken into consideration. When the utter unreasonableness of this demand was brought home to the authorities, the novel one was made that the president of the Conference must be a local man or rather one who was a subject of the State. In spite of the fact that the demand was thoroughly distasteful to the persons organising the Conference, there was no alternative for them but to reconcile themselves to it in the hope of ultimately getting their heart's desire, viz. being allowed to hold the Conference.

* * *

IMAGINE their surprise when even after agreeing to this condition they were blandly told that the Conference could not be allowed to be held. If the refusal had been supported by any reasons it would have been possible to examine their validity or otherwise. But none were actually forthcoming. If, e. g., they had any objection to the choice of the organisers for the presidency and had said so, the organisers who apparently wanted the Conference at any price might have consented to select somebody else as President. But beyond proclaiming their refusal to all concerned, the Nizam's Government have chosen to keep mum over it. The Nizam's apologists might point in self-defence to the existence of similar or even tighter fetters on civil liberty in other States. This fact, unpleasantly true as it is, can only bring cold comfort to the subjects of the Nizam. Moreover, what is blameworthy by itself does not become the less so because of the existence of similar abuses elsewhere. We have no doubt that the Hyderabad authorities' intolerance in this case is a gross misuse of their powers which needs to be set right, if not by them, by the Paramount Power.

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Mr. Rao's Tribute to Mr. Dravid.

HIS Excellency Mr. E. Raghavendra Rao, Governor of the C. P., recently visited the Servants of India Society's Rural Centre at Shendurjana which is in charge of Mr. N. A. Dravid and laid the foundation stone of the building of the Rural Infant Welfare Centre of the Amraoti branch of the Red Cross Society which will be located at Shendurjana. In doing so, Mr. Rao paid a tribute to Mr. Dravid's self-sacrificing labours in the cause of the villagers. Said Mr. Rao :

My friend Mr. Dravid in the speech which he has just made has given us a very interesting account of the work done at Bhambora and Shendurjana; and I take this opportunity of congratulating him on the very encouraging results that have been achieved in spite of many difficulties. It was indeed a happy idea of the Servants of India Society to open a Rural Centre in this tract and to entrust the task

of organizing and running it to Mr. Dravid. The social sciences have advanced enormously in recent years in clearness of aim, objectivity of method and clarity of statement. We require a new body of public servants and public workers who can delve down deep into the foundations of the economic life of the countryside. The general trend of politics of the country will enlarge the scope of the duties of Government servants and philanthropic workers in the direction I have mentioned. Mr. Dravid is animated by the true spirit of selfless service. Failures and disappointments do not daunt him; success does not elate him. He has unbounded enthusiasm, but he is not a young man in a hurry. He fully realizes the immensity of the problems involved in rural uplift and he goes step by step consolidating the ground already won before advancing further. These qualities have rightly won him the esteem and confidence not only of the people of Shendurjana but also of the neighbouring villages. May the work he has taken in hand be crowned with increasing success!

* * *

All's Well That Ends Well.

WE are glad that the misunderstanding which had recently arisen between the Baroda Government and the State Praja Mandal is now very nearly dissipated. The Mandal, as its name indicates, is a body which actively interests itself in the welfare of the people of the State. As such it is no wonder that the present hard economic plight of the agriculturists attracted its attention. The authorities of the State were, however, so suspicious of its activities that they read into them a desire on its part to prepare the people for a campaign of withholding the payment of Government dues.

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THE Mandal for its part had done nothing to give ground for these suspicions. As a matter of fact nothing was further from its mind than to incite the ryots to a no-tax movement. A request for reduction in the land revenue demand was apparently all that it had probably in mind. But before putting it forward it wanted to satisfy itself by inquiries on the spot as to the extent of such reduction. Really speaking, to such an economic inquiry no reasonable objection can ever be taken. But the State officials thought otherwise and made up their mind to have none of it. The result was the issue of a circular to Revenue and Police officers ordering them to prevent the workers of the Mandal from pursuing any economic or even social inquiries in the villages. But this was not all. A further confidential circular was sent round which asked them to discourage the villagers from joining the Mandal and to make those that had been so foolish as to join it to recant their folly by resigning their membership.

* * *

IT became obvious in the course of the interview which the representatives of the Mandal subsequently had with the Dewan that all this was done under a misapprehension that the Mandal was a body affiliated to the Congress and wanted to organise its forces for a no-tax campaign. It is not clear whether the repressive acts of his subordinates had the sanction of the Dewan. Anyway it is comforting to learn from Dr. Sumant Mehta that the mist of suspicion which had taken hold of the Baroda Government had been now removed and that they no longer objected to the Mandal pursuing its agrarian inquiries. So far so good. But we fail to see the point in the authorities imposing what must be termed the silly condition that the witnesses that the Mandal may like to examine should be called to taluka towns. There can be little doubt that it will greatly handicap the Mandal in its work. If the inquiry is to be thorough and all-sided, as it should properly be if its results are to have any value in the public eye, and if, as the Mandal is

assured, the Government are no longer opposed to an economic inquiry, it is up to them not only not to add to the difficulties of the Mandal's task by any action on their part but to facilitate it by all means within its power.

* * *

Motimahal Tragedy.

IT may be within the recollection of our readers that a disastrous fire broke out in the Motimahal Cinema House in Hyderabad (Deccan) on June 14 last, leading to serious loss of life. The occurrence was too tragic to be allowed to pass into the limbo of oblivion without an exhaustive inquiry as to its causes, and what is even more important, suggestions as to measures of a preventive nature. A committee was in due course appointed by the Nizam's Government and had the Deputy Director-General of Police for its chairman. Its membership included the City Police Commissioner, the Municipal Commissioner, and the Director, Electricity Department, besides two non-officials. The Committee had thus a clear official majority.

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THE Committee's report is now before the public. Exactly how the fire started the Committee is unable to say. That it started in the lumber room and that its spread was facilitated by quantities of films stored in it was, however, established to its satisfaction. In passing it may be noted that the management, when questioned on this point, professed complete ignorance as to whether any films were stored in the cinema building. The matter is perhaps sub judice and we cannot do anything more than to point out that the Committee itself charges the managers of the Cinema with "criminal negligence in storing films in such a dangerous place."

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BUT what, it may be asked, about their post-tragedy conduct? Was it at least such as to extort every one's admiration owing to their eagerness to save human life? The management of a cinema house or any place of public amusement for that matter is likened by the Committee, and rightly too, to the captain of a ship. When a ship is in danger, its captain is the last to leave it after all possible rescue work is accomplished. Applying this criterion to the management of the Motimahal Cinema, the Committee comes to the conclusion that it "failed signally in the discharge of their duty towards the members of the audience."

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NOR is the Committee able to absolve the police from all blame. In fact it has given it as its opinion that "some of the police present did not rise to the occasion and did not render to the public the services that might well have been expected of them." It is also dissatisfied with the present fire-fighting arrangements made by the Nizam's Government in Hyderabad City. These appear to it antiquated and out of date. The Committee, therefore, asks that they must be replaced by an up-to-date fire brigade, seeing that Hyderabad is the fourth city in India. In this connection, the Committee does not omit to stress the importance of the provision of a steady flow of water at an adequate pressure in the hydrants. But so far as the preventive measures suggested by it are concerned, pride of place is given to the early introduction of a Cinematograph Act in the Nizam's territory. The absence of such a measure in the Hyderabad State affords an interesting commentary on the progressive and humane character of its administration.

The Assyrians.

OUR late Geneva correspondent writes: Shortly before leaving Geneva last month, I received in due course from the League's Information Section their latest pamphlet, which treated of the hard case of the Assyrians and the marvellous manner in which the League was seeing them through all their troubles. As much as to say: we have failed, it is true, in Manchuria and Abyssinia and a few things like that, but never mind, just look at this fine constructive piece of work and admit that we can and do deliver the goods sometimes.

* * *

I AM afraid this piece of League propaganda left me particularly cold, because unconvinced. I never could work up any great enthusiasm for these so-called Assyrians, who, I am afraid, are of the type of turbulent and still rather barbaric mountaineer tribes, of which the N. W. Frontier is not altogether ignorant. In their case a development for the worse has been added: for, after fighting for England against Turkey during the War, they have been on the dole for years and by now must have acquired the further not very attractive characteristics of spoilt children. I have no wish to palliate in the least the atrocities committed by the Iraq Government, but I never could shut my eyes to the fact that these Assyrians must have proved particularly difficult people to deal with by any government.

* * *

ANYHOW, after these atrocities, they were to be given the chance of emigrating to some other country, and the League has been spending no little time nor money in sending "experts" to the ends of the world, trying to find a suitable spot for them. Even the back of beyond of British Guiana was "explored" on their behalf (and turned down); but in the end France came forward and offered them a nice little hillside plus adjoining swamp in Syria to settle on, and it is this choice bit of territory about which the aforesaid propaganda pamphlet waxes so enthusiastic.

* * *

THE plan seemed preposterous on the face of it, since the district could never hold the whole tribe nor even any considerable part of it; and to anyone knowing the situation in Syria, it was clear as a pikestaff that France wanted this settlement of Assyrian braves, simply as Auxiliaries to keep down the Arab Nationalists, playing on the notorious antagonism against Moslems which these Christian Assyrians feel on account of their age-long oppression by Moslem overlords.

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THIS surmise has now been proved true to the hilt. For with a change in the French Government has come a change in their Syrian policy: M. Léon Blum prefers to liquidate the French mandate business in Syria after the model of the British in Iraq, to compose French quarrels with the Arabs and to hand the whole country over to them, with the exception of a tiny strip, the Lebanon, which has always been purely Christian (Maronite) and already under the Turk enjoyed a separate status.

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UNDER these circumstances the Assyrians of course are no longer needed and as a consequence the French Government have just notified the League Secretariat that the deal is off and that the Assyrians must find a home elsewhere than in Syria!

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FURTHER comment is needless, but the case really sheds another piercing searchlight on the appalling political jobbery in international affairs which is habitually going on in Geneva and for which the League simply serves as a cover.

Female Education in C. P.

THE C. P. Legislative Council has not added to its reputation as a progressive body by throwing out Mrs. Tambe's bill for making better provision for female education. It cannot be doubted that female education is deplorably backward in most provinces, not less so in the C. P. That even the existence for nearly fifteen years on the provincial statute book of compulsory education legislation should not have led to a wider diffusion of education among girls may appear unintelligible to many. But the mystery can be easily explained. The initiative for the introduction of compulsion is left by these Acts to local bodies who, looking to their composition, cannot be expected to be very enthusiastic about the spread of female education, even if they were to be presumed to be so about the spread of boys' education.

THE result has been that the disparity between the education of boys and girls is progressively on the increase. This is very detrimental to national interest. The lack of effort on the part of local bodies for pushing on female education has so disappointed Mrs. Tambe in common with other champions of the cause that she despaired of any progress worth the name in female education under existing arrangements. Her solution is to throw a definite obligation on the Government to provide for the compulsory education of girls. And this solution was embodied in her bill.

To judge from the speech of the Director of Public Instruction in the debate, the opposition of Government

to it was largely based on considerations of finance. But the figures of expenditure as given by him do not, in our view, point to finance being such a formidable stumbling block as he would have us believe. If the reform embodied in the bill were to be given effect to, it would, he said, involve an expenditure of at least Rs. five lakhs which under the present arrangements would have to be equally shared between the Government and local bodies. Non-recurring expenditure amounting to about another Rs. 11½ lakhs would have to be incurred on buildings. Other difficulties of a comparatively minor character like the supply of trained teachers to which Government officials habitually attach undue importance were also trotted out by the Director. But the general impression left on one's mind by a perusal of his speech as reported in the press was that, given Rs. 5 lakhs a year and Rs. 11½ lakhs by way of initial expenditure for the provision of buildings, Mrs. Tambe's proposal was quite feasible. Even if the higher figure of Rs. one crore mentioned by the Minister were to be taken as correct, the burden, if spread over fifteen years as suggested by Mrs. Tambe, would not be too much for the province.

BUT though the result of this fight has gone against Mrs. Tambe she has really no reason to feel disheartened by it. It is indeed a moral victory which she has won. For her opponents who must have included the official block numbered only eight more than her supporters so that it is established beyond doubt that in pleading for the reform for which she did Mrs. Tambe has public opinion solidly behind her.

EUROPEAN HIGHLANDS OF KENYA.

THE announcement by the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Ormsby-Gore, in the House of Commons on 9th July that the proposed Order in Council on Kenya "will not contain any legal disability against Indians or against any persons on the ground of race, colour, creed or anything else" has had, we are afraid, a sort of soporific effect upon the people in this country. Since the policy of the White Highlands was inaugurated thirty years ago, it was only an administrative policy, which was later applied to transfers as well as to original grants of land, and when the policy was initiated the then Colonial Secretary, Lord Elgin, instructed the Governor that the Imperial Government would not countenance the placing of any legal restrictions on the land-holding rights of any section of the community. Latterly, however, it was feared that legislation preventing non-Europeans from owning or leasing land within a defined area would be undertaken and that a colour bar would thus be created. It is assumed that this fear has proved groundless. It has proved groundless in the sense that no Act of Parliament is to be passed for the purpose, but an Order in Council is to be issued instead, and an Order in Council too is legislation, though of a subsidiary character. This point was taken in the debate in the Commons by Major Milner who argued it thus:

It is said that there is to be no variation in the procedure as it is at present carried out. I should like to ask whether there is any legal discrimination against Asiatics or Africans to-day as far as the White Highlands are concerned, and if the answer is that there is no discrimination, is it not a fact that, if the Order in Council is passed as proposed, there will be such discrimination in

future? It is a travesty to say that there is no variation in the procedure hitherto followed. The present law permits alienation to an Asiatic. It may be that as a matter of practice such alienation rarely, if ever, occurs, but supposing my hon. Friend the Member for Gower (Mr. Grenfell) was appointed, as he might very properly and deservedly be, Governor of Kenya, he might desire to effect a variation in the procedure and to permit Asiatics to occupy land in the White Highlands, but if the Order in Council be passed he will not be able to do so. [An hon. Member: "Why not?"] Because the Order in Council will presumably have the force of law and will forbid him.

Mr. Morgan Jones declared on behalf of the Labour Party that "any future Labour Government would not feel bound by the Government's action arising out of the Morris Carter Report," and although the Labour Government can replace one Order in Council by another, it can only do so by causing uncertainty in place of the stability which it is the purpose of the Order in Council which will soon be submitted to Parliament to secure for Europeans. Anyway, an Order in Council is also a form of legislation, and one which gives a privileged position to Europeans of every nationality, whether they be Britishers, Greeks, Portuguese or Italians, over Asiatic or African British subjects certainly introduces racial discrimination by law, and is opposed to Queen Victoria's declaration: "That there shall not be in the eyes of the law any distinction or disqualification whatever founded upon mere distinction of colour, origin, language or creed, but the protection of the law in letter and in substance shall be extended impartially to all alike."

And what will now be the extent of the White Highlands? The total area allotted for occupation by Europeans is approximately 7,525,120 acres, and the area actually under occupation by them is 5,138,324 acres. How much of this occupied area is, however, cultivated? In 1934 it was only 556,182 or 10.82 per cent. This percentage is steadily decreasing during the last five years. In 1930 it was 12.59, in 1931 12.25, in 1932 11.80, in 1933 11.41 and in 1934 10.82. The total number of occupiers in 1934 was only 2,027. That too is decreasing. In 1933 it was 2,102; that is, in one year there was a net decrease of 75 in the number of occupiers. Thus, the area under cultivation decreased by 6.4 and the number of occupiers by 3.5 per cent. in one year. But it is said that cultivation alone does not represent the full degree of development of the occupied areas as a considerable portion of these areas are devoted to the maintenance of live stock. In 1934 Europeans had in their possession 256,167 cattle and 255,097 sheep, and assuming that six acres per head are required for cattle and three acres per head for sheep the estimated area utilised by Europeans for their live stock is 2,302,293 acres. Adding to this 556,182 acres which are under cultivation, the total area developed in the White Highlands is 2,858,475 acres, while the total area under occupation is 5,138,324 acres, and the total area allotted for occupation is 7,525,120 acres. Thus less than 38 per cent. of the land already allotted is being used either for cultivation or for the raising of stock. And yet, in delimiting the White Highlands, their extent is being enlarged, on the strength of the Report of the Land Commission presided over by Sir Morris Carter, from less than 12,000 square miles to 16,700 square miles. To this objection was taken in all parts of the House. Sir Archibald Sinclair, who is sympathetic to the European settlers, said:

It is intended substantially to enlarge the area of the Highlands which is to be reserved for non-native exploitation, at a time when the right hon. and gallant Member for the Drake Division (Captain Guest) was telling us that the white settlers were leaving the country. It seems to me quite unnecessary and, I think, a little unfair, to the natives to enlarge that territory at a time when the number of white settlers is not increasing, when there is no great pressure of white settlement, but when, on the contrary—and I regret it—the white settlement is falling off.

The White Highlands being extended, there will be, as Sir Francis Ackland observed, "greater differentiation than hitherto." Compare, again, the native reserves to the European reserves. The total native population of Kenya is 3,024,975 and for it 48,149 square miles are reserved (a great part of which is desert land), while the European population, male and female, is 16,812, and for it 16,700 square miles are reserved (which is the pick of the land). Thus, while for 63 natives one square mile of inferior land is provided, the same amount of good and fertile land is provided for one European. And, although the whites number at present 16,812, no more than 2,027 occupiers or 2,364 employees or 4,381 made their living from land. These facts must be taken into account in order to appreciate the grave injustice involved in the Order in Council to be now issued.

The plain truth of the matter is that the European enterprise of exploiting agricultural land in the uplands of Kenya is a hothouse growth, even as it has gone so far; it has been maintained by artificial aids of various kinds, which inflict serious injustice upon the native, Indian and Arab sections of the community. The injustice that is involved in this policy is of a twofold character: it is unjust to reserve permanently a totally disproportionate amount of land for the exclusive use of Europeans, and it is unjust to force the pace of this reserved area by giving European farmers many advantages at the expense of the other races like grants in aid, loans without interest, special railway rates, etc. And now to go on to extend these reserves is still further to increase the double injustice that this policy necessarily entails. Sir Humphrey Leggett, who had experience of Land Settlements in the Transvaal under Lord Milner's Government and was put in special charge of the Poor White Population question in South Africa and who was later commissioned to report upon the possibility of making the East African Protectorates pay their way, expressed a decided opinion, in his evidence before the Joint Committee on Closer Union in East Africa in 1931, that "land development by the European community on colonist lines has not yet proved its soundness in these desiderata (which he mentioned), that it is very far from being prosperous and self-supporting to-day, even if it has ever been so—which I also doubt—and that it is likely to be even more hazardous and doubtful in the future." He added: "In reply to the question often asked as to whether European land settlement, whether it be of colonist or plantation type, is really *essential* to native progress, I think that my answer would be in the negative, and, in support of my answer, I would point to the striking economic, political, moral and hygienic progress of Uganda with its 3¼ million natives, and of the Bukota, Mwanza, North Tabora, etc., Provinces of Tanganyika, in which area there is no European settlement of either (colonist or plantation) class." The progress of the native population depends upon the services provided by the State in native interest and these services "are based upon revenue easily raised from the native population itself." Uganda is at the present moment financially very prosperous, while Kenya is in the depth of depression. Why? Because of the European community. Mr. Ormsby-Gore himself said:

In Kenya we find to-day that the high costs of administration are due to the fact that it has been found necessary to employ Europeans, European clerks, officials and district commissioners, to do a lot of the work which in other territories, including Tanganyika and Uganda, is performed by natives and particularly native chiefs. The mere fact that you have this community of white settlers does necessitate your having European policemen and clerks to deal with that community, whereas in native territories you have native policemen and native clerks, and when settlers complain of the high cost of government let them realise that in a mixed country such overheads are inevitably higher.

There are 2,000 European farms in the Kenya Colony and there are 2,000 European officials! The Governor, Sir John Byrne, decided to levy an income tax to meet the deficit, but the European farmers

succeeded, by forming vigilance committees and by intimidation, in getting the Colonial Office to overrule his decision!! The white colonists necessitate heavy additional expenditure and then refuse to pay taxes!!!

Sir Humphrey Leggett in his memorandum has given a number of "adventitious and even artificial props" on which European settlement, even to the slight extent to which it has progressed, has been built up. These are:

1. "The initial provision of a railway, traversing the settlement area, free of capital charges for interest and sinking fund, and a system of railway service facilities, and of railway rates on export produce." Since the opening of the railway, the majority of the railway profits, though derived from Uganda and Tanganyika, are deflected from these territories and paid into the Kenya Treasury.

2. For the first five years of European settlement the Kenya Treasury took the whole of the customs receipts on the imports of Uganda, etc.

3. The Kenya Budget makes inadequate provision for services to the native population. "The Kenya Government, although contributed to by the railway revenues of adjacent territories, and by the native taxation in Kenya itself, spent the major part of its revenue upon services to the European settler population."

4. In spite of high world prices of agricultural products for ten years previous to 1931, the European farming community is in a deplorable financial state. The high protection through customs tariffs (30 per cent. on imports of maize and wheat and 100 per cent. on those of butter and cheese) has indirectly taxed the non-food-growing natives and Indians. "The inward rail rates on these articles were fixed at several times the rate charged for the same articles in the outward direction for export."

5. The export rail rates are on an eleemosynary basis. The working cost is ½d. per ton per mile, whereas the average rate paid by maize, e. g., is slightly over ¼d. per ton per mile.

6. Further, a direct cash subsidy of over £80,000 was given in 1930 to the wheat and maize industries, and a

sum of £100,000 was set aside for 1931 (when the evidence was given). This financial assistance has had the effect of increasing the feeding cost of local consumers, particularly native and Indian. It amounts to a further indirect subsidy of £100,000.

7. In 1930 the Kenya Government set aside £100,000 for cash advances to farmers whose credit with banks and commercial houses had been exhausted.

8. The surplus balance of Kenya was only £23,000 in 1930, but that of Uganda amounted to £1,000,000 despite the very heavy slump in the cotton crop, both as to quantity and world prices.

9. The scheme of settling 80 families of ex-service men on "28,000 acres of what is probably the best farming land in Kenya" cost between £80,000 and £100,000, plus the free grant of land, and the whole of this capital was entirely lost. The big Soldier Settlement Scheme also completely failed, most of the small holdings having gone out of occupation.

A glaring instance of the way in which white farming is heavily subsidised by the Kenya Government was given by Major Milner. He informed the House that the white farmer of Kenya could get a ton of maize carried 677 miles for 8s. 6d., whereas for the haulage of his crop over the same route and for the same distance a native would have to pay £4 or more per ton. A native is thus charged a little less than ten times the freight that a European is charged.

The inevitable conclusion that is to be drawn from these considerations is that the whole policy of White Highlands must be knocked on the head, whether the policy is given effect to by administrative action or whether it is embodied in law. It is sheerly inconsistent with the principle of native trusteeship which was enunciated by the Duke of Devonshire in 1923 mainly for the purpose of defeating the just claims of Indians, but which has already been considerably whittled down in theory and constantly violated in practice.

"EAST INDIANS" IN TRINIDAD, BRITISH GUIANA AND SURINAM.

II*—EDUCATION.

AS has already been pointed out, the State and Christian Churches run education in partnership, the State furnishing the finance and the Church the building and the management. In some cases the schools are situated on sugar estates. In such cases, the State furnishes the finance, the Estate the building and the Church the management, broadly speaking.

Under the Immigration law the Sugar Estates were under an obligation to provide education for the children of the immigrants. But it is common knowledge that the Sugar Estates were none too keen on education. They paid greater attention to hospitals for obvious reasons. The State in the past hardly evinced any more interest in the education of "coolies" than the planters. The only body which took interest in education was the Christian missionaries, who however rated proselytism higher than education. None the less the Indian community

cannot be too grateful to the Christian missionaries for most of such educational progress as they have achieved.

In recent years the State has taken increasing interest in the education of Indians as of others. It had, however, to accommodate itself to its historical heritage. The Christian Churches had done pioneering work and had strongly entrenched themselves in public opinion, particularly the Roman Catholic Church. The State which contributed increasingly to the financial support of education naturally wished to have increasing control over education. Due to Christian denominational rivalry and pirating for students, educational efficiency had suffered. There were too many inefficient schools competing for pupils. The British Guiana Education Commission of 1924-25 severely condemned the inevitable inefficiency of such denominational schools and advocated the replacement of such schools by Government and secular schools. The Mayhew-Marriot Commission, which examined the educational system in Trinidad more recently, deplored the inefficiency of the denomina-

* The first article appeared in our issue of July 30, 1936.

tional system in Trinidad, but advocated its reform and not its replacement. Mr. Arthur Mayhew, one of the members of the Commission, was by the way, in India, in the Educational Service and is the author of the book, "The Education for India," in which he did not conceal his view that the salvation of India lay in accepting Christianity and the educational system should, therefore, provide religious education. But by religious education he meant only the Christian and not the non-Christian. For in his supplementary report on Trinidad he advocated that while Christian preachers should have the right of entry into non-Christian schools for giving religious instruction, the preachers of non-Christian religions should not be accorded reciprocal rights! According to the Government of Trinidad, this discriminatory recommendation "does not appear to have been carried out in practice." And Mr. Mayhew is the Educational Adviser to the Colonial Office in London.

This policy of education through the Christian Churches is upheld on principle by educationists like Mr. Mayhew and generally by administrators in the Colonies who had seen previous service in Africa. The Education Departments, generally speaking, prefer that both from the point of view of efficiency and finance, the Government should control the educational system and not the Churches, Christian or other. Others acquiesce in the present policy as the inevitable incident of historical circumstances. Vested interests have grown up and it would be difficult to displace the system. Public opinion still sniffs at the "Godless" education of Government schools and is not content with the provision of the right of entry of preachers of different religious denominations to give religious education to the pupils of their denominations in Government schools. This is particularly so with the Roman Catholics, and they are very influential in Trinidad. It is noteworthy, however, that the Mayhew-Marriot Commission recorded that the teaching profession in Trinidad, consisting almost entirely of Christians, unanimously preferred and pleaded for Government schools as against Church-controlled schools!

There are still others who acquiesce in the present system on grounds of economy. The Churches, and in some cases the Sugar Estates, supply the buildings, and the churches the management. And the charges for these will have to be borne by the Government in other circumstances. It is possible to exaggerate the value of these contributions by the Churches. The Mayhew-Marriot Commission failed to get figures of the financial contributions made by the Churches towards education and admit that they amount to very little, hardly worth speaking on the whole. It will not be inaccurate to assert that the majority of buildings provided by the Churches and the Sugar Estates are anything but up to the mark and some very deplorable. The majority of buildings on sugar estates in British Guiana are in a dilapidated condition. And the same is true in Trinidad. The situation had become so intolerable that the Governments had been obliged to accept increasing responsibility for buildings and equipment. The only alternative at the moment is for the Government to tolerate the

condemned buildings or foot the bill for new buildings itself without any material financial contribution from the Churches and the Estates. The plea of economy, whatever its validity in days gone by, has very little validity today and will have even less in the future.

If the Government is to spend the money itself, there is no reason why it should make a present of it to the Christian Churches instead of spending it itself. In the meanwhile, one possibility is to rent the buildings now owned by the Churches and the Estates, and that would cost very little.

As regards the contribution of management by the Churches, it may be noted that the managers of schools are invariably ministers of the Churches and not primarily educationists. If it be contended that the Christian minister is *ipso facto* a competent educationist, there is no reason why the department of education should not be made over to the Church altogether and the posts of the Bishop and the Director of Education amalgamated, and much economy secured thereby. In these days of increasing specialization, such a reversion to medievalism would hardly commend itself to any unbiassed mind.

As a matter of fact, the tendency has been for the State, through its secular Education Department, to increase its control over the Church management of the schools, which is naturally resisted passively if not actively by the Churches. The Education Departments have not themselves preferred on grounds of economy, much less of efficiency, the management of schools by the Churches.

Management through the Churches results in no appreciable economy to the State. As it is, the State bears the whole cost of the salaries and pensions of teachers in Church schools. And these salaries and pensions are on the same scale as in Government schools and not less. The Government provides equipment, stationery and gives grants for the up-keep of buildings and for sanitary services and in some cases grants for teaching Hindi and Urdu. One Director of Education went the length of maintaining that the State bore 100 per cent of the recurring expenditure of Church schools and ultimately agreed to bring down the claim to 99 per cent. The plea of economy is hardly convincing.

It has already been said that the teachers in the Church-conducted schools prefer State control. It may with confidence be asserted that this view is not nearly universal, though for obvious reasons the teachers fight shy of giving public expression to it for fear of displeasing their managers and suffering for it. It is only when the employees are organised that they can venture to give public expression to views which may be disagreeable to their employers. And this happened in Trinidad.

It is significant that this preference was not due to the teachers in Church schools being worse off than their confreres in Government schools in matters of salary and pension, nor in the security for their emoluments. They have the same rights as the Government teachers and the same financial guarantee from the Government. They have also the right of approach to the Director of Education if they have

a grievance against their managers. Nevertheless, they unanimously preferred Government schools to Church schools. Part of the reason is that the managers expect them, nearly oblige them, to undertake evangelistic work and that without additional compensation. In giving them promotions their evangelistic work and success are taken into account by the Christian-minister-managers, notwithstanding official assertions to the contrary. It is an open secret. Another reason is that the ministers are not generally educationists.

Thus there seems to be no adequate justification for the continuance of the present policy of Government-financed Christian missionary education, either on grounds of historical circumstances, efficiency or economy. There are, however, those who abhor "Godless education" and insist on religion being made an integral part of all education. The present system anticipates such a situation and makes due provision for it. Religious instruction in the Christian religion is compulsory even in Government schools in British Guiana. Duly accredited ministers of all religions are permitted to give religious instruction to the pupils of their respective denominations in Government schools in Trinidad. That ought to meet all reasonable claims for religious instruction. But so far the Christian denominations have not agreed to that policy and insist on denominational control.

The non-Christians complain that the Christian Churches have a practical monopoly of education and if they wish to send their children to school at all they must send them only to Christian schools which seek to convert non-Christians to Christianity. That is one of the reasons why, they explain, they are reluctant to send their children, particularly their girls, to school. And that is partly the reason why education has made the least progress among East Indians, as noted by the Mayhew-Marriot Commission, for the bulk of the East Indians are still Hindus and Muslims. And from that point of view, the introduction or extension of compulsory education, particularly in the case of girls, is looked upon with disfavour by the non-Christian parents. The situation has not become acute in Trinidad because compulsion was introduced only very recently and even then in one or two urban areas and is not yet universal. In British Guiana compulsion has been in operation for several decades for boys. It was only some three years ago that the Sweetenham Circular was withdrawn and compulsion extended to Indian girls as well. In Surinam the compulsory law is not zealously enforced in the case of Indians and particularly the girls.

The complaint of the non-Christian against the monopoly of the Christian schools is sometimes discounted on the ground that there is a conscience clause in the educational law and non-Christians are free to take full advantage of it. This provision is available also to members of Christian denominations with respect to schools conducted by other non-Christian denominations. Though no statistical proof is available, competent authorities agree that in practice the conscience clause is hardly availed of even by Chris-

tians, much less by non-Christians. Christian parents who shrink from availing themselves of the conscience clause would however send their children to their own denominational schools even at a sacrifice if such be available. Non-Christian parents solicitous of their children's education will hesitate greatly before invoking the conscience clause.

Official assurances that no systematic attempts are made in the schools to proselytise and that the Education Departments would take rigorous action if cases of such attempts were brought to its notice hardly solve the problem. In the first place, the policy of proselytism has in these Colonies the deliberate and official sanction of the Government. Moneys have been annually appropriated for the specific purpose of missionary activities by the Christian Churches. In British Guiana the Bishop of Guiana has a grant for the specific purpose of missionary work among East Indians. Secondly, would the Missions themselves admit that their sole object in so tenaciously holding on to their control over the educational system is merely to give secular education to the heathen?

Apart from the considerations already referred to, the present system is discriminatory against the non-Christian, and they happen to be Indians. The teaching profession is almost wholly closed to the non-Christians. The Canadian Mission schools, which specialize in schools for Indians, naturally employ Indian Christians, with few exceptions. In any event the head-teachers are invariably Christians. It is only in the handful of Government schools that the non-Christian has a chance of employment, and there he has to take his chance with Christians of all races. Non-Christians in the training colleges are an exception, because they have no subsequent openings in the teaching profession. There have been instances of Indians who when they were pupil-teachers were non-Christians but who found it necessary to become Christians in their subsequent career as assistant teachers and head-teachers.

Some friendly observers have drawn attention to the fact that in Government schools the great majority of teachers were Negroes who were increasingly becoming race-conscious and conscious of their privileged position in the civil services and not averse to perpetuating their vested interests, and that it was only in schools conducted by certain Missions primarily for Indians that Indians, if only Indian Christians, have had openings for teachership, and fear that if and to the extent to which the control of the educational system passes solely into the hands of the Government, the teaching profession will also pass into the hands of the Negroes, who are all Christians. The change will in any event not improve the opportunities for the non-Christian, but it will worsen those now open to Indians.

As against this line of argument it may be urged that the Church system is closed to the non-Christian while the State system is open, with possibilities of adequate representation of non-Christians under continued pressure and appeals for justice and fair-play.

A solution of this problem which has been suggested and recently initiated in some of these Colonies

is for the non-Christians to start their own schools and receive Government assistance on a par with the Christian schools. If the existing Christian denominational system leaves much to be desired from the point of view of efficiency and economy, the recognition of further denominations will but aggravate the evil. To multiply an evil is not to cure it. It is true that at the moment the non-Christians in these colonies have not as many denominations as the Christians, but they are not without them. They are divided into Hindus and Moslems, and the former into Arya Samajists and Sanatanists.

There are not at the moment an adequate number of qualified and competent men and women among the non-Christians either to organize or run educational institutions efficiently, though for no fault of theirs. They had not the external advantages that the Christian Churches have had these many decades. The latter had a big start, as it were, while the former were heavily handicapped in every way.

The Mayhew-Marriot Commission recommended that if in an area there were several competing denominational schools, they should be replaced by a consolidated school which should be handed over to that denomination which had the majority of pupils. In several places in Trinidad the majority, even the great majority, of pupils are non-Christians, among whom Christian missionaries have already established schools. An attempt to start a non-Christian, Hindu-Muslim, school in that area was resisted by the Christian Mission on the ground that it was first in the field.

The only other alternative is for the State in these Colonies to recognize that its population is not homogeneous from a religious point of view and that it is no longer its purpose to do everything in its power, short of coercion, to proselytise the heathens into Christianity, and that it has similar and equal obligations towards all religions and that the best policy is to keep itself severely neutral in matters of religion and take on itself the main responsibility for providing compulsory primary secular education to all the pupils under its jurisdiction, leaving it to the different religions to provide at their own expense religious education to the pupils of their respective denominations.

It is sometimes said that the non-Christians have no grievance because they had not formally complained of it to the Government. There is much to be said for this view. It is an ill turn to invent and manufacture grievances. But the failure to complain is not a complete answer to the problem, though the Government cannot be blamed for not knowing of it. Governments, particularly bureaucracies, are not knight-errants on the look out for grievances to redress. Nobody, least of all a bureaucrat, would care to meet trouble half way. Nevertheless, not to know is not to deny. The Indian communities in these Colonies are not, as has already been stated, well equipped and well organized as yet. That is the reason why the Government of India has had so often to send out its experts to assist Indians in the various Colonies to formulate their grievances and present

them to the Governments concerned and to investigating commissions of various kinds. At present and for some time longer, the Governments of the Colonies concerned must undertake the extra burden of being knight-errants.

It has been stated above that some of the schools are situated on sugar estates and that in such cases, the Sugar Estates furnish the buildings, the Christian missionaries the management and the State the finance. It has also been stated that the majority of school buildings on the estates are in a deplorable condition and stand condemned. In a few instances, very few indeed, the Estates have recently improved the buildings. And in some cases the State assisted them to do so.

While the Sugar Estates are entitled to thanks for such encouragement as they have given to education, there is no denying the fact that both the missionary managers and the teachers stand in unhealthy awe of the Estate management, generally speaking. Neither the Sugar Estates nor the missionaries are primarily educators; they have their own interests and they have qualifications for them, but not for education. The unfortunate teacher on the sugar estate has to keep on the right side of the missionary, the Estate manager and the Education Department, each testing him by a different criterion. Even those with far superior general and professional education and culture and with far better and secure emoluments than the primary school teacher on the sugar estates will find it difficult to satisfy the conflicting demands of the three authorities. The education of the Indian labourer is paying heavily for the privilege of being conducted in dilapidated and condemned buildings.

The present system cannot in this respect also be defended on the ground of economy. The Education Departments have either to tolerate condemned buildings or themselves put up the money or better buildings. And there is no reason why the State should give grants for buildings to the Estates when it can build them itself and build them outside the estates. The Government should take advantage of every opportunity that may present itself to resume control over schools and school buildings and relieve the Churches and the Estates of direct share in this responsibility.

Compared with other racial communities, the Indians in all the three Colonies are much backward in education, and even more so the Indian girls. According to the Census of 1931, of all Indians in Trinidad some 77.2 per cent. are unable to read and write. The proportion is higher still among non-Christian Indians; it is 82.8. Even among Indian Christians the proportion is as high as 49.2. In British Guiana the Indian population forms 42 per cent. of the total population, but its literate population is but 14.3 per cent. Of the total Indian population as many as 66 per cent. were illiterate. Of the Indian women some 91 per cent. were illiterate.

There is no doubt that in the past the education of Indians in these Colonies was greatly neglected. But it is no use to cry over spilt milk. It is neces-

sary, however, to recognize that a special responsibility now rests on all concerned to accelerate the progress of education among the Indians and to make up for past neglect. Compulsory education is not yet universal in Trinidad; it is universal in Surinam and British Guiana. But not the whole of the school-going population is still at school. Notwithstanding the prohibition of child-labour by law, it still occurs. In some cases, the children are employed by the parents in their rice cultivation, and the law, as it stands at present in British Guiana, permits it. The sugar Estates continue to employ child labour in direct violation of the law. The Education Department of British Guiana admits the employment of child labour, but fails to record the number of children affected. The ancient traditions of the Indian immigrant, his economic needs, the interests of the Sugar Estates in securing cheap labour and keeping it uneducated, the reluctance of the non-Christian parents to send their children, particularly their girls to Christian schools with only male teachers, the supineness of the Government had all combined to soft-peddle the education of the Indians. In recent years there has been a welcome change in some respects, though not in all. But much yet remains to be done particularly with regard to the education of girls. It is gratifying to learn that an Indian mother who herself has received some education is very keen on the education of her daughters as well as of her sons. Nonetheless it is still true that the Indian parents, generally speaking, show greater anxiety to marry off their daughters, and for that purpose go the length of getting into debt, if necessary. The education of their daughters is worthy of the same anxiety and of even more zeal.

While the situation with regard to the education of the school-going population is making progress, past neglect has left a large legacy of uneducated adults. Nothing yet seems to have been attempted to tackle the problem of adult education, which is as urgent as the education of children.

P. KODANDA RAO.

(Concluded.)

Review.

DISTRIBUTE OR DESTROY!

DISTRIBUTE OR DESTROY! By BRYNJOLF BJORSET. (Stanley Nott.) 1936. 20cm. 188p. 5/-.

A NORWEGIAN Civil Engineer Mr. Bjorset discusses the main present-day economic problem viz. the question of poverty in the midst of plenty. While surveying the numerous suggestions to solve this vital problem the author compares and contrasts some of the well-known remedies made by reputed authors. The true scientific remedy lies in distributing the so-called "glut of goods" so that the standard of living might rise and humanity might not be dumbfounded by the bogey of over-population.

The first part of the book gives a picturesque description of the state of material abundance of economic goods. Chapters III to IX deal with the typical solutions made by the Swiss physiocrats, the American technocrats, the supporters of social credit,

the adherents of the stable money group and the new Norwegian economists. In Chapter X he makes an interesting comparison of the suggestions of these 'economic heretics.' In part three the author's conclusion is given out. A good understanding of the so-called 'economic heresies' can be gained by studying this stimulating monograph. Though his suggested bridge for the attainment of happy life in a new and better world is nothing new he has expounded in a clear and charming manner the economic action needed to solve the above problem. A new monetary standard balancing purchasing power and the volume of goods created and a deliberate economic planning will accomplish the right distribution of existing wealth and conduce to an effective utilisation of the huge productive powers.

Purchasing power is the link between production and consumption. A faulty economic system does not produce the adequate amount of purchasing power. The defective system of distribution delimits the rise and growth of our standard of living. "This human ignorance and inadaptability" has to be checked. Energy can be turned into useful goods. These have to be distributed broadcast over all sections of the population. Mankind did enjoy such a period of plenty during the eleventh to the fourteenth century.

Increasing employment arising out of public or private efforts, shorter working hours and increased wages have been suggested at different times and put into actual practice. Roosevelt's N. R. A. seems to be based on the above ideology. But no significant change has occurred as a result of the carrying out of his suggestions. No rational money bringing about an enlightened system of distribution has been ushered in by the above proposals.

A reformed money regime has been the objective of the Swiss physiocrats, the American technocrats, the promoters of stable money and the organisers of social credit. The important details of the above schemes are explained in a convincing manner. 'The depreciating currency' of Sylvio Gessel, 'the energy certificates' of Prof. Soddy, 'the electric dollar' of the technocrats are referred to. A rational distributive system is the keynote of all the above mentioned reforms. 'Unstable money' is the subject of attack, on the part of 'stable money' advocates as well as the sponsors of social credit. "The Exchange Service" of the new Norwegian economists aims at "distributive planning". It is indeed a practical scheme which can be carried out with success. Another economist wants that internal production and distribution should no longer be based on gold. Still another economist needs the separation of money from credit and would nationalise the money function. To ensure a free flow of credit the users of credit should secure credit from the Credit Centre alone and subscribe to a credit guarantee fund. Lastly, Prof. Keilhan's suggestion that state control of money as well as credit should be established so that a proportional use of credit when compared with productive powers would issue is mentioned.

All these reformers are agreed on two aspects, viz., the increasing of the productive energy of the world and the distribution of the same through the means of sound money which circulates effectively and in the right direction. The raising of purchasing power to equal productivity is the aim of all the new economists. If this one main defect of the economic system, viz. unsound money were to be effectively tackled there will no longer be any chaos. The tenets of the new economists are not in the direction of worshipping scarcity. But they require that sturdy economic independence should lead to the creation of what is best for society.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU.

SHORT NOTICE.

THE QUESTION OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

By A. L. ROWSE. (Hogarth Press.) 1934. 20cm. 64p. 1/6.

MR. ROWSE is rightly regarded as one of the younger thinkers of the Labour Party, and his pamphlet is evidently intended to supply the necessary ammunition to the Labour candidates in the next election campaign against the House of Lords.

Even ultra-Conservatives like Lord Salisbury admit the necessity of a far-reaching reform of the House of Lords. We are not surprised, therefore, when the author in a brilliant array of facts and arguments in the first two chapters tries to convince us that it is an effete institution and as such succeeds in nothing but importing exasperating delays and petty

perversions in the path of all progressive legislation.

Having convinced himself that the House of Lords (like all second chambers) is no good and must go, he should have examined the various plans—both theoretical and practical—to reform it and explained why we should reject them. Instead he examines the plans of Lord Salisbury, of the Bryce Commission, and of others and picks out from them acceptable items to be incorporated into a new scheme. Curiously enough, he refrains from developing it into a practical proposal of his own.

In spite of this futility, we must say that on the whole the problem is carefully examined in all its bearings and the student of the British Constitution will find the book worthy of his perusal.

R. H. KELKAR.

SERVINDIA RURAL CENTRE AT SHENDURJANA**MR. DRAVID'S SPEECH.**

On the 23rd ult. the Governor of the C. P. laid the foundation stone of the Rural Infant Welfare Centre of the Amraoti Branch of the Red Cross Society at Shendurjana. In the course of his speech of welcome to His Excellency Mr. Rao, Mr. Dravid said:

THE many legislative measures that our present Government of which you are such a distinguished member has seen through the Council, such as the Debt Conciliation Act and the like, bear testimony to the concern which the present economic condition of the peasantry has been causing to our Government. We are, however, firmly convinced that howsoever beneficent the measures passed by Government may be, unless the work of Government and the legislature is largely supplemented by non-official agencies, working with a single-minded devotion to the betterment of the conditions, under which millions of our countrymen in the rural areas have to live and die, not much benefit of a lasting character can accrue to the real beneficiary, viz., the villager by legislative enactments alone. It is in this belief that on behalf of the Servants of India Society, I started this rural centre at Bhambora on February 18, 1934. The then Minister of Agriculture inaugurated this centre. The progress we have made since then has been recorded in the Society's annual reports from year to year and I will not repeat what has already been said in those reports. Suffice it to say that in the very first year of our existence, a primary school of the indigenous type and a Co-operative Society were started at Bhambora, a private demonstration farm was run successfully for one season, sanitation work was undertaken by providing a separate manure stacking ground for the village where all the villagers were persuaded to take their manure heaps. Every house almost at Bhambora was induced to have a soak-pit dug for the disposal of waste water from the houses. To this, a system of public tube hole latrines has now been added with a sweeper to see that the latrines are properly used. About the Co-operative Society which I started and which the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, my friend Mr. G. S. Bhalja, was at first unwilling to register, owing to the severe set-back which the movement had received owing to mistakes of the past, I am now able to say this that the Society I have started here has run its second year of existence with success and not a pie of outstanding debt is now owed by the member. I am just now engaged in promoting a co-operative society for the benefit of agricultural labourers in this village and I feel confident that I will be able to set it going within a month. Nobody recognized more than I do that the

real problem of rural uplift is that of improving the economic condition of the peasantry and the main urge of all my work is towards that aspect of my work. But the difficulties also in achieving success in this sphere are very great indeed. But given time and patience we can even in this sphere look for ultimate success in the future. It gives me great pleasure indeed to acknowledge the cordial support which I have always received from the heads of the District as well as from the revenue staff of the tehsil in which I am working.

THE MAIN PROBLEM.

Looking to the short time for which we have been working, the progress achieved appears to me at least to be really substantial—substantial in the sense that the foundations of success of all my work which still lies in the future have been well laid. I have also had some set-backs in my work. The private demonstration farm, which I was running at Bhambora, had to be given up owing to the very heavy rains and other difficulties last year. The poultry farm, which I had started with the help of the Deputy Director of Agriculture, my friend, Mr. Mutkekar with a view to demonstrate how to supplement at a small initial cost the diet of very poor nutritive value with which alone the villager and his family have to content themselves so far, has entirely disappeared, thanks to the epidemic amongst these birds which overtook our village last year. This does not mean, however, that effort along both these directions has been given up. Since the head-quarters of this centre was permanently shifted to this market village, I have laid plans for resuming both these activities here with the help of Daryaji Chaudhari and other friends. The question is often asked what are the items of work which may be held to be included in the term rural uplift? The answer to this question may be briefly summed up in the words of the late Rev. K. T. Paul of the Y. M. C. A.: "India is really there, he said, in the villages, the foundations of our body politic and of its problems and seven-eighths of the super structure too. Progress in any field, economic, political or cultural, can only be reckoned in the measure in which it is secured for rural India." So also Mahatma Gandhi: "The future of India," he says, "will be decided not in her cities, but in her villages." My own brief answer to such a query as above about the scope of rural uplift work is that there was no branch of human activity or human interest which has not its counterpart in the village and hence cannot be excluded from falling within the purview. Proper food, proper housing conditions, proper clothing are

the elementary needs of all human beings, of the humble villager as well as that of his urban confrere. Besides these, culture and healthy recreation are as much a necessity for the villager as for his urban contemporary. To bring all these within the modest means of the village population, to modernize his outlook on life and most important thing of all to convince him not to expect these things to drop down into his lap from the heavens above but to acquire these by means of self-reliance and self-help alone—this is the main problem of rural uplift such as I have envisaged it to myself. As Your Excellency knows, such a programme of work, even if backed by the resources of the State, will take years if not generations to work out. It is in this patient faith in the ultimate success of our work that we, of the Servants of India Society, have set out to work. We, who are engaged in this work, can by our own unaided exertions do but very little. Our business, if I may so put it, is that of running a sort of a good neighbourhood house such as the Christian missions are running at some places. For the rest we can but try to help those with whom we have cast in our lot to help themselves. There is no branch of work which even in a remote degree affects the life of the villager which does not fall within the purview of the rural workers. The help and guidance that we hope to be able to give is limited. Only by the resources in men and money we can secure by the enthusiasm and help we are able to enlist in support of the cause we have been trying to make our own. To mention only one specific line of work, the housing conditions which obtain in the villages, as Your Excellency can see all round, are simply appalling. However much we may try to improve the sanitation of the village, unless we are able to tackle the problem of proper sanitary houses for the village population, I feel convinced we can progress but very little in our work of improving the sanitation of the village wholesale.

BIRTH CONTROL CLINIC.

As it is with our cattle, so it is with our population. While the population in both cases is increasing by leaps and bounds the quality is bad enough in all conscience and is at present deteriorating fast. Under the imprimatur of our new Viceroy, who is aptly styled the first Farmer Viceroy, the problem of improvement of the breed of cattle has been taken up for solution with vigour. It is a work of no smaller importance to tackle the population problem of India. All modern States noted for their enlightenment have taken up the problem of the limitation of families. Bombay and Mysore have just instituted birth control clinics. I myself am a keen believer in the preaching and teaching of proper methods of birth control. It will be a proud day in the history of this centre when I am able to add to many of our existing activities that of a birth control clinic. I have discussed this matter with many of my village friends here and am fast preparing the ground for such a clinic as I at no distant day propose to see it established here.

TRAINING OF DAIS.

It is the realization of the immensity of the work that lies ready to hand all round that when the Red Cross Association of Amraoti indicated their intention to extend their activities to rural areas, I at once offered my co-operation to them and requested them to plant their centre where I was working, so that we could supplement each other's work. The combination, as Your Excellency can see now, has worked splendidly. The Red Cross Association of Amraoti has placed two of their workers here: a health propagandist who is a qualified medical man of the A.

M.O. type and a Health Visitor who is in charge of the Maternity and Child Welfare Centre. This work is supervised and organised by me and I have taken advantage of their presence to start a dispensary and a small maternity home where the dais undergoing training receive practical instructions about conducting maternity cases. These two latter viz. the dispensary and the maternity beds are maintained by the Servants of India Society. These two institutions have outlived their first experimental stage and have now firmly established themselves in the hearts of the people. I should not omit in this connection to mention the great help that in this matter I received from the Mote Maternity Hospital of Amraoti and my wife, whom I am happy to see present here this morning. The idea of running a maternity home in connection with the Dais' Training class emanated from the joint consultation of the Health Visitor and my wife. When all is said and done, the actual relief that any agency like ours can offer in the present distressing economic conditions cannot really go far. Such relief as we are able to give at present is only a means to establish those personal human contacts of mutual confidence and affection, which are the only sure basis on which a superstructure of successful work can be reared in the future. To bring about an atmosphere of self-reliance and co-operation where there is at present only mutual conflict and general apathy and malice is no easy task, but that is the task which has to be successfully grappled with, if rural work is to attain any measure of real success.

THE JOY OF LIFE.

I apologize to Your Excellency for the length of this address. Out of the Biblical age of three score and ten I have run out three score of years already and I am now running through the remaining ten. As our ancient *Rishis* planned life's four successive stages, I am now in the Vanaprastha stage, living in a village and doing what I can to help my humble countrymen to better their lot. But if I may venture to exercise the privilege which belongs to age and through Your Excellency convey a message of hope to my countrymen, I will say this that there is no joy in life greater than what you can have by work of the kind that lies ready to hand here in the village. The workers are but few and the harvest to be gathered in radiating happiness all round by your own humble efforts is rich. Your Excellency, I have watched your own career of success with pride and admiration. Your Excellency is not only a successful politician but an able administrator as well. But if ever you feel tired of the dust and turmoil, and the storm and the stress of the life of a politician, I have no hesitation in recommending to Your Excellency the kind of work that is being attempted here.

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