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CONTENTS.

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	433
ARTICLES :—	
The Mahatma and the States Policy	435
Company Law-II.	436
Maharashtra Politics	437
The Other Side of the Medal in Spain. By A Catholic.	438
MISCELLANEOUS :—	
Rural Development in Hyderabad—Note by Mr. Sivaswamy.	442
BOOKS RECEIVED.	444

Topics of the Week.

Devadhar Memorial

AN organised move is afoot in Bombay to collect funds for a memorial to the late Mr. Devadhar. An influential committee with the Mayor, Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta, as chairman has already been set up for the purpose and is actively at work. We trust its appeal for a sum of Rupees two lakhs will meet with satisfactory public response. There can be no two opinions that the best memorial that can be raised to Mr. Devadhar would be by ensuring the continuance of the institution which he himself brought into being and towards whose rearing he gave a large part of his time—we mean the Seva Sadan of Poona. His manifold activities and his illness latterly prevented him, as pointed out in the Committee's appeal, from devoting the needed attention to the financial side of this institution, with the result that it had to incur a debt of Rs. 75,000. As can be easily imagined, some of its activities have necessarily to be conducted at a deficit which his successors in the management of the institution are doing their level best to reduce to the minimum. If Mr. Devadhar had been spared long enough, it was his intention to take advantage of the Seva Sadan Silver Jubilee celebration for raising a fund of ten lakhs with a view to giving the institution financial stability. But that was not to be. It is now up to those who appreciate the high nation-building value of his work to see that the appeal is adequately responded to. The collections would be used, as has been made clear already, in the first instance, towards the liquidation of the debt and then for the continuance of the activities of the Seva Sadan in an unabated form.

Mr. Masani's Externment.

THE non-official attempt to raise a debate in the Assembly on Mr. Masani's externment from the

Punjab proved abortive owing to the intervention of the Governor-General. Sheltering himself behind a rule which taboos discussion in the Assembly of any matter which is not primarily the concern of the Government of India, the Governor-General succeeded for the time being in stopping any further discussion of the local Government's arbitrary action. But that hardly lends justification for a proceeding which is utterly indefensible.

MR. MASANI'S visit was for the purpose of strengthening the local Socialist party by composing the differences which prevailed between its two factions in the Land of Five Rivers. What is there in this to which any reasonable objection could be taken? It is quite believable that the Punjab Government or any Government in India for that matter have no love for Socialists. But that can hardly serve even as a plausible excuse for restraining the liberty of any individual. To expect the public to believe that Mr. Masani was about to act in a manner prejudicial to public peace simply because the Punjab Government think so is to make a too heavy demand on public credulity.

NOR can the action be looked upon as logical or even consistent. If they are bent upon putting down Socialism, they must necessarily stop all Socialist propaganda. Have they done so? Can they do so? Is it a matter of practical politics? They swallowed the camel of two recent tours of their province by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and are now straining at the gnat of Mr. Masani's visit. Lest we should be misunderstood, we must make it clear that their action in the one case was to us as praiseworthy as their high-handedness in the other is blameworthy. If the contemplated debate had not been prevented for technical reasons, we would have known something more of the considerations which impelled the Punjab Government to regard Mr. Masani as a danger to the Punjab. But until such reasons are forthcoming and are found satisfactory by the general public, the action of the Punjab Government will be universally regarded as unwarranted and unjustifiable.

Political Prisoners' Day.

THE observance of the Political Prisoners' Day throughout India on Sunday last serves as an unpleasant reminder of the fact that most of their grievances still remain unredressed. From the numerous public meetings held in connection with the observance the demand went forth that political prisoners should be grouped in a separate class by themselves instead of being subdivided into different classes as at present. The demand is not based on mere sentiment but has good and sound reasons to support it. The political prisoner betakes himself to jail for the sake of his convictions, because he considers it his duty to break laws which,

owing to their obnoxious nature, cannot be obeyed. The nature of the political prisoners' offence is thus the same in all cases. Why then, it is asked, should they be differentially treated, one prisoner leading a life of comparative ease and comfort in A class while another relegated to the drudgery and hard life involved in C class? This sort of differentiation, it is complained, creates demoralisation in Congress ranks and works mischievously. Who can deny that there is considerable substance in this reasoning?

THE occasion was widely utilised for focussing public attention on the pressing need of a circulating library for political prisoners. That many of the prisoners of this class are highly educated and are ordinarily engaged in literary pursuits is well known. But once inside the prison, they have perforce to undergo intellectual starvation for want of means to purchase books. The proposed library, which is being organised by the All-India Political Prisoners' Relief Committee, would thus satisfy a crying need. Will not the general public which is so full of sympathy for the hard lot of those who voluntarily suffer privations in the country's cause come to the Committee's help by donating books? Appeals to this end were made from public platforms on Sunday last and will, we doubt not, evoke a satisfactory response from all quarters.

Compulsory Education in Hyderabad.

THE two compulsory education bills pending consideration by the Hyderabad State Legislative Council have apparently proved a red rag to the reactionary and obscurantist sections of the State population. These have unburdened themselves on the proposed measures in the course of a public statement from which it is obvious that they look upon the proposed laws with a feeling bordering on horror. An increase in crime is foreshadowed by these votaries of reaction as a result of the working of the two laws if passed.

THE connection is too far-fetched, but this is how it is sought to be established. Spread of education, say the signatories to the statement, leads to unemployment, and unemployment in its turn encourages criminal tendencies. An educated young man having nothing better to do turns a criminal and engages himself in burglaries, robberies, etc. Therefore, it is argued, it is best to nip the mischief in the bud by strangling these measures at the very start.

THE reasoning is too fallacious to deceive anybody. If there is unemployment, the obvious solution is the provision of employment and not the stoppage of educational facilities. To ask for the closing or abolition of schools on the ground that they will help to swell the army of the unemployed is a counsel of despair and one which cannot find any adherents outside the ranks of ante-diluvian people. The statement concludes with a request to the Nizam's Government to make short work of the bills by refusing leave to their introduction in the Legislative Council. We are confident the Hyderabad Government has no desire to proclaim its unprogressiveness to the whole world by falling in with the suggestion.

Indian Labour Conditions in Ceylon.

THE growth of anti-Indian feeling in Ceylon to which reference was made in these columns on a

recent date is bound to cause wide-spread concern in India. Most of Ceylon's Indian labour supply is drawn from Southern India where the demand for an inquiry into the conditions of life and work of the Indian labourers in Ceylon is rapidly gathering momentum. To give but one instance, the Southern India Chamber of Commerce has recently addressed a communication to the Government of India emphasising the need of such an investigation by a commission.

THE Chamber's contact with Indian labour in Ceylon has apparently led it to the conclusion that the economic condition of the Indian labourer is steadily deteriorating. It has reason to believe that the worker's indebtedness is growing as a result of low wages. The absence of any provision against unemployment, sickness, old age or aided repatriation and the lack of adequate educational facilities help, in the Chamber's opinion, to make the Indian labourer's plight the harder. All which, the Chamber says, renders the need of a thorough inquiry into the Indian labour conditions in Ceylon imperative.

WE are pleased to note from the *Ceylon Daily News* that public agitation for an inquiry has not fallen on deaf ears and that a commission will shortly be appointed. The personnel of the inquiring body is a matter which is apparently presenting some difficulty. At a recent meeting of the Executive Committee of Labour, Industry and Commerce, the proposal, which seemed to have the backing of a large volume of Indian opinion in Ceylon, that Sir Edward Jackson, a former Attorney-General, should be the sole commissioner was put forward by the Chief Secretary Sir Graeme Tyrrel himself but did not find favour with the Committee. If the idea of a one-man commission is finally dropped, it is to be hoped that in its composition care will be taken to provide adequate representation to Indian interests.

Harijan Sevak Sangh's Educational Work.

THE third annual report of the Harijan Sevak Sangh is a record of solid work for the uplift of the sections of the population looked upon as untouchable. The number of provincial boards increased by 3 to 29 and of district and local committees by 39 to 372. The total expenditure of the Sangh also shows a progressive rise. It was Rs. 2,31,000 in the first year and nearly Rs. 4½ lakhs in 1934-35 which the report before us covers.

THE Sangh grants scholarships as a means of encouraging higher education among Harijans. During the year Rs. 41,245 were spent on this purpose by the Provincial Boards and nearly Rs. 18,000 by the Central Board. In the first year of the Sangh's existence the number of students in receipt of scholarships was not even 50. In the following year it was 99 and last year 117, 83 for Science and Arts courses and 34 for technical and professional courses. It is gratifying to note that out of the 117 Sangh scholars, 7 were girl students, 4 of whom were receiving medical instruction.

FOR reasons with which everyone is by now familiar the isolationist policy in regard to Harijan children in schools in no way commends itself to the Sangh. On the contrary it systematically discourages separate schools for Harijan children and encourages their entry into common schools. In cases where this is not possible owing to local prejudice it does not shrink from opening schools for the

benefit of untouchable children. But, generally speaking, it has a decided preference for common schools. In towns the Sangh has started schools mainly for children of the sweeper class who could not be admitted to public schools. It is seen from the report that the Sangh is sometimes subjected to criticism for thus duplicating the work of local bodies. Do the critics maintain that the Sangh should refrain from helping the helpless and defenceless even when it is in a position to do so?

* * *

THERE were nearly 1,300 preparatory schools working under the auspices of the Sangh with a roll of 34,000 boys and nearly 2,900 girls. As compared to the preceding year, the number of schools rose by nearly 400 and of their inmates by over 14,000. The Sangh's expenses on account of these schools also rose by about Rs. 30,000 to Rs. 1,06,438.

* * *

THE number of free hostels for Harijan children maintained by the Sangh was 92 as against 60 during the preceding year, the number of their inmates being 1,133 boys and 148 girls. The corresponding figures for the preceding year were 872 and 291 girls respectively. The average cost of food per head per month was as low as a little over Rs. 4. The Sangh spent Rs. 18,261 in supplying books, slates, clothes, stationery, etc. to Harijan students. This is a record in the educational field of which any non-official organisation may feel justifiably proud, and we congratulate the Sangh on the achievement.

* * *

New Constitution for Fiji.

THE recent constitutional changes combining nomination with election as a method of representation for Europeans and Indians in the Fiji Legislative Council has elicited a protest from Mr. John P. Bayly, one of the two members of the Council, who were recently in England on the mission of agitating for a more liberal constitutional advance. In the special circumstances of Fiji, Mr. Bayly is of opinion that a proper Legislative Council should have an official majority with the Governor as President, the European, Indian and Fijian communities enjoying equal representation by means of communal electorates. It need hardly be pointed out that though the Indian community might agree, as a temporary measure and as a matter of compromise, to the continuance of communal electorates for some time, it can never be expected to give up its demand for a common roll.

* * *

SO far as the Fijians are concerned, the nominative method of representation is retained in their case even under the new constitution. Mr. Bayly raises his voice against this injustice to the Fijians, who, he thinks, "are just as fit for the electoral system as the Filipinos." But it is not what Mr. Bayly thinks or what even the Fijians themselves think about their fitness to handle the electoral system that matters; it is the opinion of the Colonial Office that is the real deciding factor. And that opinion is that the Fijians should continue to be treated as children not able to take care of themselves or to understand their own interest. What more can or need be said for it? But if the constitutional changes are not more unsatisfactory it is due to the sheer accident of Lord Swinton (Sir Philip Cunliff-Lister) not being at the head of the Colonial office. If he had happened to be at the Colonial Office when these constitutional changes were taking shape, the London correspondent of the *Leader* has "very little doubt that the most reactionary counsels would have prevailed."

* * *

THE MAHATMA & THE STATES POLICY.

IN the course of an editorial in the issue of 23rd July we stated that we had good reason to believe Mahatma Gandhi to have given private assurances to the Princes to the effect that he would not make any demands which would embarrass them. This statement was based upon a talk we had with a key-man in the States, but he denies having made the statement or indeed ever having had a talk with us. In any case Mahatmaji writes to us that he did not give to the Princes the kind of assurances to which we referred in the editorial. In the circumstances we accept his statement and unreservedly withdraw ours, which we genuinely regret.

But there is a little more to be said in this matter in respect of the policy followed by Gandhiji, which is not affected by our withdrawal of the statement referred to above. Gandhiji did not in fact make any embarrassing demands upon the Princes; he pleaded with the Princes for "elements" of direct representation of the States' people in the federal legislature and the placing of "some" of their fundamental rights under the guarantee of the federal court, though he had pledged himself to make elective representation and protection of the fundamental rights of the States' people essential conditions of federation, and to break up the Round Table Conference if these conditions were not acceptable to the Princes. The only way in which his actual conduct at the R. T. C. could be reconciled to his pledge is by putting forward the plea that Gandhiji had made it clear that he undertook to make these demands not in public at the Conference, but in private talks with the Princes, and indeed this plea has been advanced by Mr. Balvantray Mehta from his personal knowledge of this affair. Even on this assumption we cannot see how his repudiation of the same demands as he himself had promised to secure in private, when made by others in public, can be justified. In his private talks with the Princes, it is claimed that the Princes promised to meet him in regard to the States' people's rights only if the British Government agreed to meet him in regard to control over the army and other things.

All this is being related in order to show what circumstantial evidence is available which goes to prove that Gandhiji pursued a course of diplomacy which could not but have given the Princes a feeling of perfect security. He tells the States' people that he would not insist upon their rights in the open session of the Conference; in private negotiations he obtains from the Princes conditional acceptance of his demands, the condition attached to which both they and he ought to have known would never be fulfilled. Instead of following the courageous and normal course of making at the Conference itself demands which he considered essential, he followed the submissive and unusual course of suppressing these demands in public and obtained a private assurance which had no substantial value. Such a diplomacy, followed obviously with the object of not antagonising the Princes while a fight with the British Government was still to be won, could only be based on a policy of letting the Princes feel that they would be left alone till what he regarded as the bigger problem was satisfactorily solved. Thus though there was no explicit understanding between the Mahatma and the Princes, his policy, considering the circumstances of the R. T. C., did not in fact make the Princes feel less at ease than if there were such an understanding.

COMPANY LAW.—II.*

THE Director of Information has issued during the last few days a series of articles on the amending bill dealing chiefly with the managing agency system and in a large measure defending it; and the Law Member has called the Bombay Shareholders Association "drain inspectors." Government thus seems definitely committed to supporting even the whittling down of the original provisions carried out by the select committee. It is not necessary to examine at length the articles of the Commerce Department. They betray in common with all the defenders of the managing agency system a tendency to attribute all that may be efficient in the Indian industrial organisation to the managing agency system. It is difficult to see, however, how all the economies flowing from combination and concentrated financial control mentioned in the Government articles are necessarily connected with the managing agents. Managing agents are notoriously confined to India. But combinations of every variety and integrated financial control are common throughout the world. There is no reason for believing that the great concentration of control that is characteristic chiefly of British capitalism of Eastern India would not have manifested itself in the absence of the managing agency system. As we pointed out last time, it is the paucity of British businessmen and the distance that separates the investor from the business that has led to the peculiar forms that the Calcutta British capitalism took. But we maintain that there never was and there certainly is no justification today for their adoption by the indigenous industrialists. The number of sagacious businessmen who are ready to offer their services to public companies as directors seems to be no less in Bombay than in a centre of similar importance anywhere else in the world. And though in Calcutta the number of such persons of purely British extraction may not be large, the industries even in that centre could be fairly manned today with directors if those in control had no objection to associating Indian businessmen with themselves.

There are in fact two types of managing agency systems operating in India. There is the British system with its headquarters at Calcutta and the Indian system, whether in Bombay, the Punjab or anywhere else; and there are some notable differences in the working of the two systems. There is much less complaint of malpractices against the former, and the hereditary principle is not so strong in its working. When, therefore, the Calcutta interests protest against any cramping legislation they seem to have reason on their side. But if one looks closely into the measures proposed either by Mr. Sen or those incorporated in the original bill it is clear that they could have little restrictive effect on legitimate managing agency enterprise. The stoutest opposition from Calcutta has come to the clause that puts a period to the existing agreement and it is obvious that the compensation proviso has been put in at the instance of European interests. Ordinarily no established managing agent who has efficiently served the company and who him-

self holds a fair portion of the stock need fear dislodgment by the body of shareholders. And if the terms of his remuneration are made a little less liberal after 20 years of the company's working than at its inception this should be considered both right and natural. The strong stand taken by Calcutta interests on this issue can only be explained by presuming that the European managing agents are apprehensive because of the tendency in recent times for stock in Jute, Coal, Tea and other concerns to pass increasingly from foreign to Indian hands. If this tendency continues a very large proportion of the shareholders may be Indians when the managing agency agreements come to be revised, and the British managing agents, perhaps, feel that their services may then be dispensed with. In this may be found the logical explanation of the British interests' stand. But the fears of British interests are no justification for agreeing to mutilate vitally the contemplated legislation. For, because the managing agents in one generation were successful and useful to the company there is no reason why the company should be bound hand and foot to their successors generation after generation. It is as inequitable to bind a company to a perpetual agreement as it is to bind a person and if the composition of the body of shareholders radically changes then it should certainly have at some time an opportunity to reconsider the terms of the agreement with its managing agents. The bill as it has emerged out of the select committee provides that at no future date can the existing agency agreements be revised without compensation being paid to existing agents.

It has been said that those who advocate rather stricter legislative safeguards forget the existence in large numbers of comparatively honest managing agents. But this is not necessarily so. When criminal practices have to be provided against it is the methods and habits of the criminal that are looked into and the actions of the large majority of law-abiding citizens are for the purpose irrelevant. When a sewage system has to be put in order it is the drain inspectors' reports that should count the most. And it is not as if the various practices of the managing agents that are complained against are few and far between!

It may be freely conceded that whatever the system of industrial management in India, much the same sort of persons that control Indian industry will be found in power. But the power of law to shape institutions in modern society cannot be denied and the public demand is that the managing agency system shall be as strictly controlled as possible. Because of this system the financier promoter gets an unnecessarily large control over the whole industrial structure and this must be minimised as far as possible. It is from this point of view that we deplore the introduction of the compensation clause by the select committee and whittling down of the original provisions such as those in respect of the power of shareholders to remove a managing agent

*The first article appeared in our issue of the 10th inst.

convicted of fraud in a civil court. The Law Member is reported to have said in his opening speech on Friday that the proviso added by the select committee to clause 87C(1) regarding the remuneration of managing agents does not mean that the remuneration of managing agents fixed in an agreement prior to the issue of the prospectus can be other than a percentage of net profits. It is still difficult for us to see how the present wording of the proviso can be so limited in its meaning; but in case the Law Member has been reported correctly and his interpretation of the section holds good, an important backsliding by the select committee noticed by us last time is diminished.

The great importance attained by the controversy regarding managing agents has left little space for us to deal adequately with other aspects of the bill. There are a large variety of provisions in the bill which effect a great improvement of the present state of things and which have not been seriously modified in the select committee. The provisions for the publication of a proper prospectus, the keeping of proper accounts, the publication of a detailed balance sheet and the divulgence of directors' and managing agents' remuneration, etc. are all to the good. So also are the new provisions regarding the privileges and responsibilities of auditors. Every time businessmen are required by law to publish any new information regarding their concern they always raise the bogey of the evil effects of the revelation of inside information. As a fact, however, in the large majority of cases the competing concerns may be presumed to know a great deal more about each others' affairs than is ever likely to be made available to the public through such documents as the annual balance sheet. An objection has actually been raised by representatives of the European group in respect of the form of balance sheet adopted in the bill. This as well as some requirements of the prospectus, it is said, will divulge too much information in respect of some companies. The logical result of all such objections is taken to be the impossibility of fixing a form by law for such matters and consequently an entire lack of legislation. It is expected that this sort of indirect emasculation of important provisions will not be possible in the present Assembly. A considerable amount of fighting will, it is expected, take place over the provision regarding the minimum proportion of directors elected by shareholders in a general meeting. It is agreed that the managing agents should not have power to nominate more than a third of the personnel of this Board; but it is claimed that the variety of interests and classes of privilege holders in some companies makes it impossible to provide for a minimum of representation for the general meeting of shareholders. There is in this connection also the question of proportional representation. This device for minority representation seems chiefly to be sought, with companies with mixed Indian and foreign shareholdings in view. It is being opposed by the European group. Its adoption in the Reserve Bank makes the opposition case, however, somewhat weak. The bill also contains within its scope some

clauses regarding Banking Companies. It is good to have Banking business clearly defined and to insist on its sharp demarcation from other activities. The provisions in the bill can, however, hardly be taken as a substitute for a complete Banking Law, whose enactment has been urged so often and so authoritatively on Government in recent years.

(Concluded.)

MAHARASHTRA POLITICS.

THERE is at last a chance in Maharashtra, and we believe a greater chance there than anywhere else, of the issues concerning the Congress policy being clarified. The immediate cause of it is the decision on the part of the Democratic Swaraj Party to contest the ensuing elections to the provincial legislature with the candidates put up by the Congress. For a long time the Party was in hopes of reaching a workable understanding with the Congress, but after protracted negotiations it found that it could not, without complete stultification, merge itself into the larger national organisation. While the negotiations were in progress it appeared as if the only question that divided the two parties was that of the communal award. But, now that the decision has been taken by the Democratic Swaraj Party to run its own candidates, more fundamental differences are coming into view. These differences are as regards socialism and wrecking. The Democratic Swaraj Party did not raise these questions before, because it persuaded itself that whatever the Congress protestations might be, the Congress deeds would not be such as it could not approve and endorse. Perhaps even now it feels that the policy which the Congress members will actually follow in the legislature will not be open to any serious objection, but the utterances of the Congress leaders being couched in language which is at least equivocal if not objectionable, the Party has now decided to join issue with the Congress on these questions also.

So far as the education of the electorate is concerned, this turn of events is highly desirable. It would be quite possible for two parties holding diametrically opposite views to hit upon a formula which both can conscientiously use but which each will interpret in its own way. This might make for an appearance of political unity for a time, but it would only lead to a mystification of the voter who has not yet shown even a modicum of that awareness of public questions that in a true democracy the voter must show. The semi-weekly organ of the Democratic Swaraj Party, the *Rashtra-mat*, which has just been founded for the one purpose of carrying on an effective propaganda among the voters on the subjects with which the provincial legislature will be called upon to deal after the next election will compel the Congress organisation in this province to define its policy in more explicit terms on socialism and wrecking, on which its policy is now very dubious. What brand of socialism the Congress stands for, or whether the Congress stands for socialism at all, no one can say with certainty. Its local organs

write as if the Congress sponsors an extreme form of socialism; they love to cite the example of Soviet Russia and would like their readers to infer that the Congress stood on the verge of bolshevism. All that they are anxious to dissociate themselves from in this scientific socialism is the revolutionary violence that Soviet Russia employed in full measure. But when they are described as champions of bolshevism minus violence, they regard it as an undeserved charge levelled against them by their enemies with a view to handing them over to Government bent upon repression.

The Democratic Swaraj Party's spokesman, therefore, asks them what kind of socialistic programme the Congress members will seek to carry out in the legislature. The *Rashtra-mat* itself is by no means opposed to parliamentary socialism; it espouses definitely the cause of the poor as against the rich; it has no love lost for an oligarchy or plutocracy; it wants by a radical change in the tax system to effect a better redistribution of wealth. All this, however, it aims to bring about by parliamentary action; it insists that direct action be eschewed. A time may come perhaps when all legislative efforts will be frustrated and the progressive parties in the country will have to betake themselves to direct action such as open confiscation; but anyhow the time is not yet. So far as the immediate present or the near future is concerned, constitutional means alone are open to such parties, and in the election manifestoes of these parties this point must be placed beyond a possibility of doubt. The Congress, however, is double-faced in this matter as in many others. While it seems to permit of direct action, enabling the Congress members even to pose as communists when it may suit them to do so, it is at the same time so tender to vested interests in order to win their support that the Congress members may actually support privilege in the legislatures. They are certainly under no obligation to oppose it in the interest of the masses. They can therefore adopt, within the terms of the election manifesto, any programme ranging from a consistent support of the wealthy classes to their wholesale expropriation. The *Rashtra-mat* asks insistently in every issue what exactly they will do. Will confiscation be ruled out? Can their support be counted upon for measures, which, while they will put the embattled forces of privilege and reaction under restraint, will benefit the masses and enable them to raise themselves

out of the depths of poverty and degradation into which they have sunk?

Similarly, the *Rashtra-mat* has some questions to ask of the Congress on the so-called wrecking policy formally adopted by the Congress. The local organs of the Congress boldly declare that their one aim will be to destroy the new constitution. If so, the *Rashtra-mat* says, quite logically, that the Congress must not hold out any hopes to the people of their economic amelioration. If the winning of political freedom is its supreme object, it must be prepared to subordinate the work of social and economic regeneration to this overmastering end. It may make the social and economic problems its battle-ground; but if it takes up these problems it can do so not with a view to their constructive solution but with a view to sabotaging the government machinery. What is the Congress going to do? So far as the Democratic Swaraj Party is concerned, its aim will be to exhaust all the potentialities of the new constitution. It is as bitterly discontented with the constitution as the Congress, but it will not for that reason bend all its efforts to the overthrow of the constitution. It will on the contrary exploit it to the full for constructive purposes, if only for the reason that the betterment of the condition of the people that will be thus secured will enable the people to put up a tougher fight for an improved constitution eventually. Thus it will not of set purpose create deadlocks though it will always be prepared to face them boldly if deadlocks arise while the constitution is being utilised for national ends. The policy of the Democratic Swaraj Party will thus be very much like the one that was advocated by Mr. C. R. Reddy, but the mischief of the Congress election manifesto lies just in this: that both this policy and the policy of wrecking are equally possible under it, and in fact in the Congress there are men galore who hold both these views. The country has a right to know which of these policies the Congress will adopt, whether it will put greater stress upon the constructive or destructive activities.

If, as a result of the vigorous propaganda carried on by the *Rashtra-mat*, the people in Maharashtra come to appreciate the issues which they will have to decide in casting their votes, it will be all to the good, and we hope that equally powerful and equally well-conducted vernacular papers will be established in other provinces to educate public opinion all over the country.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE MEDAL IN SPAIN.

IT was sad to see the recent misunderstanding in the various news-agencies that feed the papers of the world. It is from these misinformed or polluted and malicious fountains that the poison of untruth has flowed everywhere. The recent civil war in Spain has suffered badly at the hands of news reporters, who have described the two parties at war in Spain by calling them either rebel or government forces. This gives the impression that "government" forces are the representatives of order, while the "re-

bels" are supposed to represent the elements of reaction, opposition to reform and progress, not to mention the more sinister aspect of disorder, confusion and bloodshed. Owing to this fact, the "government" seems innocent of any of the crimes involved in such a civil war. The atrocities perpetrated by the "government" on non-combatants, such as clericals and nuns are often attributed to the "rebels" in the Indian Press. Such confusion is greatly to be lamented and needs a timely correction.

For this purpose it is only necessary to look into the great amount of information we have at hand. French dailies from Paris, Flemish and French dailies from Brussels, various English weeklies from England and Ireland, most of all Spanish dailies from both sides, from the "rebels" in Saragossa and from the "government" in Barcelona, these are the sources from which the following facts are taken. They may seem a revelation.

The first remark to be made is that the civil war broke out in Spain not on July 18th, but on February 16th the date when the Left took all power into its hands, over-riding the electoral and democratic rights of the Right, who secured many more votes than the Left. In five months, according to the most moderate estimates 334 people were killed, and 1,517 wounded; 196 churches were destroyed, 185 attacked; 78 public or private buildings were destroyed, 10 newspaper offices were burned; there were 162 general strikes and 320 partial strikes. This ruthless frenzy of destruction on the part of the "government" reached its climax with the gruesome murder of Calvo Setelo, the leader of the Right, on July 13th, carried out by "government" officials.

Concerning the Spanish Press, the papers coming from Barcelona have only four pages, and among these 'muzzled' organs of the "government" an eloquent list of papers of Right parties confiscated by "government" is given. Those mentioned are: La Vanguardia, El Noticiero, Universal, Veu de Catalunya, La Noche, Las Noticias, El Correo, Dia Grafico, Diario de Barcelona, Diario del Comercio, Diario Mercantil, El Eco, L'Instant, La Jornada, El Mati, Renovacion. Rebel papers coming from Saragossa have 12 pages up to the 6th of August, when due to lack of paper they have 8 pages until the 11th when they become again of 12 pages. From this it seems clear the "government" has everything to fear from a free press, can trust no one with liberty and is bent on force and violence for furthering the sinister ideals of their small ruthless minority.

First it is good to notice the tactics of the "government" or Marxist forces, as they are called all over Spain. The details of their procedure in Barcelona are as follows. The Communist uprising with the connivance of the "Government" had been fixed for the first of August. Discontent had been growing in the Army during the last few years due to the Radical or Left "government" with its disorders. It was plainly a split in Spain into Marxists, the so-called government, and the vast majority of the people, the anti-Marxists as they call themselves all over Spain. To prevent the Communist uprising of August a general army 'pronunciamiento' or defence of rights was planned. It does not seem that according to this General Army plan the Barcelona uprising had to take place at the same time as that of the Moroccan Army. But due to the threatening attitude of the Barcelona "government" and because they had been betrayed to the "government" by some faithless staff-officers they were forced to a premature outbreak. This uprising was suppressed by the Communists who were armed by the "government," a rabble

of between fifty and one hundred thousand industrial workers wreaking destruction in the name of the "government."

The acts of pillage, murder and vandalism carried out by this armed mob constitute one of the most appalling features of the present struggle, if not unique in the history of the world. This "government" mob had, as their first objective, to set fire to the numerous churches of Barcelona without the least regard to the right of private property, in open violation of the religious sentiment and convictions of the majority of their fellow-citizens, without the least appreciation of the art-treasures these churches contained. One picture alone could have brought more than one million. This amount had been offered by an American antiquarian on a previous occasion, but even the commercial value was lost sight of by such an irresponsible mob. The cathedral-like basilica of Santa Maria was the most pure specimen of Catalan gothic. On the historic steps of this monument Queen Isabella welcomed Columbus back to Europe after his epoch-making discovery of the New World. Although we do not know the exact number of churches destroyed or burned, in the city of Barcelona alone we have the testimony of many foreigners who were eye-witnesses that practically all churches and convents were destroyed by fire and pillage. This means that not less than hundreds are in ruins.

Not satisfied with such wanton terrorism and destruction of material buildings, they had to have their fill of human blood. So there were countless murders of priests and any one who would dare to show the least opposition to them. Some priests were tied to the benches in the churches and burned alive. One American reporter says, "I saw a church burned by the Reds, who killed a priest, cut off his arms and legs, ripped open his body, and hung the corpse from a statue of the Virgin." The chopped off heads of other priest served as ornaments to tavern doors. Still more disgusting was the inhuman way these "government" Reds dealt with nuns, the most innocent and unselfish souls, as any one impartial and acquainted with facts in India or any other civilized nation knows. Some nuns were seized, covered with oil and then burned alive. These facts come from a well-known French author who said, "I had no idea men could stoop so low." An English eye-witness reporting these excesses said in extreme reaction: "These beasts were better dead than alive, for then they would at least make good fertilizer."

After this fiery and wholesale beginning followed a slow and relentless daily hunt of priests, so-called Fascists, Right leaders and not a few against whom the individual Reds and "government" leaders had personal grudges. At two and three o'clock in the morning for weeks there was protracted shooting along the mountain road called Rabassada, a meeting place of the Fail (Iberian Anarchist Federation). In such brutal fashion are the victims of the previous day's hunt dispatched, without trial, without friends, without any of the civil rights given to men in all civilized countries. Entire families have been wiped out for hiding a priest. As a result no two nights can be

spent in the same house for fear of the penalties a priest would thus bring upon his friends or any sympathetic citizen.

This is sufficient to show the hideous tactics of the armed mob in Barcelona. As for their procedure in their advance towards Saragossa the following details speak for themselves. Well saturated with the Communist cant and fallacy that religion is the opium of the people, the first act of the Red army on reaching a village was to search for the priest, who was butchered at once and the church sacked and set on fire. One priest was captured, put in a sack and immersed in boiling water. Another was told to shout "Long live Communism" before being shot, but said instead, "Long live Christ the King." In each town as the Reds advanced the prominent citizens on their black list were shot down without trial at a moment's notice. Fields of wheat, the grain that is Spain's staple food, were set on fire though ripe for the harvest. Trainloads of flour and other substantial of life were snatched from the peasants to be shipped off to Barcelona, leaving the villagers and farmers to starve. Cattle and fowl were dealt with in a like manner. Thus spread the "government" savagery and acts of terrorism. This is no mere outburst of desperate "government" policy, but cold-blooded, long-standing scheme of Red brains.

In Madrid on July 20th, the day after the revolution began, as many as 50 buildings, either churches or convents, were in flames at the same time. On the 25th, St. James Day, the patron of Spain, not a single Mass or public religious service could be held in Madrid. Even the Cathedral and the famous basilica of Our Lady of Atocha, so dear to the Catholics of Madrid, were not spared the flames of destruction. According to an English witness, priests were beheaded not by dozens but by scores. Members of the aristocracy and upper classes were lined up for targets and, in grim sport, shot down. Other English sources tell how the nurses in the hospitals complain how difficult sleep is for the patients owing to the shouts for mercy on the part of those being led away to be shot. According to the facts related by the troops that managed to escape from Madrid to join the "rebel" army under General Mola, the real ruler of Madrid is a Russian, Ranoleski, who does not even know Spanish, but uses an interpreter to make his ruthless policy known. The gold sent by the Madrid Minister of Finance to Paris amounts to 35,000,000 gold pesetas.

In Valentia, the burning of churches and murder of priests and innocent citizens of types not in favour with the Reds took place in the same ruthless style. Nuns were stripped and in one instance a Communist with a sense of decency, who would have shown a little mercy to the poor souls, was immediately shot.

All over Catalonia and the other territory under the Red "government" the fate of churches, priests, nuns and citizens of the Right parties was quite as terrible and ruthless. From a small town in Catalonia it is reported that prominent citizens were killed with five as the daily average.

A universal confiscation of private corporations, railways, industrial and mercantile organizations has taken place; Banks with their deposits have been seized and all liberty put in jeopardy. Force and violence have taken away all hope and sense of security from the outraged citizens within the "government" territory. Such barbarity can never be justified.

After this grim outline of the methods of the so-called "government" forces, we can outline briefly the methods of the so-called "rebels". It is useful to know the name by which they call themselves and are popularly known in Spain. The Patriotic Movement, or the anti-Marxists, or the Nationalists are the most common of the many substitutes for the "rebels". These names give us at the same time an idea of the cause for which they stand. The Patriotic Movement indicates the reawakening of the national conscience after five awful years of suppression by a "government" that has chosen deliberately to ignore and violate the powerful age-long traditions of a whole nation. As Anti-Marxists they represent the great majority of the country, a true united-front of all the parties against the insanity of Communism. The "government" press in Spain and not a few papers abroad dub the "rebels" "Fascists", but anyone well-informed about Spain knows that the Fascists had a small minority in the last election and are really a negligible group. As "Nationalists" they represent loyalty to their nation, its traditions and to opposition of a foreign dictatorship from Moscow.

It has been common and certain knowledge that for a long time Russian money and propaganda have been at work in Spain. Many Russians have gone to Spain to foment trouble and not a few radical Spaniards corrupted and trained in Moscow, added to the subversive violent Communist minority. It is admitted that the Barcelona "Government" gets its orders from Moscow. Hardly a month after the Socialist "government" came to power during March last year, Bela Kun, the former Hungarian dictator, arrived in Spain and settled in Barcelona. Those aware of Bolshevik methods at once foretold a Reign of Terror, now a disastrous fact. There have been civil wars previously in Spain but never the carnage and outrages of the present one.

The spontaneous, sincere and cheerful support of the people of Saragossa is quite manifest in the daily contributions to the fighting forces, with a daily average of 100,000 pesetas (40,000 rupees). In only one day the total amount of free contributions in the whole of the Spain reached 2,000,000 pesetas. On the 6th of August the total of such free contributions in this one city had reached 1,003,00 pesetas, quite a contrast to the violence taking place among the "government" forces. Seville in one day gave 500,000 pesetas (200,000 rupees). In the rural areas food supplies were freely sent for the "rebel" army, the devoted champions of freedom. Photographs can be seen, and we have copies of them, showing a large procession in Saragossa. In the speech of presentation made by the delegation it was explained that despite the want of rain during the last two or

three years with the consequential shortage, the people were glad to make the sacrifice for such a good cause, for freedom under a responsible and truly representative government. The appeal of General Franco for gold (to maintain the credit of Spain and offset the traitorous shipments of gold from the national treasury on the part of the "government") found a ready answer from the people and a remarkable list of contributions can be found in the Saragossa details. Outside of Spain, loyal Spaniards have sent contributions to the rebels". From Manila 50,000 pounds were sent. From Cuba, hundreds of thousands of dollars were sent.

There is a healthy note of confidence and hope among the "rebel" forces. This feeling is shared by many of the representatives of Spain to the different countries of the world. The ambassadors in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Chile have given their resignation to Madrid and offered their services to the Burgos government.

It is clear that this struggle against the violation of all the sacred rights of citizens has been provoked by a small ruthless minority and foreign Communists. The people are ready to die rather than accept Communism which would violate still more their struggle of a just war against injustice, violence and bloodshed carried on by fanatics who pose as a government. Like every country, Spain needs reforms. But this rebellion is not a mere reaction on the part of Monarchists, Clericals and Capitalists against reform and progress. It is a just defence against the Communist attempt to throttle Spain. Rather than commit suicide to please the Radicals the people have chosen to die fighting for their honour and for their stolen liberty.

A CATHOLIC.

[We are thankful to our esteemed contributor for placing before our readers the other side of this question, but we must confess that we cannot wholly accept it. While both the loyalist elements and the rebels are guilty of the worst forms of brutality, the fundamental issue between them certainly is one of progress versus reaction. The testimony of Alfred Jacob given in an article entitled "The Re-birth of Spain" in the Quaker monthly *The Wayfarer* will, we think, be regarded as unimpeachable. On the problem of the distribution of land he says, "Simple confiscation, if adequately supported by public opinion, may prove to be the best solution." On the problem of the Army, he says, "For well over a century domestic policy in Spain has been largely controlled by the Army, and its power has always been exercised against any advance in democratic government." Mr. Jacob says of the anti-clericalism of the Government:

But the greatest of all these problems is that of the Church. Like the Army, the landowners and the employers, the Church has always exercised considerable influence on politics, though this influence has been largely indirect, through its ownership of land and industry, its supremacy in rural districts, its control of education and a large section of the press, and through the confessional. The position of the Church in

Spain has no parallel in the history of any other country, with the possible exception of Tsarist Russia. It is impossible to overestimate its influence in every sphere of life, except that of religion as Friends understand the word, and that influence has unfortunately been of the most reactionary kind. All efforts to improve education, agriculture, social conditions or political machinery have met with resolute opposition from the Church, any attack upon which is interpreted as an attack upon religion itself.

On the one side, then, are grouped the workers, the political and educational reformers, the non-Catholics and those of Republican, Socialist, Communist and even Anarchist views; on the other, the landowners and industrialists, the Catholics, the Army, the Fascists and the illiterate rural population. Power hitherto has always been in the hands of these latter groups and it is they who have brought the country to its present state. The former group, returned to power by the recent election, are seeking to establish a new Spain in the face of almost insurmountable difficulties.

The following cablegram published in the *New Republic* of 29th August also throws light on the subject:

In order to understand the monarchist character of the present Spanish revolt, it must be remembered that Rivera, leader of the avowedly fascist forces, has been a monarchist. Sotello, the acknowledged leader of the monarchists, stated in the Cortes shortly before his death that a monarchy could not be reestablished without the aid of fascism. Robles, leader of the Catholics, has co-operated openly with both monarchists and fascists. March, one of the Spain's richest men, is a financial backer of the rebellion, thus establishing the revolt as being not merely a military putsch, but a well planned attempt by all the Right-wing groups working together, to set up a fascist dictatorship modelled on those of Germany and Italy. This interpretation is corroborated by the interview in the *London News Chronicle* of July 29 with Franco, as well as by documents that have been seized in the Madrid files of Gil Robles.

A high government official told me this revolt was decided upon eight months ago. The killing of Sotello was only the spark to set off the conflagration.

On the other hand, it can be stated authoritatively that no proletarian revolution is taking place. All parties, including the anarchists, are solidly supporting the government. The position of Azana is well expressed by his statement to a representative of the Second International on Wednesday of last week: "I do not believe communism is the only solution for Spain, but if I were forced to choose between communism and the fascist barbarians, I would choose communism."

The Communists say that they will fight to the death for the preservation of the democratic rights that are embodied in the present republic. While the anarchists are now supporting the government, they still remain the great imponderable. The co-operation of all parties in support of the present democratic government is symbolised by the fact that Azana's newspaper and a leading communist organ are now being published simultaneously in one plant.

Although the government is assuring small tradesmen and petty industrialists that their property will be safeguarded, it is taking steps to control big industry because, as the Prime Minister said a few days ago in a conference with foreign newspapermen: "The economic basis of fascism must be rooted out." Extensive land reforms are also taking place, with the government legalizing the spontaneous division of the estates by the peasants. Only the land of the fascists is thus being partitioned, but most of the big landowners are in this category.

We are inclined to the view that this is a correct estimate of the situation.—Ed., S. C. I.]

RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN HYDERABAD.

DURING the six weeks of my stay in Hyderabad in July and August I had opportunities of studying the rural development work in the State of Hyderabad. I was much impressed by the earnestness of the officers, particularly of the younger type who had their education and training in England and the Continent to do something effective for village uplift work.

On the economic side, the State has adopted a number of measures for increasing the earning capacity of the ryot. The Marketing Act provides central places for the sale of cotton for the advantage of the ryot. It is proposed to extend its benefits to other commercial crops. A Marketing Officer supervises these centres and also makes surveys regarding the marketing of several crops. The scheme of Land Mortgage Banks is shortly to come into operation. The State has also sanctioned a Sale Officer with two Inspectors under him to develop the marketing side of the co-operative movement. On the agricultural side the cultivation of fruits and vegetables, the breeding of poultry and growing of better crops in the experimental farms and the running of an Agricultural Middle School for the sons of farmers are noteworthy. On the industrial side the distribution of silk yarn, gold threads, and dyed warps to the local weavers and the marketing of their goods and particularly the carpets of the weavers in Warangal and the work of the Sales Depot in the City of Hyderabad are worth mention. The State invests out of its Industrial Trust Fund of about a crore of rupees large sums in factory industries and out of the profits realised it has lent up to three lakhs during the last year as loans to small-scale industries. The Director of the Veterinary Department has been showing additional work year after year in spite of under inoculations, castrations and the number of animals treated.

But every Department feels that unless there is an agency to attend to the business side of economic improvement, mere propaganda by itself will not improve the condition of the ryot. Some agency is necessary to train the ryot in improved and combined farming, supplying him his articles of domestic requirements and marketing his produce. The magnitude of the problem will be apparent from the fact that 15 lakhs of land-owning families and 18 lakhs of labour and tenant families have to be collectively organised in agriculture. The Agricultural Department cannot appoint a large staff for running depots for the sale of seeds, manures and implements. The Industries Department cannot equally undertake the supply of raw materials and the sale of finished produce. In addition to the help of the local bodies the Veterinary Department would only be thankful if some non-official agency would help under their direction in improving cattle breeds. Experience has shown that village leadership through a co-operative society in each village cannot be expected to render all these kinds of services. Larger volume of business, larger area, a trained and efficient staff and proper control of work are necessary for successful service to the ryot. It is to be remembered that a State, parti-

cularly like Hyderabad, which has a few rich at the top and a large number of the poor at the bottom in the villages, is wanting in middle class leadership to run village institutions. The unit of service cannot therefore be a village. In this connection the working of the branches of the Provincial Cooperative Bank in the Bombay Presidency may be usefully studied.

The State is also grappling with the problems of debt relief. Recently it has passed a regulation with the object of protecting the cultivating classes from the evil effects of alienating their lands to the *sowcars*. The regulation will certainly help the agricultural classes if it is restricted only to agriculturists of small means, if the powers of the Talukdar to revise past mortgages are withdrawn and in his place Debt Conciliation Boards are formed to settle claims, if mortgage banks are immediately started to pay all such claims, and agricultural credit made available to ryots. A survey of the amount of debt in each area is being made departmentally, possibly to see whether any need exists for the regulation of accounts of moneylenders and their registration. The Legislative Council is considering a bill to instruct the Judges and Munsifs to decide in civil suits the amount due under interest after a thorough investigation of each claim and with due regard to reasonable rates of interest.

The State has also been devising measures for the progress of rural uplift in the districts on a comprehensive scale. I had occasion to visit a three weeks training class for elementary school teachers with a view to equip them for better living propaganda in the villages. Schemes of co-ordinating boards at the top and in the districts have been formulated. It is doubtful whether a taluk Council and a village committee for rural reconstruction will achieve much. But an increase in the paid staff and a drive from the top may help substantially with the aid of the co-ordinating boards at the centre and in the districts. This means that the agricultural staff should be increased so as to provide at least one demonstrator for each taluk and a larger provision made under the Veterinary staff so as to provide Veterinary Inspectors for every district and two assistants for each taluk.

RURAL LABOUR.

The Census Report of 1931 mentions that there has been an increase of 28% in the labour population. Landless labour alone forms 40 per cent. of the total agricultural population. Four measures of outstanding importance in respect of labour uplift may be mentioned here. The one is the construction of houses of cheap design costing each from Rs. 500 to Rs. 9000 for 2,500 families at an expenditure of Rs. 30 lakhs. The scheme of better housing is being pushed on in the Nizamabad district. The second is the provision of a Temperance Board with sufficient funds by the State for propaganda against drink to be achieved by better housing, proper care of children, recreation clubs and counter attractions. This Board has been granted a sum of Rs. 5,000 for its preliminary expenses. The third is the proper sanitary medical

arrangements for labourers working in the University Building Project by allotting one per cent. of the estimate, that is Rs. 1,20,000 for conservancy, dispensaries, schools and malarial campaigns. The fourth is the bold step that has been taken by the State in the matter of Excise Reform in spite of the too many vested interests affected by the same. The Excise revenue upto now has been farmed to a few farmers with the result that there are too many shops in each village and less observance of Excise Licensing rules as the shops worked under these big farmers. There was unhealthy rivalry too in the opening of shops between the State and the Jaghirs. The shopwar system with the marking of trees for each shop as in Madras has been introduced in the State.

* To these reforms we would add the need for three more. The pressure of population on the land can only be released by the settlement of labourers in cultivable tracts. The scheme of definite boards with definite work has achieved substantial results in the State and a Board for colonisation may be formed to pick the settlers and give facilities in every way for agricultural development. Secondly, the State is, either directly or through contractors, the biggest employer of labour. The Whitley Commission on Labour have recommended that the State should stipulate that the agreements of contractors should specify the wages for different kinds of work for employment of women and children. This recommendation may be given effect to by the State. Thirdly, the desirability of a Provident Fund and an Insurance Section for labourers working under the contractors of the State works to which the contractors and labourers may make a small contribution may be considered by the Government. This suggestion is made as an Insurance Department is already run by the State.

MASS EDUCATION.

The use of Hindustani as the medium of expression in the University has led to the enrichment of Urdu literature with modern technical and scientific ideas. The use of Hindustani is also developing contacts with the people. A graduate of the Osmania University will certainly be in a better position to popularise his knowledge among the masses than an English-knowing graduate. But if this popularisation is to proceed at a rapid pace, elementary education among the masses should be speeded up. Certainly the State itself has taken the responsibility of providing education in so far as it does not want private schools to grow without their control. 84 p. c. of the school going population has yet to be provided with elementary education. The percentage of girls to the school-going population who are not receiving any primary education is 95.5 p. c. Primary education should therefore be made compulsory, at least in the urban areas in the first instance. If this education is to be of any use it should be imparted at least for five years. If better class parents are to provide their children with the necessary minimum of elementary education, there should be higher elementary schools till Standard VIII in bigger villages having a population above 2,000. The medium of instruction in

such schools should be the local vernacular with Hindustani as the second language. The institution of vocational schools for village boys as recommended by the Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari, P. C. will also release a certain number of boys from secondary schools where they are forced to learn Hindustani and English without any advantage to themselves. The sanction of 200 depressed class schools by the State is also noteworthy and it is hoped that effect will be given to the same.

The policy regarding secondary education has come in for a great deal of comment. The State is at present providing for High Schools with parallel classes in Hindustani and in English. Such classes, if instituted in all High Schools, will remove the discontent among parents that their boys have no scope to read their subjects in English. But even here the proper equipment of boys for life will be adversely hampered by the use of the English till the Middle School for subjects other than the languages. The time of the youths is spent in cramming a new language and they have little time to assimilate facts of general knowledge. There is a genuine feeling against the present policy of using Hindustani for all Girls' High Schools. At least till the middle school, Girls' schools should be permitted to teach subjects other than the languages in the local vernacular. Considering the paucity of girls' education and the need for a large number of women teachers for elementary schools, Government should at least start Girls' High Schools for every Subha with parallel classes in English as in the case of boys.

VILLAGE IMPROVEMENTS.

A reference is made below to what the State and Local Bodies have done for social welfare. The method of budgeting adopted by the State gives surplus resources for the improvement of the village. The amount allotted for expenditure does not lapse at the end of the year but may be spent by the departments within three years at the end of which half the surplus is credited to the latter and the other half is merged in the general balances. Here again these balances are utilised for welfare work. The Famine Fund of Rs. 2½ crores has been formed out of these surpluses. A portion of the interest on this fund is used for a well-sinking programme in areas affected by water scarcity and the guineaworm disease. 1,245 wells have been completed in the Raichur District during the last five years at a cost of Rs. 20 lakhs. The scheme is to take up district after district and the well-sinking party is now working in the Shorapur taluk of the Gulbarga district. The Public Health Department have devised type designs for wells, the aqua privy, markets, and slaughter houses which are to be uniformly followed in urban areas. The aqua privy system is suitable and economical for public latrines in towns and deserves to be more widely known outside the State. There is a special board for water and drainage works engaged in these undertakings for towns. The State is also running a motor transport service which gives a better service to the public and a larger return of income to the Government. The State of Hyderabad has installed

its own broadcasting service which is to prove a great instrument of mass education in rural areas, particularly in a largely illiterate country as ours.

A sum of Rs. 56,000 has been provided for medical inspection of children, both in the city and the districts. Another sum of Rs. 60,000 has been sanctioned for subsidising rural medical practitioners who will settle in villages of between 2,000 and 4,000 population, who will each be paid Rs. 60 per month and will be assisted with a Dai on Rs. 10 per month, with an annual recurring grant of Rs. 300 for medicines and a non-recurring equipment of Rs. 450. Recently the Health staff has been increased by providing for one Assistant Health Officer, one Health Inspector and three Health Sub-Inspectors for each district. The District Boards, which mainly raise their funds by collecting a cess of one anna on every rupee of revenue, raise about Rs. 15 lakhs every year and have not been able to spend about Rs. 75 lakhs of their cash balance year after year successively during the last five years. A special officer was appointed to adapt the local Boards Act in British Provinces to the State with suitable modifications. A scavenging staff is being provided for bigger villages. Public places are being acquired for the storage of manure by the peasants. Trees are being planted and platforms provided in markets for the sale of commodities. Small plots are acquired for children's playgrounds and they are supplied with the necessary accessories. With a view to increase the spending capacity of the Local Board an additional Engineer has been appointed for every four districts and the appointment of a Superintending Engineer for district water works is pending sanction. The idea is that these officers should increase the works under draw wells, village roads, schools and chavdies. It is certain that an addition to the top officers will be useful only with the provision of a larger subordinate staff to make estimates and execute works.

The inefficiency of the District Boards is mainly due to the want of an agency responsible for their progress. There should be a separate provincial officer assisted by the District Officers to carry out systematically a programme of works. There should be a Provincial Board of the Heads of Departments connected with the work of the local bodies and the Provincial Officer as its Secretary and the Hon'ble Member for Local Bodies as its President. In the districts the District Board should comprise all the heads of departments connected with their work. The responsibility for the execution of the sanitary work may be left to the Public Health Department. Small works may be done by the Health Staff at an economic cost by inducing local contributions in addition to the State Aid for such works. A survey of the civic needs of the whole district may be made and the funds allotted to the more needy areas. It is possible also that the district co-ordinating Council which is to come into operation might pool the resources of the whole staff, while the subordinate staff of each Department might be responsible to their superior

officers for their work. Certain definite villages may be allotted to every subordinate of any department for the spread of better living and improved methods of agriculture and industry. At present the District Boards are spending from their recurring revenue on roads and buildings which are capital charges. If such charges are met from the unspent balance of Rs. 78 lakhs, the annual income will be released for increasing the Health and Engineering Staff and the opening of child welfare centres. To a question of what should be the minimum unit for sanitary and medical relief, a responsible officer replied that his goal was to provide one Health Inspector and an assistant, one midwife and one dai, and one vaccinator for every 25,000 of the population. The total rural population to be reached is 128 lakhs.

If proper help in these directions is to reach the village, larger expenditure should be incurred on village improvements. The villager should feel that part of the land revenue he pays is spent in his village. The Taxation Enquiry Committee of the Government of India have recommended that at least 25 p. c. of the land revenue should be spent by the local bodies. What the State loses in this direction may easily be made up by taxes on all classes of incomes which the State of Hyderabad has not so far levied. A tax on unearned increments on sites and buildings in towns has also been recommended by the same Committee. A proper adjustment of the resources of the State lies in these directions.

It is hoped that rural development work in the State of Hyderabad will promote corporate action in agriculture and cottage industries, change the outlook of the ryot towards better living and improved scientific methods in his occupation by making intensively available the services of the rural departments, and release the mind of the ryot from his subjection to superstitions of a medieval age, through mass education.

K. G. SIVASWAMY.

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