

# The Servant of India

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## Topics of the Week.

### India and the League.

IN the Council of State, on Tuesday week, Mr. Hosain Imam moved a resolution urging India's withdrawal from the League and put his case very effectively. But Sir Phiroze Sethna, by moving an amendment asking for a substantial reduction of India's contribution to the League expenses, diverted the discussion into a different channel altogether, and this amendment, being accepted by Government, was finally adopted, the original resolution not receiving as much attention as it deserved.

MR. SPENCE, Secretary to Government in the Legislative Department, however, attempted an answer to Mr. Imam, which, whatever one may think of the latter's resolution, was very feeble. The chief point in Mr. Spence's speech appears to be that, although the League's part in the Italo-Abyssinian affair was "sheer failure and futility", it would be inopportune to urge withdrawal "at this juncture", when the League Assembly was making "earnest efforts" to so change the League methods as to implement its primary purpose of preserving peace. One wonders what Mr. Spence would say if the question of withdrawal was raised after it was proved that the League Assembly's "earnest efforts" had come to nought.

LACK of universality seems to the Government of India to be the worst defect of the League organisation, whereas the worst defect is the disloyalty of the members of the League and their unwillingness to undertake any obligation of which the performance is not dictated by their immediate interest. When the "earnest efforts" of the League powers only amount to limiting their obligations to their interests, it

follows that if these efforts succeed the League can only be a Holy Alliance as of old. From the very nature of the case, such an alliance would be confined to Europe, and what would be India's place in it, even ignoring for the present the wholly immoral nature of the proposed alliance?

THE exceptional position of India with reference to the League was fully admitted by Mr. Spence. "It is, of course, true", he said that, "in India's existing constitutional position, her foreign relations are controlled by His Majesty's Government, and it follows necessarily that on all questions of foreign policy coming before the League India must in the last resort follow the lead of the United Kingdom." But he added that India's admission as an original member of the League, though she was yet far from self-governing, had given her "an international status which she could not otherwise have achieved", and her withdrawal would result in her foregoing that advantage. But if India must speak and vote as Britain would order, it would not be India which would forego any advantage, but Britain.

"OUTSIDE questions of foreign policy India has for the most part freedom of action," Mr. Spence said, and in regard to such questions he argued India would be at a disadvantage; she would exchange "a position in which India enjoys, with whatever practical limitation, an independent international status for a position in which she would be a mere dependent of the United Kingdom, which is wholly incompatible with India's true interests." What are such questions outside of foreign policy which the League discusses, and are they of any consequence comparable to those of foreign policy? And cannot India trust her *ma-bap* government to solve them satisfactorily, as she can trust it to solve questions of foreign policy?

"INDIA would find it difficult to return to the League if she once leaves it till she obtains self-government," was another point which Mr. Spence made. But Mr. Imam would not make an application for India's re-entry. He would say, "Till India wins self-government, she will be a mere slave of Britain, and her League membership will not help her, however much it may help Britain. When India does win self-government, she will not have to ask Britain's leave to be admitted as a member. At present it is useless for India to be in the League; when it will become useful, no one can prevent her from joining it." It is not easy to see what positive advantage India will get by leaving the League, but the case that was put before the Council of State by Mr. Spence for remaining in it was a very poor case.

### Fighting Communism.

SIR PHIROZE SETHNA'S resolution in the Council of State did not ask Government, as is commonly supposed, to put down communism; on the contrary, in his speech he expressly disclaimed the idea. Repression, in his opinion, will do no good. He is opposed to communism; it will do only harm. But he recognises that it must be countered, not by Government by high-handed methods, but by private citizens by carrying on propaganda against communism and convincing the general public of its evil character. His resolution only asks Government to tackle unemployment and take such other measures as will deprive the communists of an easy recruiting ground which they now find ready to their hand on account of Government's unimaginative and weak economic policy. Sir Phiroze is also fully conscious of the extreme social inequality that exists at present between class and class and the evils in which the capitalist system as it works at present abounds. He himself is a capitalist, but he unreservedly admits that the system needs reform. Sir P. Sethna's resolution was carried without a division, and in the speech which he made in moving it he took care not to tread upon anybody's corns.

### French Currency.

IN spite of the determination of both Communists and Socialists to avert devaluation of the franc till the last moment, the French Government has been compelled to take the step. Devaluation has always lain in the background with the franc falling below the gold export point, and what with the embarrassment caused to the Government by the Spanish Civil War and what with the Sweeping New Deal measures adopted by the French Parliament in the hectic ten weeks before August 14, the Popular Front Government of M. Leon Blum found it impossible to maintain the franc. The Premier was fully justified in his claim that, during these ten weeks, "the greatest social movement which has been accomplished since the foundation of the Third Republic has been done without shedding any blood but by persuasion only."

SOME of these French N. R. A. measures are: minimum wages, a 40-hour week, an annual vacation with pay, collective bargaining, raising of the age for compulsory school attendance and reduction of the age for retirement from the civil service with a view to curtailing unemployment, a huge public works programme costing twenty milliard francs, etc. These ameliorative measures were no doubt calculated to bring substantial gains to the French workers, but the question was how these measures were to be financed. The Government had hoped that a general business recovery would follow and that its reform of the tax system which imposed heavy penalties upon tax evasion would bring in enough revenue. It had also hoped that the baby bond issue floated by it would be subscribed to the necessary extent. But these Treasury Bonds evoked a poor response, the Finance Minister, M. Vincent Auriol, announcing on August 4 that the subscriptions received till then amounted only to 2,300 million francs, while the Treasury would need 23,000 million francs above its probable receipts before the end of the year. The pressure against the franc thus became irresistible and the Government has been forced to devalue the franc. In this matter, however, it has come to an agreement with Great Britain and the United States, these countries agreeing not to depreciate but to support their own currencies, and Switzerland, Belgium and some other countries have

joined the agreement. This agreement ensures stability of the three principal currencies of the world.

### Official Interference in Elections.

AT its meeting held in Bombay in August the A. I. C. C. passed a resolution drawing pointed attention to interference by Government officials in the forthcoming elections to provincial legislatures. The Committee having only specified the N. W. F. P. in this connection, there might have been a disposition in some quarters to regard its resolution as an attempt on its part to make a mountain out of a molehill. That such official interference is not confined only to the Frontier province but is to be met with even in other provinces is clear from similar complaints made elsewhere also. In U. P., e. g., Paudit Jawaharlal Nehru has succeeded in unearthing an official circular issued by the Secretary to the Court of Wards to all district officers.

IN this circular the necessity of inflicting "as crushing a defeat as possible" on the Congress is strongly advocated and all officers enjoined to gird up their loins to that end. In pursuance of its anti-Congress policy, the Court's support, it is made clear, will be extended only to candidates who will actively oppose the Congress and its programme. The circular is thus incontestable evidence of official attempts to influence the course of the elections and constitutes a gross violation of the Government policy of neutrality in connection with the elections. There is no sense in officials being expressly debarred from offering themselves for elections if at the same time they are to be left free to back up one party as against another.

### Overhaul of Jail Administration.

SIR HENRY CRAIK'S "no" to the public demand for an inquiry into the jail administration, which recently found expression in the Assembly by means of a non-official question, will be deeply regretted throughout the land. It is nearly fifteen years since the Indian Jails Committee reported. The interval has witnessed the emergence of new problems connected with our prison administration as a result of greater political awakening—problems with which the Cardew Committee could not, in the nature of circumstances, be expected to grapple. The problem of the political prisoner has become an urgent one crying for systematic and co-ordinate action on an all-India basis.

THE Home Member wants the public to believe that the problem receives all the attention it deserves at periodical conferences of jail authorities held at the head-quarters of the Government of India. It may be so. But can even Sir Henry Craik deny that the way it is so far tackled has failed to satisfy public opinion? The recent observance of the Political Prisoner's Day supplies an answer to this question. He need hardly be reminded that the continuance of the Andamans as a penal settlement except for the most dangerous variety of criminals is in contravention of the Cardew Committee's recommendation for its stoppage.

OUGHT not the Government to welcome the opportunity which the appointment of a committee would provide them for convincing public opinion as to the soundness of the reasons for which the retention of the settlement was decided upon by them? It is of course something that as a result of pressure of public opinion a few non-officials will be allowed facilities to visit the Andamans and see things for them-

selves. But without wishing in any way to disparage the importance of their self-imposed mission, it is obvious that their visit can be but a poor substitute for a visit by a committee inquiring into conditions of prison life in the Andamans under the auspices of the Government. Will not the hands of the Government be strengthened beyond measure if the committee endorses the Home Member's description of the penal settlement as the "Prisoners' Paradise"? We think there is real advantage in instituting a comprehensive inquiry into the whole Indian jail administration by means of a committee.

#### Adult Suffrage in Bombay Council.

THE existing franchise qualification for the Taluka Boards is payment of Rs. 8 of land revenue and for District Boards Rs. 32 in all districts except Panch Mahals and Ratnagiri districts where the line is drawn at Rs. 16. This franchise is higher than that in force for the lower House of the Provincial Legislature under the reformed constitution. This anomaly the Bombay Government tried to remove by seeking the Legislative Council's support for the amendment of the District Local Boards Act, since the Taluka Board franchise is already equal to that for the popular part of the Bombay Legislature.

IN the course of debates on the amending bill a proposal to introduce adult suffrage in relation to taluka and district board elections was put forward by a responsible and experienced member of the Ministerialist party itself. We should have expected the Local Government to lend its support to a suggestion sponsored by one of their undoubted friends, but they fully lived up to their reputation for unprogressiveness by taking up a hostile attitude towards it. But what is a matter of even greater wonder to us is that the Leader of the Opposition, Rao Bahadur Chitale, should have cast his vote against the proposal.

THE principal argument advanced by the Minister of Local Self-Government against adult suffrage was that conditions in the province were not favourable to its introduction. We are at a loss to know what exactly he means. Adult suffrage is already in force in panchayat elections and is not known to have been a failure. The next logical step is its introduction in regard to local board elections, which is what would have been brought about if the amendment referred to above had been adopted. But the Government in their wisdom chose to turn it down by the sheer weight of numbers.

#### Rural Medical Relief.

SIR A. M. K. DEHLAVI, Minister of Local Self-Government, made a comprehensive statement in the Bombay Legislative Council last week, indicating the directions in which an extension of the facilities for medical relief and public health was contemplated. It is seen from this that under his watchful care an earnest beginning will be made in the way of handling the much neglected problem of medical relief in rural areas. One part of his scheme provides for subsidising qualified medical practitioners with a view to enable them to practise in rural areas. It is intended to confine the operation of the scheme for the present only to six districts badly needing facilities for medical relief. Each doctor so subsidised will be in charge of three or four villages which are easily accessible by road or railway and which he will be expected to visit on stated days every week. The total cost of this scheme will be Rs. 7,800 per annum

to be equally shared between the Government and the District Local Board concerned. The subsidy will be guaranteed for a period of seven years, which, while giving security of assistance to the selected doctors for a reasonably long period, will also enable a full and fair trial being given to the scheme.

THE other part of the scheme provides for an increase in the number of nurses and midwives at local board dispensaries. Under this scheme the Government will bind itself to pay to the Board concerned a grant equivalent to the cost of maintaining one nurse on condition that two are maintained by the Board in addition to those already in its service. This scheme will operate in all the 19 districts of the presidency and its yearly cost on the basis of one additional nurse for each district for whose maintenance the Government is responsible will be Rs. 13,680. With a view to making rural dispensaries remain up to the mark Civil Surgeons will be required to inspect them twice a year instead of once as at present.

IN regard to public health, it is intended to appoint ten officers to deal with epidemics on a permanent basis. The present practice of appointing them on a temporary basis and only after the outbreak of an epidemic is found to be both wasteful and lacking in continuity. The temporary staff is disbanded as soon as the need for it has disappeared and the experience and training gained by it at public cost are lost to the presidency. This wastage will be stopped when the new scheme begins to operate. Under it a batch of ten doctors will be permanently in charge of the epidemic situation, which would be a decided advantage. These officers will be naturally posted to districts where epidemics such as plague and cholera are frequent and where malaria is rampant.

WE note with a sense of considerable relief that in the list of districts marked out for such treatment figures the district of Poona where malaria is playing great havoc. All this and many other reforms contemplated under the scheme are to the good and the Minister deserves the thanks of the public for evolving a scheme of medical relief with such promptitude. Let him now turn his attention to the problem of how the indigenous systems of medicine can be impressed into service for the purpose of cheapening facilities for medical relief. This problem has been hanging fire for very long and the Minister would be rendering a distinct public service by arranging for study and research by competent officers with a view to placing them on a modern scientific basis.

#### Abuse of Nomination.

HOW the power of nomination vested in the Government can sometimes be mischievously used so as to defeat the popular will is vividly brought home to the public in connection with the formation of the Belgaum District Local Board. The elections to the Board resulted in the return of ten members belonging to one party and eight to another, while one member was attached to neither of these parties. The public preference as expressed by the election was thus obviously in favour of the ten-member group being in charge of the affairs of the Board, a preference which no Government with any respect for public opinion would have done anything to upset.

BUT this is exactly what has actually come to pass in Belgaum and the five nominations made by

the Commissioner have resulted in converting the majority party into a minority. The five persons nominated by him belong to the eight-member group, which with their addition can now muster thirteen votes. Mr. Bakhale who rendered a distinct service by eliciting this information by means of a question in the Bombay Legislative Council was informed by the Minister of Local Self-Government that "Government nominations are designed *inter alia* to ensure a reasonable working majority for that party which is more likely to conduct the administration for the good of the public interests." In plain words this means that the Government is free to foist on the people any party, however unpopular, without paying any heed to popular wishes as expressed at the polling booths. This may be thoroughly undemocratic; but perhaps those who credit the Government with a love for democracy make too large an assumption.

IN this case, moreover, Mr. Bakhale was told, the Commissioner was not sure that the majority party would hold together for long or would conduct the affairs of the Board satisfactorily or without political bias. How, we wonder, did the Commissioner satisfy himself that the minority party would continue as a party? Obviously by a verbal assurance to that effect conveyed to him by the eight-member group. Was any attempt made to secure a similar assurance from the majority party? But all this appears to be beside the point. It is really the political bias of the majority party that, in our opinion, constitutes the key to the situation at Belgaum. It was not their political bias so much as the Commissioner's bias against them that decided the matter. Apparently he wanted the Board to be in the hands of people who would be amenable, not to him personally, but to the Government and would give no trouble to them. As experience shows, the Government's test of satisfactory administration is the measure of its subservience to themselves.

#### Communalism in Kenya.

IT is a great pity that communalism is gradually coming to the fore in the Indian community even in

foreign lands. It recently expressed itself in Nairobi, on the Municipality of which the Indian community is represented by seven members. The point for discussion was the method of Indian representation and the Municipality had already voted for the adoption of the elective method in that behalf. When, however, the matter went up to the Commissioner for Local Government, the local Ismailia Council, a Muslim body, voiced its opposition to it on the ground that election by itself would not properly safeguard Muslim interests.

A SOLUTION on the lines followed in Fiji was suggested by the Government, viz. election-cum-nomination. Out of the seven Indian representatives five should, it was proposed, be elected by the community, the balance being made up by nomination by the Governor. It was also stated that the nominations would be made "in order to serve what he (the Governor) may consider to be the best interests of the Indian community as a whole." However deplorable the result may be, it has to be admitted with shame that Indians have brought it on themselves.

THE remedy suggested by Government was recently considered by the Nairobi Municipality. The General Purposes Committee had expressed a milk-and-water opinion on it which, while expressing preference for the application of the elective principle to all the seven seats earmarked for Indian representation, nevertheless acquiesced in the suggested compromise. Though the Muslim representative on the Municipality expressed his cordial concurrence with the compromise suggested by the Government, the Municipality as a whole decided to refer the matter back to the Committee. It is to be hoped that the Committee will succeed in thrashing out a solution which, while affording to the minority the requisite sense of security, will do away with nomination by the Governor. Given good-will and a spirit of accommodation on both sides, such a solution is by no means beyond the bounds of possibility.

## PALESTINE'S BAFFLING PROBLEM.

IT is difficult to speculate as to what the final outcome of the Palestine turmoil is going to be. The Palestine Government has received large military reinforcements, and the immediate trouble will perhaps be over soon, though signs of this happening are not yet apparent. But the more important question is: on what lines would the British Government seek a permanent solution for the ever-growing unrest of the Arabs? The British Government has appointed a Royal Commission which will investigate the grievances of both the Jews and the Arabs after order has been completely restored, but the Commission has been charged to frame its recommendations within the terms of the mandate, and no one who probes the question to the bottom can help feeling serious doubts as to the possibility of finding an enduring and viable solution within the framework of the mandate.

The conflict between the two communities is not at all religious; it concerns wholly secular affairs. It is not mainly economic either; it is far more political than economic. But the economic difficulties alone, though not half so serious as the political ones, appear

to be almost insurmountable. In the last three years as many as 134,540 Jewish immigrants came into Palestine. In the 1922 census the total Jewish population was recorded at 84,000 and in the 1931 census at 175,000. Thus only within the last three years there was an addition of 159.5% to the Jewish population of 1922 and of 73.6% to that of 1931. This inundation sent up the percentage of the Jewish to the total population from 11 in 1922 and 21 in 1931 to 30 in 1935. Is it not natural that the Arabs should view this Jewish penetration with grave concern and alarm? It may be that land is not passing into Jewish hands quite so quickly. The immigrants are to a large extent absorbed in industries—particularly the building construction industry. In the last three years the immigrants belonging to the capitalist category, to whom it should be remembered no quota is applied, imported £27,000,000 capital into Palestine. Last year alone they brought capital of £10,000,000, half of which was invested in building and £1,700,000 in land. The present heightened tempo of building construction cannot last for ever, and a great propor-

tion of those employed in that industry are bound to come on to land, increasing the demand for it. Even as it is, 228,855 dunams of land (4¼ dunams equal one acre) were acquired by the Jews during the last six years, the total extent of agricultural land in Jewish possession being round about 1,500,000 dunams. The total cultivable land of Palestine is estimated at 7,100,000 dunams, which means that 21.4% of agricultural land is in Jewish occupation.

If there is any lesson which all the commissions and committees of inquiry that have been appointed so far have tried to impress upon the British Government with one accord it is that no extensive immigration of the Jews and their settlement on land can be permitted without injury to Arab interests unless the Government takes in hand large schemes of land development and reclaims land which is now uncultivable, or educates the Arabs in intensive methods of cultivation. The Walter Shaw Commission said:

Palestine cannot support a larger agricultural population than it at present carries unless methods of farming undergo a radical change. With more intensive cultivation, should this prove to be possible, room might be found for a number of new-comers in certain districts.

Sir John Hope Simpson observed:

It has emerged quite definitely that there is at the present time and with the present methods of Arab cultivation no margin of land available for agricultural settlement by new immigrants, with the exception of such undeveloped land as the various Jewish agencies hold in reserve. . . . The sole way in which (article 6 of) the mandate (which lays upon the mandatory power the duty of encouraging close settlement of the Jews on land) can be carried out is by the intensive development of rural Palestine. . . . There exists no easy method of carrying out the provisions of the mandate. Development is the only way. Without development, there is not room for a single additional settler, if the standard of life of the fellahin (Arab peasant cultivators) is to remain at its present level. With development that standard could be raised so that it would permit reasonable conditions of livelihood to that backward class of the community and a margin of land could at the same time be provided for additional colonisation. It is my personal belief, founded on the inquiries which I have made and on my inspections, that with thorough development of the country there will be room, not only for the present agricultural population at a higher standard of life than it at present enjoys, but for not less than 20,000 families of settlers from outside.

The two reports of Mr. Lewis French "were pervaded with a sense of the congestion already existing in cultivable areas in Palestine. There were no State lands available for the settlement of either Jews or landless Arabs. For the latter the Government would therefore have to expropriate lands now under extensive cultivation, spending five or six years preparing them for intensive cultivation, at considerable expense. Further displacement of Arab cultivators must be prevented. Tenants must be protected from eviction and peasant proprietors obliged to retain enough land for their own sustenance."

What has the Government done? It undertook a puny development programme, as a result of the French reports, in 1933 and did almost nothing to teach Arabs intensive methods of agriculture. And yet Jewish immigration and land purchase is going on apace. Sir John Hope Simpson reported that the agricultural requirements of even the existing Arab

population were not adequately met. A fellah family needed 130 dunams of land in unirrigated tracts, but it had not on an average more than 90 dunams at its command. The Simpson report further stated that 29.4% of Arab families in the villages had already become landless. In spite of this, as we have stated above, as many as 228,855 dunams were acquired by the Jews from the Arabs between 1930 and 1935, i. e., since the report was submitted. How can such policy be at all defended? It may be that Sir John Hope Simpson's is a rude estimate, but it was certainly the duty of the Government, unless it was in a position to produce other data more favourable to the Jews, to stop land passing from Arab into Jewish hands. When the Jewish population is growing in Palestine like Jack's beanstalk; the Government is doing nothing—neither developing the land which alone would permit of any legitimate growth, nor stopping the flood of Jewish immigration pending such development. Last year 61,849 Jews were admitted into the country; only 16,610 of these, or a little less than one quarter, came under Labour Schedules, the other three quarters being people in respect of whom the Palestine Government has no authority to control immigration at all. Sooner or later, the Government will have to put a limit upon the ratio of the Jewish population in order to safeguard, as is the duty of the mandatory power, the interests of the Arabs. Mr. Garvin in the *Observer* suggests that the Jewish element should not be allowed to exceed one-third of whole population. If this is the right proportion the Jews have come very near it; for, as has been said above, they form nearly 30% of the population. Or the British Government will have to segregate the two communities in different areas, and this proposal of cantonisation is very much in the air at present, being sponsored by no less a person than Mr. Amery. Or it will have to form a special Arab reserve, as in South Africa there is a native reserve. Some such solution will have to be adopted, considering the question purely from the economic point of view.

Whichever of these or other alternative methods may be adopted for protecting the economic interests of the Arabs, one thing is certain. The mandatory power must remain in control indefinitely; the mandate cannot be terminated. Here is a country in which the majority community is backward, socially, economically and politically, and the minority has all the resources of wealth, science, organisation and political influence. Such a country must be ruled by an outside power if a balance is to be preserved between the two communities. This means that Britain must continue to exercise the mandate for Palestine for all time. The mandate thus becomes to all intents and purposes perpetual. But it was not meant to be so. The Palestine mandate belongs to a class, under which the mandatory power is under an obligation to bring about the termination of the mandate at the earliest possible date by preparing the people of the mandated territory for self-government. But in order to be able to afford the very protection which it is its duty to give to the two elements of the population, the mandatory power must withhold self-government from both.



That is, Palestine must be governed as a Crown Colony, as if it were under a B class mandate. In fact only a B class mandate was originally proposed for Palestine, but later it was transformed into an A class mandate. However, the duty cast upon Great Britain of facilitating the establishment of a Jewish National Home practically changes the mandate once again from A class to B class. Will this satisfy the Arabs, politically? They already feel that they have been betrayed. Independence was definitely promised to them, but they have been cheated out of it. They have never accepted the interpretation which the British Government has put upon Sir Henry MacMahon's letter to Hussein, Sheriff of Mecca, and the Arab interpretation is supported by such an ardently pro-Zionist Englishman as Mr. Nevinson. Nor will the Jews be satisfied if they are to be rigidly limited to a third of the population or if their share in the administration is to be equally restricted. Their opposition (or, in the words of the Zionist Congress of last year, their "categorical rejection") of a Legislative Council in which the Jews were to have seven seats and the Arabs (Moslem and Christian together) fourteen shows clearly that they will resist all beginnings of self-government in Palestine unless in the self-government to be eventually fashioned they have a predominant share and not the Arabs. Indeed, the Jews appear yet to be under the influence of Herzl's teachings about the Jewish State. When the form of the Balfour Declaration was being settled, they urged that Great Britain should commit herself to facilitating not merely "the establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine", but "the reconstitution of Palestine as the National Home of the Jewish people"; and Dr. Weizmann, the greatest living Zionist leader, put forward a plea at the Peace Conference for "making Palestine as Jewish as England is English." The Zionists now very discreetly moderate their demands. They do not speak about establishing political control; but it is hard to believe that, as a permanent arrangement, they will be satisfied with anything less.

Thus it seems almost impossible to devise any final solution for the Palestine troubles which will be accepted by the contestant parties. Whichever solution is adopted, one or both will be bitterly disappointed. It is a dilemma for the British Government and for the League of Nations, from which no escape appears possible.

## THE TRAGEDY AT AMBERNATH I

### II.\*

IN our last article we endeavoured to summarise the events that led to the declaration and the continuance of the strike of the match factory workers at Ambernath. We might recapitulate the points we then made as follows:—(1) Under the Labour Office award the workers in the box-closing department suffered a reduction in the rates by a quarter of a pie; (2) with the acceptance of the award by both the sides, the channel of negotiations between the mana-

gement and the workers' organisation was closed by the refusal on the part of the former to have anything to do with Mr. Parulekar and the Union; (3) the representations made by the workers for the restoration of the cut were turned down by the management as well as by the Labour Office; (4) the workers in the box-closing department struck work on July 25 of their own accord without any reference being made to Mr. Parulekar or the Union; (5) on July 27, the management tried to recruit new men in the department that struck work and on the workers in the other departments resenting the move, the strike became general in the whole factory; (6) the strike was immediately answered by a lock-out; (7) soon after the commencement of the strike, efforts were made by Mr. N. M. Joshi and other disinterested persons of status and influence to negotiate with the management directly and through the Labour Office, but they bore no fruit; (8) the management want not only nothing short of a surrender on the part of the workers but also victimisation of such of them as they would pick and choose and they further want to put down Mr. Parulekar at all costs and under no circumstances will they have anything to do with him and his Union. To make the picture complete, we may state that if the demand for the restoration of the cut of a quarter of a pie had been conceded, the extra cost to the management would have come to not more than Rs. 175 per month—quite a paltry sum to them but a good deal to the 60 or 70 workers who were affected. The only conclusion that a fair-minded person can legitimately draw from this and the other facts is that, having regard to the modest nature of the demand, the strike should not have been allowed to take place and that, after it had taken place, it should have been negotiated and settled long before it assumed serious proportions. Another conclusion that forces itself on one is that the management are not fighting the strike in its economic aspect but are wholly concerned with Mr. Parulekar and his Union. It has thus become, in the eyes of the management, a trial of strength between a powerful European company and the poor workers' organisation and its General Secretary.

What are the Government of Bombay expected to do under these circumstances? Their duty in such industrial disputes is two-fold: first, to offer their good offices for an amicable settlement of the dispute; and second, to maintain law and order. It is also, we believe, their duty to see that in anything they do in the discharge of their legitimate responsibilities, they do not add to the difficulties of the situation and make it more complicated and worse. We shall now examine how far they have been able to carry out these duties and whether they have in any way helped ease the situation or add fuel to the fire.

Replying to the debate on Mr. R. R. Bakhale's cut motion during the 1934 budget discussion, the Hon. Sir Robert Bell, the Home Member, declared that the policy of Government in industrial disputes was to keep, as far as possible, the ring clear for the parties to negotiate. This, we admit, is a sound policy in so far as it goes. But under the existing conditions, it has very great limitations which no

\* The first article appeared in our last issue.

Government can ignore. In the first place, the policy of Government, as enunciated by Sir Robert Bell, may not at all be useful in those disputes in which the workers are not organised and have no leadership. In such cases, prompt intervention by Government becomes an urgent necessity. In the second place, when one side refuses to have anything to do with the other and the dispute drags on and brings untold miseries on the workers and their families, Government's prompt intervention should follow as a matter of course. We are aware that there is no law which arms Government with the power of forcing the two sides to come together. We are also aware that the Bombay Trade Disputes Act is not applicable to Ambernath and that, therefore, the machinery of conciliation cannot be brought into operation. But when the dispute has dragged on for over two months, when the attitude of the management is not to have anything to do with Mr. Parulekar and his Union and when there is no negotiating machinery between the parties, it was the clear duty of Government to extend the provisions of the Bombay Trade Disputes Act to Ambernath so as to enable the workers to apply for mediation. The Government have done nothing of the kind. We may recall the fact that in the 1928 strike in Bombay the Bombay Trade Disputes Act was not in existence; and yet Government offered their mediation and ultimately brought about a settlement. We may further recall that in the 1929 textile strike at the same centre, Government themselves took the initiative and appointed, under the all-India Trade Disputes Act, the now famous Pearson Committee to inquire into the causes of the strike. Today at Ambernath the situation is not better than what it was in 1928 or 1929 in Bombay except in the number of workers involved. Why, at Ambernath itself and in the same factory, the Government's Labour Office successfully intervened and gave an award without any reference either to the all-India Trade Disputes Act or to the Bombay Trade Disputes Act which did not then exist. When there is such undeniable evidence of Government's intervention in industrial disputes and now when they have their own legislation of which advantage can be taken to stop the present hardship and distress, it is indeed tragic that they should not lift their little finger to help both sides to come out of the deplorable situation! We confess we are amazed at this attitude of deliberate indifference on the part of Government and have no hesitation in strongly condemning it. It is not yet too late. They can still move by appointing a conciliation committee under the all-India legislation or at least extend the provisions of the Bombay Act so that any side to the dispute can ask for conciliation proceedings being brought into operation. If Government's professions have any moral value, they cannot escape adopting either of the courses we have suggested above. To continue to sit with folded hands and merely to watch the situation is to betray a callous disregard towards their legitimate responsibilities and play into the hands of the employers. Indeed we cannot help drawing the

plain inference that the Government's inaction is not only not impartial but is a proof of their partiality towards the employers. With the change in the Home Membership, we may still hope that the Government will still do something which will help an early settlement of the strike.

### III.

In the domain of law and order the local officials have taken up an attitude at Ambernath which is vindictive, wicked and calculated to create irritation and bitterness not only in the minds of the workers but of the public as well. Their action in issuing several orders against Mr. Parulekar and the strikers has added to the difficulties and has, instead of making the situation easy for the settlement of the dispute, made it worse. Indeed, it seems to us that the excessive zeal of the local officials has thrown the question of the settlement of the strike into the background and created fresh issues which have absorbed all public attention. And for all this only one official is responsible, and that is the Resident Magistrate at Kalyan. It is surprising that the Government of Bombay continue to connive at his conduct. Before we narrate the brave deeds of the Magistrate, it is, we think, well if we describe briefly his past exploits at Ambernath in the 1934-35 strike. They present, in our opinion, the correct background to the mentality with which the Resident Magistrate seems to have viewed the present strike. In the last strike, Mr. M. G. Naik, who was then, and is even now, the Resident Magistrate at Kalyan, prosecuted Mr. Parulekar and the then strikers under a number of orders issued by him. In almost all cases his judgments were reversed by the Sessions Court and his orders set aside. We can cite case after case to show how the Sessions Court held that the judgments of the Resident Magistrate were given with a prejudiced view and contained his personal opinions rather than the opinions based on the evidence that came before him. But we cannot do so within the limited space at our disposal. We may, however, take a typical case or two to illustrate the veracity of our statement. An employee in the Ambernath match factory filed a complaint in September, 1935, against the Excise Inspector and three excise constables attached to that factory under Sections 352, 506 and 323 I. P. C. Mr. Naik, the Resident Magistrate, held the complaint to be false, frivolous and vexatious and ordered the complainant to pay Rs. 100 as compensation to the respondents. The Sessions Court, Thana, reversed this judgment in the appeal and the judgment contained the following strictures on the conduct of the Resident Magistrate:—

(1) By using strong language in discussing the evidence of the prosecution witness, he (the Magistrate) laid himself open to the attack that he has approached the case with a prejudiced view against the appellant and in favour of the accused. . . .

(2) A Magistrate is not entitled to infer merely because certain witnesses are not examined, that they themselves failed to appear because they originally intended to give false evidence.

(3) This is quite an unjudicial and unbalanced view of things and I must record my strong disapproval of

such unwarranted observations by the Magistrate against persons behind their back.

(4) It is unjustifiable to make generalisations by importing outside knowledge into matters which judicially came before the Magistrate.

(5) The learned Magistrate has erred in importing his own knowledge about matters which are not apparent on evidence.

(6) Simple remark like this insinuating improper conduct to a pleader without giving him an opportunity to explain is highly improper and must be deprecated.

(7) The Magistrate acted more on prejudices than on evidence placed before him.

(8) . . . . He was labouring under the impression that in deciding this case he was sitting there to put down the activities of the labour union, which, according to him, instigated people to create trouble in the Match Factory.

In another case, another employee in the same match factory filed a complaint against an officer in that factory in January, 1935, under Section 325, I. P. C. In this case Dr. V. B. Gupte, the Medical Officer in charge of the Government dispensary at Kalyan, gave evidence to the effect that he had treated the injuries of the complainant. Again, the Resident Magistrate, Mr. Naik, held the complaint to be false, frivolous and vexatious, ordered the complainant to pay Rs. 40 as compensation to the respondent and ordered the prosecution of Dr. Gupte for offences under Sections 193 and 218, I.P.C. The latter filed an appeal against the order and the Sessions Court held that there were no reasonable and proper grounds for filing a complaint against the appellant—Dr. Gupte—for his prosecution. The judgment of the Sessions Court in this case contains the following passages about the conduct of the Resident Magistrate:—

(1) The learned Magistrate was carried away by the opinion of one Dr. Chaya, a doctor engaged by the Ambernath Match Factory. . . .

(2) . . . It was rather going out of the way (on the part of the Resident Magistrate) to express positive opinion on this subject by a layman like the Magistrate by mere having a look at the face of the complainant from a distance of 3-4 feet.

(3) So, it is not such a case in which it was possible for the Magistrate to say with any degree of certainty or probability that the statement of Dr. Gupte that there was a contusion below the left eye of the complainant was so obviously false as to justify the Magistrate in taking action which he had taken. In considering this matter the learned Magistrate seems to have ignored the fact that he was putting his own opinion as a layman on a mere superficial observation from a distance of 4 feet against the opinion of an expert doctor of 25 years' standing in Government service.

(4) Indeed it would be risky for medical officers to do their duty properly if the opinion of a layman or a Magistrate on a question of this sort were allowed to prevail on their opinion on a technical subject.

(5) Under these circumstances the learned Magistrate has not used his discretion properly in ordering the prosecution of the appellant Dr. Gupte who is a graduate of the Bombay University, who has put in 25 years' service and holds military rank as a Major.

(6) A Magistrate is not to direct the prosecution of a person simply with a view to enable private parties to gratify their grudge. . . .

(7) The learned Magistrate had gone to the length of issuing a search warrant against Dr. Gupte for production of the original certificate which had been given back to him, though that certificate had been sent up by Dr. Gupte to the Civil Surgeon at Thana. Furthermore, the learned

Magistrate had gone to the length of issuing a bailable warrant for the appearance of Dr. Gupte before him though there was evidence to show that on the day the notice had been sent for his appearance, he was in Thana. . . .

These passages are so illuminating and throw such a flood of light on the mentality and conduct of the Resident Magistrate that we dare not add a word by way of comment. We may only state that in spite of the prosecution and persecution, the 1934-35 strike was settled amicably and the workers came out successful and made their Union stronger and still more powerful.

In the conduct of the Resident Magistrate during the last dispute and in the serious reverses he met with at the hands of his superior judicial authority will be found a sure key to the temper and spirit in which he proceeded to deal with the present strike. Provocation or disturbance of public peace there was none; the workers' meeting went on peacefully and made the strike strong. The latter fact might perhaps have been taken as a provocation in official circles. Otherwise it is not possible to justify the promulgation of two orders on August 24. One was issued against all the prominent members of the managing committee of the Union asking them to show cause why they should not be ordered to execute a personal bond of Rs. 200 each, with one surety of good character and solvency for the same amount for nine months. The victims of the order were all arrested and kept in the lock-up for five days. The second order prohibited the workers' meeting at Ambernath and within a radius of two miles surrounding it. On the same day Mr. Parulekar's first arrest was made under the Criminal Tribes Act. For a week more the situation was watched; but it showed no improvement in the strike situation. On August 30 the all-pervading Section 144, Cr. P. C. was impressed into service and Mr. Parulekar was prohibited from entering Ambernath and the adjoining nine other villages. September 1 saw a vain attempt on the part of the management to open the factory. On September 10, six strikers were arrested in the first case of assault. Five days thereafter about 40 women who had gone to see the manager to secure records of their grievance were pushed back by the police and some were injured. This was followed by the arrest of 27 men and 13 women on the same and subsequent days. When the women were being taken to the lock-up, there was some confusion and the police made a lathi charge in the chawl compound. Finding that these stronger remedies obviously had no effect on the strike situation, the Resident Magistrate issued a fourth order on September 16 on Mr. Parulekar asking him to show cause why he should not be ordered to execute a personal bond of Rs. 1,000 with a surety of Rs. 1,000 for keeping peace for one year. Simultaneously a non-bailable warrant was issued on him and he was arrested in Bombay on the same day. When the Resident Magistrate was engaged in dealing with Mr. Parulekar, the Sub-Divisional Magistrate was dealing with the general strike situation. On the same day, i. e., September 16, he issued two more orders—one under the Police Act prohibiting meetings, shouting slogans, singing songs, display of boards, etc., and



the other was a curfew order under Section 144, Cr. P. C. Perhaps because it was thought that this was not enough to create sufficient panic among the strikers, the First Class Magistrate, Kalyan, issued a similar order under the Police Act and applied it to Badlapur and two other villages. Now came the District Magistrate, Thana, on the scene and on September 17, he issued a similar order and made it applicable to Kalyan and a few miles around it. This was the eighth order between August 24 and September 17. And yet the strike showed no sign of weakening. In fact it is as strong as it was on the first day.

"Man proposes and God disposes"—came true in the case of the Resident Magistrate and other officials at Ambernath. They could not have it all their own way. The Presidency Magistrate, Bombay, held the non-bailable warrant against Mr. Parulekar to be illegal, ordered his release and cancelled his bail-bond. This was enough to add salt to a sore wound. Men of perverse and diseased mentality cannot take such an insult lying down. Mr. Parulekar was again arrested without a warrant in the court of the Resident Magistrate, Kalyan, on September 22 where he had gone to stand his trial under the Criminal Tribes Act. In the court room, he was hand-cuffed and roped and after he was taken to the lock-up, he was served with a notice under Section 107, Cr. P. C. He was subsequently released on bail. He was again arrested on September 25 at the Kalyan Railway station by the railway police and, hand-cuffed and roped, he was taken to the lock-up. From the lock-up to the court Mr. Parulekar was taken on foot and hand-cuffed and roped! The Resident Magistrate remanded him to police custody for four days without caring to know the arguments of Mr. Parulekar's legal adviser who was present on the spot!!

#### IV.

With this narrative of events before him, can the Hon. Sir Robert Bell lay his hand on his heart and assert that the local officials have kept the ring clear for the two parties to the dispute to come together and negotiate a settlement? Does he realise that the net effect of the countless orders issued against the workers and their leaders has been that they cannot even meet together and reconsider their position in respect of the strike. Even if they want to call off the strike,

they cannot do so because they cannot meet and take a concerted decision. In other words, it only means that the orders of the local authorities have, instead of helping the settlement of the strike, helped its prolongation which may not even be desired by either side. Is this keeping the ring clear or is this teaching the workers a lesson? The success of the 1934-35 strike and the reversal of the judgments of the Resident Magistrate by the Sessions Court seem to have so irritated the local officials that their mental balance has disappeared and they have become mad. A Government responsive and responsible to public opinion would have taken proper steps long ago and ordered their removal from Ambernath and perhaps even their dismissal. But they are tolerating their madness and thereby giving the go-bye to their declared policy in industrial disputes. These orders are like iron in the souls of the workers and if it is expected that these barbarous methods will put an end to the strike, all we can say is that they are living in a fool's paradise. With all these methods of repression and persecution, the strike has not shown the slightest sign of weakness and it will never show them if the same methods continue to be adopted.

The systematic and deliberate persecution of Mr. Parulekar and humiliating treatment meted out to him are such as only an uncivilised and vindictive Government can adopt. The irritation and bitterness they have caused in the public mind is of a character that it will take many years to forget them. The methods adopted to crush Mr. Parulekar and put him out of the labour movement are no better than those adopted in countries where dictatorships obtain and are utterly unworthy of the British Government which claims democracy, fair play and justice to be the very breath of its nostrils. The Servants of India Society has not been a stranger to acts of persecution at the hands of the executive. Gokhale, Sastri and Thakkar—to name only a few—were their victims in the past. Now is the turn of Mr. Parulekar. In his case, however, the limits of even bureaucratic persecution have, in our opinion, been transgressed. As in the past, so in the future, the Society will stand behind its members in their persecution by the authorities and will do all in its power to vindicate their character, so long as it is satisfied that they do not overstep the limits which it has laid down for them.

(Concluded.)

## EDUCATIONAL REFORM.

### THE NEW MATRICULATION.

#### II.\*

WE come now, once again, to English, to the teaching of English, in by far the largest number of our high schools, as it obtains today. What can one say of it? It is thoroughly vitiated by the obsession of the vernaculars. It is spoiled by the misuse, if not the abuse, of the so-called direct method. It is a failure, further, because of the plethora of ready-made catechisms, notes, guides and

what not, on grammar, syntax, composition and on prescribed text-books. An easy way to learn English, "reading without tears", are the fashion today. The compiler and the hack-writer are busy providing everything ready-made, not only for the Matriculation student but even for the college student reading for his final degree. Then, from the lowest standard upward, there seems to be the craze for the latest books

\* The first article appeared in our last issue.

in preference to old books, even though the old ones are of the best. Today the publisher and his salesman have only to approach the headmaster, with the sanction of the D. P. I. or his Inspector behind them, to palm off any latest book as the best for use in a high school standard. And again how many books are prescribed for each standard in the name of prose, poetry, rapid reading and aids to study for all these? And if one but enquires how much has the belaboured pupil really understood and learnt, one shall find that that he has learnt but little and that little not well at all. It is a burden in study on the pupil and tax in purse for his parent and guardian! In the Matriculation standard, the reading and study of English has become a farce, because in the standards preceding it, it is not taught and learnt as it ought to be. The teacher does not care "to scorn delights and live laborious days" himself, to be precise and up-to-date. And the pupil, having notes and guides ready to help him, cares not for the teaching in the class-room from day to day. And we yet complain that the results are so poor, and the University product is such a specimen of learning and aptitude all over the field! What else can we expect from a system which lends itself to such a travesty of education?

Prof. Churton Collins complained, in his own day, about the craze for annotated editions and texts prescribed in schools and Universities in England, when the study of English language and literature found its way into their sacred portals. In a series of articles on the subject, he has exposed the log-rolling business it had become then as between Boards of Studies, the blessed annotators, and their patrons—the publishers at large. He has pointed out particularly how the study of English language and literature had suffered on that account, and he has laid down, side by side, the lines along which it should be framed both in courses in general and in proper texts to fulfil the aim of these courses. If some of our sapient senators were to read, mark and inwardly digest all that Prof. Churton Collins has written on the subject, it will be not only better for them personally as responsible for the education of the young, but well for the student-world generally who have to swallow down what they choose to prescribe. The condition in India, and especially in this Presidency, in this respect is much worse than what it was in England in the days when Prof. Churton Collins exposed it so severely.

The student here knows not what it is to use a good dictionary. In conversation and writing, the teacher and the taught, on an average, stand on the same level. Both have made themselves abject slaves of the ubiquitous compiler and annotator. The writer knows, from personal experience, how a headmaster in a Government high school, teaching English prose to the Matriculation class, could do no better than make a constant use of a guide on the subject brought out by a firm at Karachi. For framing questions, for explaining the meanings of words and phrases, for improving conversation in the class-room, based on the subject-matter of study, and, finally, for setting a question paper for the examination, the

guide seemed to be his sole mentor all along the way. What teaching can you expect from such a man, even though he has passed out from the training college as an S. T. C. or a B. T.? One of the causes of this all-round deterioration is the selection of wrong text-books and prescribing too many text-books from the start to the end of secondary education. As a result it is easy, both for the pupil and the teacher, to scamp their work and yet secure good results in the end. And if, even for once, the folly is detected and an earnest effort made to set things right, we are so ready to raise a howl all round, and attribute base motives to those who insist on the change!

In many high schools throughout the Presidency, teaching in English is done on entirely wrong lines. Let us take a specific instance. Take the teaching of poetry. All originality, all delight in literature, are lost. The pupil and the teacher never know what it is to enjoy poetry. They do not take it as a piece of literature. They do not note its beauties, do not appreciate its music and do not mark the fine expression of thought and sentiment it embodies. They do not recreate for themselves and re-live the experience which the poet seeks to convey to his reader by the gift and glory of words. All this implies much previous knowledge, understanding and appreciation of good poetry in the teacher himself. And, again, it implies slow reading, loud reading, thinking and re-thinking, reciting, comparing, and enriching the treasure of beautiful things by the pupil, led by the teacher himself, by visualisation and interpretation of a particular piece. In the absence of this discipline, the learning of good prose and good poetry becomes dry as dust. And the examination at the end of it misdirects the whole business. Poetry reading has thus been reduced either to mere paraphrasing or, as the phrase goes, appreciation! The latter, in the circumstances, is nothing better than framing set questions and providing ready-made answers. The same farce is enacted in the case of story-writing, letter-writing, dialogues and composition themes with precis-writing to add to it. When notes are dictated and repeated parrot-like by pupils, the teaching is done and the teacher is happy.

How unlike this is from the teaching of English as outlined for English boys, in many a good book like, for instance, Mr. George Sampson's little one entitled "The Teaching of English"! We may prescribe for the pupil three or three times three languages, to come up to the Matriculation standard. But so long as the method and the outlook remain the same, the fruit of it will be no better than mere weariness of the mind and a sheer waste of time and effort.

In our craze for being practical, all-embracing and versatile, we are flinging to the winds the right method in education, and seek to foist upon the pupil instruction in too many subjects and with too many books which are seldom of the right kind in the subject prescribed. Log-rolling in the selection of books, jumble in the prescribing of subjects, looseness in matters of inspection, and divided control all round—these are the bane of our education today. Sanity

and selection we miss all through the course. That was, at least, the good feature of secondary and higher education in the Presidency when its studies were regulated by persons of high intellectual calibre and responsibility in the Senate and outside, like Dr. Wordsworth, Principal Selby, Dr. Bhandarkar, Telang and Ranade, for instance. We are not sighing for the past. But when we think of the mess that education has become today, we cannot help remembering and recalling that past.

The new Matriculation curriculum, which is the cause of these musings, will not mean an improvement upon the past. Nor will it prove, in the test, the education that *educes*. It will eventually prove a heavier burden than it ever was before, perhaps worse than the burden that the pupil has to bear today. And it will mean no improvement in the quality of the product itself.

The only and sane remedy for this rottenness in the state of Denmark is an earnest and whole-hearted effort to overhaul the whole system. That will be done not by the quidnuncs of today, nor by so-called experts and specialists. It can only be achieved through the action of a Board of Secondary Education somewhat on the lines laid down in the Sadler Commission's Report. Punjab has done it. The United Provinces have followed suit. Bengal is about to do it. We do not know why Bombay alone should fight shy of the proposal and lag behind. Along with it the Senate has to be thoroughly remodelled, so vicious a specimen of democracy and education it has become under the Reform Act that implemented it. We must have in our educational programme and policy an eye to quality, without sacrificing at the same time, as Gokhale put it, breadth to depth.

If the Board is brought into being, if the Senate is remodelled, if the present Act is revised, if real educationists are put in charge of the whole business, and if the policy is kept scrupulously apart from political or any other bias, our education will improve in a manner that is not possible in the present ordering of things. So long as this does not change from the top downwards, reform will mean mere tinkering with the question. For it cannot but be an endeavour to make bricks without straw, a patch-work, a compromise, which, to quote the words of Lord Morley from his classic work on the subject, will be "its settlement in a slovenly, imperfect and often downright vicious manner". For the governing principle of it will be, as we note in the new curriculum for the Matriculation, not a high sense of duty and disinterestedness, but a narrow expediency.

V. N. N.

(Concluded.)

## Reviews.

### MONETARY BREAKDOWN.

**THE BREAKDOWN OF MONEY.** By CHRISTOPHER HOLLIS. (Sheed & Ward.) 1934. 20cm. 232p. 4/6.

THE author of the book truly remarks that the usual treatment of history is marred by a complete neglect of monetary causes, so that the stories of any of the

great catastrophes of history as told by a student of money on the one hand and as told by an ordinary text-book on the other are almost without correspondence. For example, the text-book speaking of the English Civil War or the Revolution of 1688, the American War of Independence or the French Revolution explains it entirely by political causes without making any reference whatever to the monetary conditions of the day. The result is a most serious distortion of truth. This faulty teaching of history makes it extraordinarily difficult to get people to overcome the prejudice of their schooldays that the politicians are the masters of the State and that the great events of history had purely political causes.

All this is perfectly true. However, so far as the present depression is concerned, it can scarcely be complained that monetary causes are not receiving sufficient attention. As a matter of fact more people are inclined to attribute the crisis to some kind of a breakdown of money than to any other single cause suggested in explanation of it.

According to Mr. Christopher Hollis, most of our economic difficulties are due to the overwhelming part which the international bankers and the great acceptance houses are allowed to play in regulating the supply of money. It is they who control the financial system of the world. They dictate the size of the joint-stock banks' cash reserve on the basis of which they lend by the amount of gold that they will allow to remain in the countries coming within the orbit of their influence. Their policies being governed by other considerations than the national interests of these countries, gold is now sent abroad from them and now allowed to flow into them, thus, reducing or increasing their available purchasing power and subjecting them to frequent and more or less violent disturbance. The creation of money is an attribute of sovereignty, and Mr. Christopher Hollis urges that the governments of the world should resume this power which they have abdicated in favour of the banks. Taking the case of England, it may be to the interest of the acceptance houses which control the Bank of England to keep the country short of gold because, e. g., they judge it to be more profitable to lend their gold in low-wage countries. This will create a deficiency of purchasing power in England making it impossible for its people to buy what they have produced. Any scheme of reconstruction should therefore aim at destroying the power of the Bank of England to create such a situation. Modern inventions have so multiplied goods that they glut the markets. But thanks to the blundering or the self-seeking of the banking world, there is serious deficiency of purchasing power and the author pleads for the State to step in and remedy this deficiency. The simplest and best plan of doing so would be to increase purchasing power by creating new money and issuing it direct to consumers—sufficient as it were to set the wheels going. Old age pensions, widows' pensions, pensions to the blind and the disabled may be increased, wage-cuts restored and unemployment doles enhanced.

This is a difficult book to summarise or to criticize. We can, however, confidently recommend it as a book which challenges interest even when it fails to command assent.

G. B. JATHAR.

### CIVIC TRAINING.

**EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS.** (Oxford University Press.) 1936. 20cm. 263p. 4/6.

THE volume is issued under the auspices of the Association for Education for Citizenship, of which Sir Henry Hadow is the President and which aims at

advancing "the training in the moral qualities necessary for the citizens of a democracy, the encouragement of clear thinking in every day affairs and the acquisition of that knowledge of the modern world usually given by means of courses in history, geography, economics, citizenship and public affairs." It is not a one man's production, the different chapters and sub-chapters being written by over twenty writers. This inevitably creates a certain amount of discordance and, probably conscious of this, the President writes in his preface, "In presenting a work so complex and so controversial it has proved impossible to avoid all bias."

Primarily intended for secondary teachers, the volume enunciates in the first chapter "the aims and theory of education for citizenship" and proceeds to discuss how this education would be achieved while teaching the different class subjects.

A topic that has been a cause of acute controversy, the advisability of discussing current political problems in schools, is referred to on page 27.

It must be recognised, says the writer, that if through fear of inculcating bias, knowledge of the modern world and of its conditions, facts and problems are taboo to the child or young person in school or college, it by no means follows that he will be protected from the influence of far more exaggerated forms of bias from other sources. On the contrary, it will be remembered that the child, in common with the rest of the population, is subjected to a constant stream of the most pernicious and unfair forms of propaganda. . . . The child's mind is anything but a blank slate . . . When (however) children or young people are taught in school or college to apply scientific method to the discussion of these problems rather than to accept in an unquestioning manner what has been acquired by tradition or slogan, they fully appreciate the desirability of the dispassionate approach and the need of understanding the view-point of others.

But if the discussion of current politics be permitted, it makes the teacher's task difficult.

All will agree that he must be fair, and not abuse his position for propaganda purposes; but the translation of this principle into an exact guide for conduct needs discussion. To avoid unfairness, he must, of course, have the common honesty to eschew wilful distortion of fact; but he needs also the judgment to draw the line between matters of fact and matters of opinion. . . . When matters of opinion do arise or when it is impossible to disentangle fact and opinion, he should state definitely where his own sympathies lie. For, unless he has no interest in the subject (and is consequently unfit to teach it), he cannot fail to have a decided opinion on the great political issues. . . . However scrupulous a teacher may be, he can hardly avoid some bias in the presentation of facts closely connected with disputed points; if the class knows where his bias lies they can make allowance for it. It may perhaps be necessary to add that a teacher of politics should welcome the expression, by his pupils, of any shade of political opinion; he should himself set the example of being able to listen, with politeness and attention, to views to which he is himself intensely opposed. (Page 124.)

That the study of English literature and even that of dead languages has an important place in citizenship training everybody will admit. Great literature presents varied specimens of oratory which a publicist must read with care.

Some (of the speeches) were written for the law court, some for the assembly, some for political pamphlets. In two cases at least the speeches of prosecution and defence in a law suit are preserved. There is an admirable opportunity for comparing the technique of different types of speakers in different types of speeches. (Page 161.)

But even subjects like Mathematics have a place in the training of a citizen. The problems of loans and taxation, types of insurance and statistical methods are no longer a monopoly of the expert and a leader even as layman has often to express his views on these questions.

Towards the end the book has two interesting chapters on "Clear Thinking" and "Accurate Thinking" and their importance nobody will deny. Instances of inaccurate thinking are inevitable in the case of people lacking in detailed knowledge of a subject, but the absence of clear thinking even in assemblies of highly educated persons showing exceptional mental capacities in some special fields of knowledge is regrettably common and is as a rule the result of prejudice or vanity and consequent unconscious unwillingness to see the other view-points.

One seldom comes across a book which contains in the small space of about 250 pages as much information and food for thought as is contained in the book under review. The methods of teaching the different subjects, though discussed primarily as an aid to the training of citizenship, are such as all may learn to use in the class-room and the principles discussed will interest non-teachers as well.

Appendix 3 gives the outlines of a 'modern' course designed for boys who in their post-school certificate years have no wish or aptitude for specialization along scholarship lines and offers suggestions which deserve consideration. "Education for Citizenship" is essentially a book for the modern teacher in a modern school.

M. R. PARANJPE.

#### SHORT NOTICE.

**THE INDIAN DIRECTORY OF JAPAN, 1936.**  
(The Kobe & Osaka Press, Ltd., Kobe.) 22cm.  
160p. Yen 3-00.

THIS Directory bids fair to be of invaluable help to those who either want to go to Japan or want to establish business connections with it. In the first part of the Directory are given the general trade figures of both India and Japan. Along with them is included necessary information of importance to businessmen, e. g. the freight calculation table, and the Japan-India freight tariff with reference to the various articles of export and import. Besides this general information, the trade of India with three important towns of Japan viz. Kobe, Osaka and Yokohama is dealt with specially and exhaustively. As it appears from the Directory, Indian traders seem to have established a decent footing in the town of Kobe. Apart from their ordinary business dealings, they have established there an "Indian Club", the Indian National Congress Committee of Japan, the Parsi Club and the Indian Ladies Club. This club activity among the Indian traders shows a well-knit social life which is a great desideratum especially in foreign countries. The Indian traders have also established institutions where they come in touch with the Japanese. It is hoped that this will bring about a better understanding and closer friendship between the two great nations of the East. Last but not least, the Directory gives an exhaustive list of the private residences of Indians settled in Japan. To any Indian who wants to go to Japan this should be of invaluable help. We congratulate the publishers on bringing forth this valuable brochure.

S. S. MISRA.