

THE Servant of India

Editor : S. G. VAZE.—Office : Servants of India Society's Home, Poona (D. G.).

VOL. X, No. 6. }

POONA—THURSDAY, MARCH 10, 1927.

} INDIAN SUBSN. RS. 6.
FOREIGN 10s. 6d.

CONTENTS.

| | Page |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| TOPICS OF THE WEEK | 61 |
| ARTICLES :— | |
| Indian Budget | 63 |
| The Khonds. By J. B. Sen, M.A. | 65 |
| OUR PARLIAMENTARY LETTER | 67 |
| THE SOUTH AFRICAN SETTLEMENT.—Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri's Speech | 69 |
| REVIEWS :— | |
| End to Poverty. By Ernest Kirk | 71 |
| S. I. S. FIRE RELIEF FUND | 72 |

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

BENGAL was only cruelly tantalised for the last few weeks with rumours of the impending release of the detenues. The Bengal Tantalised. This is evident from the Home member's reply to Pandit Motilal in the Assembly on Tuesday that he had nothing to add to his previous statements on the question. The communications between the Government of India and the Governments of Bengal have not yet evidently yielded the expected result. The mind of Bengal would continue in its restless and distracted state so long as some of her best sons remain behind barred doors without any conviction in a court of law. Lord Lytton will be leaving a legacy of political despair, racial bitterness and resentment against the Government if he ends his regime without closing this black episode. Sir Francis Jackson the incoming Governor of Bengal, still seems to be too much engrossed in cricket to think seriously of the task awaiting him in the province.

Mr. S. K. Datta, the General Secretary to the National Council of the Y. M. C. A. has given a crushing reply to the European Association's unfair charges against the Y. M. C. A. Mr. Datta has added to the dignity and independence of his Association by openly proclaiming that he and his colleagues are not answerable to the European Association. His exposure of the half-truths, insinuations and gross inaccuracies indulged in by the author of the accusation will, we dare say, serve to restore confidence in the work of the Y. M. C. A. in the minds of those who have been misled by the baseless allegations.

One could easily read in the whole episode the sense of chagrin felt by the dishard section of the European community at the passing of the control of the Y. M. C. A. from their hands to those who are, happily for us, more appreciative of the aspirations of Indian youth and the new spirit in the country. Mr. Datta has done well in drawing attention to the fact that religion transcends all racial barriers and that no community, as such, has any specific right to control a Christian movement, much less—may we add—to make it a hand-maid of Imperialism or racial exploitation.

UNDER the scheme of assisted emigration the S. African Government have agreed to pay the decrepit adult assisted emigrant, who is unable to earn his living by reason of a physical disability, a pension in lieu of, or in addition to the bonus. As Mr. Sastri pointed out in his lecture at the Deccan Sabha on Sunday last, the difference between the assisted emigrant of the present agreement and the 'repatriate' of the old scheme is more than verbal. For the change involves the acceptance by the South African Government of their responsibility for the Indians born in South Africa. Is it not one of the ironies of Indian politics that while the Indian Government is absolutely indifferent to their responsibilities by the decrepit adults of India, the Government of S. Africa should have made provision for decrepit Indian emigrants, and thus introduced for the first time such a humanitarian provision on Indian soil?

MEMBERS of the Government of India have not infrequently eulogized the League of India and the League and emphasised the importance of India's membership of the League. We would have attached greater importance to the expression of such sentiment if the Government of India had not persistently stood in the way of India's assuming the full obligation which her membership implies. India's delegation to the League has been led from the beginning, year after year, by Britishers, an invidious anomaly which becomes the more glaring in an Assembly where every nation member is represented by its own nationals. This procedure obviously hurts India's reputation and prestige in the world outside. The

part taken by the Government of India in the Chinese affairs is of a nature which certainly demands the submission of a full statement of the position to the League. Such a statement has not yet been made.

* * *

The Barisal Firing. THE Bengal Government's communique on the shooting on the Muslim mob at Kulkati Village, Barisal, seeks to explain away the admittedly excessive use of fire-arms by saying that the order of the Magistrate was not properly heard and understood by the men who shot the deadly rounds. This explanation is not calculated to ease public opinion or establish the necessary regard for Indian life in the mind of the police and the military. It is incidents like the present one that give room for the impression that in no other civilised country in the world is human life and suffering reckoned so cheap as in this land of sorrows. We appreciate the difficulties of those responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the face of fanatic mobs. We only ask the authorities to see that they do not forfeit public confidence by any reckless application of armed force and driving even the best of the peace-loving section into profession of sympathy with the menacing mob. Sir Abdur Rahim, in condemning the conduct of the Barisal District Magistrate, observed that the question at issue was not playing music before mosques. While we agree with Sir Abdur Rahim in deploring the shedding of innocent blood, we cannot but urge him and the thinking members of all communities in the country to bear in mind the other moral of the Barisal episode, which arose out of, and is to that extent related to, the silly question of music before mosques.

* * *

Madras Budget Debate. THE Madras Budget Debate is note-worthy in more than one respect. The Swarajists, though they repeated their stock-in-trade objections to Dyarchy, showed no disposition to make the ministry unworkable. They, on the other hand, made useful suggestions to the ministers calculated to make the latter's regime a success. The ministers themselves, we are glad to note, displayed a commendable responsiveness to popular opinion and criticism. The Excise Minister helped somewhat to allay the fears entertained about his policy by declaring that the Government was prepared to accept the policy of prohibition as its ultimate goal and to push it forward as rapidly as possible. He was still very nervous about the obstacles on his path and refrained from giving any assurance regarding the time within which the goal would be reached. Although the Excise Commissioner, according to his report issued a few days ago, had pronounced as failure the experiment of prohibition conducted in a few centres, the Minister promised to continue the experiment for two more years, add to the area under experiment and extend it also to toddy and foreign liquor. The Education

minister made some frank observations on the failure of the Elementary Education Act—which was one of the plumes in the cap of Sir A. P. Patro—and repeated his remarks made on a previous occasion that elementary education had not expanded in the province during the last five years. This statement he sought to prove by the aid of figures which showed that in one district which began with 160,000 boys in the first standard, there were only 30,000 at the other end, of the elementary stage i. e. in the fourth standard. He hoped to remedy this state of affairs before he laid down his office. It remains to be seen how far the Ministry would be able to follow up their words with deeds.

* * *

A feature of excise administration in Burma during 1925-26 was the decision to abandon Burma Excise Administration recruitment by nomination of assistant excise superintendents and excise inspectors. Hereafter this will be done by competition. This is a step in the right direction. Liquor consumption in the province has been steadily going up, the rise in the consumption of country liquor since 1912-13 being as large as 90 p. c. During the year under report, however, it shows a decrease, which is negligibly slight, viz. 356 gallons. The total import of foreign liquor increased by 2 p. c., while its total value rose by 4 p. c. "Imports of brandy and whisky also increased, while imports of gin, rum, and wines decreased, in both quantity and value. Beer imports increased but slightly in quantity." This is a state of things which calls for prompt action. Keen dissatisfaction apparently prevails in the public mind about the powers and functions of excise advisory committees, so much so that in some cases they went to the length of refusing to exercise their functions. There is nothing surprising in this, for when non-officials find their well meant advice consistently ignored, a feeling of disgust is quite natural. We trust that the powers and functions of these bodies will be considerably enlarged in the near future so that there will be no need for any non-co-operation on their part. The report does not show what exactly is the excise policy of the Burma Government. Burma cannot far lag behind India where the demand for prohibition is steadily increasing in strength. Burmese will do well to note that prohibition is the declared goal of some of the provincial governments here and press for a similar declaration of policy from their Government.

* * *

The Viceroy on Indian Universities. H. E. THE VICEROY has added his influential voice to the chorus of criticisms against Indian Universities. In his address at the Delhi University Convocation, he deplored the present tendency in India to judge university training by its commercial value, emphasised the importance of the cultural aspect and drew pointed attention to the absence in our Universities of the individuality that marked similar bodies elsewhere. He also enhanced the value of this criticism by some helpful suggestions regarding the lines along which some of our Universities might advance so as to develop this individuality and serve the needs of their surrounding life. It is a pity that Lord Irwin did not probe the problem deeper and try to explore the causes that have led to the dominance of

the commercial over the cultural outlook in our Universities." He would then have found out the truth of some of the complaints that Indian thinkers and educationists have been making all along against the educational policy of the Government. The central problem of educational reform and reconstruction in this country is to make our institutions temples of creative art and knowledge. This cannot be achieved without the emancipation of our education from the thralldom of official control on the one hand, and the barren traditions and borrowed ideals that helped to keep it divorced from the realities of Indian life and culture, on the other. Individuality is a growth from within, having its roots in the heart of the person or institution owning it. It cannot be imposed from without by however benevolent a hand. Our Universities cannot develop it unless they make their appeal to the soul of the nation, awaken the springs of Indian culture and genius and seek to serve the people, both in the ideal and practical plane, in a more real and efficient manner than they are now doing. There is, no doubt, a new spirit of educational endeavour manifested in all the provinces as a result of the ferment of freedom working in the land. But we cannot yet say that the reform impulse is intelligently directed and harnessed to healthy ideals. There is also need for a greater coordination in the work of the different provinces in the educational field. Even as the defects pointed out above are common to most of the Universities in the country, there is also much in common in the educational requirements of the several provinces and the lines of reform to be pursued. It is an admitted fact that the labours of the Calcutta University Commission have helped other provinces as well in rebuilding their educational structure. Therefore the Central Government can do much to solve some of the common questions awaiting attention in the field, without in any way infringing the educational autonomy of the provinces. There is, for example, the study of the working of educational methods and systems in foreign countries so as to see how far and with what necessary changes they could be adopted in this country. There is no reason why the Government of India should not set up a select body of Indian educationists to tour round the country, and visit foreign lands and formulate a general line of educational advancement for the whole nation, leaving the different provinces to make the necessary variations so as to suit local conditions and needs. Is it too much to hope that the Viceroy's interest in the healthy growth of Indian education will result in the quickening and intelligent co-ordination of the work of reform already in progress in the different provinces?

* * *

THE educational world of Madras is distinctly poorer by the sudden death of Prof. K. B. Ramanathan. He occupied a prominent place therein and was widely respected for his deep scholarship, academic dispassion and sanity of views on educational matters. He was a frequent contributor to our review section and made it richer by his weighty criticisms on literary and educational topics, marked always by clarity of thought and sobriety of judgment, not unrelieved by a refreshing vein of humor. Our sense of loss is all the keener for these qualities which made him almost an ideal reviewer. We extend our heartfelt condolences to his family and numerous friends.

* * *

THE INDIAN BUDGET.

THE two outstanding features of the budget for 1927-28 are that it is a surplus budget and it proposes no new taxation. But after piling up tax after tax during the period of war, the Finance Member cannot earn our gratitude simply by crying halt to fresh taxation; we rather expect him to reduce taxation, especially that part of it which impinges on the poor man's income. In this respect the Budget belies our expectations, and the description of it as a rich man's Budget is not altogether wide of the mark. With regard to the surplus, much of it is due to "overcaution" in estimating, and to that extent the praise due to Budget craftsmanship is nullified. If in spite of a huge expenditure, we are having surpluses, this simply indicates that we are taking more from the tax-payer than is justified by our necessities.

The revised estimates reveal an excess of 67 lacs in the net military expenditure for 1926-27, which, we are told, is not a non-recurring item, but a permanent feature of expenditure on purchase of stores. This is a bad augury for the future, since it minimises greatly the chances of bringing military expenditure down to 50 crores—the figure indicated as the standard by the Inchoape Committee. The Finance Member is positive that the figure 54.92 crores "seems to be very nearly the minimum absolutely essential to maintain in a state of full efficiency an army of the strength at present authorised." This is in direct contradiction to the promises made in earlier budget statements to reach the standard of the Inchoape Committee. We can only hope that further vigilance and economy would soon bring to an end this chapter of extravagance and callousness in the story of India's finances.

The Ways and Means Budget for 1927-28 continues to be as satisfactory as the last one, and we must congratulate the Finance Member on the provision for reduction of debt as well as avoidance of sterling borrowings for the last four years in succession. Debt amounting to 37 crores has been discharged during 1926-27 and debt amounting to 18 crores will be discharged during 1927-28, in all a total reduction of 55 crores. Compared to this, the amount of sterling debt discharged during the same periods, viz, £12.6 millions which is equivalent to 16.7 crores is very small; we think that sterling indebtedness should be wiped out on a much larger scale than that revealed here. In spite of this our total debt is still a heavy burden and we would recommend caution in incurring new capital outlay for Railways; for example, the Railway capital outlay for 1927-28 which is fixed at 25 crores should, in our opinion, be reduced to 15 crores. We are glad to be assured that the Government of India's credit stands very high in the London market as well as in the Indian market; all the same, we must not exploit it recklessly and too fast.

Among the minor changes in taxation, the

abolition of the stamp duty on cheques and bills of exchange payable on demand is decidedly welcome in the interests of the Banking habit in India. The reduction of the import duty on motor-cars from 30 p. c. to 20 p. c. is not an unmixed good. So far as it promotes the development of motor transport which affects the poor, it is beneficial; but so far as the cheapening of motor cars of the type used by the rich is considered, it relinquishes a useful source of revenue from a tax on luxury, thus making the position of the general tax-payer worse and is against the practice of post-war taxation. Fortunately, the loss on this head is Rs. 10 lakhs only. We cannot enthuse much over the removal of the export duty on tea, as it is a monopoly article and with or without the duty its sale is guaranteed. It is good, however, that tea-companies will now be made to pay an income tax on 50 p. c. of their profits, which has been ascertained to be non-agricultural income.

The surplus for the year 1927-28, as well as this year's surplus, are both utilized for reducing $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores of Provincial Contributions permanently and 2'58 crores only for the year 1927-28. In addition, Bombay will be relieved of 28 lacs of Provincial Contribution for the year 1926-27 as a *quid pro quo* for her share in the proceeds of the Income-tax. We must hope that this relief would not lessen the vigilance of the Bombay Government needed for balancing the Budget. Even after these reliefs are granted, a sum of 1'01 crores is left over out of the surplus for 1926-27; this will be placed as a Special Deposit Account to cover any emergency expenditure in connection with the inauguration of the Reserve Bank and the Bullion standard. Although we do not see eye to eye with those who regard the Provincial Contributions as a mill-stone hanging round their necks, we are glad to see the major portion of these contributions wiped out. They retard the fiscal autonomy of the Provinces and cause friction which is disproportionate to the sum in question; besides, we have all along been promised the ultimate extinction of these contributions and any delay makes the heart sore.

The Budget for 1927-28 is prepared on the basis of an 18d. exchange and a statement circulated along with it calculates the effects of a 16d. rate of exchange on the Budget position. The result is the substitution of a deficit of 1'56 crores for a surplus of 3'64 crores. Consequently, the Assembly is placed on the horns of a dilemma; either they must pronounce in favour of an 18d. ratio or be content to see a pretty large surplus, some of which might be used for education, sanitation and such vital needs in the provinces, wiped out and to face the unpleasant task of imposing fresh taxation. The issue therefore before the Assembly is the off-setting of this temporary gain for a couple of years against the permanent benefits or injuries, as the case may be, of a 16d. ratio of exchange. We are not minded to give here a resume of the arguments adduced in

favour of the two alternative ratios by rival exponents, because all that has been repeated *ad nauseam* during the last few years. But one thing is clear in this connection, and it is that budgetary considerations constitute only one factor *inter alia* and the question of the ratio must be decided by what is good for India in the long run. If it can be shown that an 18d. ratio is on the whole detrimental to the best interests of India, then the temporary sacrifice of 5 crores or so has to be made; if, however, an 18d. ratio is conducive to the ultimate prosperity of Indian trade, Indian industry and Indian finance, then there is a convergence of the immediate and ultimate good. It is wrong, however, for the Finance Member to beg the question by describing a return to 16d. as "an arbitrary reduction in the exchange value of the Rupee." The boot is on the other leg: it is not the return to 16d. that is arbitrary, but the establishment of an 18d. ratio that is arbitrary, using the word in the most neutral sense.

It is clear from the Budget Statement that the Government of India is wedded to a policy of the higher exchange value of the Rupee and it has presented the Legislature with a *fait accompli* on the basis of the *de facto* rate. There are many who regard it as a prejudging of the issue and consequently a wrong procedure. We do not, however, regard it in that light, because it is perfectly legitimate for Government to act on the principle of status quo, pending the decision with regard to a change in existing institutions. What is wrong, however, is to make changes in surrounding circumstances by executive action, while pretending to govern by the consent of the Legislature. The sale of Reverse Councils during the last year is a case in point.

Now that this is the last Budget presented by Sir Basil Blackett, we cannot withhold from him that high meed of praise for the splendid way in which he has created order out of the war chaos, established the financial credit of the country and tried to establish an equitable system of taxes. His currency policy has been woefully disastrous: but here he had the misfortune of being dominated by Home authorities. He fought for a Gold Standard of the right type, but he was overruled by the Royal Commission and had to carry out a policy which was not of his own making. It is a misfortune of the ablest financiers in India that they are not given a free hand and are constrained to do the bidding of the financial advisers of the Secretary of State. It is to be hoped that future guardians of the purse will be freed from this embarrassment and enjoy a real autonomy in the control of Indian finances. One thing stands out clearly while studying the budgets of the last few years, and it is that unless India is given an automatic and perfect monetary system, the utter confusion discernible in these budgets would not disappear. A part of this may be attributable to war conditions; but most of it is due to an unscientific and imperfect Monetary Standard.

THE KHONDS.

AT the request of a great lover of the aborigines of India, I recently undertook a visit to the Khonds. I planned a trip to Phulbani, the headquarters of the Khondmal subdivision of the district of Angul in Orissa. It is reached by two routes, one from Berhampore, via Russelkonda, and the other from Cuttuck, via Angul, the headquarters of the district. The latter route is more difficult as the road from Angul to Phulbani, a distance of 87 miles, passes through thick jungle and the journey occupies many days in bullock cart, which is the only kind of available conveyance. The other route involves a bullock cart journey of 56 miles from Russelkonda, which is reached from Berhampore by motor bus. I chose the easier route which had the additional attraction of passing through the Khond tracts of the district of Ganjam.

The country of the Khonds is described in the Angul District Gazetteer as the region in which the main ridge of the Eastern Ghats, in its extension northwards, terminates on the edge of the valley of the Mabanadi and turning due east widens out into a large elevated plateau that slopes down to the plains of Ganjam on the south-east and more abruptly to the valley of Mahanadi in the Baud state on the north. The total Khond population in India is 616,824 according to the census of 1921. Of these 287,255 live in the district of Angul and the Feudatory States of Orissa and 329,569 in the Agency tracts and the districts of Ganjam and Vizagpatam. The Khonds are the most important and the most numerous of the aboriginal tribes in the Feudatory States. They number more than one lakh in Kalahandi State, where the wildest and the most uncivilized members of the tribe are to be found. In the last Census, as many as 459,606 of these Khonds were returned as Hindus. There can be little doubt that the term was used in a very loose sense.

The tribal organization of Khonds has been maintained under the British rule. The Khonds are divided in several exogamous septs or *Muthas*. The word *Mutha* is used in a territorial sense also signifying the area where a particular Khond sept is situated. At the head of the village is the *Gram Malika*, and over several *Gram Malikas* is the *Mutha Malika*. The *Mutha Malika* acts as intermediary between his people and the Government. The Khonds live in low wooden houses plastered with mud and with thatched roof. The houses of the villages are ranged in two lines facing each other, the village road passing between the two lines of houses. Every village has *Tana Penu* or *Darani Penu*, the earth-goddess who looks over the internal welfare of the villages, *Paga Penu* being installed at either end of the village border to safeguard the attacks of wild animals or diseases from outside. The deities are worshipped annually, or sometimes more frequently, with pigs and fowls. Every Khond village has some Pan settlers in it. The Pans are a degraded class of aboriginal descent

and were formerly the slaves of the Khonds. In Ganjam, the Khonds and Pans live together amicably, although a Khond will not drink water from a Pan. In Khondmal, a Pan's touch or presence is considered to be polluting by the Khonds.

Turmeric is grown extensively in Khondmal. Its cultivation was associated with human sacrifice (Meriah) by the Khonds in old times. It was believed by the Khonds that the blood of the sacrificed Meriah, if sprinkled in the field, increased the outturn of the crop and gave a deep red colour to the turmeric. Special Meriah Agents had to be appointed to suppress the human sacrifice and the present Khondmal subdivision was annexed to the British Territory from the Baud State, as its Chief failed to suppress the evil. Buffalo sacrifice (Kedu Laka) has succeeded the former human sacrifice, which is offered once in two or three years, or as the priest may direct. The sacrifice is offered to avert natural calamities such as draught, famine, epidemics or scarcity. The buffalo after being prepared for the sacrifice is tied to a post. A long pole is also attached to the post and an umbrella and a red flag are fastened at the top of the pole. After the priest cuts off a piece of flesh from the back of the head of the buffalo, the villagers rush in and hack off pieces of flesh and bury it in their fields to ensure good crop.

All Khond females tattoo their face after childhood, an untattooed girl being considered ineligible for marriage. The rim of a girl's ear has many perforations filled with small pieces of wood. After marriage these wooden pieces are replaced by metal rings. The Khonds of the eastern Khond tracts are being slowly oriyaized. The Sassikhonds, as they are called, pretend to a superior civilization and speak contemptuously of their western brethren. The Sassikhonds, I was told by one of them, are superior to western Khonds, for, unlike the latter, they do not eat beef or pork, do not worship ancestors (Idatri Pita), their women cover their breast and do not tattoo their face. Also, their buffalo sacrifice is more civilized, for it is not preceded by three months of wild revelry indulged in by the western Khonds, nor is the buffalo hacked alive.

In Angul district no transfer of a tenure or holding is valid without the consent of the Deputy Commissioner or S. D. O. Tenants are also protected from ejection from their tenures or holdings. Whether for recovery of public demands, or in execution of decrees of civil debt, except in the last resort with the sanction of the Deputy Commissioner, the immovable property cannot be sold. Another law of the district provides that the amount of interest which may be decreed on any loan or debt cannot exceed the original amount of the latter. No interest on any debt or liability for a period exceeding one year can be decreed at a higher rate than 2 p. c. per mensem, notwithstanding any agreement to the contrary; and no compound interest arising from any intermediate ad-

justment or account can be decreed. Recruitment of Khonds for emigration is also prohibited by law.

Liquor shops were prohibited by the order of the Government in 1910. At the time the order was passed, there were 27 shops yielding an excise income of nearly Rs. 30,000. These shops were opened with a view to reduce and ultimately to abolish illicit distillation. But this effort at canalization of drink habit in legal channels failed obviously because the Khonds had it both ways. The Government ultimately resorted to prohibition. The docility and truthfulness of the Khonds render detection of illicit distillation easy. The average number of such detection is nearly 40 per annum in Khondmal.

The Khonds of Khondmal pay a plough-cess of three annas per plough per annum. They pay no other tax. In 1921-23 the area cultivated by non-Khonds was surveyed and in 1925 land revenue was for the first time collected from the non-Khonds, the amount so collected being nearly seven thousand rupees. The plough-cess, which was about three thousand rupees in 1908, continues to be near that figure to-day, after a lapse of 18 years. This proves that the cultivated area in Khondmal has not increased during the period.

The number of schools in Khondmal subdivision (Area-800 sq. miles; population-74,259) is as follows:—lower primary-68, of which one is for girls; upper primary-3; middle english-1; industrial-1, guru training-1. Two scholarships of Rs. 10 each are awarded to aborigines proceeding to Angul High English School for high school education. Kui (Khond) text books which are translated from Oriya text books have been introduced in l. p. schools. This practice should be enforced wherever the aborigines are taught in their own dialect. It generally happens that the preparation of text books in aboriginal dialects is entrusted to Christian missionaries who naturally enough write evangelical primers. The Roman character is used for Kui text books. There is no reason why the character used should be Roman, and not Oriya, which the students have to learn. English is taught in the only m. e. schools at Phulbani. Students who leave after l. p. stage, as most of them do, have no use for Roman character. The time spent in learning a new alphabet is wasted. The present Kui readers can be at once transcribed into Oriya script, without causing any serious dislocation anywhere. There is a slight dialectical difference between Eastern and Western Kui, the latter being the purer, the former having a large admixture of Oriya words. I was told that the Khonds do not care much for education, some amount of pressure being necessary for the parents to send their children to school. The budget grant for primary education in Khondmal for the current year is Rs. 15,000.

A type of forced labour is used in these tracts in maintaining the roads in repair. The Mutha Malikas are asked to supply labour and at the end

of the repair work a certain amount is given to the Malika for distribution in the Mutha. The amount given is usually Rs. 50 for a furlong of road repaired, the usual rate when the work is given to a contractor being Rs. 150. This form of labour is locally known as *Vatti*.

There is no co-operative society in Khondmal. The village police (*chhatia*) is maintained by the paddy contributed by the villagers. There are four dispensaries in four *thanas*. I was told that venereal diseases are quite prevalent among the aborigines, and some years ago assumed an epidemic form when special dispensaries had to be opened to counteract the spread of the diseases.

The Khonds are a miserably poor people, living for most part of the year on jungle products. The winter rice is eaten from December to March, mahua, mango, edible roots and jack fruits being the chief items of food during the remaining part of the year. A Khond will consider himself quite lucky if he can daily provide himself with boiled rice of the coarsest kind and a pinch of salt. In a village of 40 huts, I was told that there were not six persons who were assured of daily food throughout the year. Scantly clad with leaf plates and cups for their household utensils and depending on the uncertain and grossly inadequate diet of jungle products for most part of the year, the Khonds leave a deep impression of their utter wretchedness in the mind of the visitor. Cheerful of temperament and possessing a fair amount of intelligence, their condition will not improve until the part of the country inhabited by them is developed agriculturally and made more accessible by better communication. If the departments of Agriculture, Public Health, Industries, Co-operative Societies and Education jointly draw up a programme for the Khonds they will not remain the doomed people they at present seem to be.

. B. SEN

OUR PARLIAMENTARY LETTER.

(SPECIAL TO THE SERVANT OF INDIA AND THE WEEK.)

Delhi, 5th March.

THE RAILWAY BUDGET.

OUT of the four days allotted for the discussion of the railway grants for the next year, the first day was occupied by the censure motion to reduce the demand under "Railway Board" by Rs. 9,42,900. The cut was passed by the Assembly leaving only Rs. 100 against which to make token motions. The discussion on Demand No. 1 relating to "Railway Board" occupied two more days, viz., Thursday and Friday the proposed token cuts being reduced to Re. 1 only in view of the smallness of the amount left. The first nominal cut of Re. 1 was moved by Mr. N. M. Joshi in order to draw attention to the inadequacy of the present machinery for the exercise of popular control over the Railway Administration. He is apparently one of those who believe that what appears only idealistic today becomes practical politics tomorrow and that success in converting ideals into practical politics lies at the end of a certain number of failures. He finished one such failure on Thursday when he pleaded that Indian Railways being the biggest industrial con-

cern in the world, owned and managed by the State, it was only appropriate that there should be a special Railway Parliament consisting of representatives of all the interests concerned, such as the investors of labour, investors of money, merchants, traders, and the travelling public. If, however, such a Parliament could not be constituted at present, there should be, suggested Mr. Joshi, at least a special session of the Assembly, say, in April or May, lasting for a month, so that railways might receive adequate and efficient consideration at the hands of the Assembly.

The failure of Mr. Joshi's motion was, however, balanced by the success which attended a motion by the other member of the Servants of India Society in the Assembly. Pundit Hirday Nath Kunzru proposed a nominal cut of Re. 1 and exposed with the help of facts and figures how the promises made and hopes raised in 1921 were frustrated by the Government policy of not utilizing to the fullest possible extent the agency of the Indian Stores Department for the purchase of indigenous stores required for the Railway and other departments of the Central Government. The motion was ably supported by Sir Walter Wilson, among others, and when put to the vote was carried by as many as 66 to 42. The only defence that Sir Charles Innes put forward was that since railways were now treated as a commercial concern and the Agents were charged with the responsibility for their efficient management, it was not proper to remove from their control a whole integral department such as the Stores Department.

The only other of the more important motions taken up on Thursday was one by Mr. Acharya relating to the appointment of a committee to enquire into the grievances of the subordinate railway employees.

THE GENERAL BUDGET.

The discussion of the General Budget always tends to travel over a wide area, as one member said, from China to Peru, and a number of subjects came under reference this year. We can here mention only a few of them. Before doing so, we must record the general feeling of satisfaction which members entertain (if they do not all express it) at the wonderful way in which Indian finances, which were in such a parlous condition when Sir Basil Blackett came over to India, have recovered in the last four years. There was an accumulated deficit of nearly Rs. 100 crores when he took charge of the Finance Department, and he has since been able, besides attaining budgetary equilibrium, to give up Rs. 15 crores by way of reduction of the salt tax, abolition of the cotton excise duty and remission of provincial contributions. All this is in addition to what he has done towards the reduction or avoidance of debt. This is really a marvellous achievement, which received all the encomiums it deserved from European commercial members, but which failed to receive full recognition from Indian members, because they are wroth with him on account of his currency policy. There is so much concealed taxation in the present budget, and that for the past two years, they said, that instead of giving any praise to the Finance Member they must whole heartedly condemn his policy. Sir Puroshotamdas Thakordas, who was naturally the most vehement spokesman of this view, and who indeed was quaking with anger when he spoke, said that the Finance Member by artificially appreciating the rupee had taken twenty times more from the mass of people than he proposes to give up by remitting provincial contributions. Even a former Secretary of State, Sir David Barbour, had recorded his opi-

nion that what Government gained by manipulations of currency the people lost. Thus the debate revolved for the most part round the currency policy. As the subject is going to be fully thrashed out next week, I do not propose to refer to this subject at any length, though it occupied much time in the House, beyond stating briefly the Finance Member's answer. He did not deny that he was helped by changes in currency and price movements in achieving a balance. But, after all, the former deficits were due to a similar cause. It was the fall in the commodity value of the rupee which was one of the main causes of the deposits. Now it was the rise in the commodity value that enabled him to attain equilibrium. There was nothing in it which reflected discredit on the Government. Management of currency was his job; he wished it were in non-Governmental hands, as it would be when the Reserve Bank would come into existence. He had, however, for the present to manage the currency; but it was not true that he had budgetary considerations in mind in stabilising the rupee at 18d. The advantage was accidental and it was his duty to avail himself of it while mostly owing to natural causes the exchange was becoming stable at that rate, which had now remained in force for two years.

PROVINCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

This year's budget is a great landmark from the point of view of provincial contributions. It secures the temporary remission for this year of the entire contributions and the permanent remission of all contributions except to the tune of 1'95 crores. It is, however, believed that next year the balance will be permanently remitted and, indeed, Mr. Shankara Rao (Government of India's representative) said as much in his speech. Provincial contributions, he said, have been to all intents and purposes permanently abolished. This fact was responsible for the absence of what Mr. Haigh called mutual recrimination among representatives of different provinces, which was so much in evidence in past years. Even so the policy of levying contributions upon the provinces came in for severe criticism at the hands of the official representatives of Madras and Bombay Governments, both of whom made out very strong cases to support their contentions. Mr. N. Gopalaswami Aiyengar, the Madras representative, and, by the way, brother of Mr. A. Rangaswami Aiyengar, said that Government was extinguishing its public debt at a more rapid rate than was contemplated at the time of the Meston award. If Government went more slowly in reducing its debt, more money could be released and provincial contributions could by that time be permanently abolished. Again, if this money was to be used for debt redemption, provincial debts should have been paid off instead of the imperial. The Government, however, was utilising the money properly belonging to the provinces for its own purposes; it was building up reserves for redemption of debt out of what was practically provincial funds. Mr. Haigh, Bombay's representative, reiterated what had been said before, that even if the whole of provincial contributions were wiped out for all time, Bombay's grievance would still remain. What Bombay asked for was not mere release from provincial contributions, but a revision of the so-called Meston "settlement." Bombay cannot remain content till this settlement was unsettled. It had applied what Mr. Haigh aptly described as the Procrustean method to provincial finance and had not scrupled to lop off bits in order that every province should fit into its scheme. The basic figure of revenue which the Meston Committee had adopted was so

faulty that, as Mr. Hudson pointed out last year, the revenues of Bombay under the main head were in the last five years 12 crores less than the Committee had anticipated. A share in the income tax is what Bombay Presidency has set its heart upon, and this she cannot have till the whole basis of the award is reopened for consideration. This year's discussion, however, was quite temperate, which is more than what can be said of the discussion in past years, for it appears pretty certain that as the Meston Committee desired, the permanent extinction of provincial contributions will take full effect within seven years after the award.

MILITARY EXPENDITURE.

Military expenditure came in for very strong criticism at the hands of the Assembly. Indeed, the situation in regard to this matter gives cause for much anxiety, for the military authorities, having at the instance of the Inchoape Committee reduced the overgrown military expenditure for three or four years, seem determined to keep it at the present level in future. The Inchoape Committee definitely recommended that after a few years military expenditure should be brought down to a sum not exceeding Rs. 50 crores. "Even this" they said, "is more in our opinion than the taxpayer in India should be called upon to pay, and, though revenue may increase through a revival of trade, there would, we think, still be no justification for not keeping a strict eye on military expenditure with a view to its further reduction." From the Government of India's declarations, however, it would appear that there is no prospect of any reduction in the present scale. The Finance Member has budgeted next year for military expenditure of Rs. 54.92 crores, which is almost the same as the budget figure for the current year, and has thought it necessary to utter the warning that "only the sternest economy and the strictest vigilance can now prevent our military budget from showing a tendency to rise rather than to fall, and the present level of expenditure seems to be very nearly the minimum absolutely essential to maintain in a state of full efficiency an army of the strength at present authorised." While the Finance Member thus holds out no hope for any appreciable decrease of expenditure on the army, the Commander-in-Chief, following his predecessor Lord Rawlinson, actually holds out the threat of a further increase. Lord Rawlinson had declared two years ago that when India's financial condition would be improved, more money would have to be spent on the army not merely in order to better the condition of the existing forces, but to increase the strength of the fighting troops. Indeed, he had said that only on this understanding had His Majesty's Government given their consent to the reduction that was then being effected. Sir William Birdwood, the present Commander-in-Chief, has adhered strictly to this policy. He declared last year that the Inchoape Committee's recommendation that the "maximum" military estimates should be 50 crores was a mere "pious aspiration" or "a gesture towards decrease of expenditure," and he added that "the Inchoape Committee also stated that they did not consider that we could reduce our estimates to 50 crores unless there was a further reduction in troops and they were unable to make any such recommendation." Parenthetically it may be remarked that the Commander-in-Chief was guilty of at least two errors in making this brief reference to the Inchoape Committee. In the first place, the Committee never regarded 50 crores as the maximum size of the military budget, for they expressly say that the budget ought to undergo a further reduction. And,

in the second place, the Committee did not make reduction to 50 crores conditional upon a diminution in the strength of the army. What Sir William Birdwood said last year he repeated this year even more impressively than before, which adds considerably, as Pandit Hirday Nath Kurzru remarked, to our uneasiness. We have got down to the rock bottom, we cannot possibly decrease the expenditure any further, General Birdwood declared. Indeed, he went so far as to say that the Government had already decreased their expenditure below what was safe. This, taken in conjunction with the pledge which His Majesty's Government has exacted from the Commander-in-Chief to increase the numbers of troops when finances would improve, naturally gives rise to a feeling of lively apprehension, to which Pandit Kurzru gave pointed expression. "May we ask what is there in store for us?" he said. "Are the recommendations of the Inchoape Committee going to be reversed? Are the Government of India going to ask for an increase in the strength of the fighting troops? Are the peace establishments of the battalions to be increased? Are the three cavalry regiments sent away to Europe to be brought back?" Even assuming that no increase in the strength of the army takes place, the military expenditure as it exists at present is all too heavy. The established charges for the army in the budget year is about Rs. 55¼ crores, while the revenue of the Government of India is Rs. 125¼ crores. If, however, net figures are taken for the commercial services, the Government of India's real resources are reduced, as Pandit Kurzru showed, to Rs. 92 crores, which means that 60% of the revenue at the disposal of the Government of India is devoted to military expenditure. Pandit Kurzru therefore made a strong appeal to the Government to effect economies and bring down the military expenditure to the figure mentioned by the Retrenchment Committee, an appeal in which many members joined, and notably Sir Walter Wilson, who indeed, along with several others, has given notice of a motion for a token reduction in order to draw attention to the imminent danger which exists that the Government of India may cry halt to the policy of giving effect to the Inchoape retrenchments and even revert to the old position. While on the question of the military budget, I may add that the Commander-in-Chief announced the decision of Government to transfer the administrative control of Aden to the Colonial Office. On this subject the Government of India have clearly been guilty of a breach of promise inasmuch as they have made this transfer without taking the Indian legislature into consultation. For, as Pandit Kurzru pointed out, in 1922 and again in 1924, they had given an express undertaking to place the matter before the Assembly and the Council of State.

NON-VOTED EXPENDITURE.

This year considerable addition has been made to non-voted expenditure. Several items, which were formerly voted upon by the Assembly, have, in accordance with the Act passed in December 1925, been now withdrawn from the Assembly's vote. A statement has been submitted to the Assembly showing changes in last year's non-voted grants, and Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyenger, who made a useful contribution to the budget discussion on this subject, calculated that Rs. 32 lakhs of voted expenditure has now been removed to the non-voted side, thus curtailing to that extent the none too wide powers conferred upon the Assembly. Not only is the salary of officers appointed by the Secretary of State taken outside the purview of the Assembly, but even the travelling allow-

ance paid to such officers. This factor of travel, living allowance alone accounts for some Rs. 9 lakhs! Another factor, which accounts for Rs. 11 lakhs, relates to expenditure on the erection, maintenance and up-keep of churches of European cemeteries. A matter which attracted the special attention of members was the withdrawal of the sumptuary allowance and tour expenses of the Governor-General from the voted items. The expense on this account amounts to over Rs. 2 lakhs; and it seems strange, as Mr. Rangaswamy Aiyengar pointed out, that while clerks on the staff of the Viceroy should be subject to the vote of the Assembly, inanimate things such as motor cars used for touring should be removed from the Assembly's control. This has naturally caused a great deal of irritation to the members of the Assembly: and all this seems wholly unnecessary, since the control exerted by the Assembly is purely nominal. If the Governor-General is in any case the final arbiter, what purpose is served by forbidding the Assembly to vote on any item? And it is particularly ungracious for the Governor-General to put expenditure in regard to himself beyond the Assembly's reach. It is notorious that in India such non-voted expenditure is far larger in size than that in England. Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyengar gave the figure of voted expenditure as Rs. 31 crores out of Rs. 125 crores, or 25% of the total. This, of course, is not correct. Rs. 31'82 crores represent the total amount of demands for grants Government make on the general budget, but the Finance Member added to it the amount of demand for grants on the railway budget, and according to him, roughly, expenditure of Rs. 100 crores out of Rs. 200 crores or 50 p. c. is submitted to the vote of the Assembly. Even so, however, it is obvious that much too large a portion of the Government of India's expenditure is put outside the pale of the Assembly's vote, though the vote even in matters where it is allowed is not final but capable of being overridden by the Governor-General.

DEFECTIVE BUDGETING.

Several members drew attention to the fact that the Government of India habitually underestimated revenue and over-estimated expenditure, and that the surpluses of the past three years were partly due to such bad budgeting. This point was very forcibly illustrated by Pandit Kurzru. "In 1924-25", he said, "we budgeted for a surplus of 18 lakhs. The revised figure was surplus of about 4 crores. We must admit that the surplus of 4 crores was to no small extent due to the extra protective duties levied in June 1924. But, Sir, the actuals amounted to about a crore and three-fourths more than the revised estimates. In 1925-26 the surplus which was expected to be 24 lakhs amounted to about 3¼ crores and this after a loss of about 71 lakhs due to the suspension of the cotton duty. And in the existing year we are going to have, instead of a surplus of about 5 lakhs, a surplus of 3'10 crores and this after having remitted the cotton excise duty which accounts for about a crore and three fourths;" and reduced the provincial contributions by about a crore." Mr. Shankar Rao, speaking on behalf of the Government, tried to justify these variations on the plea that a difference of 3 crores out of 200 crores; i. e. of 1½% was unavoidable. The plea cannot, however, be accepted as valid. It is true that a system of making lump cuts for probable under-spending is followed, but the fact remains in spite of this that such large variations take place. In this connection, one may notice the criticism advanced by several members was that too much provision was being made in the budget for the redemption of debt. Mr. Jamna-

das Mehta, indeed, argued that in India we were providing four times as much as was thought necessary in England for the reduction and avoidance of debt. This, of course, is an untenable proposition, but the matter has been left over to be discussed on the demand for grants.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN SETTLEMENT.

RT. HON. MR. SASTRI'S LECTURE

THE Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri delivered a long and lucid address on the South African settlement before an open air meeting held under the auspices of the Deccan Sabha, Poona. Dewan Bahadur K. R. Godbole presided.

Mr. Sastri began by emphasizing the importance of a solution of the Indian question in South Africa. Besides improving the position of our countrymen in that colony, the settlement, he said, would also react favourably on the position of Indians settled in other parts of the British Empire. The difference between the whites and the coloured population was both racial and economic. The marked difference in their standards of life had to be recognized. Mr. Sastri said that the difference was obvious to any one who had visited Indian and European quarters even in a city like Poona. Although everyone well understood the meaning of western standards of life no precise definition of it was possible. The difference between the two standards would be thrust on the observance of any one who visited the city of Durban. There the difference was marked, among other things, between the housing, sanitation, style of dress and scope for recreation of the whites and the Indians. The whites had incurred sacrifices to maintain their standard of life and were afraid of the large number of Indians in their midst who had a far lower standard of life. The racial bias, no doubt, aggravated the situation; but the maintenance of their standard of life had always been the primary objective of the whites. We who seek an honourable solution, Mr. Sastri said, must admit its reality. The whites felt that their own standard of life was threatened by being surrounded by numerically superior people with a lower standard of life. They feared that the superiority of a numbers would ultimately decide the balance. Reduction of the inassimilable Indian community to a manageable compass was therefore to them fundamental to the maintenance of their own standard of living. Proceeding, Mr. Sastri observed that it was our duty to produce a state of comparative ease in the mind of the whites in regard to this question. The agreement arrived at between Mahatma Gandhi and General Smuts conceded the right of the South African whites to maintain their standard of life and provided for a gradual reduction in the Indian population by voluntary repatriation. The result expected from the agreement had not come about and the fear of number still persisted in the mind of the whites. Impelled by this fear they devised a very harsh and humiliating measure to squeeze out the Indians. Faced by this situation the Government of Lord Reading offered to send its representative to South Africa to discover how to enable the whites to maintain their standard by just and legitimate means.

Mr. Sastri went on to say that the menace to the white standard of life could be removed in two ways, namely, by a reduction of the present number of Indians and by helping the residuary and permanent Indian population to attain a higher standard of life. For the reduction of number, the Gandhi-Smuts settlement agreed on voluntary repatriation which was later embodied in the Indian

Relief Act. This was considered to be an honourable settlement. Mahatma Gandhi called it the Magna Charta of the Indian people in South Africa. Under that settlement the repatriate had, in return for a free passage, to forfeit the right of domicile in South Africa on behalf of himself, his wife and minor children. This forfeiture of domicile by the repatriates, Mr. Sastri said, involved a surrender of what may be described as their birth-right for a mess of pottage. The monetary inducement by way of free passage and bonus, although it caused a rapid flow of Indians from South Africa for some years, did not achieve the object of the South African Government. The number of repatriates steadily decreased. This led the South African Government to frame the Areas Reservation and the Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill. The provisions of this bill were most rigorous, humiliating and oppressive on Indians. The Indian Delegation had succeeded in persuading the South African Government to abandon these bills which threatened the very existence of the Indian community in South Africa. The delegation told the South African Government that the repatriation scheme of the Gandhi-Smuts agreement did not work properly, because it had certain defects which hurt the pride of the Indians. It told them to take away the fraud and the deceit in the repatriation scheme and to treat the Indians as self-respecting people, which alone could assure the success of the repatriation scheme. Proceeding, Mr. Sastri pointed out how the new scheme of assisted emigration safeguarded the rights and self-respects of Indians. Under the present agreement an 'assisted emigrant' was not required to surrender his domicile in South Africa. The difference between the 'repatriate' of the old scheme and the 'assisted emigrant' of the new agreement was not of mere terminology. The Indian born in South Africa had his domicile in the country of his birth and when he chose to come to India he was an emigrant from South Africa and not a repatriated Indian. The assisted emigrant Indian under the present agreement can return to South Africa within three years from his departure from South Africa. This right of re-entry was a great improvement on the former scheme. It maintained their self-respect and gave a *locus penitentiae* to the assisted emigrant. Here Mr. Sastri referred to the scepticism exhibited by certain people in India regarding the advantages secured by the Delegation. The psychology behind that scepticism, he observed, was that the mind which had dwelt on grievances and hugged them night and day cannot believe in the removal of them without imagining the surrender of some important principle, some vital points somewhere.

Mr. Sastri then explained the other advantages secured by the Delegation. He said there was now evident a happy change of heart on the part of the S. African Government toward Indians. They had for the first time declared a policy of great beneficence towards Indians. For the last 35 or 40 years the South African Government had never liked the Indians and had always considered them as aliens and interlopers. Under the new agreement the South African Government admitted their responsibility for the residuary Indian population and agreed to offer them the facilities for upliftment which it was the duty of all civilized governments to give to every section of their permanent population. The policy as enunciated was couched in general terms, but its declaration in clear and unambiguous terms constituted a great advance. For, all future lapses might be remedied by ultimately referring the S. African Government

to its own pledge. Further, it was necessary to recall the constitution and the division of functions of the South African Government. In South Africa there was a Central and several Provincial Governments. Education, Sanitation and the granting of trade licenses were subjects transferred to the provinces who were exceedingly jealous of their rights, and the Union Government could not give promises without reservations safeguarding the rights of the Provinces; they could only suggest and advise the Provincial Governments regarding certain policy and procedure, but they could do no more. It was for the Provincial Governments to take action. They had agreed to take all possible steps to make provision for educational, sanitary and other facilities for the Indians. Mr. Sastri then asked the audience to remember another fact. The change of heart and outlook had just touched only the superior statesmen of South Africa. It has yet to filter down to that element of the population on whose vote the Government of the country rested. This required persistent propaganda and education, in which we had to undertake our share of work and responsibility. An educated Indian community alone could retain its rights. Education, therefore, as Mr. Andrews also believed, was the most primary need of the Indians in South Africa. Enquiry into the educational and sanitary condition of Indians had been promised under the agreement and the Union Government which controls all higher education had offered to make special provision for Indians at the College at Fort Hare.

Mr. Sastri then referred to some of the criticisms levelled against the settlement. Mahatma Gandhi had spoken of the possibility of dangers and disappointments in the new scheme. No one denied that we had to be watchful and those who followed Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Sastri said, must interpret his statements literally, for the Mahatma did not exaggerate. The possibility of disappointment existed and the sense of apprehension had been accentuated by our past experience. It was no use, however, to be guided solely by past experience. We must recognise changes as they occurred. There were unmistakable signs of a new era in South Africa and he said it would be far better for us to dwell in hope than in fear. The South African Government had requested the Government of India to appoint an Agent in South Africa to ensure effective and continuous cooperation between the two countries. They had promised to treat the Indian Agent with honour and diplomatic consideration. As Mahatma Gandhi had pointed out, much will depend on the Indian Agent, for it was largely for him to see that the possibilities of danger did not eventually become actualities.

Many had naturally wondered at the sudden change of a cruel and arbitrary Government like that of South Africa into a just and reasonable Government. No psychological analysis fully explaining this transformation Mr. Sastri said could be expected of him on that occasion. But, broadly, one or two factors suggested themselves. The open-handed hospitality to the S. A. Delegation while in India and the self-sacrificing and magnanimous omission of any reference to their treatment to South African Indians during the Delegation's stay in India, Mr. Sastri said, had made a great impression on the mind of that Government. Another factor was the transformation of General Hertzog in the last Imperial Conference, where his nationalist aspiration received their consummation and where he reconciled himself to Empire obligations, which included that all sections of population in the Em-

pire should be treated with justice and fairness.

Mr. Sastri concluded by drawing attention to the constitutional aspect of the Indian Delegation. It was the first Indian Delegation with an Indian leader. The Delegation had come to an agreement with South Africa, to which, the Secretary of State was not a party. This was a constitutional advance of some importance. The Delegation has set a precedent and fully vindicated the trust reposed in it. Mr. Sastri asked Indians to see that the procedure was maintained in future.

REVIEWS.

END TO POVERTY.

AN END TO POVERTY. By FRITZ WITTELS.

Translated from the German by Eden and Cedar Paul. (George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London.) 1926. 7½ x 5. pp. 224. 5s.

IN this book the author, an Austrian doctor by profession, has, in his own forceful and painstaking way, outlined a scheme for making an end to poverty and for guaranteeing security for all. He has done more than that; he has given us not only a philosophical and scientific basis for the scheme but he has surveyed, in a masterly fashion, the whole problem of poverty as it bears upon the individual and upon the State. The chapters headed 'Secure and Insecure Lives,' 'The Individual and What he is worth,' 'Civilisation and Poverty,' and 'The Individual and the State,' are a valuable study both in sociology and psychology. The scheme which he advocates for the ending of poverty, however, is not his own. It has been before the public on the Continent, especially in Germany and Austria, for many years. Its author—Joseph Popper Lynkeus—who was born at Kolin, in Bohemia, in 1838, and who died in Vienna, in December 1921, was a mechanical engineer and inventor, with notable mathematical talents, but he became better known by his writings on sociology than by his mechanical inventions. He was an anti-militarist who abhorred military conscription, regarding it as the worst of all social evils, and it was with this in his mind that, in the year 1878, he wrote one of his first sociological books, sarcastically entitled "The Right to Live and the Duty to Die." It is in this book that the nucleus of the above scheme is found. Instead of the duty to bear arms to destroy life, there was to be the duty to furnish the necessaries of life to all. Later, he developed this scheme and had a considerable following. Among the younger and more talented of his disciples is Dr. Wittels, the author of the book under review.

Briefly stated, the scheme takes the form of national conscription in the service of the State, with the definite object of providing a minimum of food, clothing, and shelter for every one in the State. The minimum is also to include necessary articles of furniture, medical care, skilled nursing, etc. The period of universal State service in the "subsistence" Army is to commence from the beginning of the eighteenth year of the citizen and is to continue to the thirtieth year in the case of men, and to the twentyfifth in the case of women. This is the maximum, and it is estimated that when the scheme gets into its stride the average required in order to provide a minimum and a security for all for the whole life, will be several years less. According to the calculations of one of the expert advocates of the scheme—Karl Ballod—the average required will not exceed 2½ years.

The working day, during the term of service, is never to exceed 7½ hours, and in cases of specially hazardous, or very unpleasant work, will be shortened. There is to be a certain amount of adaptability of talent and training to occupations and work, presumably under experts, who may be willing to continue in the service of the State for a longer term, but it is considered advisable that there should be periodical changes from one occupation to another. At the completion of the stipulated period of service required, the men and women of the subsistence army are to be absolutely free to spend their time for the rest of their lives as they please. In this way, every able-bodied man and woman in the State will have done his or her bit, and will be entitled by right to a minimum subsistence allowance for life. This minimum is to be supplied in kind, not in money. It is to be supplied unconditionally to every member of the community.

On leaving the subsistence army, those who wish to augment the minimum, by private or other enterprise, or even to live luxuriously, will be at liberty to do so. All will be able to follow the profession, or craft, or hobby that most appeals to them. In any case, they will never be handicapped as so many now are, by actual poverty and a sense of insecurity with regard to their future and the future of their relatives. Insecurity and poverty will have been abolished.

As will have been already noticed, the scheme involves a certain amount of curtailment of individual freedom for a number of years and a certain amount of State compulsion. It is the author's contention, however, that "the individual will gladly comply with State compulsion, whenever he looks upon the compulsion as necessary for the protection of his life and liberty". And he adds significantly: "Today very few persons can do what they please, for the immense majority have perforce to do whatever will provide them with food, clothing, and shelter". In this connection, it is worth noting that there is a difference of opinion between Lynkeus and Wittels. Lynkeus was a State Socialist of the reformist type, and in his scheme he envisages the founding of a "Minimum Office", a State department which would be called the "Ministry of Subsistence." One section in this department would "keep stock of all the natural resources of the country, the area of cultivable land and the available labour power; and would estimate and measure the consumption of commodities". The other section of this State department would devote itself to the practical working out and realisation of the minimum idea. On the other hand, Dr. Wittels, who is also a constitutionalist, looks rather to some form of workers' rule, finding expression through trade unions, factory councils, and similar bodies. But he refuses to forecast details of the subsistence army organisation, believing rather that "when the time comes for its inauguration, those who bring it into being will ensure that its work shall be done in a free spirit, on the basis of respect for human life.

As to the methods by which this universal State service is to be brought about, Dr. Wittels is not very clear, but he evidently believes that the first essential is to make the idea as widely known as possible. With Lynkeus, he holds that in every social reformation there are three distinct phases. The first, he assures us, is one of growing discontent in which there arises an ever stronger conviction that things must be altered. The second is that in which the opinion gains ground that one particular reform is the best way of securing the desired ameliorations. The third phase is the phase of action, which, however, only takes place

when the first and second have matured. With regard to the scheme, he considers it to be in the second stage. For this reason the advocates of the 'minimum army' are regarded by direct actionists and revolutionaries as visionaries and dreamers and the scheme utopian.

The attitude consistently taken by Lynkeus in this connection is worth noting. It is perhaps best summed up in an incident which is recorded by Dr. Wittels on p. 87 of his book. It appears that when bolshevism was in full blast on either side of Vienna, and Communists were in power both in Budapest and in Munich, three Communist leaders called on Lynkeus in the hope of securing for their cause the weight of his influence and name. Lynkeus would have nothing to do with terrorists. His visitors assured him they were not men of blood, and that their aim was to inaugurate his scheme of universal civil service.

"I don't believe you," said Lynkeus, "for Lenin has not inaugurated it."

"Lenin is a transition."

"That, likewise, I cannot believe. Never mind! My point is that what you describe as transitional is valueless. In Soviet Russia, people only receive the necessaries of life upon presentation of a labour card showing that they have done socially useful labour. Who decides whether labour is socially useful? A commissary. It depends upon the commissary whether the individual is to eat or starve? Is not that monstrous?"

"Give a concrete example," insisted the Communists.

"Here are two," answered Lynkeus; "a lawyer and an inventor. The inventor has, perhaps, been working at his invention for ten years. Who shall decide whether he has performed socially useful labour, whether he has worked long enough to find grace with the commissary? Would he be better engaged upon digging a potato patch? Surely that would be a thriftless use of an inventor's talent."

"Lawyers are, as a matter of principle, refused a ration in revolutionary Russia. Yet the lawyer toiled to qualify himself for his profession. He is as honest a man as another. Why should he go hungry?"

"I have just had a letter from Budapest, and my correspondent says that he and his friends would rather die than go on living in hell. What do you make of that? No reform, not even the one I advocate, is worth getting at the cost of making men feel they would rather die than live."

In our view, the above gives a clue both to the reasonableness of the universal civil service scheme, and the methods by which it is to be established. It would of course be easy to point to defects in the scheme, but the principles underlying it and the demand made for it are sound enough. Certainly it would be a great improvement on our present very defective and grossly immoral economic system. Everyone will agree that if ever we are to have a decent social life, the fear of bodily want must be abolished; this the scheme does in a way that still leaves scope for private enterprise. It is, in fact, a sort of half-way house to the total abolition of capitalism and the establishment of full-blown socialism.

But it is necessary to turn to the book itself to understand the full import of the scheme. At present the scheme is little more than an assertion, a conviction, an idea. But as the

authors says (page 26) "the genius of our race lies in the idea. At one period thought embodied the divine in glorious works of art. We have had the Renaissance, that dream of the Greek heaven. Goethe, the last exponent of the Renaissance, lived on almost into our time. The Christian won through faith, the artist through creative power; the man of science wins freedom through certainty. For certainty is freedom. A scientific demonstration is certainty; the scientific method is security. In modern days there is a general striving towards certainty and security..... We know to a pound the breaking strain of our bridges; we know that our boilers will not burst, that our trains will not collide, that our fields will not be submerged by floods. ...In so far as these dangers still threaten, armies of experts are at work..... Safety, security, has been almost universally achieved, except in one domain where achievement would seem especially simple. Here individuals strive with all their might to achieve economic security. Society does not help them. Yet it is quite in keeping with the spirit of our Scientific age that experts should have arisen to show us how contemporary society is competent to provide economic security for all. The masses, the insecure, must be made to realise that their social salvation has become a possibility." We agree.

ERNEST KIRK.

The Servants of India Society's Fire Relief Fnd.

(From 8th February to 6th March 1927)

| | |
|----------------------------------------|------------------|
| South African Indians ... | Rs. 16,040-0-0 |
| Details as follows:— | |
| Durban Indian Community | £ 501-0-0 |
| Johannesburgh Indian " | 501-0-0 |
| Surati Association, Durban | 201-0-0 |
| Mr. Kallenbach ... | 25-0-0 |
| Anonymous ... | 0-10-0 |
| | £ 1228-10-0 |
| Minority Administration, Holkar State | Rs. 500-0-0 |
| Col. C. R. Bakhale, I. M. S., Lahore " | 100-0-0 |
| Mr. S. L. Gupta, Hoshangabad " | 25-0-0 |
| Principal P. G. Bridge, Calcutta " | 5-0-0 |
| Total...Rs. | 16,670-0-0 |
| Total amount realised to-date ... | Rs. 1,49,554-0-1 |

Rs. 1,42,00,000 !

We are sending away this amount of money every year to foreign Countries for import of Soaps. Enlightened Opinion Alone can help to keep this money in the Country. Every educated man who prefers a foreign soap to one of Indian make is helping foreign manufactures and not giving a decent chance to local industries. Every patriot buys only Swadeshi products. The Government Soap Factory, Bangalore manufactures some of the finest soaps in the world. Try a tablet of Mysore Sandal Soap and judge yourself. If you find difficulty to obtain it, let us know. We shall see that you get in your own favorite shop.

**Government Soap Factory,
Bangalore.**