

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK

Mr. Sastri. MR. SASTRI is making good progress towards recovery at Bangalore.

Mr. Venkatasubbaiya, who is with him, wrote as follows on the 20th inst. about his health: "The doctor said his pulse was softer, more regular and much nearer the normal this morning than it was last Thursday. He now walks a mile and a half regularly every morning, and is free from digestive troubles, sleeps well and is feeling cheerful. He has had no pain or other discomfort in the region of the heart since coming here. The quiet and well-regulated life is doing him much good. But he must continue to take rest for a long time."

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Future Line of  
Action in Kenya.

TO-MORROW the Standing Committee of the East Africa Indian National Congress is to meet at Nairobi to decide whether Indian settlers in Kenya should boycott the Executive Council, the Legislative Council and the Municipal Councils as a mark of protest against the Imperial Government's decision or whether they should take full advantage of all these facilities afforded them in order to fight for their rights. It is clear that if a policy of non-participation is to be followed and any big campaign to be conducted in Kenya, the Indian community which has already spent some three lakhs of rupees on its agitation so far must receive considerable assistance from India in money as well as in men. This factor and some others lead us to the conclusion, which we put forward tentatively for what it is worth, that the Indians in Kenya may well accept positions on these councils and keep up as good as a fight as they can from this vantage ground, whilst the Indians in India should definitely assume the responsibility to carry on a vigorous agitation for

the reversal of the Kenya decision. This decision has results which transcend those affecting the people in Kenya and indeed is of far greater consequence to us here than to them. We therefore generally agree with the advice given by Col. Wedgwood in the Commons on the 25th July that the Kenya Indians should avail themselves of all the opportunities given even by this adverse decision, leaving it to Indians here to fight matters out with His Majesty's Government in England. It is quite clear that the already exhausted Indian community in Kenya will not be able to sustain the struggle.

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Floods in South Canara. AT the request of the South Canara Floods Relief Committee of Mangalore, Mr. G. K. Devadhar, Vice-President of the Servants of India Society, paid a visit to the district from the 11th to the 14th inst. He visited all the principal areas affected by the floods, such as Bantwal, Penemangalore, Udipi, Kalyanpur and a number of "Kudrus" or islets in the rivers, inspected the relief work that was being carried out by the Udipi and the Mangalore Relief Committees and interviewed the leading officials and non-officials of the District. He then went to Madras to interview the member of Government and the President of the Madras Relief Committee and returned to Poona on the 21st inst.

Mr. Devadhar found no acute or widespread distress in the affected areas requiring relief camps, kitchens, medical aid, etc. The immediate task before the relief agencies, both non-official and official, is the rehabilitation of the poorer people in their original places and homes from which they fled with the advance of the floods. For this purpose, the chief needs are adequate supplies of building materials and labour, to buy which the poorer people require monetary assistance, which is also necessary to enable them to buy clothing, utensils and tools, washed away by the floods. Mr. Devadhar estimates that a sum of Rupees two lacs will be required to give adequate relief. He is confident that the Madras Government will liberally contribute to the relief work by supplying building materials like bamboos free.

The non-official agencies will have to find much the larger part of the amount required. So far, a little over Rs. 20,000 has been collected. He hopes that the balance will soon be forthcoming. While fully appreciating the splendid work that is being done by the relief agencies, Mr. Devadhar feels

that there is more room for local effort in the district.

In the case of comparatively well-to-do people, who have also suffered from the floods. Mr. Devadhar impressed on the officials and non-officials that the co-operative movement should be availed of as much as possible in the matter of giving loans for agricultural needs and of providing facilities for house-building.

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**A False Analogy.** THE Congress decision on Council entry is represented in certain quarters as a compromise on the lines of the compromise which Mahatma Gandhi himself arranged at Bardoli and which the All-India Congress Committee afterward ratified at Delhi in 1921. It is said that it only suspends active propaganda against the boycott of Councils, as two years ago the Mahatma suspended active propaganda against the two other boycotts—viz. of schools and law courts, and also suspended the picketing of liquor-shops. And the contention is that there is nothing in the decision which runs counter to the principle of non-co-operation. The analogy however is very misleading. Finding that picketing and certain other militant activities of non-co-operation led to bad blood and breaches of the peace, Mahatma Gandhi called a halt to these activities for a time; but though active propaganda in favour of non-co-operation was thus stopped, no one who had joined the movement was allowed in his personal conduct to deviate from the path of non-co-operation in particular. The recent decision of the Congress does not however merely put a veto upon anti-Council propaganda, but it actually lifts the ban upon Councils even for non-co-operators. There is no doubt a qualification—that only those who have no religious or conscientious objection to entering the Councils are permitted to do so. But this reservation means nothing, for every resolution of the Congress must be interpreted as subject to such a proviso. There is thus an essential difference between the temporary pause made in 1921 and the entire reversal of the policy of non-co-operation which has now been effected.

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TRUE non-co-operators realise—and their number is none too large—that the re-entry of Congressmen into the Councils means the end of non-co-operation. The *Janmabhumi*, for instance, writes, under the significant title of "The Epitaph", that the non-co-operating Congress has "perished in that city of graves which has witnessed the fall of dynasties and Empires." So also the *Servant of Calcutta*, which says that the Congress has now been definitely shunted back from the track of non-co-operation to that of constitutionalism. This paper shares to the full our own abhorrence of the camouflage which still seeks to reconcile Council entry with non-co-operation. "This decision of the Congress," it says, "how-

"Unmitigated Hypocrisy."

ever absurd or ill-advised, would be entitled to the sympathy and support of all, if the reasons for taking it had been candidly stated and the results that will issue from it correctly estimated." But both those who opposed and those who supported the maintenance of the boycott, save for a few in the latter class, tried to lead the audience astray. The first part of the resolution allowing Council entry, for instance, which reaffirms the principle of non-co-operation can only be characterised by the harsh words of our contemporary—"unmitigated hypocrisy." In subscribing to a resolution which in its earlier part reiterates the faith of the Congress in non-co-operation and in its later part does away with the only operative item in the programme, the Congress has subscribed to "a mass of glaring contradictions," and the "contortions and somersaults" resorted to by either party in justifying the decision do as little credit to the intellectual honesty of the leaders as to their moral steadfastness.

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THE *Servant* also agrees with our Dressing up interpretation of the resolution calling for the organisation of civil disobedience. It says, "The unconscionable omission of the essentials of non-co-operation is to be balanced by the glamour of peremptory orders for expediting its forced consummation; the utter unseemliness of political snobbery and party sophistry is to be draped in the winsome cloak of desperate earnestness; the struggling pangs of a consciously unpatriotic move are to be neutralised by the counter-irritant of moonshine programmes." Even when the non-co-operation movement was at the height of its glory, its founder, conscious though he was that his word was law to millions, realised the country's unreadiness for venturing on this step; yet now, when the country is torn by party dissections and communal jealousies, the Congress enters on the task with a light-heartedness, which can only be accounted for by a desire to "dress up" the Congress in false clothes of non-co-operation, so that, by "asking the country to reach swaraj by forced marches," its "attention may be diverted from the patent capitulation involved in sanctioning Council entry!" How entirely true is this verdict! But the public knows very well, as was said by Lala Lajpat Rai, that those who talk do not act.

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WE cannot but think that the opinion of all honest and candid men must coincide with this. It therefore comes to us as a surprise that Mr. C. Rajagopalachar should have advised the Subjects Committee of the Congress to agree to any compromise that Mr. Mahomed Ali might advocate, and that he should look upon this as anything like a genuine compromise. We had thought that he would accept defeat in the Congress and pursue the programme of non-co-operation independently or recognise quite frankly that the country has by this decision taken a right-about turn for good. The *Servant's* conclusion is that "it is the clear duty of all who are convinced of the supreme need of non-co-operation to act up to their convictions and, leaving for the time the administration of Congress affairs in the hands of

Future Policy of True N.-C.-O'S.

those who believe in co-operation, to concentrate public opinion on the steps to be taken to reintroduce the programme of pure non-co-operation into the Congress scheme of national emancipation." Already we see that some true blue non-co-operators from Madras have banded themselves together to carry on an active propaganda against entry into the Councils in spite of the Congress decision and prosecute the entire programme of non-co-operation as mapped out by the Mahatma. We do not believe that much will come out of this, and we are glad that any attempt to put life into non-co-operation will be attended with very poor results, but such non-co-operation purists perform a distinctly useful service in reminding us, in the midst of so much dissimulation, of the real inwardness of the Congress decision.

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**The Reformation of Criminal Tribes Act for the year 1922 in the Bombay Presidency** has just reached us and makes very satisfactory reading. The Governor in Council may indeed well acknowledge with thanks, as he has done, "the very valuable services rendered by the missionary societies and their devoted workers who have undertaken the management of various settlements, and by the Criminal Tribes Settlement Officer and his staff." If of many remarkable features we would to-day single out for comment the "Special Settlement" at Bijapur, we do so for what we believe to be its far-reaching importance. The Bijapur settlement indeed represents the "reformatory" to which the worst characters of all the other settlements are sent. "It will be realized", says the report, "that the control of a settlement, composed of the worst men of all the settlements, which in turn are formed from the dangerous criminals of the community, is no light undertaking." Yet how is this control exercised?

"We are still in the experimental stage. We do not wish that it should approximate to a jail in organization and are only making restrictions as we find that their absence leads to crime. The men are engaged in weaving or in building the settlement or in gardening. They are paid market rates for their work. Their wives and younger children are allowed to live with them. The men themselves are only allowed outside the settlement grounds when accompanied by one of the staff who is in plain clothes. There has been one serious offence and other minor offences committed by these persons of the settlement."

The results are surely no less surprising than the methods employed. Why then should the Bijapur Settlement so anxiously avoid approximating to a jail, unless it is because jail methods aim at punishment, whilst these settlements aim at reformation? And does this not open up the whole problem of our jails? If criminals belonging to certain "tribes" can be reformed in settlements—and the whole report is eloquent of that fact—why should not other criminals be capable of reformation under a system which would aim at humanizing, instead of de-humanizing them? Modern prison reform is altogether moving away from the old conception of revenge to the idea of making criminals fit again for social life in the community at large; and for these reformers the Jail Department should be at least as much an offshoot of the Education, as of the Police Department. Our point is, that with the splendid achievements of the Criminal Tribes' settlements here, under our very nose, we in India should lose no time to press for a more general application of these methods to our prisons, than, which no branch of our administration surely is more urgently in need of reform.

## LAND POLICY IN KENYA.

THE iniquity of the Imperial Government's decision to keep the Kenya Highlands white for all time cannot be appreciated in full measure merely by balancing the claims of Indian against those of European settlers to these rich lands. It is necessary for that purpose to examine the system on which European farming is based and the effects it has had upon the African natives, to whose welfare, we are told, the interests of all aliens are to be postponed. Information on this subject is not readily available, but such as it is possible to get is pieced together here for the benefit of our readers, so that they may know that, if the decision has wronged Indians, it has wronged the natives even more deeply.

In Kenya all the land is supposed to belong to the State. No one can claim any right in land as against the Crown. The natives are cooped up in reserves, which amount to about 20,000 sq. miles. But the State as trustee can and often does break in upon these native reserves, in order to make grants of lands to others. The natives are by law prohibited to acquire any land outside the area demarcated for them. For a long time it was believed that Europeans could not settle in this tropical country, but some twenty years ago it was given out that they could live in health in these high altitudes, which were both untenanted and tempting as containing very fertile tracts. Thereafter every encouragement has been held out to European companies and individuals to take up land in the Highlands by the offer of large concessions on ridiculously easy terms. Thousands of acres were bought from Government at the rate of a penny or twopence an acre. Such extensive farms Europeans could not, and surely would not, cultivate with their own hands. They depended for their cultivation altogether upon the supply of native labour. But unfortunately the natives were not so eager to work upon the farms of the Europeans as the latter might wish. They are said to be by nature slothful because not easily tempted to do any labour for which there is no absolute necessity. Their wants are very few and generally they are capable of maintaining themselves without working for wages. Thus it became evident very soon that, in order to get even a fraction of the lands alienated to Europeans under cultivation, natives must be forced to labour, or, if "forced labour" is not to be sanctioned under that odious name, other forms of pressure must be applied which would give the same result, i. e. make it impossible for the natives to subsist without resort to labour on Europeans' farms. Of the land already alienated to Europeans (which by now is some eight million acres), not more than 6 per cent. is actually under cultivation. In the case of the remaining 95% of land, the Kenya Government is pursuing a stupid dog-in-the-manger policy and does not allow either Indians or Africans to purchase land from Europeans who have obviously no use for

it in the absence of a plentiful supply of native labour. But even this meagre proportion of land in their occupation they cannot cultivate without establishing a régime not far removed from slavery.

The means employed by the Government of Kenya, which has always considered it its primary duty to obtain a regular supply of labour for and generally to promote the economic interests of the white settlers, were very simple: it cut down the land in occupation of the natives, thus forcing the latter out of the reserves in order to eke out their substance by labour upon European farms. While curtailing their means of livelihood, it increased the burden of taxation which they had to support. At present the natives have to pay a hut tax of 12s. apiece and a poll tax of 16s. on adults who pay no hut tax, in addition to the customs duty of which they bear a very considerable share. The natives are thus mulcted by these direct taxes in no less than a third of their total earnings, while the Europeans pay just a trifle. The latter are free from the hut tax and only pay 30s. by way of poll tax, which to them is not even a flea-bite. An attempt was made to impose an income-tax on them, but it came to nothing. There is no land-tax of any kind. By these two measures, viz. cutting down the reserves and clapping heavy taxes on the natives, Kenya Government sought to bring the requisite number of natives into the labour market, but even these, bordering as they did upon compulsory labour, did not avail to ensure an abundant supply of labour. The wages given to the natives are "the lowest in the world"—about 4d. a day, and the Government co-operated with the employers in fixing them at such an artificially low figure. Even with these measures of compulsion, the Government could not get natives to leave their homes to work for European landowners. Numbers would desert their employers and return to their villages. Desertion had already been made a criminal offence, punishable with heavy fine amounting to several months' wages, imprisonment and flogging, and yet in one recent year there were over 3,000 prosecutions for desertion and other breaches of the law governing the employees. In order to facilitate detection, the Government compels every native to carry on his person a certificate of identity bearing his finger-prints. This ordinance has now been modified only to the extent that a native need not carry his certificate in his own reserve. "Any European who cares to can launch a State search for and prosecution against an employee who leaves work without notice and may even have his own expenses paid by the State. It is computed that each deserter costs the State £40, the equivalent of seven years' wages." Cultivation for export is again restricted to areas alienated to Europeans, with the result that "food production is declining and partial famines are becoming common." Under twenty years of this policy the native population has fallen by at least a fifth.

Even so, have the European planters prospered in their agricultural undertakings? No. Dr. Norman Leys, who was for many years Government Chief Medical Officer at Mombasa says: "The average European landowner, in spite of artificially cheap wages, in spite of machinery imported free of duty, in spite of produce carried on the State railway at less than cost, is making no profit at all. The income-tax has had to be abandoned. The last several hundred Europeans who, since the end of the war, received grants of land, have had their rents remitted and given their land for nothing but the cost of survey. From all accounts it would seem that the economic future of the white settlers is an unenviable one." The Government is doing all it can—indeed it has done far more than financial solvency will warrant—to help the European planters. On experimental farms alone it has spent a million pounds. "Tested accordingly by its economic results, the policy of discouraging independent native producers and encouraging production on land alienated to Europeans, has proved in East Africa a failure. Conclusive evidence on that point is furnished by the figures of export trade. Comparing Kenya and Nyassaland, where crops for export are grown on alienated land, with British West Africa as a whole, where export produce is grown on land in native ownership, we find that in the last year before the war exports per caput from the first group of dependencies were less than 40% of what they were from the second group. Exports per head from Kenya are lower than from any British West African colony, in spite of the relatively enormous expenditure of both public and private capital in the latter."

If then, in order to cultivate only some 5 or 6 per cent. of the land filched from the natives, the latter are to be reduced to a state of semi-slavery, and the Europeans themselves are to derive no profit from the transaction, is there any justification for keeping purely white about a third of the first-class arable land of the colony and about two-thirds of the land with a railway frontage? There is no question now of making original grants of land in the Highlands to Indians: for all the areas originally marked therein for alienation have long been overpassed. Some six million acres were computed in the Agricultural Census of 1920 as suitable for white occupation, but now about eight million acres are owned in freehold or held on long leases by Europeans. The question therefore only is whether Indians should not be allowed to purchase land from Europeans, if the latter want to sell them. In shutting out Indians from the Highlands, the Government has no doubt done injury to them; but how much greater injury is being done to the natives by excluding them from the Highlands of their own country and by pursuing a land policy which aims at their permanent serfdom under alien masters, whose economic unprofitableness is indisputable.

## MALABAR LAND TENURES.

## IX.—COMPENSATION.

IT has been said in last week's article that fair rents will almost invariably mean a fall in the current rents, but that there was no justification for compensation on that score. It would seem a contradiction in terms to speak of fair rent as involving expropriation deserving compensation. The instance of the Irish landlords has already been mentioned. Further, every piece of social legislation imposes more expenditure on the owners of capital and thus reduces their profits and consequently the assets. And yet no proposal has been entertained to compensate the loss. Even in the Madras Estates Land Act, in which the Government and Legislature made so many concessions in favour of the landlord, no provision has been made for compensation to him if his rent is lowered. It is, therefore, abundantly clear that no proposal for compensation for loss caused by fixing fair rents need be considered on grounds of law or equity.

It may, however, be argued that though this contention is perfectly sound and fair in the case of owners of land by inheritance, it may work some injustice in the case of owners of land by purchase, particularly if the present owners had not yet enjoyed the land for such a long period, say 15 or 20 years, as to have recouped the whole or a major part of the capital they had invested when the purchase was made. When the purchase was made, the then current rent did form the main basis for calculating the purchase price. And if now the fair rent goes below the purchase rent, it is the present investor that has got to suffer while the original seller is perfectly unaffected, though it was the latter that had rackrented and deserves to shoulder the loss and not the current owner, who is innocent and has fully paid from his savings the price for the current income. It might accordingly be urged that this class of owners has some sort of claim to compensation.

As against this it may be urged that all such transactions have an element of speculation in them and consequent fluctuations in income. A person who purchased the land for cultivation by himself is unaffected by these fluctuations, for questions of rent do not arise. But an investor for rent and not for use is certainly a speculator, and no securities are a safeguard against fluctuations and the consequences thereof. All the same it may be conceded that there is an element of expropriation in such cases. In practice it would be a very difficult task to devise a simple and certain scheme for compensation which can assess to a nicety the claims which must vary with the original rent, the period of enjoyment of the land and so on and so forth. Further, if the purchase-owner deserves compensation because he is innocently victimised by fair rents, the inheritance-owner might well put forward the plea that he had acquired a prescriptive right to the current rent and the

loss consequent on fair rent should be compensated. It would be invidious and inadvisable to make a distinction between these two classes of landowners, and compensate one of them on the ground of expropriation.

There is yet another aspect to the matter. Does the change to fair rents, by its suddenness and intensity, cause considerable dislocation of the financial position of the different parties affected and is it likely to lead to distress in any quarter? If it does, efforts should be made to mitigate the evil effects of the change, as for instance by spreading it over a number of years. A gentle slide may be substituted for a sudden drop.

Is the magnitude of the change likely to be great? Since the current rents are not based on any uniform rate, the drop to fair rents is likely to vary very much. Where the landlord has a cultivating tenant directly under him, the drop is likely to be pretty high. Where, however, there are one or more intermediaries, the drop in the landlord's rent is not likely to be so great. I am, however, unable to estimate, with any pretension to accuracy, the extent and variety of the drop. In view of the rack-renting that generally prevails, the drop is likely to be pretty high.

Is the drop likely to have widespread repercussions and affect people other than those immediately concerned? Most of the land belongs to certain classes of people, among whom landed property is impartible and generally not transferable and as such is not generally available as security for creditors. These landlords, who are principally Nambudiri Brahmans, Rajas, and Nairs cannot have encumbered the joint family estates with, at any rate, large liabilities. The lowering of rents and the consequent depreciation of the assets of these landlords is not likely to affect materially the creditors. Few others beyond the landlords are likely to be adversely affected.

Very little land belongs to those classes among whom land is partible and is generally taken as security by creditors. Many of such small landlords are not likely to be rent-receivers, being mostly cultivating owners. It may, therefore, be said that the drop in rents is not likely to affect adversely a wider circle than the landlords concerned.

Since the drop in rents is likely to be pretty high, it is likely to dislocate the landlords' financial position rather severely. One other consequence of the drop in rents on the financial resources of the landlord may be emphasized here. When once fair rents are fixed for each holding to be paid by the actual cultivator, he will simply pay that amount to his immediate constructive holder, be he a landlord, or a verumpattamdar or a kanamdar of the first or second degree and leave it to them to share that amount between themselves as best as they can. Under these altered circumstances, the landlord is not likely to consent to share his diminished rent with one or more intermediaries and is very likely to eliminate them as soon as the

contracts fall in. In which case, the landlord will have to refund the kanam amounts deposited with him by his kanam tenants and also pay compensation for the improvements made by the evicted tenants, in case the permanent cultivating tenant is not in a position to buy up the improvements himself. Though the problem is not likely to take serious proportions, yet it will put a heavy strain on some of the landlords. If, therefore, without appreciably impairing the principal objects of the legislation, it is possible to give some facilities to the landlords to meet their liabilities, it would be well worth while. It would not be unfair to ask the cultivating tenants, who for the first time are being endowed by law with the three F's and the immense advantages consequent thereon, to make the change less irksome to the landlords.

One of the ways to make the drop in rent-easier to the landlords is to spread it over a sufficiently long period by annual steps. It would, however, be necessary to know the initial current rents that owners are receiving from the actual cultivators to mark the annual instalments. I am very doubtful if the current rents can be accurately ascertained directly and speedily, without inviting the danger of false statements of rents and the consequent litigation to determine them or at least an elaborate and withal uncertain enquiry. The difficulty is due to the fact that the landlord often receives his rents from middlemen and also because every lease-deed is not registered.

If this method is not feasible, the only other alternative is to give some compensation to the landlords. Here, again, it is impossible to find any fair and equitable basis to calculate the amount of compensation. Obviously it cannot be the entire loss suffered by the landlords. That would be defeating the whole purpose of the proposals. It must necessarily be something very much less than that, and can only be fixed arbitrarily, even as was done when two and a half times the annual rental was fixed in the Madras Estates Land Act, as the fee to secure occupancy rights to those not entitled to it. The compensation should be a definite multiple of the annual rent, which is definitely known. But what that multiple should be can only be determined when a rough estimate regarding the average drop in rents is made. We must be content to leave it at that at present. To make it easier for the tenant to pay this compensation, he should be allowed to do so in a definite number of annual instalments. And if within this period the landlord should resume his land, he should refund the amount of this compensation, in addition to the compensation that is payable for the improvements made by the tenant.

P. KODANDA RAO.

#### THE COMING ELECTIONS.

THE coming elections in November will be the second held in this country under the Government of India Act of 1919. Three years ago,

what with the misguided activity of the non-co-operators and the ignorance prevailing among many people about the vote, the elections did not draw as many voters to the polling stations as they should have done. Even in countries generally recognised as centres of enlightened, intelligent and alert public opinion, the actual votes registered at a general election fall far short of the regularly registered list. In some countries the election does not draw more than half; in others it draws even a smaller number than that.

In India, moreover, where representative government, is only a plant of very recent growth, we are, yet swayed by acute differences of race, community, sect and caste. We are not yet free from the curse of illiteracy. And in addition to all this has been an entire absence in our midst of party organisations earnestly working for the education of the voter along systematic and well-laid lines. No doubt, there are parties in India. But they are not parties divided and inspired by a well-defined set of principles and based always on real distinctions. Spurious interests of a temporary character have divided the country into groups with their numerous currents and cross-currents of bias, jealousies, prejudices and opinion. Some are divided by religion. Others by race. A third by communal interests. And a fourth may have all these and something more in the shape of peculiar local prejudices or class domination. These may make united effort impossible. But they are not potent enough to consolidate the various groups into distinct, tangible, comparatively permanent party divisions with definite principles and methods of work and sustained by an organisation that is able to energize public life with healthy rivalry. As a result the voter is without definite and precise guidance. He is unable to feel keenly on questions that interest and divide these groups. He knows not what issues hang in the balance and how his choice one way or the other will shape those issues. Nor is he made to feel how they affect him individually and nationally.

This is work that belongs properly to sound party organisations. It cannot be done by institutions of a mushroom character growing with the season and perishing so soon as the season has changed. These latter cannot be effective for the consolidation of power which a whirlwind sort of campaigning may help them, for a time, to seem to conquer. Do we realize the need for such a kind of organisation and work in India in the full measure that we ought, if we would acclimatise self-governing institutions to the soil of this land? However much we may condemn party wrangles with their harvest of abuse, misrepresentation and bad blood, no political growth along the line of responsible self-government is at all possible without a public opinion educated and consolidated along sound party lines. And this education and consolidation is impossible if we depend only on the newspaper

press. The press has to be supplemented and worked up by political centres for association and work right up from the village, through the taluka and the district, to the city and heart of the capital itself. All these centres have to be regularly linked up and energised by an organisation, which must have a definite and regular plan of action and an able and well-equipped staff to start it into operation. The organisation at the centre must be able to constitute itself into a power-house of energy and direction; and force and life should go forward therefrom to the furthest ends along centres and filaments connected with it even as a current of electricity travels from a central station to the remotest locality along live wires that bridge the distances.

In order that this central organisation may be enabled to carry on its work in a proper spirit it has to be fed constantly with money, information and the right kind of workers. There is first the directing brain and then the hands that execute. A complete inter-dependence of all with a sufficient latitude for independent initiative as emergency may require with a majority of workers well-disciplined, thoroughly trained and a full prospect of rise in power ahead of them—these make the solvent and stimulant of a vigorous public life. All this presupposes that we are really in earnest about building our public life on the solid foundation of a well-constituted and regular electorate. As things obtain at present we leave everything to chance. Given an electorate of some six millions and odd, and a candidates' list some six hundred strong, taking the whole country into consideration, the sort of political life that has to be built is not a matter so difficult to accomplish. But those who should see to it that this is done well and wisely have chosen to let things drift. Eager to enter the Councils and the central Legislatures, the candidates do not feel that an election has to be prepared for long before the time when the vote is actually cast. Custodians of real political power and influence as they would be, it is up to them to leave no stone unturned to train the people to do their duty aright. The people ought to learn from and know them. They ought to learn from and know the people. Both ought to co-operate in the real sense of the term. But here, the would-be trustees of the people are hardly aware that political life and political work are a continuous activity and no mere spasmodic effort. They are hardly aware of the fact that, if they seek to be returned, they must win a constituency and that in order to win a constituency it has to be nursed.

In India neither the intending candidates nor their voters evince the slightest solicitude for cultivating one another's acquaintance. We do not see it yet even in large cities. What of rural areas then? The Government prepares the rolls. The officials manage the business as best they may. But there is no effort on the part of the people either to supervise or check its correctness. The organisa-

tions that ought to work on behalf of the people to see that no eligible man or woman forfeits his or her right to vote are not there to do the work efficiently and in time. The voter is not at all anxious about it. He does not realise the difference it makes to his country if he is denied the power that law has placed in his hands. It is for the party organisation to draw him out and it is for the respective candidates to stimulate their organisations.

All this shows conclusively how far we are from a really democratic era, which presupposes a proper correlation of all elements that contribute to make public opinion a working force in the country. We have been put on the road to a popular constitution. But a popular constitution and an absence of really democratic spirit are mutually exclusive things. You cannot work a popular constitution without a properly trained public opinion to support you. Minus such public opinion, there cannot be the well-disciplined majorities that are the essence of a popular member's power in the house. And in the absence of such majorities the wheels of the constitution may move but without ever touching the rails. That kind of public opinion and a really democratic spirit have not yet grown in the country. The organisations already in existence in the country are incompetent for the task. The voters are indifferent. The candidates are inactive or only spasmodically active. A large number of them have had no previous political or intellectual training. Not a few of them are entire strangers to public work. Very few have devoted themselves to a thorough study of public questions. Some of them may know how to rant. Some may have practised to perfection the doubtful art of glib and smooth-tongued oratory. But look round and you cannot help remarking how few are those who know anything of finance, statistics, economics or the inside of any blue book at all, to purpose. The older Councils were stronger and better-manned in that respect. The newer and later ones have been sadly deficient. And with the influx of the new element that threatens to pour in, the deficiency will be still greater. A hand to mouth sort of information is all that they can show by way of training or preparation for the work. They have neither a firm grasp of principles, nor a complete grip on details and procedure. Haranguing, in and out of season, on things that tickle, that is all that they know. Few among them really know where they stand.

All this has to change if we are to reap the full benefit of the new political life that lies before us. If this does not change, democracy and self-government will remain but pious hopes, and may prove a stumbling block in the advance of the people to power, prosperity, unity and self-realization. For let us not delude ourselves with names. If the spirit, in not there, mere forms turn into instruments of tyranny rather than serve as means of emancipation. As the author of "The Mirrors of Downing

Street" puts it, "after all a nation gets the politics it deserves. The fault is not in our stars, but in ourselves that we are underlings. If the tone of public life is low, it is because the tone of society is not a high one. The remedy is not, sack the lot, but rather 'Repent lest a worse thing befall thee'".

V. N. NAIK.

### THE WORLD OUTSIDE.

*Guild Socialism.* LAST month's *Guild Socialist* informed its readers that this would be its last issue. Founded seven years ago to provide a platform for all directly and consciously interested in the Guild movement, it has done excellent service in the small way and for the circumscribed purpose, which was all that could be attempted. Seven years ago Guild Socialism in England was so much a novelty, a curiosity, as to be of academic interest only: and even that interest did not go very far beyond the ranks of definitely Christian Socialists. Since then various things have happened. First and foremost, the end of the War provided an exceptionally favourable opportunity for turning the potentialities of guild theory into actual practice: an opportunity which the English National Building Guild promptly availed itself of. There is no doubt about it that these building guilds have amply proved the possibility of production on guild principles. Even competitors have admitted the better quality and lower cost of houses, turned out by guildsmen. This competition of course is the most difficult problem of all. For capitalists, especially during a slump, find it easy to work at a loss for considerable periods, if thereby they can knock out a dangerous rival, with the prospect of amply recouping themselves thereafter, when they will have got the field to themselves. The guilds were notoriously lacking in capital: their only capital consisted really in the potential labour of their members. Thus it is little wonder, that, with no money to back them, the building guilds have found themselves hard put to it to survive a long spell of falling markets and price-cutting. Perhaps this only proves that the Guild system and the capitalist system cannot live side by side: it certainly does not prove that the Guild idea has "failed."

#### *Theory and Practice.*

THE real fact is not, that Guild Socialism has been tried and found wanting, but that there have been too many powerful people who wanted that it should not be tried any longer. Notwithstanding all opposition, guilds still survive in England and continue to produce—and not building guilds alone, as readers of this column are aware. In fact, the present adversity has given a stimulus to the detection and elimination of "duds" and has resulted in an all-round strengthening of weak parts of the organization, and generally speaking, the whole guild idea now is no longer quite the exotic that it used to be only

a few years ago. The inclusion last year of the guild principle in the programme of the Independent Labour Party meant its tardy recognition by the Labour Movement at large. Even so, the great mass of the workers of Britain are by no means yet vitally interested in the guild idea, however little they may relish any longer the once so popular State Socialism idea. Mr. and Mrs. Cole, who have hitherto edited the *Guild Socialist*, fully realize this, and also that there is no need for a purely domestic guild journal, dealing with internal concerns of the guild movement only. But if they have decided to burn "The Guild Socialist", it is only because they intend that another journal of workers' control, to be called "New Standards", should rise, Phoenix-like, out of its ashes. *New Standards* which is to come out next month, is meant to appeal no longer only to the student, but to the worker in his shop as well. Industrial Self-Government is a fine slogan: but to translate it into actual fact, requires the trade unions to give up their merely negative attitude of protecting the worker against the autoocracy of the master, and rather to aim positively, constructively, at running the industry themselves, i.e. democratically, i.e. on the guild principle.

*New Standards.* IF *New Standards* can help the worker to take up this point of view, it will indeed fulfil a most important function. For the real crux is for the individual to come forward in the Labour Movement, to have done with generalisations and settle down to the concrete case in point. Even the largest factory consists of "shops", of groups of a dozen workers and less working together. The first step is for the workers to run each shop on their own; to substitute elected "shop stewards" for appointed foremen and thus to make a real start in "workers' control." Here, as elsewhere, the most effective method of superseding any "ma-bap" system is to make it superfluous by doing the job oneself: a method which certainly is incompatible with sloth and mere grumbling and rather calls for readiness to undertake serious duties. As we have pointed out on previous occasions, the weakness of present day working-class policy seems to us to lie in its concentration on theory. We are the last to advise anybody to jump first and to think afterwards: but it does seem to us that merely to think (and talk) about jumping and to defer all actual jumping until the Socialist Commonwealth shall have dropped from the clouds, is the last word in fatuity. In our issues of July 12th and 26th we referred to Italian conditions, which seem to prove that the Italian workman is far more ready to run an industry himself than his British confrère who allows it to be run for him by capitalists. And not only is the Italian worker ready for workers' control, but capable of it: and if he is, why should not a British working man be? In this connection it is pertinent to remind the reader



that in Germany (by the new constitution of 1918) 'Works Councils' and industrial democracy in general have become, alongside of the usual machinery of political democracy, an integral part of the German Commonwealth. Unfortunately there, as in other respects, French tyranny has vitiated the most promising efforts.

*Christian  
Socialism.*

MODERN guild socialism of course is a conscious attempt to apply the principles of the mediæval guild organization to the machine industry. Of these principles that of the "just price" (to which so many now-a-days do lip service) is but the reverse of the obverse, that each worker is an end in himself, self-determined and responsible. It is for this reason that one advocates industrial democracy: not primarily, because it will prove immediately more efficient, but because it will enlarge the individual's rights and duties and thereby give him a fuller life and a wider scope and because thus it will enable humanity as a whole to rise to higher moral and spiritual standards. The Catholic Church—though hitherto during the Machine Age its practice has shamefully flouted its doctrine—has in theory never deviated from these principles: but so much had their application been forgotten, that when Pope Leo XIII in 1891 in his Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* recalled the Church to her social implications, he seemed to be guilty of quite revolutionary daring. Since then Christian Socialism, inside the Roman communion and outside, has become quite a commonplace and it is interesting to note how non-Christian Socialists, though the practical pioneers in the whole movement, now not infrequently sacrifice their own principles for temporary party advantages, thus leaving that guardianship to the Christian organizations. We recently had occasion (June 7th) to refer in this connection to the women's franchise agitation in Belgium: another example is suggested by the Dutch endeavour to introduce the principle of family allowances in the Netherlands.

*Children's Allowances.*

THE system of paying, in addition to wages, a "children's allowance" to workers, was first applied in 1912 to the Dutch postal servants, later extended to teachers and, since 1920, to the Civil Service. (The latter receive an allowance equal to 2½ per cent. of their salary for every child under 18, with a minimum of about Rs 60 and a maximum of about Rs. 250 per annum.) Recently, the railway employees have been granted similar allowances: and various provincial and municipal authorities have likewise adopted the system for parsons employed by them. The interesting point is, that only the definitely Christian Trade Unions have favoured the introduction of these measures, which on the contrary have been hotly opposed by the others, the Social Democratic Party and the

Feminists. The latter stood out for "motherhood wages", payable to the mother direct, quite irrespective of the male wage earner, whilst the Catholics contended for the principle of taking the family as a whole and of paying every worker such a wage, as would not curtail his natural right to marry and to found a family. The non-Christian Unions opposed the measure because it would lead to jealousy amongst workers of the same grade and have a general tendency to depress wages. The most serious drawback of course is not manifest in public services: but in private undertakings it is obvious that employers would boycott married workers, if children's allowances were of statutory obligation. But an easy way out of that difficulty is to mulct an employer for every worker of his (whether childless or not) in an average sum payable to a special fund, out of which all children's allowances would be defrayed. The trouble is that in that case most employers would simply reduce actual wages by that very sum henceforth payable to the children's allowance fund: with the practical result that these allowances would fall not on the employers, but on the workers. But the remedy for that is to press for a legal minimum wage as well. Mere opposition to children's allowances seems a very wrong way to go about it and only prevents showing up capitalism as the utterly inhuman and morally bankrupt system that it is.

## REVIEWS.

### SEGREGATION OR FUSION ?

NIELSEN, PETER: *THE BLACK MAN'S PLACE IN SOUTH AFRICA.* Capetown. 1922. 4 × ½ × 7. pp. 149. (Juta & Co.)

THIS surely is the most surprising of any important book, that it has ever fallen to our lot to read. There can be no doubt about its importance, dealing as it does with that question which is fundamental to all "colour" problems, i. e. whether pigmented man is inherently inferior to unpigmented man—and dealing with it in a scientific and judicial spirit, based not only on book knowledge, but on the first hand experience of a man who professes to speak the Bantu languages of South Africa as well as the "Natives" themselves: and who has observed their intimate thoughts and ways for more than 20 years.

The bulk of the book (110 pages out of 149) is devoted to the proof that potentially and in capacity the Black man is absolutely the equal of the White. It does one good to follow the downright, cogent, commonsense way, in which the author takes up one colour prejudice after the other, inspects it, considers it, weighs it: with the inevitable result of having eventually to fling it on the muck heap of exploded notions. Starting with "Bodily Differences," Mr. Nielsen deals one by one with the

“indications” of a more apelike physique—prognathism, hairiness, odour, cranial thickness and volume. These “indications” of course are of no scientific value and are adduced only by the semi-educated. For if the Bantu are more prognathous than the European, the Bushmen (culturally so far inferior to the Bantu) are not; and if mere size of brain was any indication of intellect, Neanderthal man (of prehistoric times) must be ranked with modern Europeans. Hairiness the European shares with the Australian aboriginal, whilst the unpleasant odour said to be emitted by the negro skin seems never to have interfered with the most intimate and permanent intercourse between white and black. With Dr. Arthur Keith (“The Antiquity of Man”) our author and his readers therefore must conclude that “‘high’ and ‘low’ refers to civilisation; it does not refer to the human body.”

Turning now to “The Mind of the Native” (pp. 18-82,) Mr. Nielsen at the outset shows the impossibility of the physical transmission of attributes of the mind. His quotation of the celibate monks (the sole custodians of learning in the Middle Ages) is telling, as is the fact that in Europe to-day children with an ancestry of common labourers are as capable of any mental activity, as is a scion of the oldest and most favoured families. The very fact that the same educational process has to be repeated in every generation, proves that in no degree are mental modifications, acquired by the parents, transmissible to the offspring. “The conclusion is forced upon one that, although the intellectual output of the world is always increasing, the intellect itself remains unaltered” (p. 38)—a conclusion, which no less a person than Alfred Russell Wallace had so luminously contended for in his “Social Environment and Moral Progress.” The question therefore is narrowed down to this, whether the Bantu’s intellect is in any way different in kind from that of the modern “White.” Our author then considers minutely and penetratingly the opposite data supplied by the language, the instincts and the intelligence of the South African negro and comes unhesitatingly to the conclusion that “the difference between the mental status of the white man and the Native is the same as that which we notice between the man who has had a liberal education and the man who has not” (p. 78), just as “the difference between the mind of the philosopher and the ploughboy is one, not of kind, not even of degree, but of content.” (p. 77). “I can find nothing whatever,” says he, “throughout the whole gamut of the Native’s conscious life and soul to differentiate him from other human beings in other parts of the world” (p. 81). “There is no ‘Native’ innocence nor is there any ‘Native’ vice: the virtues and the vices, the capacity and the character of the Native are the human qualities and failings that are common to mankind. The great Bantu branch of the human family is no mor-

human and no less divine than is its master, the white man” (pp. 107-8).

As regards “Achievement” (pp. 82-110), isolation and lack of opportunities are given their due place, but, not satisfied with this, our author goes really to the root of the whole matter when he affirms that “the mental strain involved in leading the so-called simple life of the so-called savage is, on the whole, no less intense than that suffered by the civilised man in maintaining his civilised existence” (p. 98). It is therefore only to be expected that in the next chapter, on ‘Miscegenation’, (pp. 110-131) Mr. Nielsen should, as he very effectively does, nail to the counter the lies about the physical and moral inferiority of the people of mixed descent, which are still being levelled ignorantly and wilfully against those, whom not their nature but their condition tends to depress.

But it is at this late stage of the book that it deserves the description of “surprising” which we gave it in our opening line. For after all that has gone before, what “Conclusions” should our author now arrive at, but that of the “territorial separation” policy between White and Black, which since Mr. Smuts’ “Native Affairs Act” of 1920 is the law of the Union of South Africa! A more astonishing logical somersault, we must say, we have never witnessed in any serious writer, than that one who has just proved up to the hilt that the latent genius of the Bantu is every whit equal to that of the European, should then calmly conclude, that the Natives must be given their own areas wherein to live and work out their own salvation in a civilization, either parallel to or different, but anyhow separate, from the civilization of the “White” areas! This amazing conclusion is based on the natural “jealousy which is caused in both men and women by fear of losing their natural mates to rivals of both sexes from another and disparate race” (p. 113): a jealousy which, according to our author, makes both White and Black more and more shrink from miscegenation and develops race pride and nationalism and thus will make the future fusion of the two races impossible.

This of course is flying in the face of the most patent facts. Nowhere has it ever been possible to prevent human beings of different race, living side by side, from inter-marrying. Not even the Indian caste system, this most cunning of all systems of the colour bar, has been able to prevent that most complete mix-up of races, which our present Indian castes nevertheless exhibit. Marriages may be as irregular, as the system likes, but the process of miscegenation goes on irrevocably. If such a thing was inevitable in a country where all education was completely monopolized by the ruling caste, what other result is possible in South Africa, where the native is slowly but surely being given every educational facility of the whites? Mr-

Nielsen may to-day still "dispose of" the Natives in manageable blocks "under" a minimum (1) of European supervision (pp. 141-4): already "prominent Natives of the educated class have protested strongly against this policy" and there can be not the shadow of a doubt, that, once the 5½ millions of Black South Africans have become class conscious, the 1½ million of White South Africans will be utterly incapable of keeping them "in their place."

If all human beings are potentially alike, notwithstanding certain superficial physical characteristics, these characteristics obviously cannot stand in the way of inter-racial marriages: and where the latter are objected to, it can only be, because the common humanity is denied. Fusion is the one and only ultimate solution of every racial problem—a truth of which every line of the book before us is eloquent and which therefore deserves the close study of all Indians, not only with an eye to matters African, but equally to those Indian.

Z.

### DAIRY FARMING.

**GHARE, B. K., B. Ag. MANUAL OF DAIRY FARMING.** (Agricultural College, Cawnpore.) Rs. 3.

A WELL-KNOWN authority on dairy industry in India recently remarked that "nowhere in the world are the prices of milk so high as they are at present in India, especially in large towns like Bombay and Calcutta". The appallingly high infant mortality especially in large towns is due to this costly, deficient and impure milk supply. Amongst the many reasons for this state of affairs the chief one may be said to be the fact that the dairy industry is still in the hands of ignorant and uneducated men. If we want the intelligent and educated men to take up this business, there ought to be forthcoming very extensive and popular literature on the subject. India is very poor in scientific literature in general and the literature on any branch of scientific agriculture is still meagre, we therefore heartily welcome this book on Dairy Farming, which is a very useful and important branch of agriculture at the present moment in India.

The author is well qualified to write on this subject on account of his long experience of over fifteen years as a lecturer in agriculture at the Cawnpore Agricultural College. Mr. Ghare is one of the most successful graduates of the Poona Agricultural College and after graduation was taken on the staff of the Cawnpore college. He knows the needs of the students as well as of men engaged in dairy farming.

The author has dealt with the subject from all standpoints and gives very valuable and extensive information. The book deals not only with the production of milk and the manufacture of dairy products which are the usual matters considered in a dairy manual, but deals with the subject from a much

wider scope. Thus in the first part of the book the rudiments of agriculture are briefly given to enable a person to follow the practice of dairy farming with a scientific bias. The second part deals with the questions of housing, feeding and management of cattle. The third deals with the questions of milk production, the character of the milk constituents, the various milk products, especially some of the Indian products like khava, ghee and dahi which are not treated in any of the Western books.

The principles of cattle-breeding are also dealt with in a separate chapter and lastly some of the important Indian dairy breeds are treated in the final chapter. The various forms and tables given in the appendices provide very usual data for students as well as for practical workers in the business of dairying.

On the whole the book is a valuable addition to the scientific literature on Indian agriculture and should serve as a great help to all students of agriculture as well as to all men carrying on the business of dairying. We strongly recommend the book not only to all agricultural students but to all men interested in the dairy industry of India. The book is well bound and charmingly turned out and on this account the price which has been fixed at rupees there cannot be said to be excessive.

N. V. K.

### BOOKS RECEIVED.

*From R. Chatterjee, 210-3-1, Cornwallis street, Calcutta.*

CHATTERJEE, SITA: THE CAGE OF GOLD. Translated by A. E. Brown. 1923. 7×5. pp. 260. Rs. 2-8.

*From Methuen & Co., Ltd., London,*

MUIR, RAMSAY: POLITICS AND PROGRESS. 1923. 7½×5. pp. 182. 3s. 6d.

*From George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.*

WOOLF, L. S.: INTERNATIONAL GOVERNMENT. (Second Edition.) With an Introduction by Bernard Shaw. 1923. 8¼×5¼. pp. xxiii+388. 7s. 6d.

*From Liberty and Property Defence League, London.*

MILLAR, F. (Ed.): SOCIALISM: ITS FALLACIES AND DANGERS. (Fifth Edition.) 1923. 8½×5½. pp. 80. 1s.

*From the Labour Publishing Co., Ltd., London.*

FOR, ODON: GUILDS AND CO-OPERATIVES IN ITALY. (Translated by E. Townshend. Introduction By A. E. 1923. 7¼×5. pp. xviii+197. 5s.

*From Longmans, Green & Co., New York.*

CALDER, JOHN: CAPITAL'S DUTY TO THE WAGE EARNER. 1923. 8×5, pp. xii+326. 10s. 6d.

*From the Clarendon Press, Oxford.*

GIDE, CHARLES (Ed.): EFFECTS OF THE WAR UPON FRENCH ECONOMIC LIFE. 1923. 9¼×6¼. pp. 197.

*From the University Press, Cambridge.*

MILLER, WM.: THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND ITS SUCCESSORS, 1801-1922. (Second Edition.) (Cambridge Historical Series.) 1923. 7¼×5. pp. 595. 12s. 6d.

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