

The Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

Major Pole on White Paper.

THE *Labour Magazine* for May contains a well-thought out article on the White Paper from the pen of that well-known friend of India, Major D. Graham Pole. The principal defect in his eyes, as in those of Indians, of the White Paper constitution is the studied omission on the part of its framers to mention Dominion Status and the prospect of its attainment by India. This is utterly unjustifiable in view of the high hopes raised in India by repeated authoritative promises about India looking forward to become a Dominion before very long. Not only do the White Paper proposals not bring this goal nearer but they possess some features which raise doubts as to the British Government's intentions in regard to this country. The power of disallowance of acts passed by the Federal Legislature, e. g., even though they may have received the assent of the Governor-General, proposed to be vested in the King in Council comes under this category. According to Mr. Pole, this power did figure in the constitutions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa before the Statute of Westminster was passed but never formed part of the Irish Free State constitution. "It was abolished entirely by that Statute and seems to be now revived solely for India's benefit. Control over the defence forces which is a necessary ingredient of Dominionhood is also conspicuous by its absence in the constitutional proposals which do not contemplate a time when India might hope to shoulder that responsibility. Expenditure

on Defence is also going to be non-votable as at present and indications point to there being no chance of the Indian demand for a time-table for the Indianisation of the Army being satisfied. He must indeed be an incorrigible optimist who could assert that the White Paper is intended to confer on India equal status with the Dominions within a reasonable period of time.

Another point in Mr. Pole's writing is also worthy of note. The White Paper refers to the people of India being "partners in a common enterprise." "But" he truthfully remarks, "the essence of partnership is complete trust and understanding. If there is a real partnership there is no need for safeguards. For one partner to insist on safeguards strikes at the root of partnership. The safeguards can only be exercised by the use of force. A partnership is based on trust, not on force, as its ultimate sanction."

* * *

Panicky Measures.

WHILE wishing every success to the Bengal Government in their efforts to blot out terrorism, we find it difficult to approve of some of their measures designed to that end. Prominent among these are the two orders recently issued by the District Magistrate of Chittagong. One of these requires the Hindu youths residing in certain localities and between 12 and 25 years of age to carry their identity cards always with them so that they may be available for inspection at any time. The other prohibits them from attending middle and high schools situated at a greater distance than three miles from their homes. The orders, to our mind, argue a lamentable lack of a sense of proportion on the part of the local Government and are by no means calculated to minimise public inconvenience. They are so comprehensive in scope that nothing but a state of war between the Government and the people of Bengal can be an adequate justification for them. We are however unable to believe that things have come to such a pass in that province, however widespread and efficient the terrorist organisation may be said to be. It is difficult to foresee what measure of success, if any, action such as this is likely to have in relation to the terrorists; but it is sure to lead to a still further estrangement of feeling between the Government and the people. Nor can its communal character be entirely overlooked. It cannot be denied that the perpetrators of terrorist outrages have so far been drawn from the Hindu community. But does it, therefore, follow as a necessary corollary that the terrorist organisation has no adherents belonging to other communities? We are by no means anxious to involve other communities, but it seems somewhat strange that Sir John Anderson's Government should be so dogmatic on the point. If their sources of information are so infallible as to warrant their ordering the application of the new repressive measures to the

Hindu community alone, why, they must equally unfailingly be in a position to spot out the members of the terrorist organisation. Why do they not adopt this easier, though less spectacular, course to fight terrorism?

* * *

High-handedness in Saigon.

SCARCELY had public excitement occasioned by the expulsion of four Chettiar bankers from Indo-China had time to subside when news comes of the French authorities there trying to force the unwilling consent of Indians doing the banking business to a scheme of debt redemption which the Long Term Credit Officer at Saigon has prepared. Under this scheme the Chettiar bankers will be expected to write off 25 and 40 per cent. respectively of their secured and unsecured dues. Nobody need be under a delusion that such reduction will result in immediate settlement. Only a part of the reduced claim will be paid by the debtor who would be advanced the required amount presumably by a debt redemption co-operative society giving long term loans, the payment of the balance being held up for as long as fifteen years. It need not be supposed that fifteen years' patient waiting on the part of the bankers will be rewarded by unquestioned payment of the balance; because this again will be conditional upon prices of paddy going up. It may be conceded at once that the present abnormal fall in the prices of agricultural produce has added enormously to the difficulties of the peasant and the farmer, who need all the sympathy that may be extended to them. Nor can we be looked upon as lending our approval to the unscrupulous methods adopted by money-lenders for tightening their grip on their debtors. At the same time, we cannot persuade ourselves that the Chettiar bankers are an exceptionally heartless lot. It is for this reason that we regard the discrimination which is made against them in Indo-China as utterly unjustifiable. If the agriculturist debtor needs to be protected, he needs to be protected not only from Chettiar bankers but from others as well. But such protective action of a general nature does not, curiously enough, seem to be under the contemplation of the French authorities there and yet seems to be urgently needed. We can only hope that its possibilities are being carefully explored at present. The complaint of the Chettiar bankers about the inadequacy of the time allowed to them to make up their minds about the proposed debt redemption scheme involving such a heavy stake will strike any unprejudiced observer as being well-founded. It is to be hoped that the attempts of the Government of India to secure justice to the aggrieved parties which are believed to be in progress will be crowned with success.

How the British Government would have hustled and hustled if only these aggrieved bankers were Englishmen and not Indians! Their action over the Persian Oil Company's dispute with the Persian Government and the more recent trial in Russia of the employees of the Metropolitan Vickers Company are a study in contrast, still fresh in public memory.

* * *

Indians Abroad.

DR. LANKA SUNDARAM in a communication from Malaya published in the *Hindu* of Madras made a very cogent plea that the Agent of the Government of India in Malaya should be drawn from a rank which has a higher status in India than has been the case hitherto. At present, the Agent is generally drawn from the ranks of the provincial officers of Madras. On the other hand, the Agent in Ceylon belongs to the I. C. S., while the

Agent in South Africa has a much higher status. While readily and cheerfully acknowledging that the Agents in Malaya so far have done excellent work, it is well to recognise that if they had been drawn from ranks with a higher status in India, they would have accomplished far more in Malaya. In the countries in which the bulk of Indian immigrants are working-class men and women, and the professional and cultured Indians are but meagrely represented, the status of the Indian Agent has a special value; the higher his status the more effective will he be in protecting and promoting the interests of the Indian communities.

Apart from the status of the Agents of the Government of India, the visits to the colonies of eminent Indians holding prominent places in the public life of India is very helpful. Sir Lallubhai Samaldas has done well to pay a visit to the Indian workers in Ceylon. His talks with the authorities are bound to be all to the good. Mr. K. Natarajan, the Secretary of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, Bombay, it appears, had suggested the course to Sir Lallubhai. We wish that Mr. Natarajan himself will be persuaded to go and do likewise. He is due to go to the United States to deliver lectures to the Chicago University. On his way back, he should be induced to visit some of the West Indies in which Indians are to be found in numbers and not only "buck" them up, as it were, by his visit but also bring to India, on his return, first-hand and the latest information about the conditions of Indians settled down there. It is of the utmost importance that prominent Indian leaders should take every opportunity to keep in personal touch with Indians Abroad.

* * *

Transfer of Aden.

THE rumour about the imminence of the transfer of the control of Aden to the Colonial Office has naturally created considerable stir among its residents. Their fear is that if the proposed transfer goes through they will be deprived of certain advantages which they enjoy under the existing regime. The protection for the salt industry which they owe to the Government of India and which has done so much for its prosperity will under the contemplated transfer automatically disappear. There will also be an increase in postage and telegraph rates. But apart from their fear about the loss of these material advantages, they are afraid that the contemplated change in Aden's political status might result, as in South Africa, in the imposition of humiliating disabilities based on racial discrimination on its residents. Unless the Whites in Aden are determined to belie past experience, it must be admitted that this fear of the Indian and Arab communities in Aden cannot be brushed aside as altogether imaginary. Whatever that be, is there not something incongruous in transferring in these days of self-determination the political destinies of a people behind their backs and over their heads? The primary consideration in all such cases must obviously be the wishes of the people to be vitally affected by it. How the people of Aden feel about the proposed transfer has not yet been authoritatively ascertained. On the other hand, the British Government has pledged itself on numerous occasions not to allow Aden to be made over to the Colonial Office without allowing public opinion to express itself on the subject. Such an assurance was forthcoming every time the subject was raised in either House of the Central Legislature during the last few years and was conveyed to an influential deputation which waited upon the Viceroy only about two years ago. It appears from the proceedings of a public meeting

recently held at Aden that both Indian and Arab opinion is united in resisting the contemplated step. Will all this unanimity of opinion count for nothing with the powers that be?

Indian Labour in Ceylon.

ADDRESSING the Planters' Association in Ceylon Mr. Menon, the Indian Government's Agent there, rebutted the charge levelled against the Indian Government of dilatoriness in approving of the reductions proposed in the minimum wage payable to Indian coolies. He did so with the help of dates of correspondence between Colombo and Delhi and had little difficulty in showing to the satisfaction of all concerned that if the proposed reductions took time to be effective, the Government of India were not responsible for the delay. Indeed in this matter of wage reduction they had, according to Mr. Menon, given evidence of exemplary quickness in the dispatch of public business. His speech also furnished an explanation of Mr. Menon's recent visit to India. It would appear that since proposals for reducing the minimum wage were put forward, the price of Ceylon tea went up. Though this rise was short-lived and temporary, it removed, in the eyes of many, any justification for the contemplated reduction. The Agent's presence was considered necessary at the Indian Government's headquarters in order to explain this phenomenon and to help them to make up their mind once for all with regard to the problem of the minimum wage being brought down. In passing, it may be pointed out that the standard wage is fixed more in relation to the financial requirements of the labourer than with reference to the economic condition of the industry which engages his services.

Sir Lalubhai Samaldas too, who has been on a health visit to Japan, has published his impressions of Ceylon with particular reference to the Indian situation there. In these he draws attention to the "very grave injustice" done to domiciled Indians by their being prevented from competing for the Colonial Civil Service Examination. With regard to housing conditions of and educational and medical facilities for Indian labour he found in the estate he visited that things were better than some years ago. Indian women however felt shy, owing to ignorant prejudice, in taking advantage of the lying-in hospitals provided on estates for delivery purposes. Sir Lalubhai is right in emphasising the need of persistent propaganda conducted in a sympathetic spirit in order to overcome this prejudice. It is to be hoped that his suggestion will not fail to attract notice in proper quarters. Sir Lalubhai's observations being confined only to one estate, it is doubtful if they can be regarded as representative of the state of affairs in the estates as a whole. Whatever that be, there is reason to believe that this shows a consistent tendency towards improvement, thanks to the watchful care and sympathetic insight brought to bear on their task by successive Agents the Indian Government stationed there.

Civic & Social Progress.

THAT the interests of the voiceless, illiterate, poverty-stricken, unorganised village people, untouchables not excluded, are now receiving greater attention at the hands of their better-placed brethren admits of no doubt. The problem is so large that the more public spirited workers undertake social service of such a character, the better for the unfortunate millions. We have before us resolutions adopted at the annual session of the Civic and Social Progress League held recently at Trichinopoly which

seek the improvement in practically all aspects of the villager's life. Remission in land revenue to the extent of 50% is asked for so long as the present fall in prices continues. A number of worth-while suggestions are made in another resolution headed "Debt, Land and Labour." Indebtedness among all classes connected with land has grown to such dimensions that practical steps for its relief have become urgently necessary. Whilst facilities for education and medical relief for untouchables and poorer classes in thousands of villages may not easily be procurable, a demand for clean wholesome drinking water sounds so imperative that the authorities should pay immediate heed to it. We note the Conference's resolution on Prohibition. We join with it in urging the adoption of the graduated surcharge system as the excise policy of all provincial Governments in place of the auction system which encourages drink by placing temptations of various kinds in the way of the unwary.

Articles.

THE FAST AND AFTER.

A MIDST solemn and simple ceremony of prayers according to the great religions of the world, the Mahatma broke his fast with some orange juice a little after noon on Monday last, after completing the fast of twenty-one days. Though grave apprehensions were entertained at the start, the Mahatma went successfully through the ordeal the justification and purpose of which are still an enigma to most people. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu has given to the press a vivid picture of the Mahatma during the fast in her own inimitable words:

"Those who have been privileged to be by the side of Mr. Gandhi during this penitential fast have witnessed, from hour to hour, the miracle of the spirit's victory over the frail and failing flesh. His body is worn to the merest shadow, his breath is feeble, his physical strength sinks lower moment by moment before our eyes,—but his smile remains as serene, his gesture as expressive, his courtesy as exquisite, his humour as lambent, his mind as luminous, and his will as invincible as in the days of his health. His radiant faith has never flickered for a single instant throughout the long-drawn ordeal of his fast. In his presence all doubt is transformed into hope, all fear transmitted into courage, and despair itself transfigured into the knowledge, and certainty that his will be the victory, not merely over bodily death, but over the deadly wrong-doing, for which he has, in this sublime and terrible manner, offered himself up as a triumphant sacrifice."

It is a matter for sincere congratulation that a life so valuable to the nation and to the world has been saved and grateful thanks of the nation are due to all those of every degree who attended on him during the critical days and helped him to pull through.

What next? What will be the policy of the Mahatma when he recovers sufficiently to take active part in the affairs of the country? It is certain that he will devote a great part of his time to Harijan

work. Immediately after his release, he brought about the suspension of the civil disobedience movement, offered to promote peace and reconciliation between the Congress and the Government and appealed to the Government to release the political prisoners. The response of the Government has been most unsatisfactory and deplorable. Efforts are still being made by the Constitutionals to persuade the Government to take up a responsive attitude towards the Mahatma's gesture and pave the way for peace. Should the Government, however, remain stubborn, what should the Congress do? The leaders of the Congress are naturally awaiting the directions of the Mahatma. Even they cannot anticipate what line he may take. They were not prepared for his startling and disconcerting statement of the 8th inst. in which he administered a severe rebuke to them for having resorted to secret methods of agitation and advised the suspension of the civil disobedience movement without previously consulting the Acting President of the Congress and other leaders then present in Poona. Everything as far as the Congress is concerned depends, therefore, on the line that the Mahatma may choose to take.

He has stated that if he failed to negotiate peace with the Government, he would request to be taken back to prison. Which means that he will not lead the civil disobedience movement again. And without his active and inspiring leadership the campaign is bound to be even more tame and ineffective than it has been. There is no disguising the fact, however unpleasant it is to ardent Congressmen, that the movement has definitely failed in its primary object. Is it then worthwhile to keep up an empty show which deceives none except perhaps a few of its own votaries? Few of his lieutenants will and can muster enough courage to openly admit defeat and call off civil disobedience. This supreme sacrifice only the Mahatma is capable of. We hope he will not hesitate to take the step in the interest of the country and, if we may add, the interest of the large number of his colleagues who still remain "buried alive" in the jails. The mental and physical sufferings of the political prisoners—most of them are in the third class—have been great and trying. If their continued incarceration and suffering do not hasten Swaraj, there is not the slightest purpose in prolonging for a moment longer their immurement in the jails. Every one of them will be far better employed outside the jail than inside. And suffering is not an end in itself.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION UNDER THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

A division of functions between the common Federal and the several commonwealth governments is an integral feature of every federal constitution. For those who are interested in seeking legislative action with a view to bringing about social reform this division has special importance. The old conception in this respect was that only the essential

military and economic functions should be left with the common government and all the remaining field of positive legislation and control should be at the disposal of the constituent governments. In fact the possibility of each unit being able to go ahead with progressive self-government without having to wait for the rest of the country was used as an argument in favour of a federal as contrasted with a unitary constitution. Recent experience has, however, shaken the faith of social reformers in the efficacy of isolated action by the constituent States. Whatever view one might hold about the justification or the success of American Prohibition, the fact that the momentous reform could be inaugurated only after a very lengthy, and to a certain extent, stormy, process of constitutional revision is very important. In the field of economic legislation also it is increasingly realised that only the common government can hope to secure uniformity in legislation, and adequacy of resource. In the United States, Canada and Australia there are unmistakable tendencies towards a strengthening of the Federal Government with a view to enabling it to do full justice to its social responsibilities.

Before the introduction of the Montford reforms India was governed under a unitary constitution. In the field of legislation, administration and finance all the uniformity that was needed could be easily secured. The introduction of a partially responsible constitution in 1921 was accompanied by a division of the governmental functions into the central and the provincial. Enough regard was not paid to the need of adjusting the political machine to the requirements of a modern government. Thus "excise, that is to say, the control of production, manufacture, possession, transport, purchase, and sale of alcoholic liquor and intoxicating drugs, and the levying of excise duties and license fees on or in relation to such articles, but excluding, in the case of opium, control of cultivation, manufacture and sale for export," was included in the provincial list, without reserving any legislative authority to the Government of India. Public opinion in India was almost unanimous in demanding the adoption of a policy of prohibition. In face of such a demand and in view of the difficulties experienced by American reformers on account of the constitutional weakness of their Federal Government it was most unfortunate that when the process of devolution commenced in India sufficient precaution was not taken to reserve to the common government the necessary powers to adopt a policy of prohibition when circumstances warranted such a step. In the field of that other type of social legislation, which is attracting increasing attention in this as in other countries, viz. labour legislation and social insurance, happily a greater regard was shown to the lessons of the working of other constitutions. Industrial matters e. g. factories, settlement of labour disputes, welfare of labour, including provident funds, industrial insurance (general, health and accident) and housing were classified as Provincial, but they were declared to be subject to central legislation. This authority has in fact been exercised by the central legislature during the last

decade and a commendable uniformity of labour legislation has thereby been secured for British India.

The proposals for the allocation of governmental functions contained in the White Paper are open to the objection that they fail to take account of the defects that have been discovered in the present arrangements. To place the liquor trade exclusively under provincial control, knowing full well that the provinces depended on excise revenue for a substantial part of their public income was effectively to forestall all reasonable prospects of the introduction of a policy of national prohibition. The Government of India which has expanding sources of revenue has no legislative competence to initiate the restriction of the liquor trade; and the provincial governments which are the competent authority in this matter are too far dependent on liquor revenue to afford the enactment of prohibition. If the constitution is to provide for the realisation of the generally accepted goal of prohibition it is essential that the legislative competence of the central and the financial resources of the provincial governments should be suitably expanded. In these trying times of depression financial readjustment is not an easy task. The minimum, therefore, that the constitution should do is to vest in the federal government adequate powers to legislate on liquor (and drugs) trade. As the financial and administrative effects of central legislation in the matter fall mainly on the provincial governments, steps must be taken to see that the central legislature will not adopt a policy which the bulk of the nation is not willing to accept. It should, therefore, be provided that any legislation undertaken by the central legislature with a view to restrict the production and consumption of liquor and other intoxicating drugs from which the provincial governments derive considerable revenues should take effect only when a substantial majority of the constituent governments representing a substantial majority of the population, express their acquiescence. It may be felt that this procedure is no improvement on the present arrangements so far as early prospects of a dry India are concerned. But we feel that it is a definite advantage to have the constitutional method provided through which the adoption of a dry policy might be facilitated.

Whatever one may say of the framers of the Act of 1919, the authors of the White Paper are innocent of any worsening of the position as far as the prospects of a national prohibition policy are concerned. It appears to us, however, that in respect of labour legislation the new proposals register a definite retrogression. As mentioned above almost the entire field of factory legislation and social insurance is at present subject to legislation both by the central and provincial governments. Under the new dispensation while mines, factories, workmen's compensation, trade unions, trade disputes, and labour welfare continue to be under the concurrent authority of both the governments, such allied subjects as poor relief, health insurance, invalid and old age pensions are specifically allocated as exclusively

provincial heads. We feel that there is no justification for this sort of discrimination. Insurance against indigence, ill health and unprovided old age ought to come under the same category as the other heads of social legislation. In particular as this kind of reform is most likely to be initiated first in the industrial areas the necessary uniformity of legislation can be secured only by central action. We suggest, therefore, that the whole field of labour legislation and social insurance should be covered by the concurrent jurisdiction of both the central and the provincial governments.

We have discussed this question till now in its application to British India alone. But in the new constitution an additional factor making for weakness and disharmony is being introduced. A number of States are expected to join the new Federation. The position with regard to the relations between the Federation and the non-federating states will theoretically continue to be the same as at present obtains between the Government of India and the several States. But the organisation of the Federal Government and the special powers reserved to the Governor-General make it doubtful as to whether it will be possible for the Federal Government by any means to secure co-ordination with the non-federating States in matters of social and labour policy. Even the federating states are to join each on its own terms. Individual States might reserve to themselves excise or labour laws, or both. Uniformity and national sanction are very necessary for the success of social legislation. The new constitution fails to provide an easy channel for the adoption of a progressive social policy even in the British Indian provinces. But if the States are to be allowed to retain exclusive control of either excise or labour legislation, the task of the social reformer will be well nigh impossible. It is imperative not only that 'excise' and social legislation should be made subject to all-India regulation under suitable provisions, but it should also be insisted upon that every acceding State accepts federal regulation of these subjects on the same terms as the British Indian provinces.

BIHAR AND ORISSA IN 1931-32.

AS revealed in their latest administration report, every department of Government in Bihar bears the stamp of economic depression and financial stringency. The provincial revenues amounted to no more than Rs. 5 crores in 1931-32 made up of land revenue 33.9%: excise 23.5% and stamps 20.3%. All the paraphernalia of a wealthy province, with the same methods of stereotyped administration, high salaries and numerous allowances to officers, uneconomic and wasteful system of education had however to be maintained in the province, because it has to satisfy the elaborate requirements which are laid down for the government of the country as a whole. The report complains of this by saying that "the poorest province in India could not afford the standard of administration maintained in the neighbouring provinces. In land revenue, the principal

of its resources, there is no prospect of expansion and with the fall in prices other sources have become much less productive; new sources of taxation will for some time be difficult to exploit." The remedy suggested in the report lies in making a change in the redistribution of funds on a liberal basis as proposed in the Percy Committee's report; but we believe that a sound system of finance requires reduction of expenditure by overhauling the entire governmental machinery and recruiting new servants of the Government on very much lower salaries, and increase of income by abolishing the permanent settlement of land revenue. The report emphasises the view held by the provincial Government and the Legislature that "under present conditions the financial resources allotted to the province will not permit a government completely responsible to the legislature to function." At no distant date, we fear, the people of Bihar and of other areas as well, will have to choose between a self-governing province with nation-building branches of administration in full swing and a bureaucratic system of government, highly efficient no doubt, but too expensive for the poor people of the land.

The civil disobedience movement was under check in all but a few districts. The report humorously describes the activities of Congress volunteers at Cuttack as follows:

"Having despatched a pompous ultimatum to the District Magistrate of Cuttack, some noisy Congress volunteers on the 11th July raided the Court building, sat on the platforms and destroyed a few forms and a punkha frill before being arrested. A week later another raiding party rushed into the District Magistrate's room, and before the police could intervene, they asked him to hand over the administration to them... For a short time picketers of excise shops were active and volunteers paraded for knife drill."

With reference to anti-untouchability work started in September last, the report narrates what is commonly true of the adjacent province of U. P. also that while leaders of Hindu opinion "enthusiastically started a campaign to remove the social and religious disabilities of the depressed classes, their zeal weakened when Mr. Gandhi broke his fast and by the end of November 1932 their propaganda had lost much of its original momentum." Some temples to which the untouchables had been allowed full or partial admittance were afterwards purified. The latest fast of the Mahatma has again spurred the Harijan enthusiasts on to vigorous action and it is hoped that they will not slacken their efforts in the good cause of their weaker Hindu brethren.

Turning to Excise, we find that it contributes about a quarter of the total provincial revenue while the maintenance of the department does not cost more than 2.8% of the total annual Governmental income. During the year, the Excise policy of the Government underwent a change, for the graduated surcharge system, whose success was amply proved by statistics as acknowledged in the report, was substituted by the old, vicious, discredited auction system, which finds few supporters among the friends of excise reforms. Under the graduated system

consumption of excisable articles grew considerably, Country liquor was reduced from 960,304 gallons in 1929-30 to 557,525 gallons in 1931-32; opium from 604 to 464 maunds; ganja from 1411 to 776 maunds and bhang from 264 to 181 maunds, while the provincial revenues went down in the same period from Rs. 191.77 lakhs to Rs. 122.35 lakhs. Justification for the reintroduction of the auction method has been the growth of illicit distillation. It is interesting to learn that the Bihar Government does not permit smoking of opium to any but the registered addicts.

Co-operation which is perhaps the best method for improving the economic, social and moral condition of village people comes in for some criticism in the report for the unsatisfactory manner in which it has been handled in Bihar. In 1927 there were 8,300 co-operative societies and 66 central banks while four years later, in the year 1931, the figure increased by 828 for societies and only 2 for banks. A committee was appointed by the Government to ascertain what changes were required. The judgment of the Committee is that banks and societies were primarily concerned with the supply of credit to individual members and that their resources had been insufficiently directed to help people to work together in the common task of rural reconstruction. We are in entire sympathy with the policy of consolidation of co-operative societies, which should eliminate mismanagement and wasteful expenditure on speculative enterprises, but in the name of efficiency, the steady spread of the movement should not be sacrificed.

In regard to education, the number of scholars dwindled by 13,671 and expenditure by Rs. 3 lakhs. Recurring grants to local bodies for primary education for boys were reduced by 10 per cent. and economy was observed in all grades of institutions and in regard to stipends. A healthy change introduced by the Patna University Amendment Act gives a larger representation to persons outside the teaching profession on the University Senate and Syndicate and creates a board to co-ordinate the work of the colleges at Patna. We learn that a Committee is now engaged in investigating the methods of reform in primary education which would minimise the waste caused by "a teacher who is an habitual absentee and pupils who are a happy lot of holiday-makers." Discipline in colleges and schools has greatly improved—a hopeful sign amidst gloomy circumstances.

The Government resolution on Municipal affairs was a serious indictment of the conduct of all except 16 boards. The boards were a conspicuous failure in their primary duty of assessing and collecting the taxes efficiently. "Wholesale suppression, though justified, would not have been practical." By an amendment of the Municipal Act, the boards are empowered to recover arrears by distress and sale, and by recourse to the certificate procedure as an alternative to filing civil suits. They are also empowered to apply to the Government to relieve them of their tax-collecting functions. Monghyr and Patna City Municipalities, the two most important ones in the

province, have been suppressed for gross mal-administration and absence of corporate responsibility. If the working of municipal boards can be a criterion for judging the future Swaraj Government which is to usher in shortly we cannot help being pessimistic.

S. P. ANDREWS-DUBE.

Our London Letter.

(BY AIR MAIL.)

(From Our Correspondent.)

LONDON, May 19.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE.

THE first sitting of the Joint Select Committee with those of the Indian delegates already here was held at the House of Lords on Tuesday. The proceedings were largely informal, and were, as have been all the subsequent sittings to date, held in private. The anti-Government Tory Press describes them characteristically as secret sessions, in order to emphasise the fears that it has done so much to establish in the minds of a section of the public regarding the White Paper proposals. In point of fact I understand that all that has happened is that a general preliminary discussion has taken place on such subjects as those of the transfer of law and order, the Governor's powers, and the relations of the Provinces to the Central Government. These general discussions will proceed during the next fortnight, and it is expected that the taking of evidence will begin on the 1st June. A number of individuals and public bodies, both here and in India, have signified their desire to tender evidence and of these it is probable that some thirty-five will be examined, though the number will probably be modified according to circumstances. It would not be surprising, for example, to find that Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha will be among the witnesses. Evidence on behalf of the Indian States will probably be tendered by Mr. K. M. Panikkar, Dr. P. K. Sen, the Dewan of Mayurbhanj, and Mir Maqbul Mahmood. Of course the Service associations are very strongly to the fore, and it is certain that they will not only press their claims very hard, but the retired Service people of the Craddock type will vociferously protest against the dangers apparent and implicit in the White Paper proposals.

I am afraid that the harmony that appeared to have emerged at the earlier meetings of the British Indian delegation is more apparent than real. There is far too little cohesion among the members, and some of them are far more concerned to express particular views of dissent than to establish a united front, in order to secure the maximum advantage out of the present proceedings in the direction of improving upon the official proposals. It is a great pity in the opinion of many friends here that the Indian Liberal Federation is disinclined to send witnesses to appear before the Select Committee. They could have rendered a threefold service had they come. They could have presented a strong case for substantial advance upon the present proposals and thereby done much to counteract the activities of the Churchill group. They would have greatly strengthened the hands of the ablest of the British Indian delegates. Finally they could have rendered a very useful service in helping to create harmony among the British Indian delegates. So far as can be ascertained, whilst the Mohammedan section of the delegation is keeping itself as a separate unit, it is on the whole collaborating well in pressing for constitutional reforms of a more vigorous and more liberal

character than those already contemplated. The Hyderabad delegation is still inclined to play a lone hand, though the representatives of some of the other States are not unwilling to sit in informal conference with their British Indian colleagues. I understand further that an informal sub-committee of the Joint Select Committee and the associated delegates has been set up as a sort of subjects committee. It is believed that its composition is as follows: Lord Linlithgow, Lord Salisbury, Lord Zetland, Lord Lothian, Sir Samuel Hoare, and Major Attlee on the British side, and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sir Abdul Rahim, Mr. Zafarulla Khan, Sir Manubhai Mehta, and Sir Mirza Ismail, on the Indian side.

Mr. GANDHI'S FAST.

Mr. Gandhi, whose sincerity in undertaking this great sacrifice is no longer in question, has almost disappeared from the newspaper scare heads. Having survived successfully twelve days of fasting, it is now beginning to be assumed, upon the reassuring reports that have lately succeeded each other from Dr. Ansari and his professional colleagues, that the Mahatma will now be able to survive his ordeal. In some curious fashion, Mr. C. F. Andrews, who has just completed at Birmingham the manuscript of his next book, has had the feeling throughout that the Mahatma would win through, as he did on a previous occasion. Many people are praying that he may prove to be right and that the ordeal will have produced no ill-effects. Speaking of Mr. Andrews reminds me, that he has just entered into an agreement with Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton to write a book on Sadhu Sunder Singh, whose death has just been presumed. It is believed that a book on this subject from the pen of Mr. Andrews will have a wide public.

THE UNION OF BRITAIN & INDIA.

The Times to-day reports of the formation of a new organisation under the above title, with the aim of combating ill-informed propaganda on Indian affairs, and of supporting the general policy of reform represented by the White Paper proposals. The founders of the Association are described as being for the most part "men who have recently lived and worked in India, and who are primarily concerned with the realities of the situation there. The acting Chairman is Sir John Thompson, lately Chief Commissioner of Delhi, and with him are Mr. Edward Villiers, until recently the President of the European Association, Sir Alfred Watson, who has just retired from the Editorship of the Statesman of Calcutta, and Lord Brabourne. The formation of such a body as this, notwithstanding its limited objective, is a very necessary counter-thrust to the activities of the Indian Empire Society, and one of the main objects of the new organisation will probably be to send speakers to those parts of the country where doubts have been spread by the Indian Empire Society and other groups as to the wisdom of the Government's policy. "We intend", says Sir John Thompson, in a statement published to-day, "by these and other means, to inform the public of the true issues and their implications, through the mouths of men who can speak with recent experience and knowledge. The real danger ahead is not the acceptance, but the rejection, of the White Paper. It is a choice between the retention of a contended India within the Empire and its ultimate loss." It is at least to the good that something is being done intelligently to stem the rising tide of opposition to the reforms among the old Tory ladies and gentlemen.

It would not be surprising to find among the prominent supporters of the new body, Sir John Kerr, who castigates Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the columns

of the *Daily Telegraph*, and who writes: "It may be that the great mass of the people (of India) are politically unconscious, but their feelings are profoundly affected by the attitude of the classes which are already in contact with political issues." Another probable collaborator will be Sir Stanley Reid, who has been good-humouredly hammering Sir Henry Page-Craft.

MOHENJO-DARO.

Professor H. G. Rawlinson, lecturing under the auspices of the India Society, at the Royal Society of Arts, last week, paid a well merited tribute to Sir John Marshall and his associates whose work in the field has done so much to fill the blank spaces of Indian History. The discovery of a hitherto unknown Vedic civilization on the banks of the Indus had, he said, put back our knowledge two thousand years, and provided a clue to several unsolved mysteries - the influence of Babylonia on Indian Culture, the origin of the Nagari script, the worship of Mahadev, and much of the background of early Buddhism. This Indus valley civilization, which covered a large area from Laristan in Persia to the foot of the Simla Hills, flourished from about 4,000 to 2,000 B. C. when it became decadent and was overthrown by the Aryan invaders from the North-West. The Indus valley folk were probably the *Dasas* of the *Vedas*.

Professor Rawlinson illustrated on the screen some of the chief characteristics of the Indus culture. The inhabitants dwelt in great cities built of burnt brick with wide roads laid at right-angles, and an elaborate system of drainage and water supply and public baths. They were apparently of a Semitic type, with thick lips, and almond shaped eyes, and they wore cotton clothing. In the lecturer's opinion, the evidence of the remains seemed clearly to show that cotton originated in the Indus valley. These people were intensely artistic, and produced some remarkable steatite seals with realistic portrayals of various animals, statuettes in sandstone steatite and bronze, delightful little pottery figures of dogs, cats and monkey and elaborate pottery and jewellery. They do not appear to have had temples but worshipped the great reproductive powers of Nature, the *lingam* and the *yoni* and the sacred bull, the Great Mother, and certain sacred trees.

They employed an elaborate system of pictographic writing, which has hitherto defied interpretation. Professor Rawlinson expressed the hope that perhaps in Mesopotamia from which these people seem to have come, probably by the old trade route running through the Bolan Pass, it might be possible to find some bilingual inscriptions that would enable these hieroglyphs to be deciphered in the same way that the Egyptian inscriptions have been read by means of the Rosseta stone. The people were Sumerians and the question had still to be solved as to whether they and the Dravidians may be identical. At Mohenjodaro prototype of Indian deities and traces of cults and art motifs which still persist were to be found.

The Marquis of Zetland, who presided, reminded the audience which included Lady Sykes, that much of our present knowledge of this culture was due to the discoveries at Mohenjodaro by the late Mr. G. R. Banerji of certain pictographic seals similar to those discovered long earlier at Harrapa in the Punjab four hundred miles distant. The conclusions drawn by Sir John Marshall and his colleagues seemed to be that a lively intercourse existed between the peoples of Ilam and Mesopotamia on the one hand, and those of the Indus valley on the other at the close of the fourth millennium B. C. when Mohenjodaro and Harrapa were at the zenith of their greatness. It was quite evident from these discoveries of the

archæological department that a great and vigorous civilization existed in the North West of India long before the Aryan invasion, and one of the problems still to be more fully elucidated was the nature and the extent of the contribution that it had made to the civilization and culture of India as a whole during the subsequent centuries of its evolution. Lord Zetland in paying a tribute to Lord Curzon's foresight in realising the wonderful potentialities of archæological research in India and selecting Sir John Marshall as the first Director-General under the new scheme, regretted that present world conditions had caused a curtailment in the activities of the Archæological Survey, and expressed the hope that when conditions improved this most important work would be taken up with renewed vigour. It is important to note that so far as can be discovered this is the first public lecture given in England on the subject of Mohenjodaro.

THE JOINT COUNCIL.

The work of the Joint Council to Promote Understanding between White and Coloured People in Great Britain has proceeded quietly, but persistently during last year. And Sir Francis Younghusband, the President of the Joint Council, had a few words of congratulation upon the Council's work at the Annual Meeting held at Friends House on Wednesday last, when Mr. Hy. S. L. Polak, the Chairman of the Executive Committee, presented the Annual Report. The Report drew attention to the existence of the Colour Bar in hotels, boarding establishments, restaurants and dance halls. A list of hotels, boarding houses and private houses which are glad to welcome coloured guests has been compiled by the Committee, and it is believed that the supply is generally large enough to meet the demand. The Secretary, Mr. John Fletcher, is frequently consulted on the matter.

The very active League of Coloured People, whose President is Dr. Harold Moody, the Vice-Chairman of the Joint Council, has rendered very valuable service in co-operating with the Joint Council for purposes of mutual benefit and particularly in trying to obtain facilities in the nursing schools of the London Hospital for coloured people. It is clear that among some nurse probationers drawn from among army men's daughters colour prejudice is still strong. Guys Hospital appears to be an exception to the prevailing condition. Colour prejudice in its various manifestations is one of the matters to which the Joint Council is giving its care and attention. It was recalled that some time ago no less a person than Mr. Stanley Baldwin was reported in the Press as saying: "I suppose, with luck, we may hope to see the day when we shall be able to put a billycock hat on every nigger between Morocco and Cape Town." The Joint Council and the League of Coloured peoples promptly wrote to Mr. Baldwin protesting against the insult to the African people. The only consolation that they derived was a letter from Mr. Baldwin's private secretary pointing out that Mr. Baldwin was making an informal after-dinner speech at a county gathering, and he was the last person to wish to hurt anyone's feelings. It is to be hoped that Mr. Baldwin, who is shortly to act once more as the Prime Minister of this country during the period that Mr. MacDonald is presiding over the World Economic Conference, will take an early opportunity of making public amends for his statement.

Another piece of work in which the Joint Council was closely associated was that of the Indo-British Students' Conference, of which particulars have already been reported in the Indian Press. In summing up the work of the Joint Council, Mr. Polak

pointed to the immense harm to inter-Imperial relations done by the unfortunate experiences that so many Indian and other coloured students had upon their arrival in this country, when they found themselves at the most impressionable period of their career up against the Colour Bar in one or other of its unpleasant phases. This note was emphasised, too, by Dr. T. Drummond Shiels, formerly Under Secretary for the Colonies, who supported the adoption of the report and complemented the Joint Council upon the great value and importance of its work of conciliation and understanding.

Reviews.

RURAL LIFE IN HYDERABAD.

ECONOMIC INVESTIGATIONS IN THE HYDERABAD STATE, 1929-30. VOL. I. BY

K. KESHAVA IYENGAR. (Govt. Central Press, Hyderabad, Deccan.) 1931. 25cm. 178p. Rs. 5]-

AS explained by Mr. B. A. Collins, Director-General of Commerce and Industry, Hyderabad, in the Introduction, the main objects of the enquiry, which was conducted by Professor S. K. Iyengar and his staff (which included two students of the Nizam's College, Hyderabad) were (a) to ascertain to what extent registered holders of land in the State have been dispossessed of their holdings during the last 25 years and what were the causes of their dispossession and (b) to ascertain the extent of the indebtedness of existing holders. The terms of the enquiry also included questions regarding the size of agricultural holdings and the manner in which holders obtain seed and dispose of their produce.

The investigation related to six districts in the Nizam's Dominions, Mahboobnagar, Nizamabad, Aurangabad, Warangal, Raichur and Nanded. In all, 56 villages, representative of conditions in different parts of the various districts, were selected. Mr. Iyengar tells us that the investigation was made as intensive as possible by camping in the villages themselves and by enquiries from the heads of all families in the villages and by verification of the data thus compiled by means of village records and discussions with village officers, landholders, *soucars*; etc. It is gratifying to note that the village folk co-operated in the enquiry.

The most interesting and instructive part of the volume under review is Part I, entitled "General Survey." The remaining five parts are notes on economic investigations in the various districts. The general conclusions regarding some of the more important aspects of the enquiry may be briefly noticed here. The size of the average holding varies in accordance with natural and climatic conditions, being biggest (27 acres) in Mahboobnagar and smallest (8 acres) in Warangal district. Although the term 'economic holding' is nebulous in its nature and it is difficult to generalise about it, Mr. Iyengar has ventured the conclusion that 15 acres of dry land and 5 acres of wet land might be taken as the minimum area for an economic holding which would suffice to ensure the maintenance of an agriculturist and his family at a reasonable standard of comfort. The percentage of rayats holding insufficient land varies from 50 per cent. in Nanded to about 75 per cent. in Warangal. It would thus appear that the pressure on the soil is not as great as in British India. The landless families constitute about 30 per cent. of the total families and include a fair proportion of skilled artisans and many persons belonging to the so-called

"untouchable" community. Mr. Iyengar appears to have practically ignored the question of fragmentation of holdings which is very intimately linked up with that of subdivision.

As regards dispossession, Mr. Iyengar's conclusion confirms the general impression that the simple Maratha cultivator loses possession of his land mostly by a gradual process, as the result of accumulation of debt at high rates of interest. The transfer of land was found to be on a very large scale in Aurangabad where nearly 30 per cent. of the cultivated area left the hands of families which originally cultivated it, a severe famine 12 years ago being an aggravating factor. This state of affairs would appear to call for legislation to restrict the alienation of land.

Regarding the debt position, separate statistics of land mortgage and non-land mortgage debt have been compiled. The total amount of debt secured on land mortgages is relatively small, Rs. 1,35,000, Hyderabad currency as compared with over Rs. 5 lakhs of other debt. This shows that the moneylender insists on the formal security of land only when the debt reaches a high total and drags on for several years. The district of Aurangabad heads the list so far as non-mortgage debt is concerned with an average debt of Rs. 289 per family indebted and as an average of Rs. 150 (including land mortgage debt) per resident family. These figures are considered to be not too high, especially in view of the high land values. It is an interesting fact that the highest rate of interest is usually 24 per cent, which in itself is a sufficiently prohibitive one, but not as high as in some parts of British India. Various other aspects of the rural debt problem are dealt with as also certain general questions such as communications, markets, current banking and money facilities, rural industries, sanitation, etc.

The investigation under review, while obviously limited in its scope, is nevertheless valuable so far as it extends. While it does not attempt an estimate of rural wealth and the economic condition of the people, Mr. Iyengar has made a few observations of a general character. For example, writing about the condition of landless labourers he tells us that the contention that families cannot live below a certain wage-level is not borne out by his enquiries. "On the one hand underfeeding (by stifling appetite) is being resorted to by a large number of these families. On the other, several sources (mostly free perquisites, charity and small earnings of women and children of the same family) supplement the wages earned".

We welcome this valuable addition to the growing literature on rural problems of India and intensive village surveys which is even to-day scanty in our country. Mr. Iyengar and his co-workers deserve praise for their patient and useful work which, it is hoped, will be appreciated in British India as well. A number of useful districts maps neatly drawn are a noteworthy feature of the volume under review. The only comment we would make is that the value of the investigation would have been greatly enhanced if Mr. Iyengar had given comparisons with conditions in British India, wherever possible, (so far as materials in British India are available).

S. G. BERI.

THE REPARATION PROBLEM.

THE REPARATION SETTLEMENT, 1930.

BY DENYS P. MYERS. (World Peace Foundation, Boston.) 1930. 20cm. 249p. \$ 2-50.

THE World Peace Foundation and Mr. Myers deserve to be congratulated on bringing out this book which

contains an accurate and exhaustive account of the origin and history of the reparation problem right up to the settlement known as the Young Plan and the establishment of the Bank for International Settlements. It is needless to point out that the post-war problem is not yet dead and seems to take "an unconcionable long time" in dying. The Lausanne Agreement constitutes in a sense a final solution to the reparation problem. But in so far as its operation depends upon the reaching of a solution of the war debt problem at once satisfactory both to the United States of America and the signatories of the Lausanne Agreement, the Young Plan and not the Lausanne Agreement is still the rule of international law to which we must refer all reparation questions. Mr. Myers' critical study of the Young Plan is, therefore, valuable to us not merely because it is full of historical interest but also because it gives us an insight into a vital problem of current international affairs. The carefully prepared financial documentation with which the author supports his case makes his book indispensable to the thorough understanding of inter-European relations as well as of the position of Europe *vis-a-vis* the United States of America. The book is highly matter of fact, both in its style and contents, in consonance with the cherished principle of the World Peace Foundation that "the actual facts concerning international relations and official international co-operation constitutes the best possible arguments for lasting peace and improved international understanding."

The chapter that must be read and re-read by all students of international affairs is the one dealing with the Bank for International Settlements. Mr. Myers clearly analyses the two-fold functions of the Bank—the functions respecting reparation and the functions normal to any non-political banking institution. The system for the management of reparations under the Dawes Plan consisted of a Reparation Commission empowered to determine the claims of the creditors; to fix the obligations of debtors, to receive, sell, hold and manage the service of bonds representing the indebtedness; to interpret the treaties and, in case of need, to declare defaults; as well as of an Agent-General of Reparation Payments, who was appointed by the Reparation Commission, whose principal duty in Germany was to receive payments of all kinds towards the annuity, the funds of which were placed to his credit in the Reichsbank, and whose principal duty toward the creditors was to transfer the funds to their accounts in collaboration with the Transfer Committee, of which he was the chairman. Foreign supervision and administration, therefore, governed to a considerable extent the payment of reparations under the Dawes Plan. The committee of experts who formulated the Young Plan determined to divest the Dawes' system for the management of reparation of all its political trappings and place upon Germany the complete responsibility for reparation payments without war-time sanctions and control or without supervision or administration of the transfer of funds. So the Reparation Commission and all its agencies were abolished and the Bank for International Settlements was credited with the primary object of providing for the receipt and distribution of annuities which Germany is to pay on its own responsibility in foreign currencies. After detailing all the intricate facts about the origin, structure and functions of the International Bank as an instrument for the management of reparation payments, Mr. Myers indicates the characteristics of that Bank as an instrument of international co-operation.

"Before the world war, the co-operation which took place between the central banks of different countries was left solely to private initiative. In the days of post-

war financial chaos, the necessity for such action became vividly apparent, and the Genoa Conference in 1922 recommended a meeting of banks of issue, but the suggestion for various reasons was never acted upon. In recent years considerable co-operation has been achieved, largely through the leadership of several outstanding personalities. There has been a growing consciousness that such co-operation should not in the long run be dependent upon individual initiative or upon chance, but should be organised. Just what tasks are to be accomplished through the co-operation afforded by the existence of the Bank for International Settlements in the next decade or two no one can predict. If the central banks desire, some international transactions can well be cleared through an international agency, and in this way gold movements could be lessened. Whatever definite developments may take place, it seems clear that international financial machinery available for any emergency that may arise and for the gradual development of methods of international co-operation will be found useful."

The book deals with the liquidation of the reparation problem not only in regard to Germany but also in regard to Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria and the conflicting obligation of the succession states. This comprehensive and detailed survey of the reparation problem as a whole has come to us at a very opportune time indeed; for the key to the present world economic situation lies in a speedy and satisfactory solution of the twin problems of reparation and war debt. Demonstrating as it does the significant fact that American initiative and leadership were mainly responsible for the formulation of the Young Plan, a plan but for which the economic organisation of Europe would have utterly collapsed three years ago, it must now hold forth to us the one, and perhaps the only, hope that through the initiative and leadership which President Roosevelt has displayed in his recent Washington conversations with European diplomats the fast approaching World Economic Conference would be crowned with success and the world would once more emerge out of the morass of economic depression into which it was dragged by the excesses of European nationalism and the American policy of "splendid isolation."

T. S. RAMANUJAM.

CHINESE ART AND LIFE.

AS IT LOOKS TO YOUNG CHINA. Ed. By WILLIAM HUNG. (Association Press, Calcutta.) 1932. 18cm. 160p. 2/6.

THE VISION OF ASIA. AN INTERPRETATION OF CHINESE ART AND CULTURE. By L. CRANMER-BYNG. (Murray.) 1932. 23cm. 306p. 15/-.

WESTERN observers base their views on China by looking at her present internal situation. China, it is suggested, is not merely at the moment politically unstable, but by her nature disqualified from achieving stability. The view is expressed that she lacks the power to combine change with continuity, which is the secret of growth. She is incapable alike of progress and of order. In short, it is believed by some Western observers that China is politically incorrigible.

That the theory of natural incapacity of China is based on ignorance and prejudice is amply proved by the two books under review. "As It Looks to Young China" edited by William Hung, is a collection of brilliant essays written by seven outstanding young Chinese Christians throwing a flood of light not so much on political affairs as on the thinking that is being done by the Chinese Christians on the basic

aspects of the life of their people. The book gives an excellent account of the conflict of old and new forces in the life of Modern China in the family, the school, business, national life, international relations and religion. The writers point out how during a great part of her history, China did not attempt to create a political structure of the Western type, because until recently she did not require one. But with the release of new forces owing to the impact of the West, the old regime became discredited and was overthrown in 1911. Since the Revolution of 1911 China has been labouring to construct the modern state and in the re-shaping of China's political mechanism, Dr. Sun-Yet-Sen played a leading part. His party, the Kuomintang, has set up a National Government and it stands for the sole purpose of carrying out the full programme of Dr. Sun expressed in the phrase *San Min Chui* that is, the three principles of Nationalism, Democracy and Livelihood.

The writers of the several essays point out that no sane view can be formed of the future of China which ignores the positive achievements of the different groups of reformers during the past twenty years. The writers being Christians naturally emphasise the part played by the Christian Church in the making of a new China, and we may say that the emphasis is well-laid. That Christianity has made definite contributions to Chinese national life may be seen from the fact that some of the great Chinese leaders of to-day are Christians. We are of opinion that it is impossible to speak too highly of the energy and enthusiasm thrown into the constructive work by the Christian Church.

If "Young China" deals with the political, economic, and spiritual reconstruction of China, "The Vision of Asia" by L. Crammer-Byng, the well-known Editor of the 'Wisdom of the East' series, is an interpretation of Chinese art and culture. The author believes like H. G. Wells that "history should be studied as the life story of humanity, and national history merely as the record of a particular contribution to the welfare of mankind as a whole." In the pages of the "Vision of Asia" he has endeavoured to give some idea of the national contribution of China to the world. "The contribution of China to the world" says the author in page 285, "lies in the outlook and response of the whole man to the whole of life, in his recognition and acceptance of the three necessities—Labour for Maintenance, Leisure for Creation, and Rest for Renewal. The Chinese sense of spirituality cannot be defined by the opposite of any sense, the inaudible, the invisible, the intangible. It is above all a sense of wholeness which cannot be attained except by the whole man. Neither was it developed through life-avoidance and ceaseless contemplation, as in India, but by the slower process through toil and contact and routine, the school of discipline, of rule and order through the widening freedom of creative activity and self-dependence into self-surrender and re-birth. Taoism through the man of Tao, interprets the saying of Christ in the Fourth Gospel: 'Verily, verily I say unto thee, except a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God.'"

We have no hesitation in saying that the books under review deserve the close study of those who are interested in China. If an understanding of the values of East and West is essential for the promotion of international amity, the importance of the books under review need hardly be over-emphasised.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

ACCOUNT OF HINDU FESTIVALS.

AMONG THE HINDUS. A STUDY OF HINDU FESTIVALS. BY R. MANOHAR LALL. (The Minerva Press, Cawnpore.) 1933. 20cm. 238p. Rs. 2-12-0.

IN the coming days when the political salvation of the Indian communities appears to lie but in a federated and unified India it is a matter of the gravest urgency for all classes concerned to visualise and establish points of contact rather than of divergence, to understand rather than criticise one another. The many religious and social organizations owe it to the country to allow no false step being taken that would jeopardise mutual good will and put off the country's salvation. Considered from the larger view-point of the harmonious evolution of Indian nationalism the book under review can at best be pronounced a mischievous production. The title of the book itself as used by the Indian author suggests some incongruity and the manner of treatment of the Hindu festivals leaves the reader in no doubt as to the intention of the author.

The book begins with an Introduction running to 26 pages, of which 6 are devoted to an attack on Hindu Polytheism culled from the *Epiphany* of Calcutta which might have been mistaken for an authority on the subject in the generations gone by. How is this germane to the subject? Is the author quite sure that the Vedic Religion is exactly polytheism? Even if he were, can he prove that it is less sound than monotheism as a philosophic doctrine? Granting that polytheism has lesser merits, it is positively unfair to use it as an argument against nationalism. The next 17 pages of the book contain a dissertation on Kaliyuga—not written by the author but reproduced from the *Madras Mail*, another dethroned authority on things oriental. Is Kaliyuga a festival?

Among the 22 festivals dealt with by the author *Ekadasi* is included! And why not, if Kaliyuga could be one?

The descriptions of the institution of Devadasis (p. 19), the worship of the Linga under the four Cots (p. 41), the Rama Navmi procession of the sweepers as well as the Hindus (pp. 72-73), the Ganges water concealed by the bride in her wedding clothes or added to the Persian Sherbet are clear symptoms of infection from Miss Mayo.

Inaccuracies of an unforgivable nature are numerous. It is stated that God Shiva rode on a bull and accompanied the gods who went to see God Shiva (p. 165); Vyasa, the sage, is credited with having written the great Vedas (p. 109). Narada is described as a Brahmacharya—probably an unconscious mistake for Brahmachari (p. 93). It is said that the good God Shiva drank the poison by mistake (p. 207). But the author has surpassed himself in blundering inaccuracies when he did not hesitate to make Saraswati a wife of Ganesha (p. 177)!

The author attempts adventurous derivations. In Ganadhipati Gana=nacklace (!) *Rakhi* is golden paper!

The orthography adopted by the author for Indian words is so out of date and persistently incorrect that one is led to suspect that even in this the author seems to convey a contempt for his subject. *Ajudhiya*, *Shaliman*, *Karus Lahoo Daryodhan*, *Panduas*, *Parikhitti*, *Sanemajaya*, *Viyas* are scarcely permissible in the present stage of oriental scholarship.

If one wants to know the truth about the Hindu festivals, this is not the book to go to.

H. YOGANARASIMHAM

MISSIONARY WORK IN THE ORIENT.

RE-THINKING MISSIONS. BY WILLIAM ERNEST HOCKING. (Harper Bros., New York.) 1932. 24cm. 349p.

IN view of the increasing shortage of funds for missionary activities and the falling off of suitable candidates for the ministry in foreign missionary lands, the laymen of seven Protestant Churches of U. S. A. headed by that great philanthropist, John D. Rockefeller (jr.), resolved to send out a strong Commission to India, Burma, China and Japan to make a thorough study of the basic principles of Christian work and its methods on the spot. The Hocking Commission, consisting of fifteen leading American men and women unconnected with mission boards and belonging to various walks of life, went round the Orient in 1931-32, and after considerable thought and deliberation presented their views in a report, which because of its intrinsic value is bound to rank high as a great work of sympathy, frankness, penetration and ability in the literature of Christian Missionary Societies. "Rethinking Missions" is a revolutionary document which offers a point of view generally unacceptable to missionaries and national Christians brought up in orthodox atmosphere in the East. It reveals an insight into religious matters which will considerably remove the prejudice existing among a section of non-Christians towards Christianity and its message.

While the Commissioners endorse the continuance of missions and claim to be among their zealous supporters, they advocate left-wing liberalism and advanced modernism as the theological basis for Christian work. The first four chapters of the book, called the general principles, are held so important that in the opinion of Dr. Hocking, Chairman of the Commission, the report will stand or fall on how they are received by the mission and their constituents in the world. So far, the Christian circles have spoken with divided voices in the matter.

What interests us most in the Report is the view expressed about the permanent functions of the mission. Whatever be the number of foreign missionaries in India and the scope of their philanthropic activities for the general good of the people, the ambassadorial character ascribed to them, interpreting the best in the West to the East and forming a link between the cultures of the two peoples, thus harmonising the goal of unity in religious truth in its completest sense, will greatly be appreciated by the thinking mind of the Orientalists, and secure a sympathetic response from the educated classes. The Report can by no means be described as 'soft', a term generally associated with religious and emotional people and the output of their publishing houses. It has some hard things to say about the missionary personnel and the results of their century-old service. The Commissioners are of opinion that the missionary personnel is, on the whole, "unduly weak on the human side," and the result, judged by statistics of their labours, "unimpressive."

One may or may not agree with these conclusions, but it is certainly true that Christian missions have touched Indian life and its social order intimately, and quickened the Indian conscience in regard to some of the abuses which are manifest in Indian society. The hundreds of institutions all over the country, schools, colleges, dispensaries, hospitals, asylums and homes for the poor, the lepers and the blind, the helpless babies and children, the orphelin and the outcaste, activities for the

welfare of the agriculturist and the villager, drunkards and the insane, and last but not least, efforts for the promotion of women's cause all round, are some of the evident proofs of what the Christian missionary has accomplished with limited resources in men and money at his disposal during the last several decades. A better missionary personnel might have achieved greater wonders, but the existing results are a noble monument of undying fame to the selfless and devoted service rendered by Christian missionaries.

In its thirteen chapters the Laymen's Inquiry Report tries to cover the complete field of the manifold missionary labours in the East and leaves the impression on the reader that while ability and understanding of a high order were displayed in tackling the problem, it undertook somewhat too ambitious an undertaking in the short time available, which is responsible for some of the sweeping generalisations supported by too few instances.

S. P. ANDREWS-DUBE.

SHORT NOTICE.

COST OF MILK PRODUCTION AT LYALLPUR, PUNJAB. BY DR. JOHNSTON and S. KARTAR SINGH. (The Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab).

THIS is an inquiry conducted in the Agricultural College Dairy, to devise a working method for carrying on further investigations. The cost of production of milk has been analysed as follows: Feed, Man labour, Bullock labour, Buildings, Equipment, Cow cost, Bull and miscellaneous. In feed concentrates, Green Fodder and Bhusa are the further sub divisions. The concentrates are more costly in India than in England and are needed in greater quantities in India than in England as the English hay has more nutritive value than Indian Bhusa. The total feed cost per 100 lbs. of milk comes to 50-56 annas and all other items of expenditure make it 98-67 annas. The seasonal variations in the cost of production are great, in October it is 148.85 annas and in February it is only 82-65 annas. The tabular statement, charts and graphs are instructive. Investigations which will pave the way for more and cheaper production of milk are very essential in this country.

N. S. S.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- ORIGINS OF SACRIFICE. A Study in Comparative Religion. By E. O. JAMES. (John Murray, London.) 1933. 23cm. 314p. 10/6.
- INDIANS ABROAD DIRECTORY, 1933. Comp. and Ed. by S. A. WAIZ. (Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, Bombay.) 1933. 23cm. 519p. Rs. 5.
- SOCIAL WORK YEAR BOOK, 1933. (2nd Issue.) Ed. by FRED S. HALL. (Russel Sage Foundation, New York.) 1933. 25cm. 680p. \$4.00
- THE MONETARY PROBLEMS OF INDIA. By L. C. JAIN. (Macmillan, London., 1933. 23cm. 222p. 10/6.
- THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN BRITAIN. By ALLEN HUTT. (Martin Lawrence, London.) 1933. 23cm. 272p. 6/-
- LENIN. Toward the Seizure of Power. Books 1 and 2. (Martin Lawrence, London.) 1933. 23cm. 272p. 304p. 6/- and 10/6.