

Indian Opinion

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GOVERNMENT BY ORDINANCE IN INDIA

(BY A. FENNER BROCKWAY)

ONE of the strongest arguments against the rule of India by Britain is that, in the very nature of things, the British people are ignorant of what that rule consists in. The population of Britain has enough problems of its own. The working class are wondering how they are going to live on reduced wages and unemployment benefits. The middle class are wondering how they are going to pay their income tax. It is not to be expected that they should show much concern about the problems of a people 7,000 miles distant.

The average British citizen has little or no sense of responsibility toward India. The traditional British view has been to leave such matters to the "man on the spot." Occasionally the newspapers report something startling. Then one man in the railway carriage will remark to his neighbour, "I see that silly old man, Gandhi, is making trouble again," and conversation will turn to his loin cloth. There are only two sections of the British people who have any real interest in India—the keen Socialists and the keen imperialists, both of whom are, of course, except at election times, insignificant minorities. Perhaps there is a third section—the Lancashire population engaged in the cotton industry. They are concerned about their loss of trade. During the past few weeks the newspapers have given exceptional space to India, though still much less than the American newspapers give. But British public opinion is still quite hazy as to what is occurring. The average man knows that some Indians have been in London at some kind of conference and that as soon as Gandhi got back to India trouble began again. He knows that there is some difficulty about what kind of Government India should have, but little more. He reads of ordinances being promulgated, but if one asked him what an ordinance is he would not know, and as to what promulgation is—!

But there is some excuse for the average man. There are not three newspaper editors in London who at this moment know the terms of the new Indian ordinances. The latest Bengal Ordinance was published in Calcutta last October. Three weeks ago there was not a copy in England outside the walls of the India Office! My friend Reginald Reynolds, the young Quaker who delivered Gandhi's final message to Lord Irwin, before the civil disobedience campaign of 1930, scoured London for a copy in vain. Finally, he succeeded in securing a loan of a copy from the Secretary of State. Yet this ordinance, issued in the name of the British people, embodies principles against which all the honoured pioneers of British democracy have fought!

The Bengal ordinance is political terrorism beyond anything which the Fascists are imposing in Italy or the Bolshevists in Russia. Here are a few of the provisions of the first chapter of the ordinance :

1. The Government assumes power to commandeer any property, movable or immovable, for its use—land, houses, furniture, vehicles, etc.
2. The District Official may award such compensation as he thinks reasonable. There is no obligation to award any compensation.
3. Various specified classes in the community, including teachers, may be conscripted to assist the Government in the maintenance of "law and order" or in the protection of government property.
4. Collective fines may be imposed on the inhabitants of areas concerned in the commission of a scheduled list of offences.
5. No civil or criminal proceedings are allowed against any action under the ordinance or "in good faith intended to be done" under the ordinance.

The second chapter of the ordinance sets up tribunals for the trial of political offences. These are the main characteristics of tribunals:—

1. The special tribunals are to consist of three persons.
2. A majority verdict is to prevail.
3. The tribunals may meet *in camera*.
4. Sentences of transportation for life and of death may be given.
5. Accused persons may be tried in their absence.
6. No appeal is allowed.

The avowed object of this ordinance was to suppress a "terrorist" movement in Bengal. It was promulgated before the Round Table Conference in London had dispersed. I was with Mr. Gandhi when he received news of the ordinance, and he feared immediately that it meant the end of the truce between the British Government and the National Congress. Then came news of repressive ordinances to suppress the discontent in the North-West Frontier Province and the rent strike in the United Provinces. They had a most depressing effect upon Mr. Gandhi. Despite the disappointments of the Round Table Conference, he still had hope. He trusted the honesty of purpose of Sir Samuel Hoare, the Conservative Secretary of State, though he recognised the distance which separated their views. While there was sincerity on each side he felt that the door to co-operation was still open.

The Bengal Ordinance has been extended to Bombay, and the North-West Frontier Province

ordinance have been extended to a large part of India. Before describing them, reference should be made to the Rent Strike Ordinance, which at the moment of writing is limited to the United Provinces, though its extension to Gujerat, in the Bombay Province, is anticipated.

The rent strike has both a political and an economic motive. It has a political motive because the British Government in India is, in the last resort, the possessor of all land. In certain parts of India the peasants pay direct to the revenue-collectors; in other parts they pay to the "zemindars" (large landholders), who transfer approximately 50 per cent. of their takings to the government. The latter system is particularly hard on the peasants, because the zemindars have the power to increase their land charges, irrespective of what they pass on to the authorities. But during the last year, owing to the fall in the price of grain, the peasants have found the demands of both the zemindars and the revenue collectors intolerable, and an economic motive for refusal of land payments has been added to the political.

The rent strike spread like a prairie fire over the United Provinces. The government agreed to reduce rents to the level of 1901, when prices were similar to those of this year, but the rent strike continued. A special ordinance was therefore issued on December 14, enabling the authorities to arrest anyone withholding rent or inciting others to withhold rent, and to sentence them to two years of rigorous imprisonment. It was under this ordinance that Jawaharlal Nehru, the most influential of the younger leaders of the Congress cause, was arrested for attempting to leave Allahabad, when this had been prohibited. He had been a prominent advocate of the rent strike. He was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment and fined 500 rupees. This ordinance will undoubtedly be used extensively by the Government if the refusal of land payments spreads to other parts of India.

The Northwest Frontier ordinances were promulgated on December 15 and were known as the Unlawful Instigation Ordinance and the Unlawful Associations Ordinances. They were originally issued to meet the activities of the "Red Shirts," a formidable, though avowedly non-violent, organization, loosely associated with the Indian National Congress and whole-heartedly supporting its aims, but largely uninfluenced by its discipline, owing to distance and racial and religious independence. To the Red Shirts the spirit of the truce meant little; they carried on their agitation for independence and strengthened their organization, in readiness for the renewed struggle. Accordingly the British authorities assumed power to suppress their organization, to arrest their leaders, and to arrest anyone instigating resistance to British rule.

This Unlawful Instigation Ordinance has since been extended to Madras, Bombay, the Panjab and Bihar and Orissa; the Unlawful Associations Ordinances, to Madras, Bengal, Bombay, the United Provinces, and Bihar and Orissa. It is under the latter ordinance that the Congress has been declared an illegal organization. During the civil-disobedience campaign of 1930 Congress was an illegal organization in some parts of India but legal in others. The head office of the Congress at Allahabad remained open during the whole of the campaign; for instance, the Working Committee met there unmolested. In Bombay, however, where the Congress was outlawed, the premises were seized and the members of the Congress Committee were arrested almost as soon as they were appointed. It is characteristic of the greater thoroughness with which the Government is now attempting to suppress the Congress movement that it has applied this ordinance to practically every part of British India.

The members of the All-India Working Committee, as well as of the district and local committees, are being arrested *en bloc*.

A third ordinance—the Prevention of Molestation and Boycotting Ordinance—applies to the whole of British India. The ordinance which was in operation in Bombay during the 1930 campaign has been extended to include peaceful picketing, as well as actual molestation. Congress supporters have even been arrested for sitting outside shops selling British goods, though they have remained silent and motionless. Their presence is regarded as an offence!

The most inclusive of the ordinances is the Emergency Powers Ordinance of January 3. It is being applied steadily to all parts of India. It gives the British authorities virtual power to conscript both property and persons. It provides for the commandeering of transport, the restriction of communications and movements; it gives rights of search, the right to arrest suspected persons and to restrict them to certain areas; it enables the authorities to take possession of buildings for government service or for the accommodation of troops or police; it applies compulsion to certain persons, such as the headmen of villages, to maintain "law and order," it authorizes the collection of "collective fines;" and it gives power to suppress newspapers and to confiscate their printing plant. It is the kind of measure which an invading military commander applies to an occupied territory during war.

This is how Britain is ruling India. What do the British people think of it? The extreme Conservatives are jubilant. At last they see the "strong hand" which they have been demanding. The moderate Conservatives, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, and the governmental Liberals are more restrained. They argue that the ordinances are necessary to crush an "unconstitutional movement"—as though any democratic movement can be "constitutional" when self-government does not exist!—and they emphasize that the Round Table Conference policy is to be continued—as though it can be anything but a farce with Mr. Gandhi in prison! The Liberal press is cautiously disturbed, not daring to say much in criticism, though pointing out that "force is no solution." The Labor Party is indignant—forgetting that a Labor Government authorized the imprisonment of Mr. Gandhi and 60,000 of his followers in 1930! The I.L.P. supplements its indignation by whole-heartedly supporting India's claim to independence and by urging the Indian people to persist until social and economic freedom is won, as well as political freedom.—*The Nation*.

The Indo-Union Negotiations

Reported Danger Of Breakdown

The Calcutta correspondent of the *Natal Advertiser* states that Sir Fazl-i-Hussain has summoned a meeting of the South African delegation at the New Delhi on March 23.

It is believed that the agreement which appeared to be in sight when the delegation left the Cape is in danger, as the Select Committee has not agreed to the desired modifications in the Transvaal Land Tenure Bill.

[We think it is too early yet to offer any criticism on this information.—Ed. I.O.]

THE AGENT-GENERALSHIP

WHO is to be the new Agent-General in succession to Sir Kurma Reddi? The question is exciting much interest and also some speculation among the Indian community. Npr, in view of the importance of the matter, need it occasion surprise that we Indians of the Union are curious and perhaps also somewhat anxious as to the manner of man who is to be the Government of India's next choice.

The two gentlemen who successively filled that office were, from our point of view, both excellent selections. The Right Hon. Mr. Sastri, while a diplomatist of the first rank and an orator second to very few, was primarily a pledged servant of India who loves and understands her people. To him we were brothers abroad, calling for help and needing support and guidance. It was sometimes evident that Mr. Sastri thought we were somewhat "difficult" and not a little self-willed or even obstinate. But while the diplomatist in him not infrequently prompted a recommendation to us of compromise on some vital issue, Mr. Sastri did not fail to appreciate that in the past the community had paid dearly for its complacency, and consequently was shy of repeating past mistakes. Perhaps Mr. Sastri's greatest contribution, during his term of office as Agent-General, was the change he effected in the estimate hitherto entertained among Europeans in South Africa of the measure of culture among Indians in India.

The genius that marked Sir Kurma Reddi was of a different order. One noted the absence of those scintillating characteristics that were the hall-mark of his predecessor. He was the sound lawyer rather than the brilliant orator, the sort who makes it his business to know his case, and all the law bearing upon it. Sir Kurma spared no pains to learn all there was to be learned concerning us and our conditions, and there is little doubt that the knowledge so gained at close quarters resulted in Sir Kurma himself sharing our indignities and humiliations, and becoming vitally alive to the significance of "Helots within the Empire."

Who is to succeed Sir Kurma? Let us hope it will not be a mere official, a typical bureaucrat of the machine-made variety; a white "Sahib" or a black "Sahib." Better no Agent-General at all, than either such. What is wanted is one who combines diplomatic ability, keen insight and sympathetic understanding with a fearless determination to promote the righting of wrongs found to exist, and to stand between us and the imposition of any further disabilities. Such an one we shall welcome with open arms and with him co-operate gladly and fully. Otherwise we prefer to be saved from our friends, and left to work out our own salvation as best we may.

BY THEIR WORKS SHALL YE KNOW THEM

(By L. W. RITCH)

QUITE recently I was asked whether I had seen an article on Gandhi in one of the most widely circulated of the Hearst publications. I had not, but I had read Upton Sinclair's "Brass Check," consequently I was curious to see whether, and if so, how far, this particular specimen of American journalism was rinking the "Brass Check" counters in respect of Gandhiji and the Congress.

The article in question proved to be a scarcely-veiled attack on the Mahatma impugning his sincerity and hinting, rather than stating in so many words, that he is, in reality, no better than a charlatan. Its authorship is ascribed to Catherine Mayo "the famous author of "Mother India," and it may be remarked in passing, that not for the first time in the history of the Hearst press, does the distinction between "famous" and "infamous" become a bit nebulous.

Now the most mischievous form of lie is the lie that is spun round a vestige of truth. No Satyagrahi of understanding will fail to recognise and to admit that India is to-day paying the inevitable price of her departure from the high ideals set for her guidance—and observed by her—during the long hey-day of her glory. Her people, it will be conceded, are but reaping the Karmic fruit of past seed sown,—“of things done, of thoughts had, of the self woven,”—during a period when *adharma* was allowed to dethrone *dharma*. The shadow that fell when the Sun of India's spirituality became obscured by the clouds of class exclusiveness, and the seductions of worldly mindedness gained control, is dark enough without embellishment. That the darkneses are not yet wholly dispersed has also to be admitted, indeed is admitted by India's patriots and India's well-wishers, albeit with sorrow and even shame. What, however, is not less regrettable, is the smug self-righteousness exhibited by the critics, and sentiments not very different from satisfaction that things are as they are, voiced for the purpose of shewing that India cannot be entrusted with the responsibilities of a civilised nation.

A sacrificer of the Gandhi order, an organisation like the Congress, pledged as both are to the uttermost limits of selfless service, become the the objects of cunningly worded inuendo that is even more venomous and mischievous than any frankly expressed vituperation could be.

Now, I am not personally acquainted with Catherine Mayo, though I have remarked the bias that permeates such of her writings on Indian life as I have read. Nor has my reading of the lady's views aroused the smallest desire for closer acquaintance. But Gandhiji, I do know, and that more, vastly more intimately than Catherine Mayo or for that matter the whole personnel of the Hearst Press can know him. I also venture to believe that I understand something of the Soul of India, of India over which the fleeting shadows are presently passing, the shadows that mean so much to minds and appetites of the Catherine Mayo type,

There have been occasions when I have failed to see eye to eye with Gandhiji, occasions when I have disappointed him, occasions when I could not follow his viewpoint, but throughout the many years of our most intimate association Gandhiji's sincerity, selflessness and honesty of purpose shone out of the man with a steady radiance of a beacon lamp.

To the mole or the bat light is an inconvenience. The Mayo standards of "the measure of a man" are conformity to the conventional, to the ways that are "respectable," observance of the things that "are done," avoidance of those others "that are not done." To such, the only true piety is the piety of the black-cloth brand, the only true religion "my" religion. The "pressman" type of mind is concerned only with "news," with what will make a "story." It feeds on superficialities. Truth, having a low market value, matters nothing, and "The Pious Editor's Creed" still claims a host of adherents.

The good lady to whom Gandhi and his ways are anathema is professedly a Christian. I venture the opinion that if the Nazarene Master, of whom she claims to be a follower to day re-enacted His life in Europe or America or India,—as the Gospels relate He lived it in Palestine, the Mayos and the Hearsts would likewise dub Him charlatan and be among the first to cry "Crucify Him!" For, to minds so constituted, what but a charlatan can one be who preaches Harmlessness (Ahimsa), who urges the conversion of one's enemy by the power of Love, whose daily life reflects his faith and convictions, who tells his countrymen that their liberation from bondage is contingent upon their capacity to suffer, to endure without retaliating, and who in self-sacrifice sets the example he would have them follow? Our self-complacency demands that such disturbers of our peace be proclaimed humbugs and be put out of harm's way. Was it ever otherwise? Was ever a time when the selfless champions of the lowly and the oppressed when those who "dared to be Daniels" and sought to reclaim mankind from the thralldom of their jungle life, were not reviled and spat upon? For, to the impure, purity is an insult, and wisdom an offence to the self-satisfied ignoramus.

Someday, perchance not so very distant, our bewildered humanity will have groped its way out of the maze of muddle into which the gods of the "civilisation" worshipped by the Mayos and the Hearsts have landed it. Then, as it always must be, Truth will once again be justified of her children. Gandhiji will have passed as all personalities must, but like that of "famous men whose work continueth, and continueth, better than their knowing" his work shall continue long after the Mayos and the Hearsts shall have disappeared into a merciful oblivion. The clearer-eyed generation of that day will bless and honour the man who made possible the new order and paved the way to their heritage in it. Of those who wrought to perpetuate the darkness and shut out the light, it will be well if it be said "We forgive them, they knew not what they did."

Sir Abdool Qadir To Succeed Sir Kurma Reddi

Calcutta, March 22.—Mr. G. S. Bajpai, being, it was reported a few days ago, not enamoured at the prospect of being appointed as Sir Kurma Reddi's successor, the appointment as the Indian Government's Agent-General in South Africa was offered, by telegram, to Sir Abdool Qadir states the Calcutta correspondent of the *Natal Mercury*.

Sir Abdool was appointed to a Judgeship in the Punjab High Court in 1930, after having been Deputy-President and then President of the Legislative Council in that Province. He was next Acting Education Minister in the Punjab and then the Punjab Government's Revenue Member.

Sir Abdool Qadir, who is the Indian Government's second choice, so to speak, for the South African billet, has, it is understood, accepted the Government's offer and is expected to sail early in April for South Africa.

The appointment appears to have been made on what is known in India as the "communal basis." Mr. Sastri and Sir Kurma Reddi, both being Hindus, the Moslems here would probably have been extremely discontented and ultra critical if the Indian Government had selected yet another Hindu for this important appointment.

Sir Abdool Qadir, who has made a name for himself on the Punjab High Court Bench in so short a time, is reputed to be a very capable person, and extremely popular in Punjab official circles. Quite a safe man, and one possessing a fairly good knowledge of India's overseas problems—he was one of India's delegates to the seventh session of the League of Nations at Geneva. In his early days he was a fairly successful Mohammedan barrister, with a fairly lucrative practice, but he has made a better judge than an advocate.

Not Eloquent Like Predecessors

As a platform speaker he cannot be compared with either Mr. Sastri or Sir Kurma Reddi. He certainly does not possess the former's eloquence, nor does he possess the latter's reputation as the poor man's and under-dog's champion.

Sir Abdool has not had either Mr. Sastri's or Sir Kurma Reddi's opportunities of moving freely among each and every type of individual, high-born or low-born, irrespective of class, creed or colour, as he would undoubtedly himself have liked to have done, had he not for so many years now moved more or less in official circles only, and to some extent been tied down by red tape.

But if South Africa liked Mr. Sastri or Sir Kurma Reddi, she will also like Sir Abdool, who is a perfect gentleman and an excellent fellow, and, if not brilliant like his predecessors, he is decidedly not mediocre. If India is not sending her very best to South Africa, she has certainly picked upon one of her most able and devoted Moslem servants.

Report of The Durban Indian Child Welfare Society

We have received the annual report of the above Society. As we are going to press a day earlier, Friday being a holiday, we are compelled to withhold its publication this week.—Ed. I.O.]

East And South Africa

(BY C. F. ANDREWS)

Coming up this Coast again from South Africa after five years' absence, I have been chiefly struck with the difference in the position and status of the Indian community and its growing importance. This is not, perhaps, so much in evidence in Portuguese East Africa, though even there Indians are forging ahead and 'making good.' But it is chiefly in East Africa,—in Tanganyika, Zanzibar and Kenya,—that I have noticed this rapid advance.

Everywhere it is clear to me that Indians have been able to establish their position in East Africa. They are now leaders, not merely followers of events. They cannot any longer be ignored as a backward community. They have come to stay and their future progress is assured.

In Zanzibar the Indian prominence is most noticeable of all. Certainly the steady progress that I had always noticed in that fortunate Island under the rule of the Sultan has continued. There are probably 16,000 Indians now resident in Zanzibar and there is no unemployment. Of all the countries of the world, Zanzibar seems to have come through this world depression most successfully.

I was not able to land at Dar-es-Salaam because I had been ill on the voyage and the time was short. But I had a very long talk with all the leading Indians who had come to see me, which was probably of greater value than a hurried visit ashore. What I noticed immediately was the fact that Indians are now holding a commanding commercial position in that Territory. If only they were to receive a strong political backing from their home Government in India which could only be fully assured under Swaraj, they might quite easily establish and consolidate what they have already won. Even to-day it appears that more than ninety per cent. of the trade is in Indian hands and the rapidly growing native trade is altogether being developed by them. Some of the leading Indian barristers and doctors have come over and found their way into the political life of the country. What is now needed is that more Indian families as a whole should 'take root' in Tanganyika. Only by making this vast mandated Territory their permanent home can they be ever regarded as in the same category with the Africans themselves and be considered a part and portion of the country, while they bring up their children in it as its inhabitants. I cannot pass on without noticing the lamentable loss to the Indian community in the early death of Mr. Ghose.

But the greatest encouragement of all to me was in Kenya. I had not time or leisure to go up to Nairobi and thus renew my acquaintance with the Kenya capital. Nor could I go on, as I have done before, into Uganda. But at Mombasa itself, I found signs of progress in the Indian community that were quite unmistakable. The Allidina Visram High School, that princely gift of the Hon'ble Abdul Rasul who was my dear friend, nearly thirteen years ago, is now outgrowing its spacious buildings. There is an Ismaila School in addition with admirable buildings of its own which I visited. The education of the girls is also being carefully fostered. I hear that already the Girls' School accommodation is not sufficient for those who are demanding education. It is easy to predict that out of this educational experiment here as well as that school in Nairobi which I remember in its earlier stages; we shall have a well-laid foundation for permanent Indian progress, if only the leaders of Indian opinion have the

strength and ability to build upon it.

It has been a great pleasure to find that the Indian community in all these places has been able hitherto with some success to surmount the continued attempts that have been made to assert the colour bar. One instance of this has been a certain important land-site in Mombasa which has now been for over ten years the source of dispute and litigation. Even though the legal claim of Europeans to its exclusive occupation has been upheld, nevertheless I understand that for political reasons the Colonial Office has not yet allowed blocks to be put up for auction with an anti-Asiatic clause attached. This itself shows the strength of the Indian community where its most vital interest is attacked.

But far more than this legal point at issue, there is now an air of freedom and independence everywhere maintained which contrasts favourably with what I knew before. Indian leaders are not only recognised in their own community but are also prominent in the town. Dr. Amritlal U. Sheth and Dr. S. D. Karve (the son of Prof. Karve) are both of them distinguished Mombasa physicians. Mr. Pandya and others stand out as leading Mombasa merchants. Such outstanding figures cannot be ignored. The *Kenya Daily Mail* is owned by Mr. J. B. Pandya and has a large English and Gujarati circulation, being printed in both languages. This is perhaps the first business success of an Indian-owned daily newspaper in Kenya.

It is impossible to write more at present but this article will give some of the grounds of my great hope for the future. My one anxiety, on the other hand, is due to unfortunate political divisions in the Indian community, which are due in the main to personal causes. These personal questions prevent Indians from working together in political matters as they ought to do, and thus weaken considerably the political effectiveness of the community.

Declaration By De Valera

Dublin, Wednesday.—Mr. De Valera made a statement of outstanding national imperial importance in the Dail last evening. It had been fully anticipated that he would seize the opportunity to give some indication of the new Government's policy, but the proceedings during the early part of the session were quite humdrum, and it was not until Mr. McDermott, an Independent back-bencher, put a direct question to the President that Mr. de Valera decided to announce his attitude.

Mr. McDermott referred to the language used by the released political prisoners and the expression of their determination to continue their militant and illegal organisation (the Irish Republican Army.)

No Coercive Measures

Mr. de Valera said: "We stand for only one Government and only one Army. The fundamental point in our policy is to get willing obedience to the law instead of trying to secure obedience by coercive measures. Because of certain statements made at a meeting recently there are Deputies who try to infer that our policy is already a failure. We want to make it possible for every section of the people to have representation in this Assembly without having to coerce their consciences.

"In order to do that we propose to remove the oath (of allegiance to the Crown.) We have a mandate to remove it and when it is removed there will be no excuse for anyone not to give perfectly willing obedience to the law.

"During the election we made it clear that we stood for one Government and one Army. We have accepted office on the responsibility of the people. We are not running away from that responsibility.

Profound Impression

"It has been suggested that the release of the prisoners was done hastily and without examination. This is not so. We released the prisoners because we are satisfied that they are political prisoners in the ordinary acceptance of the term."

Mr. de Valera's statement has caused a profound impression. There is much speculation as to the reaction by the British Government to the announcement of the intention to remove the oath, and by the Irish Republican Army to the declaration that there can be only one Army in the Irish Free State.

Hindu-Moslem Deadlock

London, March 21.—The British Cabinet is now considering a settlement of the communal problem in India, where, owing to the failure of the Moslems and Hindus to reach an agreement, it is now Britain's thankless task to intervene and thus prevent further delay in granting a Constitution to India, says the London correspondent of the *Natal Mercury*.

A long time, however, may yet elapse before the Government's decision is made, for, although it has at its disposal expert advice as contained in the fatuous dispatch of the Government of India, it will probably, before reaching a decision, seek the advice of the Franchise Committee, which, under the chairmanship of Lord Lothian, is now in India.

The Committee will shortly end its first tour, and it is possible that it may wish to complete its second tour in the late autumn before giving its considered opinion to the British Government. It is thus possible that there may be no decision until next year.

Separate Electorates

The character of settlement which the Government may impose is unknown, but that it will insist on separate electorates is clear enough from Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's previous statements on the subject, including his last letter to Lord Lothian, in which he asks if the committee is prepared to accept such an arrangement.

Even when the Government does frame such an imposed settlement, it by no means follows that India will accept it. The settlement will undoubtedly be a conditional one—that is to say it will be open to revision by the Indians themselves, probably after it has been given a trial with a fixed time limit.

"Same Black Cloud"

To quote a statement made to me by a high authority: "The communal issue still remains the same black and impenetrable cloud, which has overshadowed all attempts since the Round Table Conference was first mooted to frame a Constitution for India."

Both Moslems and Hindus have hardened their hearts already hard enough since negotiations were resumed in India itself. Some leaders are working hard to upset even the provisional agreement reached among the minorities during the last session of the Round Table Conference.

Hitherto everyone who has tried to effect a direct settlement has failed—first the Prime Minister, who tried his hand at the first session of the Round Table Conference, then Gandhi during the second session; then the Prime Minister again, when he asked for a unanimous request from the delegates conference that he should frame a settlement and failed to obtain such unanimity, and finally the consultative committee now working in India.

Calcutta Councillor Murdered

Calcutta, March 21.—Bengal terrorists reappeared on the scene to-day, when in the neighbourhood of the Lansdowne Jute Mill at Dum Dum, two miles from Calcutta, two men were stabbed to death. One was Ali Choudhry, a councillor of the Calcutta Corporation, who was also a well known Muslim divine. The murderers escaped.

Indian Viceroy To Fly To London?

The *Daily Telegraph* correspondent at New Delhi understands that Earl Willingdon may fly to London in May to discuss the future of political reform in India. It is further understood that Earl Willingdon's present view is that it may be essential to have a personal discussion with his Majesty's Government on the whole subject of future social reforms. Should the Viceroy decide to go to London there is no doubt that he would make a demonstrating appeal to the Indian public, even to those who still are pretending to have no faith in Britain's motives.

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