

Servant of India

Editor : S. G. VASE.

Office : SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY, POONA 4.

Vol. XX. No. 47. }

POONA—THURSDAY DECEMBER 2, 1937.

{ INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6
FOREIGN 15s.

CONTENTS.

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	557
ARTICLES :	
Where is the "Concerted Effort" ?	561
Conditions in Zamin Areas. By K. G. Sivaswamy ...	563
Shanghai : The Foreign Settlement Doomed ...	566
REVIEWS :	
"Christian Sweepers." By S. A. Waiz.	568
Gopal Krishna Gokhale. A. H. Padhye, B. A.; B. T. ...	569
SHORT NOTICES	569
MISCELLANEA :	
Social Insurance.—The Bombay Government's Scheme Examined.	570

Topics of the Week.

Ahmedabad Strike Ended.

THE strike in the cotton mills of Ahmedabad has ended. The strikers' demand had crystallised itself in the end in the restoration of the cuts in the workers' wages introduced since 1935, contrary to the Delhi agreement. The mill-owners, however, having now agreed to the demands, the workers have brought the strike to a close. In a statement issued to the press, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel tries to make out that the cuts were not a substantial grievance, and that the workers went wantonly on strike. The most effective refutation that could be given to such a statement is contained in the following passage from the *Bombay Chronicle*, which, we are happy to note, has maintained a just attitude towards this question. Says our contemporary :

That the former (the workers) had some genuine grievances against the latter (the employers) cannot for a moment be denied. Several individual mill-owners and agents had done everything in their power to go back on the terms of the Delhi agreement and forced their operatives to submit to cuts in wages in violation of the agreement. A large section of the mill workers of the city, therefore, had every reason to complain against the treatment meted out to them and the open breach of faith by more than one member of the Ahmedabad Mill-owners' Association—a breach of faith which the executive of the Association should have taken notice of immediately and dealt with effectively, which, however, it did not. But the executive of the Association, connived at these breaches and allowed the discontent among the workers to come to a head—with the consequences fully known to the public. The defaulting mills have now announced that they will abide by the terms of the Delhi agreement and on that assurance the strikers have gone back to work. It will be seen that the responsibility for the crisis rests solely and entirely on the mill-owners and agents who were guilty of

the breach of faith with their workers as well as on those who instigated the latter to go on strike in spite of the fact that the Government had appointed a Committee with power to make interim recommendations; and, therefore, any victimization by the mill-owners of the strikers would be most unfair.

IT is not unreasonable to hold that the Inquiry Committee would have recommended rectification of the particular grievance which goaded the mill workers of Ahmedabad into a strike. But they believed that if the Committee in its interim recommendations proposed a percentage increase for mill workers on a certain basis, the workers who had already suffered a reduction would still be victims of the injustice which had been done to them. For our own part we do not think that, whatever the Committee's conclusions may be, it will recommend increase in wages at a flat rate without taking into account the differing conditions in the different mills. But it is clear that that was the apprehension of the strikers. Some allowance should also be made for the feeling on the part of those who have suffered from an injustice that a little pressure on their part for the removal of the injustice would not be wholly without utility even if there was a chance of the injustice being otherwise removed.

WHILE we do not approve of the workers precipitating a crisis at every possible opportunity, we cannot see how a leader of the influence of Sardar Vallabhbhai can be almost wholly oblivious of the legitimate grievances of the workers and heap all his censure upon them, leaving alone the employers whose initial injustice led to the strike. The Sardar must remember whenever a strike occurs what Mahatma Gandhi used to say about non-co-operation. The point that the Mahatma made may be put thus : "Non-co-operation has this chief merit. It is a weapon which cannot succeed unless right is on the side of non-co-operators. Masses of men will never give up schools, law courts, posts in Government, &c., or will court jail by offering civil disobedience unless they feel that they are suffering for a just cause. The feeling will in most cases be well-founded. The cause will be just, but if it is not the movement will fail and none will suffer but those who take part in it, for self-suffering is the basis of it."

WHAT will be the Sardar's reply to the workers if they say to him like Gandhiji : "A strike for an unjust cause is almost always impossible. In order that it may have any chance of success, a large number of workers must join in it. But poorly-paid and half-starving workers can never give up even their meagre wages unless they are overmastered by a sense of injustice approaching desperation. They will not down tools unless their sufferings are hard and unjust. Even if it be not so and the strike fails on that account, they

will be the first to suffer, and this infliction of suffering on an already stricken people will supply its own corrective." Of course, this reasoning, like that of the Mahatma, is not logically water-tight. For every fight, whether it takes the shape of a strike or boycott or non-co-operation or civil disobedience, inflicts injury not only on those who take part in the fight but also on those with whom the fight is started, and in fact it is valued because it inflicts injury on the other party. A strike hits the industry as well as the strikers; civil disobedience hits the administration as well as the people. And while no irrefragable conclusion can be drawn that the starter of the fight is always in the right, the proposition may well be advanced that presumption is that no strike or boycott or non-co-operation or civil disobedience is ever likely to be undertaken unless there are certain legitimate grievances at the bottom which cry out for redress." Sardar Vallabhbhai, however, is so impressed with the necessity of a red hunt that he will not grant the strikers the benefit of even such a presumption.

THE Ahmedabad strike has fortunately ended, but it will leave a bad odour in the mouth of the Congress Ministry who, to put it down, promulgated laws which the Congress had pledged itself not only not to employ, but to repeal at the earliest practicable moment. It is pathetic to see to what shifts Premier Kher is reduced in defending Mr. Munshi, the Minister for Law and Justice. He says: The Criminal Law Amendment Act was enforced not to curtail civil liberty but to protect it, for, forsooth, small groups of workers were intimidating large groups into abstention from the mills. Who can believe this story? It is minorities that are always coerced; and in any way what evidence is there to prove that short masses of labourers were being coerced by a handful of labourers bent on mischief-making? This plea of protecting civil liberty by resort to an unlawful law has grown rather thin in our country. Did not our bureaucratic government say that terrorists were few, but they practised intimidation on such a scale that, in order to save the lives of innocent people, departures from normal law had to be taken, but they were all intended to further, and not to destroy, civil liberty. It is also pleaded that the Bombay Government took liberties with people's freedom in a small way; they only arrested people without warrant, but the subsequent processes of justice were left intact, meaning that the Bombay Government was not as bad as the Bengal Government. But the Bengal Government was faced with terrorism and the Bombay Government was only faced with a strike, which came to an amicable end within two or three weeks. Are we to congratulate the Bombay Government that they did not set about to dispense summary justice on such a slight provocation? It is craven impertinence on the part of the Congress Ministry, not only to do what they should never have done, but to trot out excuses which even the worst diehard government of old days would have been ashamed of doing.

Separation of Functions.

IN the speech which he delivered as President of the Karaikudi Political Conference Mr. Satyamurti criticised the Rajagopalachari Ministry for its opposition to the separation of the executive from judicial functions.

Mr. Satyamurti congratulated the Ministry on its achievements so far. They were doing well and he was sure they would do better. But on the question of the separation of executive and judicial functions, he was not impressed by the arguments against the proposal. He believed it was called for in the interests of the liberty of the citizen. This is the bedrock of all democratic Governments.

"I am not impressed by the arguments that the High Court is not under our control. High Courts are never under popular control. Even in Great Britain the salaries of High Court Judges are borne on what are called the Consolidated Fund Charges and are not normally voted on in the sense in which other expenditure is voted, and no High Court Judge can be removed except by an address of both Houses of Parliament. No Judge has been so removed in recent years.

Moreover, the Collector must disappear as a District Magistrate and Magistrates must have interest only in the administration of justice and must act on the maxim "it is better that a hundred guilty men escape than that one innocent man should be convicted." For that purpose they should be recruited from the Bar and should be responsible in the ultimate resort to the High Court. There is no need for much extra expenditure. The salaries may be cut down and District Munsiffs and Subordinate Judges may be used for doing more and more criminal work. Non-official agency may be used by means of Honorary Magistrates. I am convinced that this reform is overdue and should be started as early as possible."

When Wrong is Right.

HOW people tie themselves up into knots when defending indefensible positions! Mr. Krishna Chandra, a member of the U. P. Assembly, endeavours to show that under the Congress *raj* separation of the Judiciary and the Executive would be playing into the hands of the imperialists. At the outset, Mr. Chandra admits that "there is no gainsaying the fact that separation of judicial from executive functions is most desirable. It is wrong in principle that the prosecutor should sit in judgment." But this wrong becomes right only because "these days the Government is headed by Ministers enjoying the confidence of the people who can always oust them." He goes on:

Under the circumstances, separation means making the Magistracy a reserved subject, rather worse, and transferring it from the benign control of the popular Ministers to that of the High Court, with its old conservative methods and autocratic complexion. This would be restoring them to their previous autocratic position. Besides, we are at a loss to understand the type of cases wherein the Congress Minister might be prejudicially disposed. Seditious cases or the like are not likely to be started in Congress-governed provinces. The argument may be advanced that the Ministers are expected to get sensitive about the prestige of their Government; but the High Court is none the less enamoured of its prestige. Contempt cases are illustrative thereof.

Mr. Chandra, therefore, would agree to perpetuate a state of affairs which is "wrong in principle" only because his party is in power and may sit in judgment on the people if prosecuted without loss of principle!

By depriving the executive of the power to control the judiciary, Mr. Chandra seems to believe that we would be making the latter the handmaids of Imperialists. He argues thus: If the Judiciary is separated from the Executive, it will be entirely under the control of the High Court; the High Court Judges are appointed by the King, i. e. by the Governor; *ergo*, they will be under the control of the Governor. True, in Great Britain the judges are appointed on the recommendation of the King's advisers, but in India "we must not lose sight of the hollowness of the people's authority under the present constitution as against the unbridled and almighty power of British Imperialism". And, therefore, according to this logic, the judiciary, we cried ourselves hoarse, ought to be uncontaminated with executive functions, would

function better when, even though it does not come under our control, it is manned partly by men who also wield executive powers! It is wonderful what naiveté can be displayed by men reduced to defending lost causes.

A True Federation.

THE federation that is envisaged in the Government of India Act is a federation between the Government of British India and the Governments of Indian India. In order that it may be acceptable to either part of India, it must be so transformed that it will be a federation between the people of British India and the peoples of Indian States. How is this to be done? The *Tribune* says that the following demands will then have to be satisfied:

The main demands of the people of British India are that (1) the indirect system of representation and dyarchy should be scrapped; (2) communal representation should be abolished; (3) Defence, Finance and Foreign Affairs should all be placed under popular control; and (4) the Viceroy should not be permitted to possess dictatorial powers. The main demands of the States' people are that (1) the representatives of the States in the Federal Legislatures should be elected by the people of the States; (2) the rule of law should prevail in the States desiring to join the federation and the fundamental rights of citizens should be guaranteed to the people of these States; (3) they should have access to the Federal Court in certain specified matters. The British Government may argue that the Princes will neither be prepared to make room for their people in the Federal Legislatures, nor part with the powers that they exercise in their States. That should cause no difficulty. The reactionary Princes may be asked to please themselves. A federation of only British Indian provinces may be created and the doors may be kept wide open for those States which decide to accept the demands of democracy to step in.

General Indiscipline.

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU the other day had to listen to stupid criticism of his own views at a students' gathering and to leave the meeting in disgust at the childish things said there. On a previous occasion, his address to the students was also not listened to with the usual regard and enthusiasm to which he has become accustomed. The U. P. has been of late a scene of student disorder unprecedented in its nature and scope, and Congress Ministers have had great difficulty in keeping the students under proper check.

IT is perhaps this danger which was present in the mind of the Congress President when he referred to the frequency with which students went on strike for paltry matters, in his speech while hoisting the Congress flag on the Allahabad University. He told the students that he did not appreciate the strikes which were going on in some schools in Allahabad. Mere enthusiasm among the students cannot be regarded as revolution in Mr. Nehru's opinion. He regretted that the perspective of the students was narrow and that they little thought of the country. Some classes of people, specially those reading in universities, had some duties, some cultural standards, some standards of behaviour, and it was not good for them to fall below these standards. Mr. Nehru stressed the necessity of their being dignified in their actions and he repeated what he said at Lucknow about his standard of values. He could respect a murderer, but he could never respect one who was vulgar.

A FEW days before the Pandit spoke, Mr. Sri Prakash gave expression to similar views in a District Students' Conference at Gorakhpur. He deprecated the habit of the students in India going on strike and working themselves up into feverish excitement over trifling things—things over which students in England would not dream of agitating. He advised students to cultivate a balanced outlook on life and not to pass resolutions unless they could implement them by suitable action.

THESE warnings from Congress leaders come none too soon. If what is happening in the U. P. is any indication of the future, education in India is in grave danger of being submerged by the riotous exuberance of student imagination and enthusiasm for passing causes. There have been strikes for refusal to allow meetings, strikes for disciplinary action against students, strikes for reinstatement of teachers, etc. Only the other day students of the B.Sc. class of the Lucknow University staged a strike in protest against the rustication of two students who were found copying in examination and who were guilty of imputing falsehood to their teachers. These are but straws in the wind and while the new Ministries are thinking about the reorganisation of education in all its sphere, they would do well to define the proper spheres of student activity and save education from the possibility of the abdication of those who should control it in favour of raw, untrained and sometimes mischievous youth.

Crippling Indian Aviators.

THE last few months have witnessed considerable expansion of commercial air lines in India. The Indian National Airways and the Tatas have embarked upon extensive air traffic schemes which will work as feeders to the Imperial and other Air services. If things turn out well, all the provinces will be linked up within a few years. Mr. Grant Govan, the Chairman of the Indian National Airways, gave expression to his ambition to link up Bengal and Burma and to inaugurate an air route in Assam at the annual meeting of the Indian National Airways. This expansion of commercial flying is bound to give rise to an added demand for qualified air pilots and to open up a great future to adventurous Indian youths in this line. Under these circumstances one would think that the aviation department of the Government of India would be the first to encourage Indian youths to qualify for the pilot's licence for commercial flying. The truth, however, seems to be otherwise.

MR. R. N. CHAWLA, a member of the Air League of the British Empire and of the Delhi Flying Club, draws attention to the deliberate manner in which the Indian Directorate of Civil Aviation discourages Indian aspirants in the line. Since 1929 the Indian Aircraft Rules have been so changed that the number of flying hours for qualification to a commercial pilot's licence have been steadily increased from 50 to 200, bringing up the cost from Rs. 2,000 to the prohibitive figure of Rs. 8,000 and this cost is exclusive of the living cost of the student during the training period. To make assurance doubly sure, the Aviation Department now refuses to recognise the licences granted by the Air Ministry in London, which cost much less than the Indian licences. It is perhaps a solitary example of the Government refusing to prefer qualifications acquired in England to those acquired in India. There can be no doubt that this unexpected preference for Indian training must have some explanation, which is certainly not Gov-

ernment's desire to check the inferiority complex of Indians about Indian training.

WITH the increased demand for pilots which is bound to follow the recently extended commercial services in India and which is likely to grow as aviation facilities become popular, the duty of the Government to bring training in aircraft within the means of Indian students becomes clear. The Directorate of Aviation in the Government of India must realise that a policy of underhand discouragement is not likely to endear it to the people of this country. Or is it another move in the same game of the progressive Europeanisation of all departments concerned with all-India and Imperial matters?

Protest against Mr. Munshi.

AS in Ahmedabad, the Criminal Law Amendment Act is being enforced by the Bombay Ministry in Sholapur, and section 144 of the Cr. P. Code has been applied thrice. The Secretary of the District Congress Committee of Sholapur has publicly protested against this. He gives a lie direct to the statements made by Mr. Munshi and by other authorities, on the strength of which the present repressive policy has been and is being energetically pursued, under which all meetings and processions are prohibited. The so-called criminal tribes, the Secretary says, ventilated their grievous complaints and sufferings with exemplary self-restraint, and the situation in no way called for the drastic measures that the Congress Ministry had applied. Not only are these tribes and workers made the subjects of unjustifiable coercion, but other classes are equally victims of repression. He gives heart-rending instances of how unoffending and peace-loving women engaged in bidi-making have been sent to gaols with babes in arms. The Congress Ministry is protecting civil liberty indeed!

Self-Supporting Education.

The Rev. H. A. Popley of Erode, reviewing the Wardha Educational Conference proposals, says in the *Guardian*:

There is a further point, shall I call it the sting in the tail, that "this scheme of education is expected to be able gradually to cover the remuneration of teachers". That is to say, that child labour is to be exploited by the State for the purpose of paying a living wage to the teacher. To commercialise educational activity so that the child must pay for its own schooling is certainly not in accordance with modern educational research. It is only as the activity proceeds from joy—*anandam*—that it plays its full part in the educational process. Rob it of this joy and spontaneity, and it will fail in its educational purpose. Further, the State, while prohibiting child labour in factories, proposes to embark on a gigantic scheme for the exploitation of child labour to pay for education, which, as Mr. Satyamurti has pointed out, is the birthright of every child. To talk of free education, when it is proposed to make every child pay for his or her own education, is absurd. The Wardha Conference allowed itself to stray from the realities of the situation when it put in that little clause about covering the cost. Even a universal system of education would be too costly, if it were paid for in this way.

Compulsory Hindi.

IN the course of a communication to the *Hindu* Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri writes:

'Hindi compulsory' is a wrong step. With compulsory universal education it will mean that all people belonging to the Tamil country, for example, should be compelled to learn Hindi. The relation of language to a people is

seriously misunderstood by those who think there is no harm in coercing all the people of one mother tongue to learn another tongue. The mother tongue alone can be universal and there is no compulsion in its universality. Free compulsory universal education in the mother tongue does not thrust a language on a people. Another's tongue, compulsory and not merely optional, is monstrous. Political tyranny has, in the past, thrust it on unwilling people. Here it is not tyranny, but political fad, that prescribes Hindi for all. There are vast masses in the south to whom Hindi is absolutely, yes, literally absolutely, useless. Ninety-five out of one hundred of the rural population, if not more, will not have need for moving out of their district or beyond the neighbouring districts, and Hindi is neither essential nor useful to them. Hindi compulsory for these classes will only add to the huge waste now going on. The contact with Hindi will slacken at the end of the three years and the knowledge, meagre at the best as it must be, will be forgotten in a short time. The proper thing is to provide Hindi at all stages as an option. Many might take it for its economic value in after-life with a Government favourable to it in power. . . . I have known people who believed that English would, in time, become the language of all-India. There are now people who believe that Hindi would become the language of all Indians. In the recent controversy over Hindi compulsory I have seen the statement that Hindi is the mother tongue of all-India. The South Indians will not accept it. I should like to see Bengal or the Maharashtra or Gujarat or Punjab accepting it.

Andhra Province.

AT the Pithapur Raja's College of Coconada, Dr. C. Ramalinga Reddy, Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, drew attention on the 10th inst. to the manner in which the Congress Ministry of Madras had become oblivious of the pledges that the Congress gave at the election about the formation of linguistic provinces. Dr. Reddy said:

It was not fair nor right of the Congress Ministry or any Ministry (Dr. Reddy said) to ask that if the people wanted a particular thing to be done, they must be sending petitions or carrying on their agitation in that regard until it was done. The Congress Ministry was bound to carry out their election pledges. It was their duty to do so. They must obey the Congress mandate and carry out its policy and programme spontaneously without asking the people to send petitions and agitate. The people did not want to trouble themselves with a general election every day. In regard to the formation of a separate Andhra Province also, the Congress Ministry was bound to take the initiative. Before the province was formed, they should decide a good number of financial questions and the Andhras should not go with a beggar's bowl when the separate province came into existence.

Defence of the Cardwell System.

IN view of the criticism of the organisation of the Army on the Cardwell system which was indicated in our article of last week, we give below an excerpt from Major-General Prichard's article on "The New Army" in the June number of the *Nineteenth Century and After*, in which a defence of the system is offered or rather the impracticability of a change therein pointed out. The writer says:

Some reformers are now advocating that the Cardwell system of linked battalions, one at home and one abroad, should be abandoned and replaced by a voluntary long-service army supplying garrisons abroad in peace, and a short-service home army to supply reserve divisions to an expeditionary force. Such reformers have evidently not read the evidence given to, and the conclusions reached by, the Royal Commission which, after the Indian mutiny of 1857, examined the condition of the army in India. They

brought to light principles of army organisation which are as true today as they were then. They produced evidence to show that a long-service army serving abroad must deteriorate in every military virtue, in organisation and in equipment, and that it cannot manufacture a reserve for war as a short-service army does. Likewise an army confined to home service in a highly civilised country misses the invaluable training for war that can be obtained by a few years in countries where distances are great, civilised comforts are not so plentiful, and frontier disturbances not a remote possibility.

One of the principal deterrents to recruiting is the length of foreign service at present customary, say five or six years. How, then, are we going to obtain volunteers for twenty years' service abroad? When Lord Wolseley was defending Cardwell's short-service and reserve reform he said, "People who ask for volunteers for long service now 8-days might just as well ask for men in armour."

Those who advocate a short-service army at home believe it will attract such large numbers that it will create a big reserve and therefore a large expeditionary army. But, unfortunately the number of men, who will volunteer for army service under any reasonable conditions, is limited. The scheme was tried after the South African War when Mr. St. John Brodrick was Secretary of State for War. On the advice of Lord Roberts he established recruiting on the basis of three years with the colours and nine with the reserve, confidently believing that men would be forthcoming to replace the large number who went to the reserve at the end of three years; but they did not come forward, and the terms had to be hastily altered back to Cardwell's seven years colour service, five years reserve. Let us not, therefore, attempt to form a long-service foreign army and a short-service home army.

Democratic Dictatorship.

THE State of Alberta in the Canadian Dominion has become world news on account of the rise to power of Mr. Aberhart who swept the polls on a Social Credit Plan which promised every person in the State definite monetary assistance out of the public treasury by way of credit up to twenty-five dollars. But the benevolent intentions of Mr. Aberhart found no allies in the economic structure of the world and its laws. An attempt to isolate the State from world economy and to control and commandeer the banks failed. But

Mr. Aberhart has not given up as yet. Not content with repealing his own Recall Act which threatened to recoil on his own seat in the Parliament on account of his wild adventures in economics, Mr. Aberhart now bids for the dictatorship of the Press.

THE *Times of India's* Vancouver correspondent gives interesting news of a new law to control and use the press for Government purposes which has been introduced in Alberta and which can find its complements only in Dictator-ridden Europe. It authorises the Chairman of the Social Credit Board to make free use of one page of space per day from any newspaper. By a most vicious provision, the Act cuts at the very root of journalistic honour and makes it obligatory on a newspaper to reveal sources of information within twenty-four hours of the demand. The sanctity attached to the convention of confidence, scrupulously observed, in spite of great sufferings, by almost all editors, is sought to be violated by making it a statutory obligation to reveal names and addresses of correspondents. Mr. Aberhart has surpassed his other compatriots in the profession of dictatorship, by investing a person who is not even a member of the Cabinet, viz., the Chairman of the Social Credit Board, with unheard-of powers. There is no appeal to the Court against him, no libel or slander suit can be brought against him and he can himself or through a deputy levy fines and punishments on offenders against this monstrous law. Nothing but drastic intervention by the Federal authorities will check the depredations of this autocrat on the civil liberties of the people. Alberta provides an excellent object lesson to the world as to what happens when impractical visionaries rise to power on the tide of popular discontent and when the wine of authority goes to their head.

Mr. Munshi.

THE story to which currency was given by the Hon'ble Dr. Subbaroyan, a Minister in the Congress Ministry of Madras, that Mr. Munshi in Bombay and Mr. Katju in the U. P. were opposed to the separation of executive and judicial functions, has been contradicted by Mr. Munshi, in so far as he is concerned. We are glad that he remains of the opinion to which he gave expression at the Poona Bar Association and is in favour of separation.

WHERE IS THE "CONCERTED EFFORT"?

THE Nine-Power Conference at Brussels has failed miserably. Its aim was "to secure the restoration of peace by agreement." Mediation has not succeeded, as it was never expected to succeed, but will the powers assembled at the Conference, recognising this fact, proceed to take any effective measures for restraining Japan's aggression? The resolution of the League Assembly which suggested the Conference definitely contemplated such measures. For it recorded the conviction of the Assembly that "before examining other possibilities, further efforts must be made to secure the restoration of peace by agreement." Does not the Conference think that time has arrived for examining the possibility of applying economic pressure? The Conference has only adjourned, but all competent observers seem to be very pessimistic about its ever reconvening and much more about its taking a bold line. High hopes were entertained about President Roosevelt. His Chicago speech of 5th October seemed to mark a turning point in history. "The peace-

loving nations," he declared, "must make a concerted effort to uphold the laws and principles on which alone peace can rest secure. The peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort in opposition to those violations of treaties and those ignorings of human instincts which are to-day creating the international anarchy and instability from which there is no escape through mere isolation or neutrality." He appeared at that time to stand forward as one who would give a bold lead to other nations in meeting Japan's invasion of China with courageous action instead of with weak remonstrance. If he will not rise to the occasion, China is indeed friendless.

One is reminded on this occasion of what the Republican Administration of the United States did in 1932. Mr. Stimson, the Secretary of State, at one time contemplated imposition of economic sanctions. The Sino-Japanese conflict was till then being considered by the League of Nations, but because the Americans were suspicious of the League and because the

Nine-Power Treaty had express reference to China's integrity, he wanted to hold a conference under the Treaty, with a view that the support of the people of the United States would be obtained for any coercive measures that might ultimately be found necessary. In his revealing book, "The Far Eastern Crisis," he says:

Even if Japan refused such a conference, there were other possibilities in which an invocation of the Nine-Power Treaty might possibly be extremely important. The possible use of economic sanctions against Japan was being more discussed in America since the Shanghai attack than it had been during the preceding autumn. It had become more of a practicable possibility. Petitions looking to such use were now being circulated, assisted by such influential men as President Lowell of Harvard and Mr. Newton D. Baker. Congress was now in session and several bills to give the President power to impose such action had been introduced in the Congress by various members. If a situation should ultimately arise when the American Government felt it necessary to recommend the imposition, in co-operation with the rest of the world, of an embargo upon Japanese goods, I believed that such a measure would have more chance of being adopted by Congress, if it were recommended following the invocation of the Nine-Power Treaty than if it had been recommended solely by the League of Nations.

President Hoover gave his unreserved support to Mr. Stimson throughout this melancholy episode. The posture of affairs at the time was just as it is at the present moment. Mediation had been tried but was rejected. Mr. Stimson said to himself: "The United States has taken the lead in getting all the powers to respect China's sovereignty, her independence and her territorial and administrative integrity in the Nine-Power Treaty; shall the United States now cynically abandon China to her fate when this Treaty has been violated?" First, he thought of issuing his famous non-recognition declaration, only because economic sanctions were at the time considered impracticable. Let us give his own words:

Finally, conciliation having failed, it was most important to find some way of formally expressing the moral disapproval of the world against the breach of the peace in Manchuria and, if possible, to put behind that expression a sanction which would bring pressure upon the party responsible to make amends. We had reason to believe that economic sanctions would not be invoked. The League from the beginning had been hesitant and reluctant to turn to the machinery for such sanctions which it had ready. We had no such machinery ready, and very evident difficulties lay in the path of its creation. If possible, some substitute upon which all nations could agree should be found which would at least carry the force and implication of a moral condemnation.

The Stimson Note of 7th January, 1932, was accordingly issued in the hope that "it might possibly serve as the substitute for sanctions for which we all had been groping." In the Note the U.S. committed itself to the principle of non-recognition of the fruits of aggression and violence. Mr. Stimson had hoped that other countries would follow suit, but Great Britain refused. In its press communique of 11th January, the British Government said: "In view of these statements (of Japan), His Majesty's Government have not considered it necessary to address any formal Note to the Japanese Government on the line of the American Government's Note." The communique, says Mr. Stimson, "was entirely silent as to the pre-

servation of sovereignty, independence and integrity of China, the Kellogg-Briand Pact, and the assertion of the principle of the non-recognition of the fruits of unlawful aggression. It thus ignored entirely the question of world peace and China's integrity which we had deemed the most important features not only of our Note, but of the previous three months' negotiations in which we had been supporting the efforts of the League of Nations and the British Government. The communique dealt solely with the single problem of continuing trade with Manchuria." Indeed, the *London Times*, in what was obviously an inspired article, went on to say: "Nor does it seem to be the immediate business of the Foreign Office to defend the 'administrative integrity' of China until that integrity is something more than an ideal!" When Mr. Stimson thought of another collective move, Sir John Simon, the then British Foreign Secretary, was equally disappointing. As is his wont, he did not give an explicit refusal to the suggestion, but "I finally became convinced from his attitude in those conversations," says Mr. Stimson, "that for reasons satisfactory to it, and which I certainly had no desire to inquire into or criticise, the British Government felt reluctant to join in such a *démarche*." On account of the British non-joinder, Mr. Stimson had to issue on his own a private letter to Senator Borah, a letter of 23rd February, which will rank with the most momentous documents of State.

Mr. Stimson and President Hoover found themselves unable to take in the end any but measures of moral pressure; but will not the Democratic Administration of to-day go further? Will not Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, and President Roosevelt apply economic sanctions? Nothing else is necessary to check Japan's aggression. Eliot Janeway, financial editor of the *Federated Press*, points out in *Asia* how an American embargo on shipments to Japan will cut Japan short. The writer says:

It is true certainly that the importance of American exports of strategic materials to Japan is negligible to American industry, which could easily afford to do without them. But they are crucial to the Japanese war machine, and it is no exaggeration to say that an American export embargo would do more to halt Japan's offensive than any other single act in the power of the outside world.

Iron and Steel.—The rapid growth in recent months of American iron and steel exports to Japan illustrates in striking fashion how prominently American arms ingredients figure in the calculation of the Japanese General Staff. Until March, 1937, Japan bought almost no manufactured iron and steel in the United States. But in June, when Japan's steel imports rose to a new high level, American firms supplied over half of her purchases. And in July, after hostilities had begun, Japan's pig-iron imports alone mounted so rapidly that they absorbed half of the increasing volume of American exports.

Petroleum.—Even more sensational has been the sudden boom in Japan's California purchases of oil. During the first week in September, in preparation for her fall campaign, she bought 25,000,000 gallons of aviation fuel in California, and as this article goes to press, she is opening bids for still greater quantities of aviation gasoline. Meanwhile, thirty-two available oil tankers have been engaged for immediate shipment, and the number grows daily. When American citizens read of the toll of life and property taken daily by Japanese air raids, they may well reflect on

whether Standard Oil of California and Texas Corporation can afford to do without this tragic fraction of their income.

Chemicals.—As essential as oil to the conduct of a modern war are chemicals. During the past few months Japan has imported a number of completely equipped chemical plants from the United States; Mitsubishi Petroleum Company has acquired one of the famous Dubbs oil-cracking plants; Union Carbide and Carbon Company has sold a sulphuric acid plant, and so on. German and English chemical firms have also participated in these orders, but the Japanese are now turning almost completely to the United States for supplies of chemical products adequate to see them through the year. Thus, Japan is reported to be seeking large quantities of the coal-tar products—benzol and toluol—which are required for the making of aviation fuel blends and explosives and kindred purposes. The leading factor in this section for the American chemical industry is the great Allied Chemical and Dye Corporation whose Solvay patents are already licensed in Japan. Japanese demand is also beginning to be felt by makers of ammonium sulphate.

Hides.—While millions of Japanese are being called to the colours, Japan is taking steps to increase her shoe and leather production. Late in September, the two leading United States meat packers—Swift and Armour—sold 50,000 light native cow hides to the Japanese. It was reported in the hide market that an option has been taken on 50,000 more hides and that Japan will have to import 1,000,000 hides by 1938.

Copper, &c.—Meanwhile each week sees large shipments of copper, machinery, airplanes and other strategic materials to Japan, shipments which the Chinese have no way duplicating. No American interest whatsoever is being served by this gruesome traffic; each of the concerns mentioned is profiting handsomely from the current recovery movement, and none of them would suffer any appreciable loss if an embargo on shipments to Japan were

to be imposed. There is absolutely no question of sacrificing the prosperity of American industry to the demands of pacifists. Japanese orders have not been responsible for the growth of the recovery movement, and their loss will not halt recovery, although it will go far to halt the Japanese army.

While an embargo on exports to Japan by the United States alone is considered sufficient to restrain Japan, there is no doubt that the measure, if it is joined to a customs embargo on imports from Japan on which even greater reliance is placed, will be fully adequate. This customs embargo will be effective only if four countries co-operate—the British Empire, the United States, France and Holland, which purchase, as we have shown before, more than half of all Japanese exports. What Great Britain will do under its present Government will always remain doubtful. It would be enough if, without taking the initiative, she only kept step with the United States. Mr. Winston Churchill said recently:

In this matter there is one simple rule. We must act in support of the United States. If they are prepared to act you are quite safe in working with that great branch of the English-speaking people. If our two countries go together in this great matter, I doubt whether any harm would come to either of us. Alone we cannot intervene effectively. It is too far off and we are not strong enough. Our rule must be to give more support to the United States. As far as they will go we will go.

It is to be noted, however, that responsible British statesmen have carefully avoided making such a declaration. But Great Britain will be compelled to follow the United States—at a distance. The hope for China lies anyway in the United States giving the lead.

CONDITIONS IN ZAMIN AREAS.

By K. G. SIVASWAMY,

Member, Servants of India Society.

1. MEASURES OF IMMEDIATE RELIEF.

ASSESSMENT OF RENTS.

THE Estates Land Act of Madras did not fix a fair rent. It presumed the existing rent to be a fair rent. Reduction in rents under the Act through the Revenue Courts is an extremely difficult Enhancements too cannot be made except at a process, certain percentage and without the approval of the same courts. Money rents were introduced at a time of high prices in some of the estates such as Sivaganga and consequently are exorbitantly heavy. The Act leaves it open to the landlord and the tenant to regulate the system of tenure called produce sharing. It permits the collection of rents varying according to the crops raised. This system gives immense scope to the patwari to abuse his powers. Rents based on usage vary so much that the patwari can raise the rates from year to year. Some lands are called old wet and are taxed heavily, though they may have no water supply at present. Some lands may be taxed as lands under wells though there may be little water in them. A clever patwari may tax even an adjoining rain-fed dry land as land under a well. Thus the rates often vary from year to year on the same piece of land. The rents that are collected range up to 50%

of the gross produce. A special water rate is levied, even when no irrigation source is maintained, if running rain water is used for purpose of irrigation.

Considering the extreme hardships of the rayats, the way out is immediately to bring in a bill to give some kind of relief, pending permanent measures regarding fair rent. This relief is urged on two grounds: (1) a slump in prices and (2) failure of irrigation sources, on the basis of which a high rent is fixed. The Bihar Government have given powers to the Collector to revise the rents of all holdings fixed between 1911 and 1936. Pending fixation of rent in money, they have regulated payment of rent in kind as a certain share of the produce. The Orissa Government have brought in a bill fixing the rent at half the net produce similar to the settlement of land revenue in ryotwari areas. While the Committee appointed by the Madras Government may consider permanent measures of land reform in zamin areas, it is not necessary that Government should wait till the Committee reports. There is ample material by way of reports and discussions in the previous Legislatures on this subject. Government can collect further information easily through

the district Collectors. It is, therefore, requested that Government be pleased to introduce a bill empowering Collectors to revise rents as has been done in Bihar so as not to exceed the value of half the net produce from land.

2. RENTAL ARREARS.

There are zamindars who credit any payment by a rayat to arrears of rent older than three years, even up to ten years. They boast that they do not sue their rayats in courts, but a court will allow only arrears for three years to be collected and hence it is not to their interest to go to the court. All arrears older than three years should be wiped off by special legislation or by an executive order. Though the law is clear that such arrears need not be paid, the rayats are given receipts in lieu of arrears older than three years. An immediate notification in this respect will be of great relief to the rayats. It will be in consonance with the existing tenancy law in the province. The Congress Ministry in the United Provinces has stayed rent proceedings in respect of all arrears, and zamindars can collect only the current dues. Meanwhile they have appointed a committee for fixing fair rents. While such a drastic remedy is not necessary in Madras, the existing abuses should stop. A statement of accounts and proper receipts should be insisted on. The recent Bihar Tenancy Act empowers the Collector to start proceedings against a landlord, if proper receipts and statements of accounts are not given to a rayat. It is also necessary that an estate holder should be required to give receipts for any payments whether in cash or kind. The facility given in the case of a rent recovery under the Revenue Recovery Act cannot be given in the case of an ordinary debt. So all payments may be credited to loans taken from a landlord, thus leaving the rent dues in arrear. Secondly, a tenant will be in a position to insist on a receipt even for payments in kind which may not be legitimate payments. Such evils may be minimised by enjoining in law on a zamindar to issue receipts for all payments and to render a statement of accounts when asked by a rayat.

3. COLLECTION OF RENTS.

Recent legislation in Bengal has fixed the rate of interest on arrears of rent at $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. This may be adopted in Madras.

Rents are collected with the aid of the staff of the Revenue Department. The moveables may be distrained by the agents of the zamindar and kept in his custody for a fortnight during which period the Revenue Inspector arrives and auctions the moveables. Sometimes the moveables are kept for a month and the rayat has to pay the pending charges for the distrained cattle at four annas per day.

By a clause in the Bihar Tenancy Act, moveables can be distrained only when the dues cannot be realised by sale of his immoveable property.

The ordinary civil law regarding exemption of moveables in attachment and sale in execution of money decrees and regarding any additional exemptions under Tenancy Acts also applies to the recovery of arrears by distraint of moveables. But Madras

has taken no action under Sec. 61 of the Code of Civil Procedure under which the Local Government may exempt that portion of the produce necessary for the subsistence of the cultivator and for cultivation till the next harvest. Other provinces such as the C. P., the U. P., the Punjab, and the N. W. F. P. exempt a certain portion of the produce. Secondly, the livestock necessary for cultivation such as bullocks, sheep and pigs should equally be exempt. The homestead should also be exempted, as provided for in the recent Bihar Tenancy Act. Rent should be made recoverable only from the balance of produce left after exempting a portion required for the rayat's maintenance till the next harvest and by sale of extra cattle and any other moveables not exempted under the Code of Civil Procedure. Distraint of moveables should be permitted only a year after the date on which the rent falls due.

The approach to the question of preventing harassment to the rayat while distraining his moveables lies in taking away from the zamindar and his agents the power of distraining the moveables and keeping them in their custody for a temporary period. Where rent is settled by the Collector, the village officer may be empowered to distrain moveables in default of payment of arrears. In other cases the Revenue Inspector may be requested by the zamindar to attach the moveables. These may be auctioned in both cases by the Revenue Inspector within ten days.

It is also necessary that the civil law should be amended, so that the life of a decree for execution should not be more than four years from the date of application for each year of rental. It may be extended during years of agricultural calamity, or when the land is sublet by a rayat. This provision follows Sec. 6 of the Agriculturists' Relief Act in the U. P.

As regards the ejection of a rayat from his holding for non-payment of arrears of rent, the recent Acts passed in other provinces give us guidance. In Bengal the power given to the landlords to eject a tenant by the certificate procedure under the Public Demands Recovery Act has been withdrawn. In Bihar only such portion of the land of which value is equivalent to the amount of arrears of rent due can be auctioned. Or the holding is transferred to the landholder for a period of seven years. An enquiry into auctions of lands in zamin areas will show how they are bid by the zamindar for a song. This is an indication of the precarious character of the tenancy in zamin areas. The problem should be looked at from the point of view as to how far ejection of tenants for non-payment of arrears is good for agricultural economy. The inability of the rayat to pay rents is due to the uneconomic character of his holding and want of secondary occupations. Secondly, it is due to the risks inherent in agriculture such as failure of crops. Rules of remission should be liberal in years of agricultural calamities.

The subsistence holding should be made exempt from sale for the recovery of debts, rent, or revenue. It should be noted that there are a large number of nominal agriculturists who own bits of land but whose major income is derived from other sources. They can never hope to become economic holders.

Ejectment in their case for non-payment of arrears of rent may be permitted. As regards those who hold lands which are larger in extent than a subsistence holding and who are not big tenants but make a net income of about Rs. 700 from land, the provisions in the Bihar Tenancy Act for auctioning lands only at an upset price fixed by the Collector or, in the alternative, transferring the land to the landholder for 7 years may be made applicable. As regards holders of land making a net income of more than Rs. 700, the existing procedure of ejectment from the land for non-payment of rent should continue.

These measures are long overdue. An exhaustive enquiry is not necessary in this respect. And they can be put on the statute book immediately, thereby giving much-needed relief to the rayats.

II. PERMANENT MEASURES AFTER AN ENQUIRY.

The present Committee, while considering measures of permanent relief, may make an interim report for carrying out the above-mentioned measures.

The answers to the questionnaire issued by the Committee are given below.

1. NATURE OF RIGHTS.

The first question relates to the nature of rights in the soil. The zamindar is a creation of the East India Company and its successors either for political reasons or for the collection of land tax. Where he has been created for political reasons, he pays a nominal tribute to the State. The zamindar was permitted to collect the land tax. He is, therefore, entitled to a contribution from the State equal to this amount of land tax as originally settled. Where he has been created to collect land tax and remit it to Government, he is entitled to be paid remuneration for the work he does at a certain percentage of the tax. The tenant is the cultivator and has, therefore, inherent rights over the land as long as he cultivates it. Subject to certain restrictions in the matter of sale which may be imposed by Government with a view to keeping the land in the hands of cultivators only, he has every right of disposing of his rights in land.

The ideal method of dealing with the land problem in zamin areas is to buy off the zamindars' right over the rents collected by them from their tenants. The Government can thereby treat the land problem in a uniform manner in both the ryotwari and the zamin areas. In the case of zamindars created solely with a view to the collection of the land tax on behalf of Government, the amount of the original land tax which they were allowed to retain in proportion to the peshkush should be determined. That amount should be paid off to the zamindars after making the following calculations: The proportionate cost for collecting this amount should first be deducted from it. Whoever is the cultivator should be given the occupancy right subject to restriction of subleases by the Government. Those large holders who are unwilling to cultivate the land themselves should be treated only as tax collecting agents of the zamindar and also be equally bought off. The amount which is determined as the annual contribution of the purchase

price of the zamin should be distributed among these absentee owners in a definite proportion.

In the case of zamins constituted for political reasons, the zamindar should be paid an annual amount equal to the land tax assessed for such lands when the zamin was first settled. The cost of collection should be deducted from the same. The net amount should be divided among the zamindar and the absentee owners as in the case of the other type of zamins.

In adjusting the claims of both kinds of zamindars, the annual average amount collected by them during the last ten years, after deducting the cost of management should be calculated. In no case should the sum to be paid to zamindars be more than the amount of actual net collections. The *sir* or private land of the zamindar should be taxed at the same rate at which ryotwari holders are taxed. Such lands may be allowed to be leased by the zamindars so that the benefit of any improvements made by them in such lands may go to them.

The compensation to absentee owners should be given only to those with large holdings which could not be possibly cultivated by them with hired labour. In the case of others they should either cultivate the land themselves or the actual cultivator will be registered as the owner.

The financial implications of the scheme are not worked out here for want of figures. The amount of land tax which the Government will collect from the zamin areas in excess over the peshkush paid by the zamindars will be a surplus income for Government, out of which they should pay the annual contribution to the zamindars.

2. FAIR AND EQUITABLE RENT.

When once there are no intermediaries to collect rents, Government can adopt a uniform policy in the assessment for land tax. Land tax should be reduced on all holdings which barely give a subsistence income even when supplemented by incomes from other occupations. Such holdings should be defined in different tracts. The income from such holdings should be at least Rs. 200 so that, with the aid of supplementary occupations, a holder may be able to make an annual income of Rs. 300 for the maintenance of himself and his family.

The benefit of reduction in land tax should only be given to peasant proprietors who will not lease their lands but will ordinarily cultivate them themselves. In such cases the amount of reduction may be up to 50% of the net income from land. In the case of the other owners of land the existing land tax may continue. The periodical settlements may be done away with. On the basis of the resettlement reports and price figures, the reduction in land tax can be easily fixed in respect of ryotwari and zamin areas. When fixing the land tax, the water tax should be separated. It should rise progressively according to the size of the holding cultivated. Rates may vary according to the paying character of the crops. In the case of productive works the minimum should be that amount of land tax which will pay the interest and the sinking fund on the capital outlay. The maximum should be that rate which it would be

profitable for agriculturists to pay. In addition, income tax should be levied on all agricultural incomes of Rs. 1,000 and above.

2 b. REMISSION OF RENT.

The remission should be in proportion to the loss of produce and should be statutorily fixed, and provision should be made for appeal to the Collector of the district.

The Local Government should always reserve powers to reduce the rent or the tax as the case may be.

4 & 8. RIGHTS IN WATER.

When once the zamindar is bought off, the question of water right does not arise. But it is too much to expect a zamindar to discharge the functions of the State in maintaining and developing irrigation works. When a produce rent is commuted into a money rent, his incentive to keep irrigation works in order disappears. If the zamindars are not bought off but retained, irrigation should at least be under the Government who should maintain the works by a special water tax. The tenants should have the right to use rain water without any tax when no effort is applied by the zamindar to conserve it.

5. SURVEY AND RECORD OF RIGHTS.

This is long overdue. The extent of ownership varies from year to year in the pattas granted by zamindars even when other conditions remain the same. Survey and record of rights should be undertaken early at the cost of the zamindar. The State would no doubt undertake it if the zamindars are to be bought off.

6. CUSTOMARY LEVIES.

These vary from zamin to zamin. The Bihar Tenancy Act makes illegal exactions cognisable and bailable offences punishable with imprisonment and fine. The same provisions may be adopted for zamin areas in the Madras Presidency.

7. RIGHTS OF TENANTS TO UTILISE LOCAL NATURAL FACILITIES.

The common lands of the village should first be separated from proprietary zamins. I know of zamindars who have to be persuaded with great difficulty to give small bits of lands for a road to pass through. The panchayats have no market places and consequently the zamindar makes it a condition of holding a market in his land that he should hold the licence for running it and making a profit. Village sites, grazing grounds, land necessary for streets and roads, thrashing floors, market sites, cattle ponds, drinking water sources—these should be held as common institutions of the village in which the zamindar should claim no proprietary rights. The rights of cutting wood for fuel and implements and of grazing in minor forests should be regulated by fixing a limit by issue of permits.

9. JAMABANDI.

Jamabandi should be conducted annually by the Collector or Sub-Collector, thus giving an opportunity to the tenants to represent personally their needs and requirements.

11. APPELLATE AUTHORITY.

When reform on the lines mentioned above is carried out, there will be less need for suits and appeals. The existing authority for appeals and revisions may continue.

10 LEGAL STATUS OF UNDER-TENANTS.

There should be no scope for the growth of intermediaries between the State and the cultivator. In the scheme proposed whoever cultivates the land will be the owner. Subleases should be restricted as in other provinces. In the U. P. five years should elapse between one sublease and another. In the C. P. the permission of the Local Government is necessary for a sublease. Government gives the right of occupancy to whomsoever cultivates the land. The same provisions should be applied in Madras. Otherwise a reduction in rent may not help the cultivator but will help only the pattadar.

Shanghai: The Foreign Settlement Doomed.

“SHANGHAI is one of the five original treaty-ports—there are many more of them now (49)—which the Chinese were compelled to open to foreign traders (in 1842) as part of the peace terms that were imposed on China by Great Britain at the end of a victorious war of aggression: the ‘Opium War’ of 1838-42. A supplementary treaty provided that the merchants who settled in the treaty-ports should be allowed to purchase plots of land there and erect buildings on them.” (The *Economist* of 21st August.) Like the British settlement, an American and French settlement were established a few years afterwards, though the American settlement was amalgamated with the British settlement in 1863 and is now known as the International Settlement and the French settlement maintains its separate existence. These settlements are to be distinguished from foreign concessions. “A concession is an area leased to a foreign power, upon which an annual land tax is paid

by the foreign power to the Chinese Government and within which foreign nationals obtain bases from the consular authority of the power which holds the concession. The foreign residential areas at Hankow and at Tientsin are typical. There are in all China some eighteen concessions. In the international settlements, of which the one at Shanghai is a typical and the only important example, the land which is delimited by the boundary lines remains upon the register of the Chinese land office. Foreigners may obtain perpetual leases, but cannot acquire permanent ownership of the land.” (Dr. S. K. Hornbeck.) The Shanghai International Settlement and the French Concession or Settlement together now occupy 12½ square miles, and contain a population of over three millions. It was not originally intended that the Chinese should settle in these foreign colonies, but they came over in large numbers for protection and for carrying on business in settled conditions, and now only about

50,000 of the inhabitants there are foreigners, coming from fifty different countries. "Of these foreign residents over 20,000 are Japanese, 8,500 British, 7,400 Russian, and 3,150 American, while France and Germany are represented by 1,450 each." The affairs of both the settlements are administered by Municipal Councils, which do the policing, look after sanitation and do something in the way of public education. The Municipal Council of the French Settlement has little authority, the real control being in the hands of the French Consul-General. But the Municipal Council of the International Settlement wields great power. Both the Municipal Councils are elected by the foreign tax-payers, the Chinese residents, though they pay 80 per cent of the taxes, having no vote and having no share in the administration. This state of things continued till about ten years ago. Naturally it was a matter of bitter complaint. These foreign administered settlements are on Chinese soil; "the foreigners living there are entitled to the extra-territorial rights and privileges which have been granted to foreign powers by treaty throughout China, but in other respects they and all other residents are subject to Chinese jurisdiction both in and out of the settlements" (Henry L. Stimson); China exercises sovereignty over these foreign settlements; they are peopled mostly by the Chinese and taxes are paid mostly by the Chinese; and yet the Chinese were excluded from all share in administration till lately. The Municipal Council was composed till 1927 of five Britons, two Americans and two Japanese. In that year, however, three Chinese were allowed to be elected and their number was increased to five in 1930. But the Chinese are not satisfied with this. In the affairs of the chief commercial city of China and one of the five or six largest commercial posts of the world, they feel that they should at least have a parity of representation with foreign residents, when the tax burden falls most heavily upon them. Indeed, it is their ambition to do away altogether with the privileged position of these settlements, a position which the powers have obtained for themselves by sheer force of arms.

The foreign settlements in Shanghai are defended by foreign troops and foreign police stationed there, but Chinese troops and Chinese police are excluded. This is a concession that has been extorted by foreign powers out of China's helplessness, but China, being politically self-conscious, has made up her mind to abolish this along with other restraints on her sovereignty at the earliest opportunity that would offer. But on account of Japan's aggression the privileged position enjoyed by Great Britain, United States, France and other powers has already practically disappeared even if China is unable to rectify the anomaly. This result was apparent even in 1932 when Japan attacked Shanghai after having seized Manchuria. The Japanese population is concentrated in the northern portion of the International Settlement, and she made use of this on that occasion as the base of military operations against China, ostensibly as a measure of self-defence but really for the purpose of breaking China's boycott and carrying further invasion of Chinese territory. The strategi-

cal position of Shanghai is of the utmost importance because from that city China's capital, Nanking, can be attacked. U. S. and Great Britain were in a terrible difficulty. In the first place, the foreign settlement is in the best of circumstances not easy to defend, but when it has to be defended against a power who has a right to station troops there, it becomes an exceedingly hard task. This was the situation that faced foreign powers in 1932. In the cases that occurred before "the foreigners within the settlement could act as a unit in a common spirit of neutrality" and could keep out warring Chinese factions by their united force. But in 1932 they found that one of themselves, a nation who bore the responsibility for common defence, was a power from which other powers had to defend themselves. In the second place, even if they remained neutral in such a situation, incurring the risk of having to suffer both from Chinese and Japanese forces, they would only be encouraging Japan to commit greater and greater aggression against China. As Mr. Stimson, the then U. S. Secretary of State, says in "The Far Eastern Crisis," "If China should be deprived of her age-long peaceful weapon against the enemy—the boycott—she would ultimately be faced with one or the other of two alternatives: either to arm herself and become a military instead of a peaceful nation, or to be thrown into total subservience to her more military neighbour, Japan. Either of these results would be fraught with ominous danger to the peace of the world and to the freedom of peaceful commerce for which we and Great Britain had been striving for many decades in the Far East." Fortunately, on that occasion the Japanese troops were withdrawn and the attack on Shanghai was halted, but the events of the time sufficed to show that the International Settlement was doomed.

Since then Japan has done almost what she pleased in the Settlement. Mr. Nathaniel Peffer says in *Asia* for November: "A large part of the Settlement, in the northern part in which the Japanese residents are concentrated, has for all practical purposes ceased to be international. The authority of the Municipal Council has ceased to run in that part of the Settlement whenever the Japanese chose that it should not. The Settlement police and tax-payers have functioned there on the sufferance of the Japanese, if at all. Whenever the Japanese military forces have felt like holding manoeuvres, they have closed off one part of the city, compelled business to suspend, and held their manoeuvres. The Chinese population has had to bear the loss. The Settlement authorities were helpless. They have either ignored the violations or submitted." Japan's present attack on Shanghai has succeeded and the Japanese army is marching on the capital. Her ultimate victory is doubtful, but whatever happens, the legal status of the International Settlement can no longer be maintained. The Settlement will be taken over completely either by Japan or China at a suitable opportunity. When Japan first attacked Shanghai and the Chinese people began defending themselves, it was, as Mr. Peffer observes, in strict law, "a legal obligation on Great Britain, France

the United States and other powers since August 14 to join the Japanese in silencing the Chinese artillery which has been dropping shells into Hongkew." But obviously they could not do so. Mr. Peffer says:

The Chinese after all are fighting on their own soil against immeasurable odds, conscious that they have little or no chance of winning, and driven by the last human motive, whether of individuals or nations—that of self-preservation. They have to fight or undergo servitude; for the other great powers to have taken action which would have helped Japan, when Japan already had all the resources of modern times to use against an army newly organised and scantily armed—even the most unresonated Shanghai British dishard felt a little squeamish at doing that.

Britain and U. S. A. held their hand, and what is the result? Mr. Peffer continues:

The future of Shanghai is now cast on the fortunes of war. If the Japanese have a speedy and decisive victory over China, Shanghai will be lost to foreigners. It will not be annexed outright by Japan. It will even remain nominally international. The Japanese are adept at political colouration that is all but transparent. It will be an international port in which only one nation counts. In various extra-legal and effective ways Japan will get all the benefits and all the profits of the Settlement. Korea, Dairen and Manchoukuo testify to the absence in the Japanese national character of any instinct for sharing.

If, on the other hand, China should succeed in protracting the war until Japan is exhausted and falters, then it is unthinkable that China will ever let the Settlement resume its former status. It has chafed in the past ten years and acquiesced only because of *force majeure*. To expect it to be restrained when it has succeeded in repelling Japan is fantastic. It will simply take Shanghai, unilaterally nullify the treaties on which the International Settlement rests and incorporate the whole of Shanghai into China proper. Foreigners and foreign interests will remain there with the same status that they have in Europe or the United States.

In either case Shanghai is lost so far as foreigners are concerned. The war that began on July 8 or July 25 (when fighting began at Langfang, between Peiping and Tientsin) or August 14—whichever incident one chooses as the beginning of the war—ended the International Settlement at Shanghai. It will never again be what it was from 1842 to 1937.

Reviews.

"CHRISTIAN SWEEPERS"

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF A SUPPRESSED PEOPLE. By J. C. HEINRICH. (Allen & Unwin.) 1937. 18cm. 148p. 3/8.

THE book is divided into seven chapters. The first two of them deal with "Oppression Stimuli" among the depressed classes in India and in the case of the Negroes. The author concludes that there is a parallel between the Indian sweeper and the Negro in America. The last chapter refers to "The Indian Church at Work". He seems to have some pet theories which he endeavours to prove by copious quotations from other writers and has thus obscured his own views on the subject. He was a Missionary in the Punjab and, as is usual with his class of people, speaks with an authority on Indian Christians in the Province. Evidently there was no love lost between him and his flock. But he had no justifica-

tion whatever in referring to the poor Indian Christians in the Punjab in such derogatory terms. Throughout the book he refers to them as "Christian Sweepers". Recently the Punjab Government, in response to an appeal by Christians, issued an order that they should not be described as "Christian Sweepers" in official documents. He has deliberately hurt the feelings of Christians in the Punjab. It cannot be that he did not know that they resented this label. He mentions a report by a certain district missionary in which it is stated that the police records in his district "show an increase in major crimes including murder among depressed classes since they have embraced Christianity". This report of a brother missionary can be challenged and the motive of the author in quoting it is fully revealed. "Christian Sweepers," as the learned Divine is pleased to call Indian Christians in the Punjab, have sufficient influence now. They ought to demand from him statistics to substantiate these remarks, failing which he should be called upon to withdraw these words from his book and tender an unqualified apology. If, however, Indian Christian leaders do not help their poor brethren and sisters whose feelings are outraged by the author, the "Sweeper Christian" will be well advised to abandon these leaders and look for help elsewhere. This reviewer can say without any fear of contradiction that the moral degradation of the class of Indian Christians to which a reference is made by the author is directly traceable to the low moral standard of the white missionary who induced them to embrace Christianity. At any rate it is wrong to generalise so as to misrepresent a whole community. Another missionary friend told the author, "The Indian Christians of — are the most selfish, self-satisfied, self-centred people on the face of the earth". The fact is that the friend was describing the moral calibre of the missionary-in-charge of the place. Further we are told "The extent to which Indian Christians adopted skirts, stockings, shoes, hats, neckties, topees etc., and the number that 'passed' to the status of Anglo-Indians has long been a concern of thoughtful missionaries". This is simply not true. In the olden days when a man or woman decided to turn Christian, he was often advised and sometimes forced by the missionary to put on European clothes. I have just been reading the autobiography of an eminent Indian Christian of the Punjab. He says that his old mother was crying when they took her to the church for baptism not because she was going to be a Christian but because against her wishes she was forced to put on a skirt. Needless to say that that was the first and last time she ever adorned herself in European attire. When Indian Christians along with Hindus and Muslims became advanced in western education they naturally took more and more to the western style of dress. Indian Christians went a step further and their women adopted skirts but they did not give up the head dress. The more frequent use of the English language for daily use among Indian Christians inspired in them a certain amount of self-confidence and they asserted equality with missionaries which the latter resented. This resulted in the "concern of thoughtful missionaries". The author is talking of things that happened about 30 years ago, though the book was published this year. We should have been told that many Indian Christians who owing to circumstances were obliged to pass as Anglo-Indians are gradually coming back. Has the learned author recently seen any Indian Christian woman in the Punjab wearing skirt?

This book will not serve any useful purpose.

S. A. WAIZ.

GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE.

LIFE OF GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE. By V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI (The Bangalore Printing and Publishing Co., Bangalore City.) 1937. 19cm. 138p. Re. 1.

THIS is a brilliant amalgam of the series of Mysore University Extension Lectures delivered in Bangalore and Mysore by the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri. Throughout this book one gets the clear feeling that facts are presented with little comment by a worthy disciple, speaking with reverence and restraint of his great master. Its importance lies in the richness of documents throwing much needed light on many things which have led to considerable misunderstanding and misrepresentation of Gokhale regarding his political outlook in general and his attitude to Tilak in particular.

On page 23 Mr. Sastri points out how Gokhale's apology tendered in the spirit of public service was not received properly by the then Governor of Bombay and how he suffered from unfair treatment both from Government and his own countrymen by way of penance and preparation for the great role that he played in Indian life afterwards. Tilak's imprisonment raised such a storm of calumny against Gokhale that he was driven to take legal steps against the defaming papers. In this connexion Mr. Sastri's letter to Mr. Dravid will be found characteristic (p. 81) showing, as it does, the worthy disciple's independence of judgment even in those days when Gokhale was looked up to as F. M. (First Member) by the members of the Servants of India Society. Gokhale's insistence on peace and order as the basis of progress; his faith in the essential goodness of the British connexion; and his stern recognition of life-long discipline and education as the necessary qualifications of a servant of India cannot be discarded without danger even in these days of Gandhism and Nehruism.

This book is addressed as much to the ordinary reader as to the hierarchy of Indian administration, for whose benefit we find occasional reference to "advisers of obscure character who gather round Simla and Delhi" (p. 58). Page 32 has an inspiring extract—for the young people of all time—from Gokhale's diary, showing that even at the age of 32 it was his burning ambition to practise Yoga, to master History (ancient and modern), Philosophy (ancient and modern), Astronomy, Geology, Physiology, Psychology, and French! Many do not know what honours might have been conferred on Gokhale, if he had not declined (p. 109) to receive them from on high in recognition of his great service to the country.

Mr. Sastri has a way of taking people (e. g. Lord Sandhurst, p. 28) to task with inimitable humour which makes everybody (including the offender) laugh without making an unpleasant fuss about the offence itself. Page 86 delineates the (familiar) awkward position of a patriot who is not on personally unfriendly terms with Government with such telling humour that no reader can escape the moral.

There is no doubt that this publication will enable young people to know Gokhale as a great constructive worker who founded on sound lines a powerful organization for the service of India—apart from his political views which came into tragic conflict with those of the most popular idol of his time. In fact the book deserves a careful study at the hands of fire-eaters so common to-day, and who seem to imagine that they have no use for gentle humour or refined expression when they want to make themselves effective on behalf of the Indian people.

A. H. PADHYE.

SHORT NOTICES.

G. K.'S MISCELLANY OR THE FIRST 500 ISSUES OF G. K.'S WEEKLY. (Rich & Cowan.) 1934. 20cm. 320p. 7/6.

THE magnetic name of the late Mr. G. K. Chesterton gives a special attraction to this volume, comprising collected articles, poems and essays, by a band of writers, great and small, brought together by the large and benevolent looking personality of the late G. K. C. All these were first published in G. K.'s Miscellany and were afterwards collected in this volume, "published to celebrate the 500th issue of the Weekly". The origin and the history of the paper is very brilliantly given by Mr. Chesterton in the introduction to this volume, crammed, as usual, with brilliant paradoxes, through the labyrinth of which a reader finds it difficult to progress. The Weekly was started with a view to realize the ideal of what the writer of the introduction calls "distributism". He also assures us that "Unlike many papers filled with sincere criticism of capitalism and Big Business it has never been financed by any big capitalists..." and it succeeded only "by using the name of some buffoon, who was known in the newspapers, as other buffoons are known to the police..."

A reader can very easily determine the high quality of the weekly from these collected articles, poems and cartoons, published in it week after week. Indeed one marvels at their quality, especially when one reads the article of Desmond MacCarthy, *The Eye-Witness*, which traces the history of literary weeklies in England from 1912 onwards. The difficulties of editing a literary weekly, as stated by another, are hardly known by the readers, who handle them in their perfect form. How something is "written to length," how "the last-moment fill-up," by a sudden flash of the writer's *flair* for journalistic work, turns out to be a perfect piece are facts which one learns with interest. A triquet like the following one, for instance, without hiding its real purpose, rings in one's head:

We have to print a triquet
When space is clamouring for matter;
We try to put it off and yet
We have to print a triquet... etc.

There are several other interesting articles, mostly humorous. Some of the parodies linger long in the mind after reading them.

If music the food of love
Turn on the radio...

for instance. Unfortunately Walter de la Mare's story, *Maria-Fly*, does not come up to the high standard which the author usually maintains. But most of G. K. C.'s articles, similarly those of Belloc, especially his *Mrs. Mackham's History of England* and those of K. C. Macdonald are very interesting. The volume is, indeed, bristling with wit and humour; it is really an injustice to mention only a few. But since it is difficult to resist the temptation of quoting just a specimen from Mr. A. M. Currie's *Bits and Pieces*, it is given below:

"It serves you right," said the Kangaroo to his wife, after the stockbroker has taken his leave. "How often have I warned you that you should keep the children in the bank?"

Similarly all Indian readers may feel interested in the humorous article, *Mr. Ram Ram changes his Job*, though one does not feel that the mischief therein is not altogether free from malice. Impossible as it is to give a complete idea of the excellence of this volume, we heartily recommend our readers to turn to the book itself.

Y. G. NAIK.

TWENTY-ONE WEEKS IN EUROPE, 1930.

By RAJA RAGHUNATHRAO SHANKARRAO PANDIT PANT SACHIV, RAJA OF BHOR. (R. K. Deshpande, Darbar Vakil, Poona.) 26cm. 527p. Rs. 20.

THE Ruler of Bhore spent about six months in a tour of Europe and this book is a diary-cum-commentary on his journeys. The volume contains 520 pages of matter, profusely illustrated and finely printed, worthy of a writer belonging to the princely order. The account is saved from the dullness which usually characterises travel diaries by the shrewd observations and comparisons made by the Raja as regards customs, manners, general behaviour, architecture, etc., of the countries he visited. If the philosophic reflection embodied in this volume is an indication of the principles governing the Raja's life, the people of Bhore must be a happy community. For instance, the Raja visits the tomb of Napoleon and leaves it "with mingled feelings, with the remembrance of a departed great soul, with such astounding vicissitudes including a tragic end naturally gives rise to." The monument of the unlucky Maharaja of Kolhapur in Florence reminds him "of the irony of fate." If only our Princes really learnt something "from the astounding vicissitudes" and "the irony of fate" of tyrants! The Raja of Bhore has none-the-less, conferred a boon on libraries and schools by bringing together in this volume an excellent collection of European scenes and architectures with suitable commentaries.

M. D. S.

FAMILY BUDGETS, 1934-35, OF SIX TENANT-CULTIVATORS IN THE LYLLAPUR DISTRICT. By LABH SINGH AND AJAIB SINGH. (Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, Lahore.) 1937. 24cm. 50p. As.6.

THIS is the third year's report of the family budgets of the six tenant families in the Government Seed Farm at Riselwala in Lyallpur District. These tenants are of a better type of tenants in the canal colonies with an average income of about Rs. 420 per family of 8 adults. This year they have better income from land and their expenditure has also been sufficiently cut down. Even now one family has a deficit to face. A comparison of these with some Nebraska and Illinois tenants of America is given. The American tenants get and spend five to ten times what the Punjab tenants do, and the tenant of Punjab is the richest of the country! The food consumed by the Punjab tenant compares favourably with the diet consumed by adults in countries other than Japan in protein contents and caloric energy. The Punjab tenants take about 16 per cent of animal products which is more than in some other countries. Of their income 65 per cent is spent on food, 11 per cent on dress. While about 50 per cent of the total expenditure of American tenants is on items other than food and dress, the Punjab tenants spend about 85 per cent on these two items. The human and civilising needs of the Punjab tenants cannot be supplied for want of sufficient income. The study reveals information collected with careful detail and thus has first rate importance. But the number of families is so small that any general conclusion arrived at on the basis of these figures is bound to be misleading.

N. S. S.

SOCIAL INSURANCE.

BOMBAY GOVERNMENT'S SCHEME EXAMINED.

The following opinion has been expressed by the National Trades Union Federation on the Bombay Government's Scheme for Sick Leave with Pay and Social and Sickness Insurance in general.

THE Committee of the Federation ventures to submit that the Government press note of August 17 and your letter under reply contain statements on the general question of social and sickness insurance, some of which are difficult to reconcile. In the first place, the press note states, and your letter confirms, that Government visualise the development of a comprehensive system of social insurance. Secondly, the note states that they "have already set in motion the machinery of the Labour Department for the collection of material which within a reasonable distance of time should enable Government to decide what can be done to frame sound and workable schemes conforming to Indian conditions." Thirdly, at the end of paragraph 7 of your letter under reply you say that the scheme described in your letter, "if successful, may pave the way for specific schemes of social insurance on the lines of those to be found in the more advanced countries." And, lastly, your letter announces the conclusion in paragraph 6 that "Government, while having no doubt as to the ultimate goal to be aimed at, realise that conditions do not exist at present in the Presidency for the successful operation of a sickness insurance scheme as it is understood and worked in the United Kingdom and other foreign countries." The Committee has read these conflicting observations with profound disappointment and regards the conclusion drawn there-

from as wholly unwarranted. These different statements made at different places are bound to create confusion as to the real intentions of Government in this behalf; and the Committee finds it difficult to understand what exactly the Government's policy is and where they stand. Do they think that the difficulties arising from the lack of statistical and actuarial information will be removed when the machinery of the Labour Department, which, according to them, has already been set in motion, has reported? Or do they believe that the scheme under reference will pave the way for specific schemes of social insurance and that the lack of statistical and actuarial material will not constitute a difficulty? In any case, if it is contended that the inauguration of a scheme for sickness insurance is not called for to-day, the conclusion is, in the opinion of the Committee, premature, unwarranted and, as will be shown presently, incorrect. The Committee will, therefore, welcome a definite expression of opinion from Government and their precise view whether the sickness insurance scheme will be evolved out of the scheme under reference or from the statistical and actuarial material, if and when made available. In the absence of any precise indication of Government's intentions, the Committee is at a disadvantage in making suggestions as desired in the concluding paragraph of your letter.

Since the Whitley Commission reported, no serious attempt has been made, so far as the Committee is aware, by any provincial Government to enquire into the possibility of a social or sickness insurance scheme and to find out a basis for it, how-

ever limited it may be in its scope. In the opinion of the Committee, the statement in your letter that conditions do not exist at present for the successful operation of the scheme is not correct. The Bombay Labour Office conducted two enquiries—one in 1930 and another in 1931—into the incidence of sickness among the cotton mill operatives in Bombay City and their reports were published. Those reports have shown that the average incidence of sickness among the workers covered by the enquiries is somewhere below 2 per cent.; and the conclusion is identical with the results of more comprehensive enquiries made in Western countries. Moreover, the Government can institute similar enquiries on a wider basis and obtain the necessary material by the time any proposed legislation reaches its final stages. But the present Government have not yet made any such effort, although they have the machinery of the Labour Office to do so. The attitude of Government, therefore, in admitting the desirability and even the necessity of sickness insurance scheme on the one hand and rejecting it on the score of impracticability on the other, betrays lack of conviction and cannot be sustained. The Committee of the Federation is satisfied that the evolution of a full-fledged scheme of sickness insurance is both practicable and feasible even now, if only the Government are in earnest about it and are willing to finance it to the extent of their admitted obligation.

Your letter says that Government hope that a fully developed scheme of social insurance may be in course of time evolved from the scheme under consideration. The Committee is not sure of such a development taking place. In the first place, the Committee is not aware of such development having taken place in any important country where full-fledged sickness insurance legislation obtains. Sick leave no doubt forms part of sickness insurance; but the Committee does not think that out of the former can come the latter development. Secondly, in the rough scheme as outlined in your letter, there is hardly any financial margin which will help the development of other features of social insurance. The only financial margin which the fund to be created under the scheme may have is the amount of wages for the unused period of the leave contemplated to be given to the workers under the scheme plus the worker's contribution. But as both these amounts are to be paid to the worker on his retirement or on his attaining a certain age there seems to be no possibility of the fund being available for other developments visualised by Government. Thirdly, as will be pointed out later, Government themselves make no contribution to the fund.

In paragraph 4, your letter says, that in the opinion of Government "the best method of approach would be to combine sick leave with holidays with pay for industrial workers". This view is not confirmed in the subsequent paragraph of your letter in which you state that for entitling a worker to get leave he will have to produce a certificate. The leave, therefore, becomes essentially sick leave and has no element of a holiday in it. A worker may ask for a holiday even without being sick; but he cannot get sick leave for which a certificate is made a condition precedent. The Committee regrets to find that your letter is not clear on this as on many other points. Holidays with pay are a distinct feature of social legislation and do not form part of a sickness insurance scheme.

After describing the operative part of the scheme in paragraph 7 of your letter, you say that "the scheme would thus have some of the characteristics of sickness and retirement, old age and death benefits". The Committee demurs to the statement. One of the important features of most of these bene-

fits is a contribution from the State. In the scheme under discussion, this feature is conspicuous by its absence. The Government scheme has no doubt an element of sickness benefit, but certainly not of sickness insurance. The pension schemes are either contributory or non-contributory. Where they are contributory, the State is one of the contributing agencies; and where they are non-contributory, the entire burden is borne by the State. But in no case is the worker made the sole contributory. Under the Bombay Government's scheme, neither the Government contribute, nor do the employers where full leave is enjoyed by the workers. It is only the worker who contributes and gets back what he has contributed. Nor can the scheme develop into a death benefit scheme because it contemplates the repayment, during his life-time, of the worker's contribution and such other amount as may have been accumulated to his credit on account of the leave not being used. A highly objectionable feature of the scheme is the omission of any reference to the repayment to the worker's heir of the amount contributed by him during his life-time both by the encashment of the leave not taken and the contribution of his ten days' wages every year. The result would be that if he dies before retirement and without taking full leave, all the money due to him will lapse to the fund. The Committee has in the next paragraph suggested a remedy to avoid such lapse. In the opinion of the Committee, it is purely a scheme for sick leave with pay and has no scope for development in the direction of social insurance as it is understood in the West and other countries.

Subject to these observations, the Committee of the Federation proposes to examine the scheme and make proposals for the consideration of Government. The main features of the scheme seem to be as follows:

(1) Every industrial worker will have a legal right to three or four weeks' sick leave with pay during every year.

(2) If there is any balance of leave unutilised during the year, it is to be turned into cash and the amount is to be put into a fund to be maintained by Government.

(3) The worker will have to contribute ten days' wages to the fund every year.

(4) The amount of the worker's contribution and the amount accruing from his unused leave will be drawn upon on his retirement from industry or on his attaining a certain age and will be paid to him either in lump sum or in instalments.

Of these four points, the third point is not relevant to the scheme for sick leave with pay. The Committee suggests that it should be either eliminated from the scheme or, as is pointed out below, should be treated as part of another and contributory scheme of social insurance. On the other points the Committee offers the following suggestions:

(a) The leave to be granted should be either for sickness or holidays or both, until a full sickness insurance scheme is evolved.

(b) The period of leave should not be less than four weeks in a year.

(c) Provision should be made for the accumulation of leave for a period of at least three years so that the worker can take, in the case of protracted or serious illness, full advantage of the scheme.

(d) The scheme should contain a provision that a change of employment should not involve loss of leave due but not utilised before such change takes place. If the scheme is to be of real benefit to the worker, it is necessary that it should contain such a provision.

(e) The fund which the Government proposes to maintain under the scheme should receive not merely the cash value of the leave not taken, but the whole cost of the leave which the employer will be required to incur on his workmen; and the Government should pay directly to the worker the amount due to him on account of his leave. This procedure, if adopted, will remove many practical difficulties that may come in the way of the worker in getting his leave and pay.

(f) The amounts which may accumulate in the name of each individual worker should be drawn upon on his retirement from industry or on his attaining a certain age and should be paid to him either in lump sum or in instalment in accordance with his wishes.

(g) In case the worker dies before getting the amount due to him on account of a portion of his leave not being used, it should be paid to his wife or children or to his father or mother or other dependents if any.

(h) The provision with regard to ten days' contribution from the workers should be deleted.

If the scheme relating to sick leave with pay is modified in the manner indicated above, the Committee thinks that it will be acceptable to the workers.

If it is intended that a nucleus of a fund should be formed for protecting the workers against sickness, retirement, old age or death, this Committee will welcome such a move, if both the Government and the employers make adequate contributions for this purpose. Indeed, such a move is overdue and this Committee urges that a beginning should be made immediately. But it should be quite distinct from the scheme for leave with pay. The schemes dealing with sickness insurance, old age, etc., are, broadly speaking, of a contributory character and where they are non-contributory, the financial burden is entirely borne by the State. In any scheme on a wider basis that Government may prepare, the workers will be glad to bear their due share of the financial responsibility, provided the State and the employers will bear their

respective shares. What the Bombay Government are trying to do under the scheme under discussion is that they want to evolve schemes of social insurance, retirement, old age or death benefits by asking only the workers to contribute to them and by transferring to the fund the amounts of money which may have accrued on account of the leave not being used. The latter kind of contribution, though paid by the employers, really belongs to the workers because it comes out of the unused leave to which they are entitled. Under your proposals neither the State nor the employers will contribute anything and the Government want to evolve a scheme entirely at the cost of the workers. This, in the opinion of the Committee, is highly objectionable. The Committee, therefore, urges that Government should prepare another scheme, quite distinct from that for leave with pay, to which the State, the employers and the workers can contribute in reasonable proportions. When it is done, the Committee will be in a better position to express its views on it.

Lastly, the Committee proposes to deal briefly with a provision in the scheme which makes it obligatory on the workers to contribute annually ten days' wages to the fund. It is a novel feature of the scheme and has, so far as the Committee is aware, no parallel in any scheme of a similar nature. Apart from its novelty the Committee can see no point in creating such a fund because it will consist only of the cash value of the leave not taken and the contribution by the worker of his ten days' wages every year without any interest and without, as has been already pointed out, any contribution either by Government or the employer. This provision is a mere appendage to the scheme, has no organic connection with it and will cause unnecessary financial obligation on the worker. To sum up: (1) the contribution is made compulsory only in the case of the worker; (2) the money that will accumulate in his name, will not be available to him when he is ill; (3) the accumulated amount will not carry any interest; (4) and, therefore, it is a compulsory loan to Government by the workers. For these and other reasons the Committee is opposed to this provision and urges that it should be deleted.

SUPREME FOR YEARS— SUPREME TO-DAY— QUALITY ALWAYS TELLS.



Mysore Sandalwood Oil, B. P. quality, the finest in the world, is perfectly blended and milled by a special process with the purest ingredient to make.

Mysore
Sandal Soap

"It's good through and through
to the thinnest water."

Available Everywhere.

GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY,
BANGALORE.