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TOPICS OF THE WEEK

Mr. Sastri.

MR. HENRY S. L. POLAK cables from London under date 25th June.

"SASTRI'S HEALTH IMPROVED, BUT REST NEEDED. WRITING."

* * *

Personnel of
Tariff Board.

THE appointment of Mr. George Rainy, I. C. S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar and

Orissa, as President of the Tariff Board is distinctly disappointing. A glance at the list of the functions assigned by the Fiscal Commission to the Tariff Board will convince anyone that the President should be a person trained in balancing rival claims and sifting complicated evidence and also deeply versed in economics. The balancing of claims is of such importance that the Indian members of that Commission, who wrote the minute of dissent, recommended that the president should have been a judge of a High Court. The members of the U. S. A. Tariff Commission, on which our Tariff Board is modelled, are described by the Fiscal Commission as men of wide general attainments. "The first Chairman was the distinguished economist, Professor Taussig. The present Chairman is also a well-known professor of political economy and the other members appear to be for the most part men who have distinguished themselves in law or in politics." Following the example of the U. S. A., the Government should have appointed an eminent economist to be its first President of the Tariff Board and similarly one is unable to recognise any special appropriateness in the appointment of Jinwalla, M. L. A., to be a member of the Board. With the personnel announced so far, it will certainly not command the confidence of the coun-

try either for judicial ability or for expert knowledge.

* * *

"A False Start." IN *Truth* of the 6th inst. frank admission is made by a "late Staff Officer" that, in proposing to officer certain regiments wholly with Indians, instead of letting Indians with the King's Commission serve with their British brother officers in the same regiments, the military authorities were influenced by the reluctance of the white man to touch his cap to a black man. The Indian subaltern, as subaltern, could be tolerated, but, if he were admitted to commissioned rank as the equal, in all respects, of the officer of British birth, and rose *pari passu* with them, he would grow in time into a major and a colonel and would have white officers under him, and then there would be trouble. The writer condemns the proposed segregation of Indian officers in special regiments, not from a doctrinaire love of equality, but rather because of his conviction that Indians lack certain qualities—"force of character," "moral courage," "capacity for taking responsibility"—which they can acquire only in association with their European *confrères*. Cut off, therefore, from the vitalising contact with men of an other race, Indian officers will have no fair chance to fit themselves for positions of command, and the experiment is foredoomed to failure. It is not necessary to concur in the reason given above in order to reach this unescapable conclusion—that any attempt to fix a gulf between the two races, instead of bringing them together in harmonious co-operation, is certain to be defeated in the end. The Commander-in-Chief is already on his way to that discovery. Indians who hold commissioned rank have no desire to be relegated to what will inevitably come to be looked upon as inferior regiments. The "Staff Officer" observes that if the Government only decides boldly to face the difficulty, there would not be wanting British Officers sufficiently patriotic to realise that in accepting Indians as their equals and superiors, they would be serving the best interest of the Empire.

* * *

Alloofness of the
Dastaks.

As the National Flag agitation in Nagpur is growing in volume and intensity, it is becoming more obvious that the Swaraj party leaders have made up their mind to hold themselves severely aloof from the struggle, and their organizations are passing

formal resolutions advising members to reserve themselves altogether for the Council elections and not to get mixed up with this affair. At one time prominent men in this party gave the impression as if they were spoiling for a civil disobedience campaign, and declared that if they had an opportunity of launching such a campaign on a sufficiently large scale they would never think of entering the Councils. Now, however, the campaign is on, the Swarajists are—very sensibly—keeping themselves at a safe distance from it. This only further emphasises the need for taking the heroics of the Das party with a good many grains of salt.

* * *

Logical, though
Surprising.

IN the whirligig of politics strange things are happening. The other day Mr. C. Rajagopalachar advised his audience, if at all they wanted to utilise the reforms, to vote for Liberals in preference to Dasites. Naturally, on account of this pronouncement, the nerves of the leaders of the Swaraj party must have gone all a-quiver: the man who, in the interest of non-co-operation, is asking people not to exercise votes, in spite of the All-India Congress Committee's decision to the contrary, does not scruple to ask them, if they do not wish to follow him in his former advice, to return Liberal candidates who are entirely opposed to non-co-operation and reject "Swarajists" who, at least outwardly, own allegiance to non-co-operation! Mr. Rajagopalachar's position is, however, quite intelligible. The Dasites profess to seek election with the sole object of destroying the Councils. If, therefore, the electorates wish to have any of their grievances redressed or to obtain any new political rights through the Councils, they must go for that purpose not to the Dasites, but to the Liberals who wish to extract the maximum advantage out of the reforms. If it sounds strange that the leader of non-co-operation should prefer avowed co-operators to half-hearted non-co-operators, it appears no less strange that in the United Provinces the Government should evince a decided preference for non-co-operators over Liberals, a fact to which Mr. Chintamani testified from his inner knowledge of Government. This development, again, is but a natural consequence of the loyal co-operation, carried to the point of submissiveness, which the U. P. Government is uniformly receiving at the hands of the non-co-operators who have entered municipal and district boards. The Government officials have now found out by experience that the bark of the non-co-operators is worse than their bite and as a matter of fact they give them much less trouble than the Liberals used to do. Both these political phenomena are perfectly natural. There is more spiritual kinship between convinced non-co-operators and Liberals than between the former and the Dasites; and Bureaucracy and Dasites would make far happier bed-fellows than the latter and the Liberals are ever likely to do.

* * *

The Revisionists.

WE have often remarked in the past that it is nothing less than disingenuous on the part of the Dasites to pretend to be still non-co-operators when in fact they are insidiously doing all they can to make short work of non-co-operation. The policy of obstruction to which they at first pledged themselves and from which they are now by a series of revisions gradually receding was obviously dictated by this make-believe of non-co-operation: they were anxious to

make it appear that if they entered the councils they would do so only to non-co-operate from within. Who but the great virtuoso and editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*, in the issue of the 23rd inst. who, moreover, is president of the Swaraj party in Bombay, himself should now endorse our view! He says, the Swaraj party labours under "the necessity felt by many of its adherents [in fact by everyone except Mr. Natarajan] to keep up an appearance of continuity with the non-co-operation programme. The future of the Swaraj party entirely depends upon how far it is able to move forward unhampered by the burdensome legacies of the non-co-operation programme." The *Reformer* even goes farther and convicts Mahatma Gandhi himself of having kept up a pretence of non-co-operation when he introduced the constructive programme whereas, in point of fact, he had desired to put an end to non-co-operation. According to our contemporary, "Mahatma Gandhi sought under cover of non-co-operation to introduce a constructive programme. But the two things are as immiscible as oil and water." As a matter of fact it can very well be argued that the constructive programme is calculated to build up the material and moral strength of the people which may be harnessed either to co-operation or non-co-operation at will. Anyhow, it is clear that though the Swaraj party has non-co-operation on its lips, means anything but non-co-operation by it.

* * *

D. C. M. of
Mangalore.

WE commend the Depressed Classes Mission, Mangalore, in South Canara district, to the generous attention of our readers. It is the oldest and most important mission of its kind in South India. Its existence and growth are the result of 27 years' devoted service by Rai Saheb K. Ranga Rao. But owing to old age and ill-health he is not now able to look after the Mission, and so at his request the Servants of India Society has accepted its management and deputed a worker to be in charge of it. The Mission is conducting several day and night schools in Mangalore and in the district, where not only instruction but books, slates and other things needed by school children are given gratis. In the biggest of these schools instruction is given up to III Form or Lower Secondary standard, and a free mid-day meal is given to all the children. In addition, the Mission is conducting a free Boarding House to which the most promising students are admitted. There is also an industrial side to the school where carpentry and some minor industries are taught. Weaving was being taught formerly, but owing to lack of financial support it had to be stopped some years ago. The Mission has been given by Government and private donors about 75 acres of waste land for colonisation purposes. Families have been settled on part of this land, but about 35 acres of agricultural land are awaiting development for want of funds. The educational work too is hampered for want of sufficient funds—in fact, last year some schools had to be closed. An appeal issued by the Secretary of the Mission suggests that a single individual may give the Rs. 2500 needed for the development of the waste land and permit the Mission to name the colony after the donor or some dear relation of his. For the revival of weaving about Rs. 1000 would be needed, while another Rs. 1000 is needed for housing some homeless Koragas who are lowest in the social scale in the district. Besides these special needs there are the general expenses of the Mission, towards which any contribution will be thankfully accepted.

MR. CHINTAMANI'S CAMPAIGN.

MR. CHINTAMANI did a fine stroke of work for the Liberal party when, during the last two weeks, he made a tour of the Bombay Presidency to expound the Liberal view of politics to large audiences. This tour has no doubt produced a tremendous effect on the public mind. The very appearance on the public stage in an unofficial capacity of one who accepted the office of Minister with a single eye to the common good and continued [in that post only so long as the country's interest could be served by him, but relinquished it the moment he felt that national self-respect would be compromised by his remaining in office any longer, spoke volumes for the party, inasmuch as it supplied an effective answer to the charges only too often levelled against the Liberals that they were but a set of place-hunters, ever ready to place their own advancement before the common weal. What appealed to the people even more than his resignation was the discovery of his continuous day-after-day fight (so much could not but be apparent to the public though no official secrets were disclosed) which Mr. Chintamani kept up with the Government for over a year and half, in every single encounter of which he came out triumphant whilst the Governor had to eat the humble pie. It is easy enough to give up the reins in a huff and earn popular approbation by a too facile martyrdom; what is infinitely more difficult is, to keep, metaphorically speaking, an undated resignation in one's pocket (as Mr. Chintamani did), and to date and present it on the first occasion, waging a ceaseless war with autocracy in the meanwhile. Of the incidents of this protracted internal struggle the public knows nothing, but the struggle never stopped and never flagged for once in this long interval till the Minister, overruled for the first time by the Governor, sent in his resignation a few weeks since.

The sight of such a Minister, having many beneficent measures to his credit, and manfully resisting all the attempts made by the bureaucracy to defeat the reforms, is in itself highly inspiring to the public without a word from him. But Mr. Chintamani utilised to the full the opportunities afforded by his visit in privately talking to his friends and adversaries alike and lecturing on public platforms. Both in public and in private he was downright in expressing his honest convictions, never concealing his sense of the great injury done to the national cause by the movement of non-co-operation, but voicing bitter regret at the comparative inactivity of constitutionalists. Into the latter he put heart by quickening and strengthening their faith in the well-tried methods of constitutional agitation, and to the non-co-operators he caused many deep misgivings by his relentless exposure of the mischiefs wrought by direct action. But he did not dwell long on the past, but concerned himself with the

future, and therefore the leading theme of his public speeches was not so much the justification of the Liberal policy or the condemnation of the Congress policy, but a plea, at once vigorous and reasoned, for the extension of reforms. He testified from his inner knowledge of the working of dyarchy that the dual system would no longer do and that full responsible government must be introduced in the provinces. If dyarchy has failed, it has failed only in the sense that the Ministers have exhausted and outlived its possibilities for good. But of the first importance is the introduction of responsibility into the Central Government which imparts a tone and character to the whole of the Indian administration. Indians cannot tolerate autocracy at the Centre any further, though in military matters they recognise that, owing to their inability to fill positions of command immediately, democracy must to a certain extent be qualified by autocracy for some time. Except for this and one or two other matters, Indians are determined to have full control over their affairs through their sovereign legislatures. This determination was voiced by Mr. Chintamani in a manner which lacked nothing in forcefulness and dignity.

Mr. Chintamani also did much to put new life into the organization of the Liberal Party. A meeting of the All-India Executive Council of the Federation was held in Bombay on the 21st inst., at which Mr. Chintamani allowed himself to be elected Secretary with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as his colleague in the place of Messrs. Devadhar and Joshi, who were glad to make room for these distinguished leaders. Mr. Chintamani announced his intention at this meeting to dedicate himself to the service of the Liberal Party till the end of the year, carrying on an educative propaganda in its interest in the Madras Presidency, Central Provinces, and his own province. So many misconceptions are current, about the party, thanks to the activities of the non-co-operators and especially of the Dasites, that it is of the utmost importance that the Liberal leaders—and the most prominent among them—should use their best efforts to dissipate such misconceptions and give the people a true idea of the principles of their party. For over a year the sole object of attack of those who have now joined the so-called Swaraj party has been—not the Government, but the Liberals. Their lies have already been given too long a start and it is some consolation that, as the experience of Mr. Chintamani's tour in Bombay teaches us, the mischief is not altogether irreparable. We have no doubt that his visit in other provinces will be attended with equally satisfactory results. The Council of the Liberal Federation has also decided to issue a manifesto embodying a restatement of the Liberal policy and we hope steps will be taken in all the provinces to publish leaflets cataloguing the achievements of the Legislatures, for such records cannot but impress any reader, however prejudiced.

THE REVISED ELECTORAL RULES.

THOUGH the amendments to the electoral rules recently made by the Government of India are numerous, most of them are unimportant, being either verbal alterations or elaborations of existing provisions. A few, however, are of sufficient importance to merit consideration at some length. One of them enables the Governor-General in Council in the case of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly and the Governor in Council in the case of a provincial Legislature, to divide any plural-member constituency into two or more constituencies and distribute among the latter the seats of the former, such division and distribution to be made by means of a regulation. Many such plural-member constituencies exist in some of the provinces, but if we may judge from the regulation issued by the Government of Bombay in respect of the local Council, which has several plural-member constituencies, the power newly given has not been availed of at all. One would naturally want to know what need there was at the present time for the amendment. A strong recommendation in favour of plural-member constituencies is that they give scope for the representation of minorities. Advanced democratic countries with a highly developed party organisation have experienced the evil of important minorities being inadequately represented in the Legislature. They are trying to remedy this evil by forming plural-member constituencies and adopting the system of proportional representation. Starting late, we were in a position to benefit by their experience, and we adopted not only plural-member constituencies in many cases but proportional representation in some. To go back on them is indeed a very retrograde step. Though, so far as we are aware, no multiple constituency has yet been actually broken up, we think the amendment of the rule in itself is distinctly unsatisfactory.

Another amendment has removed a disqualification to membership, by election or nomination, of the Council of State or the Assembly. Under the old rule a person who was 'already a member of any legislative body constituted under the Act' was not eligible for election or nomination to either House of the Indian Legislature or to any provincial Legislature. With an unimportant verbal alteration the disability is now retained only in respect of the Provincial Council. In the rules relating to the Council of State and to the Assembly, the names of those bodies are introduced respectively in the place of 'any legislative body constituted under the Act.' The effect is that the same person can be member of both houses of the Indian Legislature. So far as official members are concerned this is no doubt an advantage: it conduces to economy in men and money. Perhaps that is all that is intended, though the wording of the amended rules is much wider. We do not believe that any non-official would

want to be a member of both houses, but the amendment enables those members of the Council of State who may feel better fitted to be in the Assembly to seek election to that body without having previously resigned their membership of the Council of State and *vice versa*. Similarly a member of a provincial Council is enabled to seek election to the Council of State or the Assembly without having previously resigned the membership of the local Council. Candidature to either house of the Indian Legislature is thus facilitated. We think the amendment is one to which no objection need be taken.

The most important innovation, however, is the insertion of clauses which require a candidate to make a money deposit with the Returning Officer and which provide for the forfeiture of that deposit under certain circumstances. The deposit required is Rs. 500 in the case of election to the Council of State or the Assembly and Rs. 250 in that of election to the provincial Councils. The deposit is forfeited to Government if an unsuccessful candidate does not get, in the case of a constituency returning one or two members, more than one-eighth of the total number of votes polled, or, in the case of a constituency returning more than two members, one-eighth of the number of votes polled divided by the number of members to be elected, and if a successful candidate fails to make the oath or affirmation of allegiance within the period prescribed for it. This idea of a deposit and forfeiture in case of failing to get one-eighth of the number of votes polled, is borrowed from the British electoral rules. (The deposit there required is £150). If three years ago no necessity was felt for adopting this idea, we are not aware of anything that has happened since to make its adoption necessary now. The provision of forfeiture for failure to take the oath of allegiance is obviously inspired by the declarations of the Dasite so-called non-co-operators; for the British rules contain no such provision. Those who accept the idea of a deposit and its forfeiture under some circumstances will find it difficult to object to forfeiture for failing to take the oath of allegiance. But that would be viewing things from a wholly theoretical standpoint. The non-co-operator who is prepared to put himself to the expenses of an election for the luxury of refusing to take the oath of allegiance will not be deterred by the forfeiture of Rs. 250 or Rs. 500. This provision will be felt as a pin-prick—irritating without being effective in the least. This entire idea of a deposit and forfeiture is utterly superfluous in the present circumstances of this country. As to forfeiture in case an unsuccessful candidate fails to get more than one-eighth of the number of votes polled, it will be seen that candidates for constituencies returning two members are placed at a disadvantage as compared with candidates for constituencies returning only one member or more than two members. The proportion of one-eighth which operates in the

case of the latter is reduced to one-fourth in the case of constituencies returning two members. As there are many such constituencies, this provision will entail a great hardship on candidates. The only reason that we can see for its incorporation is that it is found in the British electoral rules. But it appears to us to be a case of the blind following the blind.

The regulation issued by the Government of Bombay has removed the sex-disqualification for electors, in compliance with the resolution of the Legislative Council to that effect. We believe similar action has been taken by other provinces where a similar resolution has been passed by the Legislative Council. Residential qualification for candidates is still retained in Bombay though it is relaxed to a great extent by the substitution of division for district, containing the constituency. That is to say, formerly a person could seek election only in a constituency which included a part or the whole of his district. But now his choice is widened so as to include all the constituencies in his division. A small but necessary modification made is that Ministers are exempted from the residential qualification. We wish, however, that Bombay had followed the example of the Punjab and done away with the qualification altogether.

In one important respect the new electoral rules are very unsatisfactory: they have left untouched the disability that attaches to a person who has been sentenced by a criminal court to a term of imprisonment exceeding six months. If this disability had affected only persons guilty of moral turpitude, as doubtless it was intended to affect when the rules were originally formed, there would have been like to complain of. But during the last three years a good many persons have been sentenced by criminal courts to terms of imprisonment longer than six months for political offences, involving no moral turpitude whatever. To treat them on a par with ordinary criminals either in jails or outside is an outrage against enlightened conscience. We earnestly hope that our friends in Parliament will do their best to remove this disability in the case of political offenders.

THE NEW MALAYAN LABOUR CODE.

We have now before us a Straits Settlements Bill ("The Labour Ordinance, 1923") which, we understand, is about to pass into law, both in that Colony and in the Federated Malay States. The present law is contained in the "Labour Code, 1912", of the F. M. S., which however has been copiously amended all along, down to last year, when "absconding" ceased to be a criminal offence. The Attorney General in his "Objects and Reasons" of the present Bill says that "Government is pledged to make various alterations in the Labour Ordinance to meet requirements of the Government of India, which has on its side already provided special facilities for emigration of labourers to the Colony under the new Indian

Emigration Act," and this necessity, laid upon Malaya by India, has now called forth the virtue of a systematical overhauling and bringing up to date by Malaya of the whole of its Labour Code.

1. THE ABOLITION OF BOUND LABOUR.

During the ten years that have lapsed since the Malayan labour laws were last codified, the last indentures, which at that time had not yet expired, have run out and as a consequence Malaya now knows that iniquity no longer, except in the perverse case of immigrant labour from Java (a negligible quantity) whom the Netherlands Government would not allow to leave their jurisdiction without the "protection" of an indenture! Hence the whole chapter "Contracts" which still bulked large in previous Codes, has now bodily and with one fell swoop come out. One should add, that "contract" is a technical term to which in Malayan law the meaning "written engagement to labour" is attached, whilst a "verbal engagement to labour" is styled an "agreement." § 15 of the new Ordinance now simply states:

"No engagement to labour for a period exceeding one month or for more than 30 days' work and no contract to labour shall be entered into; any such engagement or contract entered into in contradiction of this section shall be void and of no effect."

Nothing could be better: and one cannot but contemplate with much bitterness that Malaya should have been able to do without contract labour for so many years—though 45% of her population are immigrants!—when India herself still maintains her *non possumus* attitude on the subject.

And not on this one alone. For the advance system too and all other subtle forms of debt-slavery have over there for long been made impossible by what is now § 19 of the new Ordinance, which reads:

"No labourer shall be held to be liable for the amount of any advances made to him or on his behalf, or of any moneys expended on his behalf, prior to his arrival in the Colony, in consideration of his engagement to labour within the Colony."

(Chinese immigrants, however, are excepted from this section!) Yet, what is possible for Indians transported thousands of miles away, is, we are told by Indian contractors, impossible in India itself!

2. THE REPEAL OF CRIMINAL SANCTIONS.

In the absence of indenture and debt-recovery, the Malayan employer, however, was until last year left with the power of setting the criminal law in motion for what were called "labour offences." For a long time, it is true, Malayan planters had debated whether imprisonment for "absconding" had not better be done away with, but it needed the pressure of India's threat to stop altogether emigration to Malaya, to get the whole of these provisions deleted from the existing Labour Code. This has now been done, and in no half-hearted fashion: the old chapter, "Offences by Labourers," disappears bodily; immigrants can no longer be detained against their will in any depot (§§ 13 and 14 of old Code, now deleted); and, best of all, the

hateful words "absconding" and "crimping" vanish altogether. For the former "unlawful termination of agreement" is substituted: a term including termination without the giving of either a month's notice or a month's wages in lieu of notice except when the employer ill-treats the labourer or otherwise does not fulfil his part of the agreement. Of the latter the "Reasons" say:

"Though crimping is classed as an offence against the labourer, the law has always been invoked by employers in their own interests. The real essence of the offence seems to be infringement of the rights of employers of bound labour. With a system of free labour the retention of this section seems anomalous. Delete the whole."

Throughout civil are substituted for criminal sanctions; and unpaid fines are also now no longer transformable into imprisonment (old § 252). Where managers still can inflict a fine, it is \$ 5 on a Kangany not reporting the sickness of a labourer (§ 177), and 50 cents on a labourer wilfully disregarding a sanitary regulation (§ 192)—both of which fines may be remitted by the Controller of Labour and in any case must be paid into the Indian Immigration Fund. How great the advance made is, can best be realized when comparing with these provisions the old sections, under which a labourer could be sentenced to 14 days' imprisonment!

Still there are two points, on which one thinks even more might have been done, to guarantee absolutely the complete freedom of the labourer. At present, it is true, an immigrant who has received a free passage to Malaya and on arrival refuses to go to the employer he promised to go to, no longer commits a criminal offence but becomes civilly liable to the Controller of Labour in a sum not exceeding \$20 (§§ 84-87). What is the good of this provision? As the emigrant obviously would not emigrate, if he had \$ 20 in his pocket, presumably the Controller can whistle for his money or else spend \$ 200 or \$ 2000 on tracing the peregrinations of the labourer in question and recovering the \$ 20 eventually by order of civil courts in dribbles of half a dollar at a time. Again, not all labourers, receiving a free passage to Malaya, promise to labour for a specified employer before embarking; the so-called "voluntary" emigrant (whose existence is studiously fostered by the Malayan Labour Department.) also receives a free passage, as does his "Kangany-recruited" brother: and if the one need not promise to go to any particular estate, may not the other change his mind on arrival in Penang, without having either to forfeit \$ 20 or work for one month on the estate he originally said he would go to? We submit that these sections are quite superfluous and only tend to create what we believe to be quite an erroneous suspicion that the emigrant arriving in Malaya is not an entirely free man. Surely, the principle which should be adhered to is, that both the Government and the employers of labour have the primary aim in view, to get labour to Malaya, and that the cost of getting it, is rightly met by a tax on all employers of labour alike. Already, all these

expenses are paid by Government (*i. e.* out of the Indian Immigration Fund): why not pay the \$ 10 recruiting bonus which the Kangany gets, also out of this Fund, instead of still allowing the Kangany's employer to pay it? The employer would even so still find it to his advantage to send his Kangany to India, since in 9 cases out of 10 the recruited labourer would naturally go to the estate, on which the recruiting Kangany can guarantee him employment. These sections really should at an early date be deleted.

Again, a new provision (§ 92) has been inserted in the Code about "locally recruited labour," which one views with distinct misgivings. Formerly, if an employer engaged Indian labourers within Malaya, he had to send a notification to the Controller of Labour giving particulars of the persons so engaged, together with a fee of \$ 1 per notification. This fee has now been increased to \$ 1 per labourer; and not only so, but, unless "the Controller, if satisfied that the requirements of this section have been duly observed, has issued to the employer a certificate of exemption" (§ 92, 3), "the Indian Immigration Committee may prescribe a fee not exceeding \$ 50 to be paid by every employer in respect of each labourer so recruited" (§ 120) We say, that this is truly alarming. If the inner meaning is that an employer, who tries to keep it dark that he entices labourers away from other employers and therefore fails to send in the labour returns required by law, should be heavily fined—nothing can be said against it: but in that case, why not keep this offence under "Offences" and why put it under "Indian Immigration Fund"? Worst of all, why state under "Reasons" (for deleting "crimping") "protection of employers against other employers competing for local labour is provided under §§ 92 and 120"?

What is this "protection", if not to make it difficult or impossible for a labourer to find employment elsewhere? If so, is this not our old enemy, the "Discharge Ticket" back again under a new guise? Of all these devices we can but heartily echo the words of a former Controller of Labour who happens to be now-a-days Chief Secretary of the Federated Malay States: "If they are not successful, there is no need for them if they are successful, they reintroduce bound labour and therefore cannot be permitted." That is just about all that can be said about it; and we shall be interested to watch further developments under these two new sections, to which meanwhile we extend anything but a hearty welcome.

Before leaving the fundamental question of the freedom of labour in Malaya, we think we ought to express our surprise that in an otherwise so admirable piece of legislation, a "Domestic Servant" should still be liable to one month's rigorous imprisonment for "quitting his employer without notice," "insolence" or "other misconduct in the service of his employer" (§ 95). It is true, Indian Immigrants are expressly excepted from the definition "domestic servant" (§ 3) and we are

therefore not directly interested in the point: but one cannot help feeling, that if the present Code is as good as it is, the praise is not entirely due to the good intentions of Malaya, but seems in no small measure to be deserved by Indian political pressure, which has obtained for Indian labour advantages, even yet not granted to other nationals.

(To be concluded.)

MALABAR LAND TENURES.

II.—RIGHTS OF KANAMDARS.

Proprietary Rights of Kanamdars.—On behalf of the Kanamdars, it is contended that they were co-proprietors, if not the original proprietors, of the soil along with the janmis, that, therefore, they could not be evicted from their holdings, that each of the two co-proprietors could transfer his own interest in the land, that each of these is entitled to a third of the net produce of the land, and that the investing of the janmi with allodial proprietorship is expropriation of the Kanamdar.

Various theories have been advanced to indicate how the co-proprietorship arose. According to Mr. Logan, perhaps the most assiduous historian of Malabar, the Kanamdars were formerly holders of an office in Malabar polity and as such entitled to a share of the produce of the soil. According to others, they were the first settlers who reclaimed the soil and as such are the proprietors of the soil. The proprietorship is conceived to consist of two elements, title and possession. On account of the great veneration for the Brahmans and the need for protection from the stronger local chieftains in those days of insecurity these occupants made a "nazar" of their titles to the Brahmans, temples and chieftains, paid mere nominal fees in acknowledgment of their fealty to them, and retained possession of the lands, never fearing that the voluntary and nominal surrender of the title alone would ever involve the surrender of possession of the lands as well. It is sought by this theory to explain how even, though the janmi possessed the title to the land, it rarely occurred to him to take possession of the land by evicting the Kanamdar and how it happens that Kanamdars have continued to be in possession of their holdings for generations together.

Prescriptive Rights of Kanamdars.—As a second line of argument, it is contended that even though the Kanamdar has no title to the land as a co-proprietor, he has acquired a tenant-right by prescription, or long continued possession.

Evidence for.—The following arguments among others are adduced in support of this contention:

1. The kanamdar was liable to pay to the janmi only half of what a verumpattamdar was liable to pay on a similar holding. It is from this amount that the interest due on the kanam amount is deducted and only the balance paid to the lands lord.

2. Kanam rights (and even verumpattam rights) have been freely bought and sold for values greater than the kanam deposit and the value of improvements in the holdings, even without the permission of the janmi.

3. The comparatively uniform habit of tenants holding the same lands for generations could not have been an accidental coincidence of benevolent indulgence on the part of the janmis, but points to a right of permanent occupancy in the tenant.

4. Puoca buildings of a religious and therefore, permanent character; like churches and

mosques, have been built on kanam (and even verumpattam) lands.

5. Sir T. Madhava Rao's Commission of 1884 observed, "As a matter of fact, we believe scarcely a single janmi brought a suit of eviction against his kudian (tenant), in the courts until about 1852. Prior to that the procedure appears to have been for the janmi to get a decree for rent and then sell up his kudian's interests."

6. Tenants have built puoca homesteads, temples, sanctuaries for the dead on kanam lands. It must be inferred that there was a consciousness that the tenant would be in permanent possession of the land. Sir Sankaran Nair observed "A Malayaee builds his taravad (joint family) house on kanam land, calls the taravad by the name of the land, and surely, if he is ever expected to be turned out of his land within a few years, his taravad would have for obvious reasons never assumed that name—a name by which the taravad would be represented in all legal and other transactions."

Evidence against.—In support of the allodial rights of the janmi, the following arguments among others are urged:

1. Major Walker who made a careful investigation of land tenures in Malabar reported in 1801 that "in no country in the world is the nature of the species of property better understood than in Malabar, nor its rights more tenaciously maintained." Lord William Bentinck observed in 1804 that "the rights of landed property and the division of produce of the soil between landlord and tenant are in Malabar perfectly defined and confirmed by immemorial usage." All conveyances were recorded in writing with precision. There can, therefore, be no plea admissible that there was no clear and definite understanding about the nature of the different rights in land. Written documents meant exactly what they said.

2. The deeds conveying janmi rights "express with exaggerated force the completeness of the relinquishment and of the acquisition of the rights conveyed" (Logan). "They point to the ownership of the soil as complete as was ever enjoyed by a freeholder in England" (Chief Justice Turner.)

3. There are then the express opinions of Jacob Cantervisschar (1743), Commissioner Farmer (1793), Dr. Buchanan (1800), Major Walker (1801), Board of the Revenue (1803), Thackeray (1807), Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the East India Company (1812), Collector Warden (1815), Sir Thomas Munro (1817), the Court of Sadr Adalat (1854-6) and others, to say that the janmis were the allodial proprietors and that kanman demises could be redeemed.

4. The continued possession of holdings by tenants for generations only indicate the benevolent administration by the janmis of their rights but does not take away from their absolute rights, especially as they have taken care to prevent a lapse of their rights by keeping alive their contracts with tenants by periodical renewals.

5. Sale and purchase of kanam rights by tenants is analogous to the sale and purchase of the goodwill of a commercial concern, but indicates no rights. The value of the kanam rights is not directly dependent on the profit the kanamdar expects but is dependent also on the length of the unexpired period of the lease and the character the janmi has as one who exercises his right to resume or not.

6. Since all land in Malabar is private property and there are no communal lands, all buildings, whether private homesteads, or public institutions, religious or secular, must necessarily be

built on leaseholds on whatever terms can be obtained, there being no option left.

It has now to be ascertained if such old kanams do exist in sufficient number to justify legislation solely on this ground. It has not been possible for the writer to form any first hand opinion on this matter, much less to estimate such kanams statistically. Certain inferences from other information, particularly Mr. Logan's report, seem however to be permissible.

Mr. Logan, who investigated 14,034 holdings in 1881, found that 43% of the garden and 34% of the wet lands were held for over 30 years, and that most of these were kanam holdings. He also found that during the period of 20 years previous to his investigation eviction suits had increased by $2\frac{1}{2}$ times, that in Palghat Taluk the number had increased 12 times during the same period and that in the case of one cultivator in the early twenties an eviction suit had been decreed annually. It must, however, be noted that a decree is not always executed but is often used to force up rents. Most of these suits, however, must have been against kanamdars.

Mr. Logan's appointment as Special Commissioner to investigate the land system of Malabar, with a view to legislative action, the appointment of subsequent commissions and the continued agitation, the success of the agitation in Travancore and Cochin, must have greatly increased the number of evictions of kanam tenants, though the Malabar Tenants' Improvements Act of 1887 and 1900 has checked the tendency to a certain extent, as indicated below:

Average annual number of eviction suits:—

1862-66	...	...	2039
1867-71	...	...	8547
1872-76	...	...	3974
1877-80	...	...	4983
1891-96	...	...	3176
1897-1901	...	...	2951
1902-04	...	...	2601

(Mr. Logan's Manual and Dt. Gazetteer).

The writer is unable to say how the evictions stand at present. It may not be very far from the truth to say that there has been a great change in the personnel of the kanamdars and that old kanamdars who had prescriptive rights have been expropriated and new kanamdars let in subsequently with full knowledge of the terminability of their leases.

There is reason to believe that not only has there been a change in the *personnel* of the kanamdars but also that there has been a perceptible diminution in the total number of them. As long ago as 1881, Mr. Logan noticed the tendency to convert kanam holdings into verumpattam ones. The present writer has it on very good authority that there has been pretty extensive conversion of kanam into verumpattam lands in more recent times. It may be assumed, therefore, that there has been not only an extensive expropriation of kanamdars with prescriptive rights, but also a tendency towards the extinction of the kanam tenures as well.

The case of those kanamdars who or whose predecessors-in-interest continued to hold the same land from 1854 stands on a different footing. They may well claim prescriptive rights. But the question of allowing these claims by legislative enactment is rather an extra-legal question. They may be allowed if the bulk of kanamdars happen to be of this type, but reasons have been given above to doubt their being that. If such kanamdars are very few, then it may have to be considered whether it is fair to penalise the comparatively

generous minded janmi—who has not evicted his kanam tenants for so long a period—while the more greedy janmi was allowed to reap the full benefit of his legal rights. It does not seem advisable to legislate for such a minority.

Conclusion about kanamdars' claims.—To sum up, the kanamdars base their claim mainly on the ground that they had possessed such rights, legal and prescriptive, but the Government, in its ignorance, has deprived them of it; yet this ground seems to be but a broken reed to rely on to justify the legislation now desired by the kanamdars. From what has been said above, it seems to be evident that

1. the janmi is the allodial proprietor;
2. even the rights of prescription are now in favour of the janmis;
3. a good number of kanamdars who might have claimed prescriptive rights have already been expropriated;
4. those of them that remain are too few to justify legislation.

There seems to be but little justification, therefore, to legislate in favour of the kanamdar on the ground of rehabilitating him in his ancient rights. In this connection it is remarkable that even Mr. Logan, who made out the strongest case for the ancient co-proprietory right of kanamdars, did not himself advocate legislation in their favour, nor did he approve of such legislation in Travancore.

New accretion of rights to janmis.—One other deduction also seems to be permissible. The janmis, who chose to exercise their power to resume their kanam lands, have had transferred to them the prescriptive rights of the old kanamdars. This was a pure windfall to the janmis. If now, for any good reason, a part of the present rights of the janmis is taken away, they will be in no worse position than before, except those who have within recent years purchased for money the janman rights of their present holdings. The older and larger Hindu janmis with impartible estates, who have inherited them for many generations will have little to complain if the new accretion of rights is taken away from them. But the rights so removed from them cannot however be conferred again upon the particular persons who originally possessed them, for those kanamdars have mostly been expropriated. The present kanamdars cannot lay any claim to them.

Recent review of the claims.—In more recent times, the question was reexamined with a view to legislative action. As against the formidable view of Mr. Logan that the kanamdar was co-proprietor with the janmi, Sir T. Madhava Rao of Travancore and Dewan Banerjee of Cochin,—the latter on the recommendations of the Cochin Landlord and Tenant Commission—both of whom brought about legislation in favour of the kanamdars, freely admitted that the janmi was the allodial proprietor, and all that could be claimed for the kanamdar were the rights that might be said to have accrued by prescription. This was the only basis of the kanamdars which they thought fit to admit, besides general considerations, such as the well-being of the people and the interests of agriculture and other extra-legal considerations. Dewan Shankunni of Cochin, Chief Judge Kelu Eradi of Cochin, and Chief Justice Turner of Madras, who were opposed to legislation in favour of kanamdars, did so on the ground that the janmi was the allodial proprietor.

The rights of janmis.—As to the origin of janmam and kanam rights, little that is very definite seems to be known. Beyond the puranic

theory of Parasurama, reclaiming the West Coast and making a free gift of it to sixty four Brahman families, not much that is more definite or historical is known, as to how the janmis came to claim allodial rights in the land. All the same, for all practical purposes, their claims were allowed in historical times.

It may however be pointed out here that only in Travancore do the janmis enjoy their rights almost unabated since they are not liable to pay land revenue to the Government. In Cochin and Malabar, they have to pay land revenue, and in Malabar, the Government has further the right to let in tenants on janmi lands on Government cowls, —serious infringements of their allodial rights.

There was also some amount of confusion between the position of janmis and kanam tenants in 1793, when the Hindu janmis, who had fled from Malabar for fear of religious persecution of Tippu Sultan, returned to claim their rights and had their claims allowed only in cases in which the janmis were absent only for five or six years, and not more.

The net result of this discussion may be said to be to establish that the janmi was the allodial proprietor, but that owing to the relaxation of his rights for long periods, he had given room for the development of prescriptive rights in the kanamdar. It follows that a legislative recognition of a more or less common custom is not therefore unjustifiable, since there has grown up a tendency to set aside custom in favour of unrestrained competition.

The claims of the present day kanamdars untenable. It is, however, open to doubt if such a justification for legislation in favour of kanamdars, which might have been relevant, say, fifty years ago, can be advanced in Malabar at the present day. It may be emphasised again that all that can be claimed for the kanamdars is the prescriptive rights and no more. Do these rights continue to exist at the present day?

The very prescriptive rights themselves are now in favour of the janmis, who have been in possession of these rights for nearly a century and quarter, if not longer.

During this long period, the practical incidents and consequences that follow from the present have been largely effected. The Government itself has sold Rs.30,00,000 worth of escheat lands with janmam rights as they are now understood.

There must have been pretty extensive transfers of janmam lands, particularly among the Moplas on this understanding. The law of inheritance among Moplahs in South Malabar permits division of property and when the sub-division reaches a minimum limit, the properties are sold for full janmam value. (The writer is unable to estimate the extent of these transfers statistically.) Any inroads on janmam rights hit these people who have paid in cash for these lands in recent years. As regards the kanamdars, the prescriptive rights may be said to exist in such of them as have been in uninterrupted possession of their holdings for generations together or at any rate, since 1854, when the Sadar Adalat Court defined the current incidents of kanam. Kanams created for the first time since this date cannot fairly claim even prescriptive rights.

P. KODANDA RAO.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, JUNE 7th

STATE OF MR. SASTRI'S HEALTH.

It has been a great disappointment for us to learn that Mr. Sastri has under peremptory medical advice had to enter a nursing home for the next fortnight for complete rest. In his doctor's opinion, Mr. Sastri has been subjecting himself to far too great a strain during the last three years, and is on the verge of a serious breakdown, unless he takes the necessary rest. There is absolutely no reason for alarm, all that is required being quiet and complete cessation from work for some weeks. Accordingly, Mr. Sastri has cancelled all engagements until the 26th June, including a series of lectures in the north of England and in Scotland. On the 29th he will be the principal speaker at a big Queen's Hall demonstration, to be presided over by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, M. P. After that date, it is hoped that he will be induced to take further rest for a short time, unless the urgency of Kenya affairs requires his personal attention. He is in quite cheerful spirits, though, naturally, he does not take any too easily to the thought that he should have to lie up just now. But he can better do that here than after his return to India, where he will not feel free to devote himself to the restoration of his health.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE.

Mr. Sastri's last appearance in public was on Tuesday of this week, when he was one of the principal speakers at the Conference called by the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, to discuss the Kenya problem, with special reference to the natives. Mr. Charles Roberts, M. P., presided, and was supported by Lord Pentland, Lord Henry Cavendish-Bentinck, M. P., Sir Sidney Oliver, and Sir Thomas Bennett, M. P. Sir Thomas Bennett moved the following resolution:—

"This meeting, recognising the important issues involved in the problem connected with the Indians in Kenya Colony, and its close bearing on the interests of the native peoples, begs to urge upon His Majesty's Government (1) that in any settlement reached by the parties no bar resting solely upon race, creed or colour, shall be permitted in the way of industrial and civic advancement; (2) that in any form of constitution granted to Kenya Colony, provision shall be made for the ultimate enfranchisement of the natives on a property and educational qualification, as in the case of the constitution of Cape Colony and the proposed constitution for Southern Rhodesia; (3) that until such time as an adequate proportion of the native community attains the franchise, native interests shall be served on the legislative body by men and women, selected for their interest in native affairs, nominated by the Governor and sanctioned by the Secretary of State."

Sir Thomas denied that there was any danger of Asiatic domination, political or administrative, over Kenya or any part of East Africa, either now or in the future. He did not see any evidence that the white settlers had taken any care to promote the economic and moral interests of the natives. Lord Sheffield, who seconded, said that

the fullest powers in Kenya should be retained by the British Government and not delegated, and that the Colonial Office should hold the balance between the various races. The Bishop of Kampala said that it might not be easy to apply in their entirety the high ideals that had been expressed immediately after the war, and that the British community was opposed to the introduction of the common electoral roll. He thought that the way out might be communal representation. His speech though apparently of a neutral character, was, in reality, a strong plea for the white settler point of view. Speakers on behalf of the white settlers, who included Lord Francis Scott, tried to show that the Indian artisan was taking the bread out of the mouths of the natives, but none of them explained the absence of industrial training of the natives by the white settlers, or make the slightest reference to the fact that they had set an example of lawlessness to the natives by threatening violent rebellion, if the Colonial Office attempted to enforce the Wood-Winterton agreement.

MR. SASTRI'S PLEA.

Mr. Sastri made a fighting speech. He poured scorn upon the Bishop of Kampala's milk-and-water idealism. He declared that there must be an organisation to protect the African native from the exploiter, be he White or Indian. The Colonial Office was the best instrument for that purpose, and it should keep in its hands the administrative control. That meant undoubtedly complete Crown Colony government, and not White settler government. But the White settlers of Kenya asked that they should be given complete control over the administration, for they were demanding responsible government, which ought never to be granted to Kenya. If the franchise, however, were given to anybody, it should be given equally, on a common electoral roll. Let them make their qualifications wide enough to be sure that they had a qualified electorate. Then, when they had made those qualifications, let them admit not only the Indians and the Arabs, but even the natives. Why should the unrestricted immigration of Indians be a danger to the Colony? It was not. According to his information, if the African native learnt anything, he did so from the Indian. The white man did not work with his hands next to the native. It was the Indian who so worked, and it was with the Indian that the native was associated in all forms of work. Other speakers were Rev. Dr. Arthur, Lord Francis Scott, and Mr. B. S. Kamat. The resolution was carried *nem. con.* though I believe the white settler representatives did not vote.

The Foreign Office, it appears, is making inquiries into the effect of the recent Supreme Court decision in the United States debaring Indians from American citizenship. Col. Wedgwood and Mr. Trevelyan are keeping the matter before Parliament. No date has yet been fixed for the debate on the Indian vote. Sir John Hewett is mak-

ing inquiries about the Lawrence statue, and Mr. Saklatvala about the salt tax.

INDIA AND THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

The announcement of Sir T. B. Saprú's acceptance of the Viceroy's request that he should represent India at the Imperial Conference this year is very welcome, and coincides with the appearance of a long letter over his signature appearing in the *Morning Post* in almost identical terms with that which he sent to the *Leader* and the *Pioneer* recently. I hope that he is also destined for the League of Nations Assembly, where he will make his influence felt. Speaking of Indian representation at Imperial Conferences, it is shameful that out of fourteen representatives of India at the forthcoming Imperial Education Conference, only one is an Indian. Are there no distinguished Indian educationists of Indian birth?

Lord Peel, speaking at the Calcutta dinner the other night, asked people to stop talking about the early retirement of the Viceroy. It was quite untrue, and the repetition of the canard did no good to India. Referring to the controversy about the salt-tax, he thought that we could give India no better help than by advising her as to the imperative necessity of sound finance. We had lessons to teach India, and she had lessons, even in the sphere of constitutional development, to teach us. He expressed thankfulness that racial feeling was dying down and more cordial co-operation was growing. He appealed for an intensification of that co-operation.

Speaking at the Empire Day dinner at the Royal Colonial Institute, on "A United Empire", the Maharaja of Navanagar said:- "I am an Indian above all, and must give voice to the general feeling of my countrymen that statesmen here and in the Dominions must carry out pledges and promises of equality and brotherhood not only by words but by deeds."

MISCELLANEA.

THE NEXT MOVE FORWARD.

PANDIT H. N. KUNZRU'S LECTURE.

PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU, M. L. C., (U. P.) visited Ahmednagar at the invitation of the local Liberal League and addressed a crowded meeting on the 19th inst. at the Ahmednagar Society's High School on 'The Next Move Forward'. Mr. Hingne, M. A., LL. B., Vice-President of the League, presided. Mr. Kunzru spoke for over an hour and was listened to with close attention.

Referring to the events of the last three years, he said the great difference between the Liberals and the non-cooperators was that while the former were for utilising the machinery of the Councils and attacking Government to their face, the latter adopted outside agitation as the sole method of bringing pressure to bear on Government, poured ridicule on the Councils and did their best to prevent the voters from going to the polls. The Liberals were denounced as traitors and as believing the Government of India Act to be a complete fulfilment of Indian aspirations. When the Councils began to function, their work was systematically belittled and their deficiencies deliberately exaggerated. To-day, however, said Mr. Kunzru, things had changed a great deal and to enter the Councils was the aspiration of those who had regarded them as

the playthings of the bureaucracy meant to divert the nation from its goal. The speaker dwelt briefly on the achievements of the Bombay and U. P. Councils in regard to local self-government, education and excise policy and laid stress on the fact that the discontent that existed was on account of the administration of reserved, and not of transferred subjects. Even if he might be regarded as partial to the Councils, there could be no doubt that they had established for themselves an important place in the political life of the country, as was apparent from the determined efforts that were being made by the Swaraj party to enter the Councils and to monopolise all seats for themselves. It had been said by a prominent Swarajist leader that by refusing to seek election to the Councils non-co-operators had non-co-operated, not with Government, but with themselves. Mr. C. R. Das now agreed with the Liberals in not regarding the resolutions of the Congress as mandatory even in fundamental matters, and regretted the obstinacy which made it impossible for the proposal relating to the summoning of a Round Table Conference in Dec. 1921. He went further than the Liberals in not only claiming Liberty of action for himself, but insisting that the Congress shall not have the right to express an adverse opinion respecting him and his party. It was true that the Swarajists had the word 'obstruction' on their lips; but that appeared to be due entirely to the exigencies of the political situation which made it difficult for politicians to avow their aims and methods openly.

The Liberals firmly believed when they undertook to work the Reforms that the liberalisation of the latter would thereby soon become necessary. They had proved the administrative capacity of Indians to those who had eyes to see and on the basis of their capacity and the experience gained by them of the defects of the existing scheme, they asked for a substantial constitutional advance. Complete Swaraj meant power to preserve internal peace and order and to protect the country from foreign invasion. In other words, it meant control of the Police and the Army. The speaker was convinced that we could maintain peace and order effectively and that there would not be the least danger in transferring law and order to Ministers. Even now in some provinces Police and Justice were in charge of Indian members of Executive Councils. Would these men become less efficient if they were called Ministers and were enabled to receive the advice of their Indian colleagues? The speaker continued that the time had come when full responsible government should be introduced in the provinces. As regards the central Government, it was not possible to assume charge of the Army at once, as Indians had been prevented on account of the policy of the Government from receiving higher military training. But even in military matters we were entitled to ask for the recruitment of a substantial proportion of commissioned officers from Indians. The scheme of Indianisation of eight units announced in the Assembly was extremely disappointing and could not be regarded as a serious attempt to redress the greatest of all Indian grievances. After the splendid help given by Indians to the Empire during the last war, she was entitled to ask that her children who had shed their blood freely on the battlefields of France, Mesopotamia, etc., need not be distrusted and that they should be enabled at an early date to defend their freedom. The official distrust of Indians showed itself not only in their exclusion from commissioned ranks, but also in the maintenance of a large European army, every soldier in which costs about 4½ times as much as an Indian soldier. Would there be any difficulty in recruiting Indian soldiers to take the place of the British Army? Was there any dearth of the proper material? Or were Indian soldiers lacking in bravery? Our past experiences, particularly that of the last war during which about a million Indians—combatants and non-combatants—were recruited for the Army, showed conclusively that there was ample material of the right kind available in this country; and that the personnel of the whole of the Army in India could easily be Indian if the military policy of the Government were not rooted in an inveterate distrust. The overgrown military expenditure

could be reduced appreciably and the need for certifying measures of taxation in the teeth of the opposition of the duly constituted representatives of the people done away with, if steps were taken to rely for the defence of India on an entirely Indian army.

In so far as the expenditure of the army is concerned, they could not control it fully till they enjoyed complete self-government. Even in the meanwhile they were entitled to point out that the Incheape Committee had recommended that efforts should be made to reduce the expenditure of the army to about 50 crores, and even that should not be regarded as the irreducible minimum. It should be possible to arrange that Government should be enabled to have a definite sum at its disposal for expenditure on the army. Any money needed over and above the specified amount to be subject to the control of the central legislature. As regards the subjects relating to the civil administration, with minor exceptions, the speaker said they should be completely brought under the control of the people in the central Government as in the provinces.

In passing Mr. Kunzru also referred to the charge now being levelled at the Liberals in some quarters; and that was that they were responsible for the incarceration of Mr. Gandhi. It was up to those that made themselves responsible to substantiate such a serious charge. There would be time enough then to notice it. Till then, it must be treated with the contempt that it deserved.

Mr. Kunzru then exhorted the audience to be up and doing. They must work day and night with an unwavering faith in the efficacy of constitutional agitation. The Liberals were frequently asked as to what would be their line of work in the legislature; and in particular, whether they would follow a policy of obstruction. A policy of wholesale obstruction said Mr. Kunzru, was regarded as impracticable by all thinking men in the country. Even the Swarajists themselves did not seem to have a clear idea as to how and when it was to be applied. He believed there was no unanimity in their ranks with regard to the employment of such a policy. As for opposing measures injurious to the best interests of the country, the Liberals would in accordance with their well-tried creed leave no stone unturned to blocking their progress. The resolution passed by the Liberal Conference at Karad recommending discriminate refusal of supplies as a protest against the certification by Lord Dalling of the Salt Tax, showed that when the occasion called for it the Liberals would not shrink from using all their power to obstruct the bureaucracy and to protect the vital interests of their motherland.

The meeting terminated after a cordial vote of thanks was passed by acclamation.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

From P. S. King & Son, London.

A. G. SARGENT: COAL IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE. 1922. 7 x 5. pp. 73. 2s. 6d.

B. A. Y. SETTLEMENTS AND THEIR OUTLOOK. 1922. 7 x 5. pp. 192. 2s. 6d.

From Theosophical Publishing House, Madras.

WAY-FARER: SKETCHES OF GREAT TRUTHS. 1923. 7 x 5. pp. 170. Rs. 1-4.

C. JINARAJADASA: THE REIGN OF LAW. 1923. 5½ x 4. pp. 144. Ans. 12.

From William Norgate, London.

W. H. WARMAN: AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES. 1923. 7½ x 5. pp. x+204. 5s.

From Daxini Sansthan Hitwardhak Sabha, Poona.

THE INDIAN STATES (PROTECTION AGAINST DISAFFECTION) ACT. 1923. 8¼ x 5¼. pp. 424. Rs. 2.

From Kegan Paul, French, Trübner & Co., London.

W. H. R. RIVERS: PSYCHOLOGY AND POLITICS. 1923. 8½ x 5½. pp. 181. 12s. 6d.

The Servants of India Society PAMPHLETS.

1. **Self-Government for India under the British Flag—** 0-8-0
by the Rt. Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, President,
Servants of India Society. Crown 16 mo. pp. 91.
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by Mr. Hirday Nath Kunzru, Senior Member,
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