

The Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

The Congress Voter.

SO far the disputations and hair-splittings of the Congress politicians have centred round the question of entering the Councils or not. The Congress has issued a mandate for the boycott of the Councils and the President has made it clear that nobody can be both in the Congress and in the Council: they are mutually incompatible. But what about the Congress voter? Rather, can a Congressman retain his name on the voters' register or should he send in his resignation of it too, rather, demand that his name should be struck off the register? If, by a special dispensation of the Mahatma, the Congressman can retain his name on the register and can vote, whom shall he vote for? If every candidate who stands for the Councils automatically becomes a non-Congressman, are Congressmen to vote for non-Congressmen?

The Will to quarrel.

WHERE there is a will there is a way—to quarrel! The unfortunate episode between the Home Member and President Patel is highly regrettable and seems to be altogether uncalled for. A little tact and accommodation would have avoided the incident which reflects no credit on either of the combatants. After all, both the President and the Government are equally anxious to preserve the safety of the members of the Legislative Assembly and of the public. Nothing has been said to show that the arrangements proposed by the President were inadequate or that the Government had information to fear any untoward event on the first day of the opening of the Assembly to justify their hasty and peremptory action. In signing his minority report Sir James Crerar did not raise the question of the responsibility of the Government of India for the protection of the lives of the members of the Assembly. He only wished that the pre-

sent arrangements should continue until the proposed Assembly staff, with the duties he would assign to it, proved themselves competent. The same old distrust that a staff under the orders of an Indian, be he the President of the Assembly, is incompetent to preserve order. Sir James himself pleaded for the closest co-operation between the Police and the Assembly staff. His action, whatever be the rights of it from a purely legal and constitutional point of view, stultifies that object. We have every confidence that the Viceroy will be able to compose the unseemly quarrel and smooth the ruffled plumes of the two naughty boys, and prevent the quarrel from developing into a constitutional crisis.

Unrepentent.

DR. MOONJE has very kindly taken on himself the task of advising the Liberals as what they should not do. They should not attack the other parties whom they differ from and they should not attempt a solution of the communal problem. As for the first we agree with him that there is no time for internecine wranglings. The Liberals have no quarrel with any other political body: as a matter of fact it was they that took the initiative to call together an all-parties conference. All that they ask for is some honesty in politics, and they will not shrink from exposing political dishonesty. Sir Chimanlal Setalwad was perfectly justified in refusing the request made by Mr. N. C. Kelkar, and since reiterated, with some three dissentients at Delhi, that candidates should be re-elected unopposed, who pretend to be in the Congress and still defy its mandate, who pretend to approve the Congress resolution in favour of independence and yet are prepared to go into the Councils and take the oath of allegiance, who, with one breath, demand independence and at the very next propose to go to the Round Table Conference to discuss Dominion Status, who wish to keep a foot in either camp, and who wish to exploit the prestige of the Congress among the voters to sabotage its programme and defeat its purposes. As for the second "blunder" of the Liberals, we feel unrepentent. We are duly impressed with the fact that the Congress has itself given up as hopeless the solution of the communal question and that the Hindu Maha Sabha has now passed a resolution to have nothing to do with communal arrangements in the constitution. These make the work of the reconcilers more difficult. The Liberals may not succeed where the Congress and the Maha Sabha have failed. But that does not make it either unnecessary or dangerous if the Liberals picked up the threads dropped so unceremoniously by the Congress, even as Dr. Moonjee wishes to replace the Opposition in the Assembly relinquished by the Congress. It will be to the eternal credit of India if we could, unaided or unimpeded by the Britisher, compose our communal differences and went to the

Round Table Conference with an agreed constitution. It is worth an honest attempt.

The Two Voices.

THE forces of reaction are in full cry in England. The die-hard papers like the "Daily Mail" and the "Daily Telegraph", not to speak of that high priest of Toryism, the "Morning Post", assisted by the hair-raising stunts of Lord Brentford, Lord Birkenhead, Mr. Lloyd George and several other saviours of the imperial estate, have been attempting to coerce the minority Government of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald into embarking on a policy of repression in India, of the "mailed fist" and the strong hand. Happily there are other voices, more balanced and less perturbed, who counsel the unflinching pursuit of a policy of conciliation and of hopeful confidence. The "Manchester Guardian" recommends that the Indianisation of the Army in India should be accelerated even at some risk, and that British should demonstrate to India their sincere desire to advance the Indian constitution. Mr. Brailsford, in the "New Leader", assures that the Labour Party in England would under no circumstance countenance a policy of coercion in India, that they would be no party to maintaining British rule in India if it amounted to holding down the subject people by naked force. He realises fully that, notwithstanding the cry of independence, India will be prepared to accept Dominion Status to be achieved by automatic steps without periodical examinations by the British Government. If the advice of the Moderates is disregarded, they would be discredited, and he recalls that "England which would not settle with Redmond and Dillon had to capitulate to Sinn Fein". Lord Goschen, speaking to the East Indian Association, defended the recommendation of the Madras Government, of which he was the head till a few months ago, that the time had come for full responsible government of the unitary type in Madras and appealed to the British people not to add to the Viceroy's burden by ill-digested and ill-considered utterances in England. Lord Goschen's speech is sure to carry considerable weight with the enlightened public. His Lordship has done a great and timely service to India.

All-India Muslim Federation.

THE address presented by the All-India Muslim Federation on Friday last to H. E. the Viceroy is full of strange and antiquated pleas which would not bear a close scrutiny. The Muslims therein demanded adequate safeguards for their interests in the new constitution corresponding to their historic importance; now if by this phrase is meant that they were quondam rulers of the country, the Sikhs and the Mahrattas would deserve to be given as much special treatment as the Muslims. It is strange that the Muslims should persevere in their unreasoning agitation against the Marriage Restraint Act, since in this address they protested against it on the ground that it was against the Shariat. His Excellency the Viceroy expressed satisfaction at the appreciation by the Muslims of the announcement made by him in October and expressed sympathy with the anxiety felt by the Muslims as a minority community about the position they are likely to occupy under the revised constitution. At the same time he assured them that the Round Table Conference would provide the opportunity for a thorough discussion of all the difficulties and apprehensions with regard to communal rights. As for the Marriage Restraint Act H. E. the Viceroy advised the Muslim community not to stand aloof from a social reform which has for its object the promotion of the physical and moral well being of the people and expressed a

hope that the doubts of the community would be dissipated by a fuller consideration of the problem. His Excellency assured the Muslims of the determination of His Majesty's Government to hold the scales even in Palestine between the different communities and interests; it is to be hoped that this determination will not be slackened throughout the changing phases of the situation as it will develop in that country.

The Price of Prohibition.

AS a result of the investigation made into the financial cost of total prohibition, the Madras Government has declared that it would amount to Rs. 2,31 lakhs; nearly half of this would be the charge for the establishment for enforcing total prohibition. The Government say that in the present estimates no account had been taken of the need of patrolling the sea necessitating increased expenditure by the customs Department and of the extra magistracy required to cope with the increased crime. If the object of the Madras Government is to frighten prohibitionists out of their wits by the recital of these bugbears it would not be achieved: the prohibitionists know fully well all the implications of the step they are proposing to take and so far as they are concerned they are willing to shoulder the full burden of a prohibition regime. In fact in Bombay some of the members of the Council have already suggested alternative taxes to make up the deficit caused by the loss, partial or total, of the excise revenue. We are convinced that prohibition must be ultimately carried out whatever the sacrifices that people will have to make. In this connection it may be noted that the import duty on liquors collected in Bombay port has decreased by nearly Rs. 7½ lakhs owing to the higher license fees in pursuance of the new Excise policy. If this is so, the result will be welcomed by prohibitionists as a side proof of the success of the policy of putting obstacles in the path of the seller. If the policy of rationing country liquor were to lead to an increase in the consumption of foreign liquors the result is hardly one on which the champion of prohibition can congratulate himself.

Creating Mischief.

SPEAKING at the Trades Association Dinner at Rangoon last week, Sir Charles Innes, the Governor, asserted that Burmans were unanimous in their opinion regarding ultimate separation. It is certainly a case of wish being father to the thought. "Since the appointment of the Statutory Commission, he said, the question of separation of Burma from India became a live question. His Government were in favour of it, for according to him, "the closer that India approximated to self-government, the less the justification there was for including Burma in India merely for reasons of administrative convenience, because Burma could not properly be included in self-governing India without its express consent." Evidently His Excellency is out to create mischief. If India gets self-government, so will Burma on a par with any Indian province. The same reasons that justify a strong central Government in India over the Provincial Governments will justify the retention of Burma in the Indian Commonwealth. The express consent of the Burmese people, not of its present bureaucratic Government, is needed for its exclusion, not for its retention.

Education of Indians in Fiji.

THE Report on Education in Fiji for the year 1928 does not record a perceptible advance so far as education of Indians is concerned. During the

year there was one Government school and 35 assisted schools for Indians; there were 2530 pupils in attendance at these schools of which 561 were girls. Besides these there were 28 other schools for Indians not receiving grant-in-aid. The Methodist Missionary Society of Australasia, the Catholic Mission and the Church of England Mission are all interesting themselves in education of Indians and between themselves are controlling 21 assisted schools; the last Mission however is preparing to open several new schools at Labasa. Twenty Indian candidates for the Teachers' Examinations were trained by the Methodist Mission and the Catholic Mission trained three Indian candidates. It is promised by the Director of Education that in the new Government Training School there will be a further provision for training Indian teachers. A number of schools have been maintained by the Indian people themselves at the cost of local subscribers and the Director says that in many districts the Indians are showing a keen interest in education. The small proportion of Indian teachers is remarkable since out of the total of 1408 teachers only 153 are Indians although it must be admitted that the number of Indian teachers is fairly well adjusted to the small number of Indian pupils; what is required is to encourage more school-going children to join school. There are very few scholarships for the Indians—or even for Fijians—to enable them to prosecute higher studies in medical or technical schools, only 2 being assigned for Indian and four for Fijian boys.

An Irresistible Case.

AFTER paying a compliment to the Chief of Bhor for inaugurating some measure of constitutional reform in the administration of his State, Mr. G. R. Abhyankar, the indefatigable worker in the cause of the political emancipation of the subjects of Indian States, referred, in his Presidential Address to the Seventh Bhor State Subjects' Conference, to the demand of the subjects of Indian States to be represented at the Round Table Conference. He made it clear at the outset that he did not desire that the internal administration of the States should be discussed at the Conference. He, however, made out a very strong case to show that even in the discussion of the mutual relations between the Governments of the States and the Government of India the subjects of the States have a place. This claim would not have arisen if the Princes had not taken the offensive with their new theory of their direct relations with the Crown and not with the Government of India. While turning down the claim of the Princes that their relations with the Paramount Power were purely contractual and limited by treaties, the Butler Committee admitted the other claim of the Princes that their relations are with the Crown and not with the Government of India as such, and that without their consent the Crown could not delegate its powers to the Dominion Government of India. Neither the Princes nor their peoples are satisfied with this finding. The Princes wish to eliminate all control over them; they will be responsible neither to the Paramount Power nor to their own peoples. While resisting the latter contingency, they wish to reduce to the minimum their responsibility to the former. And it is no flattering compliment to the British Government that the former look to them to entrench them more firmly in their anti-diluvian administrations and reactionary policies. The subjects resist this tendency of the Princes, and wish to be assured that the Dominion Government of India will exercise the duties and obligations of the Paramount Power over the Princes. For they realise that in all their efforts to reform the internal administration of the States they

have to deal not only with the Princes, but with the all-pervading but all-elusive Paramount Power. As Mr. Abhyankar puts it, it is really a tripartite business. With more courage than conviction Mr. Abhyankar asserts that if the present Paramount Power stood out and left the peoples to deal with their Princes, there would have been responsible government in the States. Nevertheless, the point, that he urges is unimpeachable, namely, that the Princes must be responsible to somebody for the good Government of their States. Until they become responsible to their own peoples and also in order that they may be encouraged to do so, their immediate responsibility to the Paramount Power must be real, and the responsibility of the Paramount Power to ensure good and progressive government in the States is more effectively discharged by the Dominion Government of India than by the nebulous agency of the Crown and its special agents.

The League of Nations in 1929.

THERE is no doubt that the League of Nations, as M. Briand has said, has risen triumphant over scepticism and derision, enjoys a universal confidence and has built up a moral capital which is without parallel in the history of the world. Its record during the last year has been brilliant and the tenth Assembly, which was the most largely attended hitherto, has to its credit an amount of good work done in the interest of international concord. One of the most important events of the year was the coming into force of the General Act for the pacific settlement of disputes which made provision for the arbitration of international disputes. During the year fifteen states including Great Britain, France and Italy signed the Optional Clause, thus accepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice. A statement made by the American representative to the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference became the starting point of the scheme for a Naval Conference which is expected to result in an agreement that would enable the Commission itself with regard to methods to be adopted for limitation of naval armaments. The Council made a thorough examination of the minority problem as a whole and adopted a series of regulations for the examination of petitions on this matter received from states. The League Economic Organisation concluded or in some cases prepared conventions on questions of double taxation, statistics and undertook enquiries into the international aspect of the coal and sugar problems and carried on investigations into unification of customs nomenclature, veterinary police measures, suppression of smuggling. The idea of the 'tariff holiday' was taken up at the instance of the Belgian delegate and efforts were made to induce the several Governments to sign a truce for withholding an increase of tariff for a certain period. During the year preliminary studies for the international regulation of commercial motor traffic and the taxation of foreign motor vehicles were undertaken. In the humanitarian field a Commission of Enquiry into opium smoking was appointed which is carrying on its work in the Far East and the Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children studied the conditions in which the enquiry concerning the traffic in women could be pursued and extended to Eastern countries. As to the future of the League we endorse the opinion of M. Hymans the Belgian delegate that it is our duty to improve and perfect the organisation of the system of law and co-operation that we have founded, "to broaden the path of peace and set up barrier after barrier on the roads whence war might come".

Articles.

THE CROAKINGS OF CRADDOCK.

WE have never been of those who see no good in British rule in India, who fail to appreciate the good and great work done by generations of British administrators in India and who attribute all the ills that India suffers from to British rule. We have desired and still desire the co-operation of the British in advancing the moral and material progress of India. But we confess that even we find it impossible to read Sir Reginald Craddock's book "The Dilemma in India" with anything but disgust. The only other book of the type we have had occasion to read in recent years is Miss Catherine Mayo's "Mother India". Sir Reginald claims as his title to advise India his long service in India, extending over 39 years. Perhaps that is more a disqualification. Having been a crusted bureaucrat for forty years, he has effectively incapacitated himself from assimilating new ideas and taking in new situations. His mental elasticity vanished at the threshold of the century. Time flows past him leaving him a fixed fossil, a die-hard *in excelsis*. If it was only that, he were entitled to our pity. But there is an amount of perversity, malice and obtuseness about this disgruntled providence that even pity dries up.

Sir Reginald commences his pretentious book with an enumeration of the problems of India which must be solved before India will be fit for responsible government; but he has not said a word how the British Government have attempted to solve them in the past and how he expects them to be solved in the future even according to his scheme of Indo-British Dominion. It is true that India is a land of great distances and variety of races. Not even Sir Reginald Craddock can reduce the physical size of India or eliminate the variety of races inhabiting it. On the other hand, the British have added to the racial complex by creating the Anglo-Indians, whom Sir Reginald exploits to deny self-government to India. Granting that the sentiment of common nationality among all Indians is due to British rule in India, even Sir Reginald does not pretend that the sentiment was either inspired or fostered by the British. It is the Indians who are keen on retaining and strengthening the sentiment. It is true that there is religious antagonism in India between the Hindus and Muslims. "And yet, with all this," says Sir Reginald himself, "Hindus and Mahommadons have often lived together as neighbours in kindly amity. . . . There Hindus and Mahommedans took part in each other's festal days, until the mischief-maker came along and replaced harmony by discord." But who was the mischief-maker? The Britishers were no unconcerned witnesses, much less conciliators, for, as Sir Reginald says, "The famous Moslem deputation to Lord Minto and the promise that he made of separate Mahommedan representation on a generous scale in the Legislative Councils became a binding pledge to us and a source of fric-

tion between Hindu and Moslem, ever growing in volume and bitterness, until their rival claims have become well-nigh irreconcilable." Moulana Muhammad Ali, as President of the Indian National Congress, gave out publicly, in a moment of expansive national impulse, how the Moslem deputation was engineered by the Private Secretary to Lord Minto. The Nationalists, who are mostly Hindus, stood for equal rights for all and no privileges to any; and it was the Government of Lord Minto that set up privileges for Moslems. The Anglo-Indians are Indians in every sense of the term; India is their home and they have no other. Left to their instincts, they would have acknowledged themselves as Indians, as they are doing now. Here again the Britisher was at work to tear them apart by bribing them with special privileges. The cloven foot is paraded in the following sentences: "The Indian politicians say: "If the Anglo-Indians will acknowledge themselves to be sons of the soil, children of Mother India, they will be treated with every consideration by us." . . . "You are asking for privileges, not rights," say the Indians. "We offer you equal rights but no privileges." In the eyes of Sir Reginald, it is crime for the Indians to ask the Anglo-Indians to make common cause with them. It is clear who is in favour of a caste system, the creation of a hierarchy of privileged classes,—the Indian nationalist or the Britisher, like Sir Reginald. And yet Sir Reginald seriously tells us that the caste system of the Hindus negatives all prospect of self-government for India. He repudiates with indignation the charge that the Britishers are dividing the people in order to perpetuate their rule over them, as if their preferential treatment of the Moslems and the Anglo-Indians is not a proof of their sinister designs. It was only the otherday that Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, sometime Minister in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, recalled the incident that took place when the Joint Select Committee examined Sir Alexander Cardew on the Montagu constitution. Sir Alexander indignantly repudiated any complicity in instigating the non-Brahmin movement in South India but he was soon faced with a despatch from the Government of Madras which proved the contrary, and it bore Sir Alexander's signature!

Again, with an impudence that takes one's breath away, Sir Reginald reiterates his "cold calculated lies" that the educated Indians are the enemies of the un-educated, that the Indian intelligentsia have no relation whatever with the Indian masses, and that, on the otherhand, the British officials are the true representatives of the masses, and that the Indian politicians are responsible for all that is ill or evil in India while the Britishers are responsible for all that is good and beneficial. The former are the enemies of India while the latter are the friends! These malicious lies stand self-condemned by their enormity. The whole volume is strewn thick with such lies that it will take a volume of similar size to nail them down.

Problems there are plenty in India. But Sir Reginald does not tell us how to solve them. Every effort of the Indian nationalist to weld together into

one nation the heterogenous masses of India, even as the United States of America is evolving an American nation out of the heterogenous elements that pour into it from all parts of Europe, all efforts, we say, of the Indian nationalist have been persistently and consistently thwarted by the Britisher. Every cleavage has been emphasised and widened. By the grant of special privileges, the Moslem and the Anglo-Indian have been bribed to break away from the other communities; the masses have been told that the intelligentsia are their enemies, the Princes have been set up against the peoples of British India, Burma has been instigated to ask for separation, the Non-Brahmins have been set up against the Brahmins, the martial races in the Punjab have had it rubbed into them that they will not obey the orders of the "Babus". For decades the mesmeric spell has been cast and kept up that without the overlordship of the British everybody will cut everybody else's throat; a defeatist mentality has been sought to be created among the Indians. Having used their power as rulers of the land to set every body by the ears, Sir Reginald now says that only a foreign autocracy can keep them from greater harm. He does not explain how his constructive proposals for an Indo-British Dominion, with legislatures and with executive councils containing half the number of Indians and half of Europeans, half elected and half nominated, and with an advisory Durbar of Right Honourables, will solve the numerous problems that he has marshalled as obstacles to self-government in India. His objective is neither the solution of the problems nor the attainment of Dominion Status by India. He does not wish for either; he asks for the perpetual domination of India by the British Official.

WOMEN COME INTO THEIR OWN.

THE awakening of Indian womanhood to their rights and responsibilities is a most welcome sign of the times. Indian women, with the cordial assistance of European women, have organised their own conferences in the Provinces and an All-India Women's Education and Social Conference, the fourth session of which is in session in Bombay this week. Already Indian women have attended international gatherings in Europe with credit to themselves and to the Motherland. The indefatigable and enterprising Mrs. M. E. Cousins, to whom the Indian Women's movement owes a great deal, has now projected a conference of Asiatic women to meet in India. It is a commendable move, which we hope will materialise. In which event, Indian women will have stolen a march over men.

Rightly and naturally public work of a national character even with regard to women fell, in the first instance, on the shoulders of men, and they were glad to welcome the co-operation of women. This Conference marks a change. Women themselves are taking the initiative and promoting measures for the amelioration of women and children, and are seeking places in the legislatures in order to further their objects themselves instead of having to persuade men to take the

necessary steps. In her Welcome Address to the Conference, Lady Tata took credit for initiating the principle underlying the Sarda Bill and said, "The absence of women in the Legislative Assembly was felt as a great drawback by the supporters of the Sarda Bill, as women could have voiced the feelings of their sisters with greater directness and force than men to whom, nevertheless, our warmest acknowledgments are due for their bold and courageous stand for the Bill." In her impassioned Presidential Address, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu disdained the idea of preferential treatment of women which would amount to an admission of their inferiority. That marks the turn of the tide. The trusteeship of man is politely and withal in the most friendly spirit, declined and terminated: women have come into their own and will hereafter take care of their interests.

As Lady Tata rightly observed, it is not enough to pass the Sarda Act, however benevolent and necessary, but it must be followed up by the provision of adequate and varied facilities for the education of the girls thus rescued from early marriage and motherhood. She was strongly of opinion that the primary and secondary schools for girls should be especially adapted to meet the requirements of the large majority of women who are destined to become wives and mothers, though there should be no barriers in the way of women who wish to embark on professional and public careers following the ordinary courses in the colleges and universities. She did not indicate her mind regarding the medium of instruction in the schools. For separate courses there is much to be said in favour of the vernacular medium. In which case, it may be rather difficult to frame courses of studies for women in the primary and secondary standards which will fit them to proceed to the colleges and universities later on if they decide on professional education. The logical conclusion is to organise separate universities for women. But somehow such separate universities have not been popular with the girls because of a feeling that they are "inferior". Even with regards to boys' education there are those who wish to give it a vocational bias. Perhaps it is best to have the same cultural courses for boys and girls and have separate vocational courses in addition, which may be different for boys and for girls.

In opening the Conference Lady Sykes remarked on the rapid fall in the number of students in the higher standards, which is certainly disquieting. It seems to be true at the same time that there is already a class of unemployed among the educated women, particularly in the Madras Presidency and in the States of Travancore and Cochin. While the medical graduates are comparatively easily absorbed, there is a surplus of arts graduates without suitable work. A big programme of girls' schools all over the country may be a very useful and timely solution. The expansion of education is being retarded by the paucity of teachers and the unemployed women may well supply the want, much to the benefit of themselves and the country.

We would wish that Indian women paid some attention to the needs and requirements of Indians abroad. Indian women as well as men are settled in various and distant parts of the world. The class of people that migrated sorely need the help and assistance and sometimes the guidance of educated Indians from India and of women in particular. There are wanted in these Colonies women teachers, nurses and doctors and social workers. We trust that Indian women in India will not forget the call of their sisters across the seas. Besides, foreign travel is even more necessary and beneficial in the case of women than of men. Scores of men who have visited Europe, imbibed better notions of life and living, find it impossible to live up to their new standards in India, because their women have not had similar experience. An educated Indian woman who has been abroad is a more powerful lever to uplift and modernise the Indian home than a man.

While we are of those who believe that no kind of public work should be closed to women, yet there are certain types of work for which women have a special genius and aptitude. Social work in its comprehensive sense is one such. Social service in the modern sense is of somewhat recent origin in India and has not yet developed traditions of a compelling nature. The wealthy classes who are saved the incessant struggle for subsistence have not yet taken to the work enthusiastically. The only other leisured class among men are the retired officials but they are by training and age incapacitated from undertaking such work with any vigour and enthusiasm. Besides, among certain of the class there is a feeling that retirement means civil death, that all obligations to the public cease and that they should think only of ensuring a good place in the next world. In European countries women take a large share in social work. It is time women in India followed suit.

INDEPENDENCE.

THE Congress has declared the immediate political goal of India to be independence. The implications of this high-sounding declaration do not seem to have troubled the minds of those who have led the Congress to make it; nor have they laid down the ways and means of achieving so great a consummation. The only programme chalked out by the resolution of the Congress is that all Congress members of the various legislatures of the country should resign their seats and make themselves free to do what is called national work. That decision has apparently not met with the approval of the vast majority of the council party. Many of the Congress members are racking their brains to find ingenious interpretations of their election pledges to get out of the muddle and disobey the mandate. The shrewd politicians of the South who have experience of the good they can do in the Councils are altogether dissatisfied with the decision of the Congress, although they are doing lip service to the idea of independence. The Congress Democratic party will, I have no doubt, very soon begin to talk sense and denounce the Congress mandate. It is becoming increasingly clear

that Mr. Gandhi cannot be a safe or even intelligent guide in matters political. Politics is a game which has to be played according to certain accepted rules. Mahatmas are not the persons who either understand or are capable of abiding by them. Men who are in a state of exaltation are prone to neglect and ignore the limitations to which ordinary humanity is subject. You cannot play cricket according to the rules of Yoga. The pity of it is, Mr. Gandhi, who has often acknowledged his own incapacity as a politician, should have made up his mind to use his great personal influence to lead the country into a morass. Even more remarkable is the way a man of the world like Pandit Motilal has surrendered his judgement to the doubtful other-worldly wisdom of a Saint.

If the Congress was serious in its declaration it should have accepted the amendment of Mr. S. C. Bose that immediate steps should be taken to set up and run a parallel Government in this country. It cannot reasonably be expected that the Government of India would allow Mr. Gandhi slowly and carefully to make his preliminary arrangements and perfect his scheme of independence by what is vaguely described as constructive work. Propaganda for independence will be met by repression and section 124 (a) of the Indian Penal Code is wide enough to cover all possible cases. Turning the charka will not assuredly make for independence, either. An attempt to convert the Congress and the country into a vast spinners' association, which was made a few years ago, has failed miserably. The triple boycott is probably the most glaring of Mr. Gandhi's political futilities; and civil disobedience and refusal to pay taxes are not, according to Mr. Gandhi, within the realm of practical politics.

There is no instance in history of a great revolution being effected in the way Mr. Gandhi hopes to achieve it. If it is to succeed at all it must be a great and sudden move backed by force. It must have sufficient strength and authority to force the country to accept its rule in preference to that of the existing Government. The great majority of the people who are generally content to live under the existing Government will have to be terrorised into acquiescence. Even if the people are ready and willing to accept the revolution and the parallel Government, there is the existing Government with a great and powerful military organisation to reckon with. In other countries, where revolution has been successful, the military have always been the kith and kin of the people concerned and have gone over to the revolutionaries. The naval and military forces of the existing Government imbued with the spirit of discontent and disaffection have always been the mainstay of all revolutions. Here, in India, it is extremely doubtful if the martial races of the North would be prepared to follow the lead of the loin-cloth politicians. Even if they were, there is a more powerful force in the country which will make mincemeat of the Indian soldier and his ally the Indian politician. The British Navy, the Royal Air Force and the vast military machine of the Empire perfected by the Great War are all there to deal with the Indian revolution. Does Mr. Gandhi who talks

so glibly of independence expect England to stand by and permit him to capture the *musnad* of the King Emperor at Delhi without firing a shot? The idea is so fantastic that one is inclined to believe that the Congress and its leaders were not in their right senses when they passed the resolution for independence.

For all that, mischief is afoot. There will certainly be found in the country excitable people ready to listen to Mr. Gandhi and his followers. No doubt Mr. Gandhi will advise his audiences to follow a policy of non-violent non-co-operation and will feel satisfied that he has done his duty. However, the men who may come under the influence of this Apostle of revolution will go their own way and resort to violence as they have done before. A few more bombs under the rails, another Chauri Chaura, arrest and imprisonment of the more daring spirits among the revolutionaries and finally Mr. Gandhi's own sojourn in Yerawada or elsewhere will be the final outcome of the Congress activities for the current year. When the excitement has cooled down, I have no doubt, the commonsense of the people will assert itself and before another year has been rung out the great Indian revolution will have been decently buried.

This is the normal course which Mr. Gandhi's activities will take during the current year. Meanwhile there is work for men of sense and balanced brains. The noisy Congress clique has been dominating our public life and preventing the sober elements of the country from being heard. It is unfortunately true that there has been a tendency among the Liberals occasionally to coquette with extremism. Now that the Congress is irrevocably committed to a disastrous course, it is plainly the duty of all patriotic Indians to denounce it and warn the country against it. The cry for independence is against the best interests of the country and its promoters are the enemies of India. The Government of Great Britain has made an offer of co-operation, and everything that militates against the success of the great venture should be mercilessly put down. Let us grasp the hand of fellowship extended to us by the Government in a spirit of trust and hopefulness and let England and India together tread the path that leads to equal and honourable partnership in the Great Commonwealth.

A MALABAR LIBERAL.

KENYA.

WITH the laudable desire to counteract the "misleading" effect of Mr. H. N. Kunzru's article in the "Spectator", a British lady, by name Gertrude G. Scholpp, who lived for five years in Kenya, has promptly come out with a rejoinder in that paper. She proceeds to show the "why" of things in Kenya: why there are twice as many Indians as Europeans, why there is malignant race prejudice and why the Europeans cannot recognise the political quality of the Indians, and why the British settlers should have the biggest say in the affairs of Kenya. The Indians who first came to the country were "coolies"; they settled down and "multiplied exceedingly"; and became "dukawallahs" or

small shopkeepers who spoiled the landscape by their tin "dukas". There is a growing influx of "undesirables" overflowing into Kenya from the surplus population of India. They do not spend their savings in Kenya but send them out of the country. They are "unhygienic" and "unprogressive". The European, on the other hand, loves his land, puts every penny of his savings in it, and supports the Government official, the Indian and the Native and finds the wherewithal for Native and Indian schools and hospitals, and is keenly interested in the welfare of the Natives. She does not rest with a mere explanation of the existing state of things: she makes constructive suggestions. The cure for the Indians' troubles lies in their own hands. They should improve their lot; their rich should come to the help of their poor. The White settlers, backed by the Government, are doing their utmost to assist the Natives.

We shall not be so unchivalrous to a lady as to tell her point blank that she is greatly mistaken in her assumptions for the explanations. We would encourage her to read carefully through the Report of the Closer Union Commission for the facts. All the Indians who came thirty years ago were not "coolies", and at the present moment there are hardly any of that type. Indians are either artisans, or clerks or shop-keepers and traders. Some are lawyers, doctors and schoolmasters. If race prejudice did not stand in the way, several Indians would by their merits have by now risen to the officer grade in the Government services in Kenya. Even before the first "coolie" arrived there were quite a number of Indians, particularly at the coast, who were large-scale traders and businessmen. Even if all the Indians were "coolies" there is no justification for the sneering and contemptuous reference to them. To-day, ruling the Empire, ruling over lords and ladies of noble birth, of the highest pedigree and breeding, is the Labour Government, a "coolie" Government!

According to the Hilton Young Report, the theory of Indian influx is a myth: the tendency in the reverse direction is a fact. 26,000 Indians in Kenya do not materially relieve the surplus of India's population, which runs to some 315 millions. If the European settler loves his land, the Indian trader loves his shop or his business. It is not all Europeans who spend all their savings in Kenya, nor all Indians outside. There is a fairly large Indian community in Kenya to whom that Colony is their homeland and who do not look across the seas to a different resting place in old age. The bulk of the Europeans look forward to returning to England with their savings, and many pay regular visits to the old country and spend their savings there. If the Indians had access to land, they would be far more attached to Kenya than Europeans. The Indian farmers in the Kibose area hardly ever visit India and are greatly attached to their lands. It would be truer to say that agriculture, rather than the white settler, is the economic basis of industry in the Colony and supplies the wherewithal to run the Colony. It would be truer to say that the Native is even more the pivot

of Kenya than the white settler. For without the Native labourer the white settler would not be there at all, whereas the Native agriculturist would continue to produce even if the white settler was not there. The white settler actually hampers the development of Native agriculturist, who, without this incubus, would have progressed even as his West African compeer has. The fact that the Hilton Young Commission has made it their central and unanimous recommendation that Native Policy should be removed from the control of the white settlers must knock the bottom completely out of the professions of the white settlers of their interest in the welfare of the Natives.

All Indians in Kenya are not "unhygienic and unprogressive" nor are Indians in Kenya the only people in the world who are "unhygienic and unprogressive," but it has not been urged that all such are unworthy of political equality with the hygienic and progressive people. England herself is not free from such people, and the "poor whites" in South Africa are notorious for these failings. Yet, nobody has so far seriously urged that these should mend their habits before they are admitted to political equality. The use of soap and water is not included as a necessary condition for citizenship in England or in South Africa or even in Kenya. Nor have these been told that their improvement should come from themselves. If the State and the better-placed people do not go out to help and uplift the "unhygienic and the unprogressive" people, the latter will never by their own exertions shake off their weaknesses.

"Misleading" as these explanations are, the facts which they are meant to explain are there right enough. Europeans in Kenya have no "respect" for Indians; on the other hand they cherish "malignant prejudice" against them, and claim to have the biggest say in the running of the Colony. If the settlers have no respect for them, Indians consider it their misfortune; if the settlers cherish malignant prejudice against them, Indians lament it: but if, on the strength of these very Christian qualities, the settlers demand that unchallenged power over Indians and Natives should be entrusted to their hands, Indians must demur, and demur most emphatically.

P. KODANDA RAO.

RANADE AND SOCIAL REFORM.

IT is now twenty-nine years since India lost in the death of the late Mr. Justice Ranade one of her most brilliant and patriotic sons. For nearly thirty-five years he was the centre of all public activities—political, religious or social—not only in Maharashtra but practically in the whole of India. To him social reform was as essential as political and other reform.

Mr. Ranade was a great social reformer. According to him social reform aims at removing social evils and aims at establishing proper relations between man and man and between man and woman. It aims at high ideals of sympathy, cooperation and toleration. It aims at establish-

ing the lofty ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity. Many times we use the term 'reformer' without exactly understanding it. A reformer must do a thing with the distinct idea of bringing about reform. He must do it because he is convinced that it is for the good of the society, and must do it, when once convinced, even against the opposition of the public. A reformer does not drift into reform. Mr. Ranade, in his address to the 5th National Social Conference held at Nagpur in 1891, clearly stated that when a man drifts into reform, he is not a reformer. He is exactly where he was. Reform means the reform of the heart and the head.

In the days of Mr. Ranade social reformers were attacked very vehemently by anti-reformers. One of the attacks against them was that their eyes were dazzled by the outward splendour of the Western nations. To the reformers, it was said, everything western was worth imitating and everything Indian was obsolete and worthless, and in imitating the western modes and habits they were destroying our old social fabric which stood the test of time. Even now we find some people repeating this charge with parrot-like exactness. Mr. Ranade in several of his speeches refuted this charge and explained clearly the position of the reformers. In his address to the Satara Provincial Social Conference in 1900 Mr. Ranade said "As a matter of fact, the social arrangements at present are admittedly not those for which we can plead the sanction of the great law-givers, whose names we revere in lip-worship, but whose behests we disobey at every step The dependent status of women, early marriage, prohibition of widow marriage, appropriation of particular castes to particular professions, inequality between men and women, for all these you cannot hold the old law-givers responsible These were interpolations made when the country had already gone from bad to worse The reformers of the present day are certainly not open to the charge that they are handling roughly the time-honoured institutions." At Allahabad in 1888 he said "The social evils complained of in these days were unknown in the days of our highest glory and in seeking their reform, we are not imitating any foreign models, but restoring to our society its ancient freedom and dignity in place of subsequent corruption." In yet another place he said that in following our forefathers we had, sometimes, to overstep the obstacles put in our way by our fathers.

The greatest institution which Mr. Ranade established and fostered for furthering the cause of social reform was the Indian National Social Conference. His addresses to the meetings of the Conference every year are master-pieces and must be very carefully studied by people interested in social reform. Many people, including some of the social reformers, did not look on these conferences with great favour. To them making speeches and passing resolutions was not of much use. They did not know that the resolutions and speeches at the conferences have a value of their own in educating the public. These conferences, as Mr. Ranade said again and again, were meant to take stock of their achievements and count their losses and gains. The social confe-

rence has a function of its own. It is intended to strengthen local efforts, to bring together the work done by various institutions. It measures progress, stimulates mutual co-operation and extends sympathy and help to all the institutions working for the good of our society. This great and useful institution has since lost somewhat of its old prestige, status, and functions. It was Mr. Ranade who could string together all the progressive institutions by means of this conference. There are institutions even today that are carrying on the work of social reform but they are like flowers lying scattered about. They cannot attain the dignity of a well-strung garland.

The evils which Mr. Ranade tried to remove have not yet been fully removed and the improvements which he tried to introduce have not yet been well-established. His work is yet to be completed. In addition to this, it is also our duty to take up new questions which are awaiting solution; such as, for instance, the property rights of women, birth control and divorce. The need for a strong, and efficient social conference is even greater to-day than in the days of Mr. Ranade. Conscious, purposive effort is more than ever necessary.

Social reformers should, therefore be up and doing and endeavour by their combination and co-operation to achieve what Mr. Ranade by his single-minded devotion and great personality initiated. For, as the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale said "It is our duty to cherish his (Ranade's) name, treasure up his example, and be true to his teaching in the faith that a nation that has produced a Ranade need not despair of its future".

D. L. SAHASRABUDDHE.

THE NAVAL CONFERENCE.

THE Five-Power Naval Conference which was opened this week by H. M. the King will be the centre of attention for all the nations of the world, since if it succeeds in inducing "the five principal naval powers to agree on a reduction of war vessels on the basis of mutually accepted strength", according to the purpose explained by Mr. MacDonald in the Commons, a great step will have been taken towards general disarmament. It is clear that the Kellogg Pact by which the signatory nations solemnly repudiated war as the method of settling international disputes has been hailed with delight all the world over by right-thinking persons and its popularity is increasing day by day. Naval disarmament and later on the disarmament with respect to armies are the most potent ways in which the Pact can be implemented and the régime of arbitration substituted for the régime of war. The general spirit created by the League of Nations assiduously for the last ten years can only be translated into tangible realities by agreements about reduction of war armaments. Now that the two powers, Britain and U. S., have given a lead by consenting to take active steps to prevent mutual competition by a modification of their naval programmes, we have a right to appeal to the other three Powers

to follow suit and take the credit of inaugurating a new era of peace and goodwill by consummating a convention about naval reduction and thus facilitating the work of the League's Preparatory Disarmament Commission.

There was a time when Great Britain insisted on her right to judge when the seas should be closed to neutral trade in the interests of public right and the United States with equal emphasis insisted on the right of neutrals to trade with all the belligerents in complete disregard of the question of public right and asserted the "freedom of the seas". As long as this irreconcilable opposition of divergent views persisted there was not much hope for any naval agreement; on the contrary it led after the termination of the Great War to a furious competition between the two nations in naval construction. Fortunately better counsels prevailed and at the Washington Conference Great Britain abandoned the old two-power standard and accepted the principle of parity with U. S. At this Conference the total battle-fleet tonnage of the two powers was fixed to be 525,000 tons each. No agreement was however reached as to cruisers, submarines and other types owing to the difficulty of acceptance of parity by Great Britain with its world-wide empire and diffused commerce. This has been the crux of all later wrangles. Apart however from an agreement between Great Britain and U. S., the determination of the ratios in the case of the other naval powers has always been the great difficulty which a Naval Conference has to face. The forthcoming Conference in order to be successful must determine these ratios and give precise definitions of the types of vessels as well as limit the numbers of ships of each variety. It is hoped that all these difficulties will be met satisfactorily provided that all the Powers taking part in the Naval Conference are genuinely convinced of the need for the renunciation of war and have changed their attitude towards the use of force in the settlement of international disputes, in virtue of their loyalty to the Kellogg Pact. This was made clear by Mr. Gibson in his speech which he made at Geneva in April 1929 on behalf of the President of U. S.

Many speculations have been raised by the exclusion by U. S. of the question of the "freedom of the seas" from the purview of the London Conference. There are some who think that U. S. is apprehensive of the logical consequences of the violation of the Kellogg Pact by a nation and the consequent disability imposed upon her with regard to asserting the right of a neutral country to trade with the offending nation. In the absence of a definite sanction for the Pact the U. S. will be compelled to adopt the commercial boycott of such a nation along with other nations; this will be practically giving up half of her case for the rights of neutrals. Others however put a charitable construction upon the exclusion of this topic and believe that it is based on the conviction that in the new atmosphere created by the Pact the enforcement of the right of neutrals will have no valid application since a state which resorts to war for a national purpose will range itself against all the signatories of the Pact and will have to be treat-

ed as an outcaste. On the whole it seems best that the controversial question of the "freedom of the seas" should not be allowed to endanger the success of the Naval Conference by its inclusion in the agenda. It is better, as Mr. Hoover said, to concentrate on the prevention of war rather than complicate matters by speculating about the punishment of the offender against world peace through violation of the terms of the Pact.

The cost of the naval armaments would be decreased substantially if the big battleship in size above ten thousand tons could be eliminated altogether by common consent. After all naval superiority is not a question of absolute requirements but of comparative strength and if the other navies are numerically smaller the British and U. S. navies can maintain their superiority with ships of the cruiser type of much less than ten thousand tons. President Hoover has recognized this and said in so many words that naval needs are relative, not absolute. Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond of the British navy in his articles contributed to the *London Times*, after examining the capacity and obligations of fighting ships constituting a navy, has arrived at the conclusion that "the great ship had no means whatever of offence and could not even defend herself; she was escorted and protected by the small craft. . . . The battleships were essential in the late War because the enemy possessed them, but for no other reason." If this is the opinion of an expert then the proper thing is to abolish the big battleship costing six to eight million sterling and nearly half a million a year in upkeep provided that all the naval powers agree to do likewise. President Hoover has already declared that U. S. is prepared to reduce her naval strength in proportion to any other and is only waiting for the others to say how low they will go. It is thought likely that if Great Britain proposes the abolition of the battleship the U. S. will give her unstinted support. The abolition of the battleship, if it materialises will be a signal achievement of the Naval Conference and will cover it with a lasting glory. It is evident however that the expressed desire both of U. S. and Britain to abandon the submarine would be opposed by the other naval powers.

The justification for the hope that a maximum reduction in naval armaments may be realised is, in the British Premier's opinion, to be found in the instruments like the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Locarno treaties and the Pact of Paris created for maintenance of world peace. In his speech addressed to the British and foreign journalists he emphasized that the military force must bear some relation to the immediate risk of war and he expressed his belief that as a result of these instruments for entrenching security the risk of war had been greatly reduced. But we think he was overcautious when he declared that Britain can only move on condition that other nations move correspondingly; unless some nation takes a bold step without waiting for others to do likewise disarmament will hardly make any progress and Great Britain is preeminently suited to play such a rôle. Viscount Bridgeman's query as to why Great Britain was the only country which was to be

led to reduce its cruisers is futile and mischievous since great things are not achieved by a spirit of bargaining.

Ultimately disarmament will depend upon the actual realisation of the outlawry of war which the Pact of Paris has made binding on the signatories and the effective carrying out of the Covenant of the League of Nations under which every nation has undertaken to submit its disputes with another to arbitration of the League before it can go to war. If the two great naval powers in the world recognize that the primary object of their policy should be the promotion of pacific means of settling international disputes all over the world as adumbrated by the Pact of Paris, the progress of disarmament will be very much hastened. The Naval Conference is an important test whether the deep change of emotional attitude brought about by the action of the League of Nations and by the Pact of Paris is genuine and whether it is capable of translating itself into action.

V. N. G.

SHORT NOTICE

THE FRENCH FRANC, 1914-1928. By ELEANOR LANSING DULLES. (Macmillan, New York.) 1929. 23cm. xxxvi + 570p. \$6.50.

MISS DULLES'S book presents the results of an enquiry into the behaviour of prices, exchanges, production, and trade under a régime of inconvertible paper money in France. It gives an account of a series of episodes in the life history of the French franc and throws considerable light on monetary theory. The main thesis of the admirable book is to show that political events coupled with speculation also exercise a great deal of influence on prices, exchanges and so forth. For instance, Miss Dulles has shown that a wave of distrust sweeping through financial centres sometimes made it possible for a slightly unfavourable turn of financial life to be the occasion for a very unfavourable budget situation and thus, an increase in the means of payment through government borrowings. At another time, a much more serious gap between government expenditures and receipts, even one great enough to cause a large increase in borrowing, would not lead to a corresponding change in prices, and might even be offset in a short time by deflation because it had not led to adverse speculation. Miss Dulles does not deny that the changes in purchasing power affect the price level, but she maintains that speculation can make a difference in delaying or definitely preventing price and exchanges increases, and that a loss of confidence can lead to a marked rise in prices accompanied by or followed by an increase in the quantity of money. Her minute and detailed study of the behaviours of the franc definitely shows that speculation is an important force in the determination of changes in price and exchanges and that these are guided by a multitude of forces, and not mainly by the quantity of money.

She does not deny the commonly accepted theories of the relation between money and prices. There is, however, a difference in emphasis which is of great practical value. Thus, if it is recognized that factors other than money credit do also influence price level and exchange level then in a practical situation it may not always be advisable to work through money and credit, but indirectly through whatever factor be considered as disturbing the

institutions which issue money and credit. Miss Dulles has rendered a valuable service by her admirable work and thanks are due to her alike from the economists and the political leaders of the various countries.

B. G. BHATNAGAR.

Miscellaneous.

THE LIBERAL CAMPAIGN.

THE MADRAS LIBERAL PARTY.

MEMBERS and friends of the Liberal Party in the Madras Presidency will be naturally anxious to know from time to time the progress made in the work on behalf of the Liberal Party in this Presidency. By the courtesy of the editors of the leading daily and weekly newspapers published in Madras it has been arranged to give news of general public interest in connection with the Liberal Party as frequently as possible. Friends will kindly look for the publication of such news in these columns every Thursday or on alternate Thursdays as may be found necessary from time to time.

It will be remembered that at the XII session of the National Liberal Federation of India held at Gokhale Hall last December a resolution was passed condemning the dastardly attempt to wreck His Excellency the Viceroy's train and conveying to Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Irwin the Federation's congratulations on the Providential escape of themselves and their party. The Federation also placed on record its abhorrence and detestation of the crime which is wholly repugnant to the spirit of Indian life and culture and the President of the Federation was authorised to convey the said resolution to His Excellency the Viceroy by telegram. In reply to the said telegram His Excellency the Viceroy was pleased to telegraph to the President, National Liberal Federation, Madras, as follows:—

"Thank you very much for your wire re-attempt on my train. It was Providential that more damage was not done."

Your readers will remember that at the meeting of the Council of the National Liberal Federation held at Gokhale Hall on 31st ultimo it was resolved that a Working Committee of the All India National Liberal Federation be constituted for work during the year 1930. The All India Working Committee consists of the following persons:

<i>Ex-Officio.</i>	The Hon. Sir Phiroze Sethna (President).
	Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.
	The Hon. Mr. G. A. Natesan.
	(Joint Hon. Secretaries.)
<i>Madras.</i>	Dr. Annie Besant.
	Dewan Bahadur T. Rangachariar.
<i>U. P.</i>	Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.
	Mr. H. N. Kunzru.
<i>Punjab.</i>	Mr. Hardatta Sharma
<i>Bengal.</i>	Mr. J. N. Basu.
	Prof. B. B. Roy.
<i>C. P.</i>	Rao Bahadur D. Lakshminarayan.
	Sir Moropant Joshi.
<i>Behar.</i>	Babu Bhagsvathi Charan Singh.
<i>Bombay.</i>	Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.
	Mr. D. G. Dalvi.

In pursuance of the resolution passed at the meeting of the Council of the National Liberal Federa-

tion the following Provincial Working Committee for the Province of Madras has been duly constituted.

Members of the Madras Provincial Working Committee of the Liberal Party.

- (1) Dr. Annie Besant.
- (2) Dewan Bahadur T. Rangachariar.
- (3) Mr. T. R. Venkatrama Sastry.
- (4) Mr. B. Venkatapathiraju.
- (5) Mr. K. R. Venkatrama Iyer, (Madura).
- (6) Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillay.
- (7) Mr. Manjeri Rama Iyer, (Calicut).
- (8) Mr. R. Suryanarayana Row, (Calicut).
- (9) Mr. V. Venkatasubbiah.
- (10) Mr. T. V. Muthukrishna Iyer.
- (11) Mr. K. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar.
- (12) Mr. E. Vinayaka Row, (Hon. Secretary).

It has been arranged to hold a Provincial Conference of the Liberal Party during the Easter Holidays at Calicut. Mr. Manjeri Rama Iyer and Mr. R. Suryanarayana Row of Calicut are in charge of the arrangements regarding the Provincial Conference. Friends who have any constructive suggestions to offer will kindly communicate with them or with Mr. E. Vinayaka Row, Advocate, Mylapore.

In view of the Provincial Conference which is to be held at Calicut it is necessary that at every District centre in this Province there should be a District Liberal Association with a net work of Liberal Associations at all taluq centres. The immediate programme of work till the end of February will be the formation of these District and Taluq Liberal Associations. Friends in the mofussil who are desirous of taking up this important work can communicate with the members of the Provincial Working Committee and do the needful. The Provincial Working Committee will be very glad to give such assistance as may be required of them in this direction.

The Provincial Working Committees all over India are expected to popularise the ideals for which the National Liberal Federation stands. It is specially requested that on the formation of a District Association the office bearers of the Association will kindly communicate with the Office of the Provincial Working Committee reporting the names and addresses of the office bearers and furnishing the list of members. The office bearers of every District Association will have for distribution a free supply of printed copies of the resolutions passed at the last Session of the National Liberal Federation with a view to popularise the ideals of the Liberal Party among the masses. Copies of the resolutions will be available in English and in the local Vernaculars.

The political situation is critical. The Liberal Party appeals to every member and to every well-wisher to contribute his quota of work and service which the country needs so much at present.

E. VINAYAKA ROW.
Hon. Secretary.

THE LIBERALS IN BOMBAY.

PURNA SWARAJYA SANGHA IN NASIK.

MR. R. G. Pradhan, M. L. C., that sturdy Liberal of Nasik, has organised the Purna Swaraya Sangha, an association to work for the attainment of full Dominion Status for India. The Sangha proposes to organise extensive and intensive propoganda in the Nasik and adjacent districts in order to educate the electorate to stand solidly behind the Indian demand for

full Dominion Status. The Sangha will not work in opposition to any other organisation but is definitely against the boycott of the councils and of the Round Table Conference. The Sangha will, besides, take up and study local grievances and seek their redress through the proper channels.

COUNCIL OF THE LIBERAL ASSOCIATION IN WESTERN INDIA.

A meeting of the Council was held in Sir Chimanlal Sefalvad's Chambers to organise the Liberal Campaign in furtherance of the resolution of the Liberal Federation at Madras. Sir Chimanlal is reported to have said that the Liberals wished to make India a self-governing dominion equal in status and position to Canada and Australia, and that they would fight for financial and fiscal freedom of India. At the same time they would guard against throwing the country into a state of turmoil which would set it back in its endeavours. "Let us fight our battles against the present system on the one hand and against anarchy on the other." Sir Phiroze Sethna, President of the Federation, referred to the encouraging response received by the organising Committee of Liberals in their efforts to convene an All-parties Conference. They would then be able to go to the Round Table Conference with united demands. The rights of minorities and, in particular, the Hindu-Muslim question would, he hoped, be settled at the Convention. The Council, decided to support the candidature of Sir Cowasji Jahangir (Junior) for the seat in the Assembly rendered vacant by the resignation of Mr. Jamnadas Mehta.

THE HINDU MAHA SABHA.

The following is the text of the resolutions passed by the Hindu Maha Sabha last week-end on the Round-Table Conference.

"The Hindu Maha Sabha welcomes the announcement of the intention of the British Government to hold a Round-Table Conference of representatives of Britain, India and of Indian States to discuss the future constitution of India.

The Sabha is of opinion that the country will not be satisfied with anything less than the immediate grant of Dominion Status, and the Sabha hopes to be able to offer its co-operation to the Government at the proposed Conference to settle the principles of a Dominion Government constitution suitable to the needs of India.

At the same time the Sabha hopes that the Government will take such measures as are necessary to create a satisfactory atmosphere for the success of the Conference."

The Committee also passed a resolution condemning the bomb outrage.

It is the deliberate opinion of the Maha Sabha that, for the growth of a sound system of national self-Government, it is essential that, in the future political constitution of India, civic and political rights should not be based on or be affected by communal and caste considerations, and that the interests of all minorities should be sufficiently safeguarded by guaranteeing them equal protection in the matter of religious freedom, culture and choice of language of instruction.

Resolved that, in view of the impending bye-elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures, the Working Committee of the Hindu Maha Sabha calls the attention of the Hindu Sabha organisations throughout the country to the resolution of the

Hindu Maha Sabha passed at its general session in Delhi in March 1926 to the effect that:—

The Maha Sabha authorises the Working Committee to take, in consultation with provincial Hindu Maha Sabhas, and, having regard to the conditions obtaining in the different provinces, all proper steps to safeguard Hindu interests including the running of its own candidates where necessary.

Resolved, further that in selecting the candidates whom the Hindu Maha Sabha will support, it should as a rule select persons who are Nationalists in politics, but who are prepared at the same time to safeguard the legitimate Hindu interests."

THE AGA KHAN.

The Aga Khan writing in the *Times* (Jan. 18) reiterates the Moslem case for the continuance of separate electorates as essential under the existing conditions for the evolution of representative democratic government. He reaffirms the resolutions of the All-India Moslem Conference and says the events in the past twelve months have strengthened rather than weakened their adherence to this considered declaration.

U. P. MUSLIM LEGISLATORS' VIEWS.

The President of the Provincial Muslim League, United Provinces and the Muslim members of the U. P. Legislative Council have issued the following statement on the 18th inst. —

"We are in fundamental disagreement with the resolution of independence passed by the Indian National Congress. We are strongly of opinion that the resolution is dangerous. Our community will take no part in any action by the Congress to effectuate its demands. We have no objection to taking part in any conference that may be summoned for the settlement of the communal problem in response to the appeal of the Indian National Liberal Federation, provided the members chosen for such a conference represent our views and sentiments, and the resolution passed by the All-Parties Muslim Conference held in Delhi on January 1st 1929 is prominently kept in view by the parties that participate in such a conference."

The signatories to the statement include Dr. Shaafat Ahmad Khan and several prominent Muslim councillors.

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