

The Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

India in the Commons.

THE recent debate in the House of Commons on India was disfigured by much groundless criticism of the Labour Government. This is because some Conservative Members of Parliament have persuaded themselves that the Indian situation is getting more and more hopeless every day. As everybody in touch with Indian conditions knows, this is quite contrary to facts. Since the Gandhi-Irwin agreement of March last the situation, far from worsening, has become much easier with the result that when the Round Table Conference meets early in September next it will do so in a more hopeful atmosphere than did its predecessor last year. The acts of personal violence by hot-headed youths against Government servants, which have taken place during the last few days ought not, as was done in the course of the debate, to be attributed to the civil disobedience movement initiated by Mahatma Gandhi who stands above everything else for strict non-violence. To do so is to give proof of a complete want of mental balance. And yet suggestions were seriously made in the course of the debate for his prosecution on account of such acts rather than inviting him to London as an honoured guest of the Government. We are glad there is no chance of the Labour Government listening to such counsel of despair. The Lancashire representatives again asked the Labour Government to do something which will enable it to sell its goods in India as before. It is a matter for surprise that they should not even yet realise that the swadeshi feeling is so strong in India, that no official action can induce Indians to go in for Manchester goods or for that matter any foreign goods. While everybody will sympathise with Lancashire in the hard times it is passing through, it is too much to expect India to relieve its distress at her own cost. Commander

Kenworthy, we are sure, spoke for the better mind of Britain when he emphatically repudiated all such reactionary proposals. He rendered a distinct service to this country when he voiced Indian dissatisfaction with the Commander-in-Chief's proposals for the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst, which are by no means calculated to satisfy in a liberal measure the national demand for the Indianisation of the Army. Commander Kenworthy did not at all overshoot the mark in characterising these proposals as "wholly inadequate," and we cordially endorse his appeal to the Secretary of State to do his best to improve them so as to bring them in line with Indian sentiment.

Working of Assisted Emigration scheme.

IN view of the impending revision of the Capetown agreement early next year, it is interesting to see how the scheme of assisted emigration, which was such an integral part of the agreement, worked in 1930. While in 1929 as many as 1,435 persons took advantage of the scheme for coming over to India, the number dwindled to 690 during 1930. That, in spite of the grant of free passage and a bonus of £20 for which the scheme provides, so few Indians should have come forward to avail themselves of it seems rather curious. But it clearly shows that the process of combing out the impoverished Indians in South Africa has practically reached the limit and that as pointed out by the Special Officer, the monetary inducements offered under the scheme have ceased to prove attractive. The total amount paid to the assisted returned emigrants as bonus during 1930 was nearly Rs. 1,37,000 and the savings brought by them with themselves came to about Rs. 39,000 excluding the jewellery which was estimated to be worth nearly Rs. 25,000. As a rule a large part of the bonus seems to be deposited by them with the Special Officer. Thus during 1930 a little over a lakh out of the Rs. 1,37,000 received by them as bonus was left with the Special Officer which shows the measure of confidence subsisting between the returned emigrants and the officer. His experience is that people with family responsibilities are more prudent than those having no such ties. The general tendency among returned emigrants of the former variety is to settle on land as agricultural labourers, the proportion of such people to the total repatriates being 70 per cent. The duties of the Special Officer include the proper investment of the savings of the returned emigrants till they are required for purchase of land and helping them in its purchase or in the purchase of house property by making sure that the title of the property proposed to be bought is clear and free from any flaws. The Officer also loses no opportunity of getting Government land assigned to them free of cost. The Officer cannot unfortunately give an equally good account of the returned emigrants who are single. In most cases they are found to be improvident and approach him for employment only after squandering the

bonus and such savings as they had brought with them. As everybody knows, the finding of jobs is a very difficult matter in these days of trade depression. But even where the Officer succeeded in securing berths for them, they sometimes found themselves unable to serve on the normal Indian wage which they regarded as too low while some did not even conduct themselves properly and had to be dismissed by their employers. There is however no gainsaying the fact that those among this category who were really keen to work and get settled in India did derive considerable help from the activities of this Special Officer.

Working of Criminal Tribes Settlements.

THE latest administration report on the working of criminal tribes settlements in this Presidency is a record of the beneficent activities carried on under Government auspices for the reform of what are generally known as criminal tribes. The Presidency can now boast of sixteen settlements for them which during the year 1930-31 had a total population of 8,842, while the "free colonies", i. e. areas adjacent to the settlements where the erstwhile inmates of these settlements having a good record can build houses for themselves and live in a freer atmosphere, numbered fourteen and catered for very nearly 5,000 souls. One is naturally glad to learn from the report that the work of reformation undertaken by this Department is bearing fruit so that fights and drunkenness are now less frequent in these settlements than was the case a few years ago. The fact that the numbers sent to free colonies is steadily increasing—from 3,261 in 1928 it went up to nearly 5,000 in 1931—also goes to support the above statement. Nobody can doubt that education is in a great measure responsible for the progress visible in this direction and we are naturally interested in the steps taken in the settlements to ensure its spread among the criminal classes. Though compulsory education is not making much headway in the Presidency as a whole, we are glad to be told that it is a reality in the settlements and in the attached free colonies. Attendance is compulsory both for boys and girls up to the age of 13 and in the case of half-timers in industrial concerns up to the age of 15. Further, attendance at night schools is compulsorily enforced in the case of boys up to the age of 18. Thus we find that out of a total child population in both the settlements and the colonies of 6,259, nearly 3,200 or a little in excess of 50 per cent. was in receipt of some kind of instruction either in the day or night school, or in some special institutions. While this is satisfactory so far as it goes, the authorities responsible for this nation-building work ought to concentrate their efforts on bringing the balance of the school-age population under instruction as early as possible. The finding of employment for members of these settlements and colonies is an important branch of the Criminal Tribes Settlement Officer's activities. With economic depression prevailing all round it is only to be expected that he should experience some difficulty in making himself useful to people in his charge in this direction. In view however of the national value of his work it is to be hoped that employers of labour will heartily co-operate with him and his staff.

"Indian Christians Under Swaraj."

THE National Liberal Federation of India which met last week at Bombay recommended the substitution of separate electorates by joint ones with reservation of seats for minorities. An Indian Christian who took part in the debate on the subject put in an earnest plea for the abandonment of separate electorates. The following remarks by the *Indian Christian Messenger*, which is the accredited organ of

the U. P. Indian Christian Association, in its article on the position of Indian Christians under Swaraj, conclusively prove that in taking the line he did the gentleman was speaking for a very large section of Indian Christians:—

We should under no circumstances whatsoever, make any parley with advocates of communal electorates. Even if the whole country should agree to it as a temporary makeshift, we shall yet keep our flag flying in condemnation of such a pernicious system. In case it is accepted, in spite of our opposition, we shall be given by others our little share, but We shall in no sense be wresting it. We unequivocally stand for joint electorates with reservations, living in hopes of the time when undiluted nationalism will even abolish reservations and no respect will be paid to communities bearing religious labels. It is pitiable that, in matters political, religious labels should be given any consideration at all. Religion is supremely a heart experience, and should be the most treasured possession of all, but it should not receive any consideration from the point of view of political privileges. If we stand for this ideal without any reservation, we shall make an unique contribution to India's political thought. If we fling communal privileges to the winds with reckless abandon, others will arise to defend our rights. If there be a God in and over this world who sides with righteousness, He will guard our interests. Let us lose ourselves, and we shall in due time find ourselves. Those who because of serious difficulties in working joint electorates advocate reverting to communal electorates are doing a rank disservice to the community. They are suggesting a compromise for which we have no sympathy whatever. If we are not able to solve difficulties in working joint electorates, it is no fault of ours. We are no shrewd politicians. Surely there can be found some experts who, if looked up somewhere for some days, can devise some way by which these difficulties can be surmounted. But of communal electorates we shall have none; they are a bane and an unmixed evil, building hedges, engendering suspicion and distrust, leading to perpetual strife and recurrence of bloodshed. Hands off, we say, from this awful menace.

Factories in the Punjab.

IT appears from the Punjab Government's review of the Factories Departmental administration report for 1930 that 34 new factories came into being during the year, while seven were removed from the factories register, so that the total number rose from 613 to 640. But it would be wrong to suppose that all the registered factories were working. The number of working factories was 526 against 521 for the preceding year, while the number of factories that remained closed rose from 92 to 114—an unmistakable sign of the prevailing trade depression. Contrary to general expectations, the increased number of factories was not accompanied by corresponding increase in the number of operatives; on the contrary this suffered a slight diminution, having gone down from 49,875 to 49,549. This is accounted for by the fact that labour-saving contrivances were introduced in the N. W. Railway workshops and by the reduction of the number of employees in some factories. In spite of the increase in the number of factories, welfare work for labour did not make any progress. This is not surprising, for the starting of such work is at present entirely left to the sweet will of employers of labour and is not enjoined on them by law. Unless some definite obligations in this respect are statutorily thrown on the owners of factories, it is useless to look forward to any considerable increase in this kind of beneficent activity on the part of factory-owners. We are glad to find from the review that this view has commended itself to the Punjab Government. It is to be hoped that they will take early action to translate it into action.

REVOLT AGAINST DEFEATISM.

THE Liberal Federation which held its sittings in Bombay last week afforded an opportunity for giving voice to the keen dissatisfaction felt in Liberal ranks at the decisions of the Round Table Conference of last year and particularly at the unfortunate attitude, almost bordering on a spirit of defeatism, of some of the leaders of the party on that occasion. Mr. Chintamani's presidential address gave a vigorous expression to this feeling, and the resolutions passed by the Federation gave a restrained expression to it. Whatever view may be held of Mr. Chintamani's criticisms of the R.T.C., no one can deny that it hit off admirably the temper of the party as a whole, and particularly its younger elements, such as there are in it. The resolutions adopted were not equally satisfactory to these elements, but they evidently took them to be a sharp protest against the party's proneness to compromise whereby it forfeits the confidence of its few followers and the respect of its numerous opponents. At many a stage in the proceedings of the Federation the leaders, alarmed by the expression of opinion of the junior members, were moved to exclaim, "If you press this view, the Princes or the Mahomedans or some other party may go out of the federation, and the whole structure of constitutional reform which we have helped to build would come down with a crash." Few there were in the Federation who believed that such a catastrophe was imminent, but whether the Princes or the others would or would not go out of the federation, it was clear to the observant minds that if the Liberal leaders persisted in their present policy, the younger elements would either formally go out of the Liberal Federation or at any rate would be spiritually so far alienated from it as to take little interest in its future.

The resolutions themselves make a halting advance on the position taken up by the Liberal leaders at the first R.T.C. The one relating to the representation of the States in the federal legislature will be a good illustration of this. In the Federal Structure Sub-Committee no Liberal member dared suggest election. In the plenary session a member or two raised their voice in its favour, but to little effect. The Council of the Federation which met in April last showed by its resolution that it was not altogether happy at the impending nomination of the States' representatives, and adopted a resolution which indicated in a somewhat oblique manner that it would be better pleased if election were agreed to. Now the Federation itself has gone a step farther, but just a short step farther, by definitely asking for election. First of all it restricts itself to the lower chamber. Apparently it would allow nomination without demur in the upper chamber. Even in the lower chamber it would not insist upon all the States' representatives

being elected. It would be satisfied if a portion of such representation is elective. It does not specify how long the nominated representatives are to be tolerated, or what proportion of them. Only it insists that after a period (not mentioned by the Federation but to be mentioned in the constitution) the method of election of all the States' representatives should correspond with the method of election in British India.

This resolution is obviously defective in many ways, but its chief significance lies in the fact that it implies severe condemnation of the attitude of those who would admit the States into the federation on any terms. It will in the first place be no longer possible for the Liberal delegates either in Committee or in Conference to make brave speeches denouncing all financial and economic safeguards and to keep discreetly mum on the question of the States' representation. They will have to say, however bated be their breath in doing so, that no federation is possible if all the representatives of the States are, even in the beginning, to be nominated. And if these members are true not merely to the letter but to the spirit of the resolution they will have to insist further, in the first place, that only a small proportion of the States' representatives may be nominated for a very brief term of years, and, in the second place, that the election even during the period of transition shall be genuine election. It will be open to the States in the transitional period, according to the resolution, to have indirect instead of direct election, and to make their legislative councils the electorates for the election of their representatives. In States where the councils consist of an official majority or even a nominated majority, it is obvious that the election in such States will be a farce. The Liberal delegates cannot allow this kind of election without violating the Federation's instructions in spirit. Nor can they allow the nominated representatives to be official. If after a short period election on a wide franchise is to be the rule, and the Liberal Federation's resolution prescribes it, then surely the nominated members must at any rate be non-official where nomination is thought to be unavoidable. So much is certainly implied in the Federation's resolution. It is equally incumbent upon them to have specified in the constitution the duration of the interval when the States may adopt a different method of election to that obtaining in British India and to make the interval reasonably short. The resolution is thus a compromise resolution, but is to be welcomed because it carries with it an unreserved condemnation of the spirit of defeatism which has overtaken some of its leaders.

LABOUR IN INDIA.

RESULTS OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION'S ENQUIRY.

III

THE EMPLOYMENT OF THE FACTORY WORKER.

THE methods of employment of labour constitute an important part of the organisation of an industry and vitally affect the conditions of labour. Compared with the methods of employment in industrially advanced countries the methods which are prevalent in this country are out of date and reflect the backwardness of the employers. This has been realised by the Whitley Commission and several useful suggestions have been made in that behalf in the Commission's Report. There was a time when the shortage of labour was experienced by organised industry in India. However it is no longer the fact. Some industries, such as tea-planting, particularly in Assam, are still in constant need of more workers, and others such as coal-mining experience a distinct shortage at certain seasons; but perennial factories have now reached a position in which most of them have sufficient labour at all seasons and there is a surplus of factory labour at several centres, with the result that there is a competition for jobs among the workers. It has been so during the last five or six years. The causes for the over-supply of labour are partly economic and partly the change is due to the fact that the factory has been made less intolerable during the last decade. When there was scarcity of labour and special efforts had to be made for recruiting labour, the jobber or Mukadam naturally enjoyed special powers and privileges such as are not allowed to an ordinary foreman whose powers do not go beyond supervising the work of the persons under him. Now, as observed by the Commission in their Report, the great majority of the managers of perennial factories need go no further than their own gate to obtain the workers they require. Still the duty of giving employment is largely left to intermediaries and especially to jobbers and direct responsibility for the engagement of his own workers is not yet assumed by the employer. The jobber is known by different names in different parts of India and 'is almost ubiquitous in the Indian factory system and usually combines in one person a formidable series of functions.' There are women overseers in departments staffed by women, these being known as *naikins* in the Bombay textiles mills. The jobber or the *naikin* is not only instrumental in engaging workers, but he or she is a constant intermediary between the employer and the employee. Changes are notified and information is given by the employer to the workers through the jobber from whom also the employer derives his information about the workers. The worker has to depend upon his jobber or *naikin* for his or her promotion or transfer and for the security of his job. The jobber also possesses the power to dismiss a worker and although in some factories and mills the dismissal order is signed by the manager or the head of the department it is mere endorsement and the recommendation made by the jobber is rarely disregarded and the worker given a fair hearing before the final order

is passed. "We were satisfied," state the Commissioners in their Report, "that it is a fairly general practice for the jobber to profit financially by the exercise of this power. The evil varies in intensity from industry to industry and from centre to centre. It is usual for a fee to be exacted as the price of engagement or of re-employment after a period of absence. In many cases a smaller regular payment has also to be made out of each month's wages. In other cases the workers have to supply the jobber with drinks or other periodical offerings in kind. The jobber himself has at times to subsidise the head jobber; and it is said that even members of the supervising staff sometimes receive a share of the bribe." The last sentence is very significant. Much of the discontent among the workers and the insecurity of employment felt by them which is responsible for much of the indifference on their part, are due to the injustice and exploitation which the workers have to suffer at the hands of the jobbers. The present influence and power exercised by the jobber spoil the *morale* of the workers. But so long as the higher officials are interested in the present arrangements it is not possible to dislodge the jobber from his privileged position. Recently the corrupt practices of the jobbers have increased owing to the widespread unemployment among the workers.

The Commission has advocated for all factories the exclusion of the jobber from the engagement and dismissal of labour. This, in the Commission's opinion, can be best achieved by the employment of a labour officer wherever the scale of the factory permits it. This officer is to be subordinate to no one except the manager of the factory. No employee should be engaged, the Commission recommends, except by the labour officer personally in consultation with departmental heads and none should be dismissed without his consent, except by the manager himself, after hearing what the labour officer has to say. This officer can also be entrusted with some other duties connected with the welfare of labour. This proposal is, no doubt, worth considering and, if carried out in the spirit in which it is made, should prove of considerable help in checking the corruption at present rampant in mills and factories. The question is, however, whether persons of the right type will be selected as labour officers. And even if a right person is chosen for the post, it is a matter of doubt whether the vested interests created by the present system will allow the labour officer to work in peace. Very few managers will be found who are prepared to displease their subordinates in the cause of justice. The official hierarchy also can easily prejudice the mind of the manager against the labour officer. It is, therefore, quite plain that the mere appointment of such an officer will not be enough.

A similar recommendation has been made by the Commission with regard to the supervision of women workers. It recommends that where women are engaged in substantial numbers, there should invariably be employed at least one educated woman in charge of their welfare and supervision throughout the factory. She should be responsible to the labour

officer where there is one, and to the manager where there is not, for the engagement and dismissal of all the female staff, whether permanent or temporary. If *naikins* are to be employed they should be under her immediate control. This arrangement can work satisfactorily where the *naikin* is not a special favourite and where the spoils are not shared by the officers along with her.

The recommendation that the workers should be encouraged to apply for definite periods of leave and should go with a promise that on their return at the proper time they will be able to resume their old work, is also in the right direction and such as would cost nothing to the employers. At present when a worker has to go on a long leave he is given a discharge pass and the prospects of re-engagement after return are always doubtful. Even when a worker goes on leave the leave is asked for and granted orally only, which system gives rise to complaints on both sides. If, as suggested by the Commission in addition, an allowance be given to the worker who goes on leave after approved service, he will be less inclined to overstay the period of his leave and this system will increase efficiency as well as foster discipline, with the result that the factories will be able to attract a settled labour force just as the Government factories do.

The relief of unemployment is a question of very great importance. The Commission has expressed the opinion that any national scheme of insurance is not feasible at present in India, but there is no satisfactory reason why an experiment in selected areas and selected industries should not be tried, although the fact that a purely industrial population forms but a small proportion of labour cannot be denied. The suggestion made by the Commission for applying the principle of famine relief to industrial unemployment is worthy of serious consideration by the State. As remarked by the Commission, the cost of test works should be small and, at times like the present, these would show whether there was acute need for more extensive measures. In the present writer's opinion, it could be advisable to have an insurance scheme for temporary unemployment and a scheme of relief works for permanent unemployment, i. e., for the workers in excess of the number in demand for employment in perennial factories. An early beginning in this direction is an urgent necessity.

P. G. KANEKAR.

Our Paris Letter.

MR. SASTRI IN PARIS.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

PARIS, JULY 10.

THE Rt. Hon. V. S. S. Sastri delivered a lecture here last Monday on "India Today" at the Nouvelle Ecole de la Paix under the auspices of the Europe Nouvelle. Monsieur Albert Thomas, the Director of the International Labour Office, presided.

The president in introducing the lecturer said that if he had consented to take the chair that even-

ing it was because it gave him an opportunity to bear testimony to his interest in India and because he felt that public opinion in France should be better instructed about the Indian problem. There was a powerful movement in India and yet there was no more than a vague and remote understanding of its significance in France. Romantic and sketchy souvenirs and an all too simple estimate of the problem as the titles of some of the books on the subject in French signified—"India with the British," "India without the British," "India against the British"—characterised the attitude of France towards India, an attitude which was largely due to a lack of the understanding of the forces at work in that country. He was glad that Mr. Sastri had consented to come to Paris and he hoped that his lecture would mark the commencement of similar lectures on the Indian question in Paris. In India like elsewhere there were different schools of political opinion but no more distinguished Indians could be found to put the case of his countrymen before the French public than Mr. Sastri. His university training, his educational work, his parliamentary career and his administrative experience all alike rendered him an authoritative exponent of the aspirations of his race. In addition to all these claims he possessed even a rarer quality, that of absolutely selfless dedication to his country. It was characteristic of that feature of his character that he should have stuck to his purpose of addressing them that evening notwithstanding his weak health and his doctor's advice not to take that risk.

Mr. Sastri, after expressing his gratification at being in Paris and regret for not being able to speak in French, a language whose clarity and finesse he had always appreciated, said that the Indian problem had attained such dimensions that it was of universal interest. The Nationalist movement in India was now over forty years old and Indians had learnt the art of political agitation although it had taken them some little time to develop the instincts which seemed to be in the very blood of the European people. The Indian National Congress had worked for a long time by constitutional means by which he meant methods calculated to obtain the desired political changes through the operation of the machinery of the constituted authority of the land. Within the last decade, however, a marked change had come over Congress politics which had ceased to be constitutional, and the transformation must be associated with the name of Mahatma Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi was known as the Mahatma or the great soul and bold as the claim was it could be said that no man approached nearer Christ than he in comprehensive love for humanity or in the passion for self-sacrifice to bring the community to a higher degree of evolution. The five millions of Indian Christians had often testified to their respect for him which was very like their reverence for their own Master. His methods of conducting political agitation had transformed it, striking deep down into the life of India and moving the world. He had insisted on non-violence even in thought and speech and much more in act. He had aimed at the conversion of the oppressor by cheerfully enduring the sufferings inflicted on those who broke the law by high motives of patriotism. Everything was done on the open. His several thousand followers in common with him published their motives and pleaded guilty. Such a method was above the common reach of man. It could not be practised by everybody and degenerated when stimulated without fundamental conviction. Soul force was the only arm in India against the force and majesty of the greatest political power in the world. The majority of Indian politicians adventured for the first, and it was to be hoped not for the last time, to seek reforms with such methods. Thou-

sands and thousands of young men were engaged in the fight and it was no wonder that mistakes which broke the heart of Mahatma Gandhi had happened. But his own command had never wavered. There was reason for pride in such achievement and such wonderful mastery over individuals.

But Indian affairs became a subject of great interest in another way. Owing to the fact that when Mahatma Gandhi disobeyed the law and conducted his campaign on the other side there was a man of singular purity and greatness of character brought up in orthodox Christian surroundings. This was the ex-Viceroy of India, Lord Irwin, who had now returned to his people among whom there were many who were sceptical of his policy. For this reason the damage to India's welfare was minimised and catastrophes were avoided. It was felt that some light would come out of the meeting of these two great souls and it was a marvel today that that meeting took place. On the one side was a great mystic disbelieving like all philosophical anarchists in the government of man by man and on the other side was Lord Irwin as the representative of the greatest political power in the world, an Empire second to none in its power and majesty or in the scope for political development within it.

There were those in India who did not agree with Mahatma Gandhi in his methods but they were nevertheless in complete accord with him in the demand for India's liberation. Bent on facts more than on forms they were all united in wanting to save the soul of India. With Britain if possible, and without her if necessary, but liberation at all costs, such was the cry in India today. Nothing else would content Indians of all shades of opinion. Mr. Sastri and those of his way of thinking who believed that it was a danger to teach disobedience to youth and who could not be convinced that peace could come from war even when the latter was waged with the methods of non-violence stuck to legality. They did not minimise the difficulties in the way of the attainment of their goal. They were alive to the importance of the question of minorities, of the Army, of the Princes and of British commercial interests in India. They hoped that through the methods of the Round Table Conference, God willing, they would be able to transcend these difficulties.

It might however be asked whether India was fit for self-government, for deep down in the consciousness of the European peoples there seemed to exist a feeling that the democratic institutions of the west were not fitted for transplantation in the soil of Eastern autocracies. He would make a two-fold answer to this doubt and suspicion. His first argument applied particularly to India and seemed to him conclusive. Great Britain stood pledged to the establishment of democratic institutions in India and the conferment of Dominion Status was the declared policy of the British Government. It was possible to go back on this policy only if it was admissible to go back on the word of honour. It was true that India was a land of many millions of people at various stages of development but if it was held that not until all these millions have attained the standards of education and citizenship that prevailed in the West would the country be fit for self-government they would have to say goodbye to all hope. In that case they would have to say goodbye also to all hope of peace on this planet for Gandhi or no Gandhi millions of people in India were determined to secure their liberty and what was happening in India was also happening in other Eastern lands. Such a criterion was unjustified and absurd because there was no instance in history of a people obtaining freedom after having demonstrated to the satisfaction of the rest of the world that it was fit to be free. That was

not how France or England or Australia or Ireland moved in the way of democracy. Such an absurd position arose out of selfishness and the love of power which could not be persuaded to yield the grasp even in the interests of humanity. If progress was what was desired it could be brought about only by an indigenous government intent on extending favours to the people and not by a bureaucracy, however efficient it might be in the matter of collecting revenue. Moreover Indians had been fed on English literature and they had been nourished by English ideas of democracy. They had tasted of the sweets of liberty and now no one could withhold from them a full measure of these goods of life. It was under the British that they had learned the lessons of citizenship and gained a vision of political unity of which they had had only halting glimpses before during the reigns of Asoka and Akbar. They would admit all these freely and even gratefully. But they were apt pupils and had learnt their lessons well. They had now grown into adolescence and claimed equality with their trustees. They were grown-up wards who wanted to relieve the trustees of their burden, and now let not their trustees ask for payment or pecuniary rewards or for territorial reservations. They had come of age and they appealed to reason and justice for their legitimate portion. The League of Nations had not yet come to its own and so they could not appeal to it for the fulfilment of their rights. They were grateful for the trusteeship but they could not accede to any prolongation of it. At the Round Table Conference they could accept no other safeguards or reservations on their power except those meant in the interests of India.

The British, however, had a habit of underestimating not only the capacity of Indians for democratic self-government, but they criticised all other democracies. They did not consider that any Continental Power had made a success of democracy as they had done.

As to the general argument that the Eastern peoples were unfit for democracy, Mr. Sastri proceeded to say that such a contention was absurd after the establishment of the League of Nations and the coming together of the different nations through the development of the facilities of communication. Proud claims were made in the name of Western civilisation, but there were great differences within the fold of that civilisation itself. The greatest difference between man and man did not arise out of the distinction between East and West which was insignificant in comparison with the differences arising out of religious outlook. Beside practises underlying the religious and philosophical outlook of a people the importance of political institutions sank into insignificance and yet there was no belief whatever in the West that Western religion and philosophy could not be extended to the East. Vast amounts of men and material were expended by the Western peoples in the hope and belief of converting Eastern lands to their methods of salvation even when these latter had their own traditional means of saving their souls and yet where politics were in question it was supposed that democracy was a monopoly of the West. That position was obviously absurd. It might well be that the democratic institutions of the West would have to be adapted to the peculiar needs of the East when transported from the place of their origin but the Eastern peoples were quite capable of effecting necessary changes for themselves. Even in the West these institutions and traditions were not so sacrosanct that they were unaffected by change. It was not impossible that the peoples of the East would give a new turn to democracy which at some not too distant date the West would not be unwilling to imitate

and if that time should ever come Mr. Sastri hoped that his people at any rate would not be so selfish or ungenerous as to consider their political forms an exclusively racial monopoly.

Monsieur Albert Thomas in his closing remarks referred to the emotion with which all his audience listened to Mr. Sastri's narration of the great drama in India between two such men as Lord Irwin and Mahatma Gandhi. That moving story had a significance for all colonial Powers and he would remind his countrymen of the French proverb "When it rains in my neighbour's house there is risk of getting my feet wet". The idea of trusteeship was a powerful conception but it had its inevitable conclusions. Mr. Sastri's exposition of the problem had convinced them, if they lacked such conviction, that the problems of India was far more complicated than what they were apt to take it to be. It was now being worked out by both the countries concerned and for his part he had great admiration for the way in which Great Britain was dealing with that problem. The problem of nationality was one of the most moving problems and it had to be looked at with understanding for all the sides engaged in it. It would not do to regard it with sentimentality and partiality for one side or another. But the considerations which Mr. Sastri had put forward transcended that plea. He had pleaded for the religion of democracy. At the very time when some of them were doubting of democracy, at the very time when it was supposed that faith in democracy was waning in Western lands, over there in the East its star was rising and in China and India there was all the agitation of a great democratic transformation of society. The most significant thing about internationalism was the effort on the part of the men of all religions to enhance human personality through democratic means. It was not necessary to take part in the controversial politics of India to salute the Indian masses and the democracy, civilisation and peace which were being advanced by their effort.

Madame Louise Morin, to whose interest in India and initiative this meeting was due, gave a brief resume of Mr. Sastri's lecture in French.

Reviews.

HISTORY OF BOLSHEVIK DICTATORSHIP.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. BY JAMES MAVOR. (Allen & Unwin.) 1928. 25cm. 470p. 21/-

THIS book is a very instructive and interesting work on the Russian Revolution. It traces the stages by which the Bolshevik dictatorship came to be established in Russia and gives a detailed account of the work that has been accomplished under the new regime.

In the first part, the author describes the conditions obtaining in Russia before the war and gives an account of the various steps by which the country was prepared for the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of a Republic. The country under the Czars was in a very unstable and deplorable condition in respect of her agrarian problem and there was similar uncertainty in the industrial sphere too. The Government did not have support of any section of the population, and all the people were equally disaffected and discontented, so that by the time the War broke out the working classes in the country were seething with revolutionary ideas. The War found the Russian Imperial organization unequal to the situation, because there was a deficiency in the supply of munitions. The

year 1916 was the most critical year for the Russian State as during that year the Russians suffered severe reverses at the hands of the Germans, —reverses which were attributed to the incompetency and autocracy of the Czar, who failed to keep the military situation in hand. The Revolution commenced in March 1917 when there was a riot in Petrograd owing to the scarcity of bread. The author traces in a detailed way the various stages through which the Revolution passed till the collusion of the Duma with the Revolutionary Party and the establishment of a Provisional Government following the abdication by the Czar.

Book II traces the conflict between the dual authorities of the Provisional Government and the Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldier's Deputies. The author points out how the Provisional Government being of a bourgeois complexion was not implicitly trusted by the other parties and how, being destitute of political experience, it had to carry on its work in obedience to the militant council of the Workmen's and Soldier's Deputies. The Revolution then spread to the peasants who gave up their work and joined the ranks of the army leading to a general disorganization and disintegration of industry and trade. In 1917 in the month of May, an all-Russia Congress of peasants was held which demanded the nationalization of all land. A coalition Government was formed consisting of the representatives of the peasants and of the Soviets of the Socialist Revolutionary party; but the peasants were in an ugly mood and were bent upon bloody revolution.

Part III deals with the stages by which the demoralization of the people became complete and the Russian Empire crumbled down. It traces the movement towards complete assumption of all control by the Soviets. The explosion came finally on November, 8, 1917 when the Provisional Government was overthrown and full responsibility was assumed by the Bolsheviki. The constitution of a Constituent Assembly to draw up a constitution was insisted upon; but the Bolsheviki who had by this time become very powerful, actively scouted the idea as they feared that it might lead to the resurgence of the bourgeois elements.

In part IV the author discusses the Social Revolution in Russia and its problems and describes how the Bolsheviki organized their system by effecting the nationalization of the important industries, how labour was made obligatory on one and all and how the Co-operative movement was utilized to achieve good results though at first it was not taken advantage of.

Part V deals with the economic crisis, collapse of Communism and the New Economic Policy of the Soviet Government. In his last chapter in this part embodying his conclusions on the Russian situation, Mr. Mavor makes the following general observations:— (1) In the Russian people, the historical past has produced a society peculiarly favourable to the growth of ideas adverse to social order. (2) The peasants were impervious to outside influences and impatient of control. (3) The middle classes in Russia were not either strong or properly organized. The author thinks that these causes led to the revolution; but he says at the same time that the Bolshevik scheme of things has collapsed because it was not based upon a system. The Bolshevik ideal was the very antithesis of progress—a finding at variance with that of other writers. Anyway, the book is a highly instructive one crammed with facts and figures and deserves to be read by all students of Russian history.

C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO.

"GOD OF THE GODLESS".

LENIN. GOD OF THE GODLESS. By FERDINAND OSSENDOWSKI (Constable & Co. London.) 1931. 20cm. 409 p. 7/6.

SO many books have already been written on Lenin that it seems at first sight there is not much left to say about him. The writer of this book, who originally gave him the name of the "God of Godless", has here tried to give his life in the form of fiction. This novel treatment has certainly rendered the book interesting and absorbing. In Lenin we are coming to know an absolutely new type of historical greatness. We have to change our notions about the former great men and personalities to understand him and to get a right perspective of his achievements. Herein is described Lenin as an individual and his work culminating in the establishment of the Bolshevik State. It is rather difficult to separate the two. Bolshevism is the work of Lenin alone. It can be fully understood only through him as it was possible only because of him. The idea of Bolshevism cannot exist without the idea of Lenin just as Napoleon cannot be separated from his work. This union between the work and its master is indelibly impressed in every action and every word of Lenin and in the history of Bolshevism. How a small band of men wrought such a momentous change in a huge country like Russia can be understood only through the personality and work of Lenin. Leninism signifies Bolshevism in Russia. Therefore any further light thrown on the life and work of this man is welcome.

We read, how in his boyhood, Lenin saw cruelty and barbarity practised on the peasants and the callousness all round him. The heartrending fates of Nastya and Darya must have influenced the receptive mind of this sensitive boy. He was brought up in the dark days of Alexander IV whose heavy hand had reduced the whole country to a State of slavery with its consequent deterioration in every walk of life. The mind of this young boy rendered restless by what he saw round him found comfort in introspection and in analysing the causes of the situation. He was so much impressed with human misery that he became serious, austere, and a searcher of truth. With this frame of mind, he could naturally make no friends. In his loneliness, he found solace in the writings of Karl Marx who was eventually to become his political *guru*. This child of environment even then sensed revolution in the air. He saw that the peasantry was divided among itself. A vast gulf existed between the poor and the rich, between the peasantry and the intelligentsia and between the village and the town. In an attempt to understand the real causes of this state of affairs, he tried to subordinate the heart to the brain, as the truth lay in the latter and not the former. He had no illusions nor any hopes. His brother was just then hanged for being a member of a political party. He now formed the idea, for which he lived and died, of changing the whole system of society and Government in Russia. Nothing short of that would mend matters. No other remedy was possible. Every institution in the country must be uprooted to make room for his utopia. After his expulsion from the university of Khazan, he became a Marxian theorist, though later he hated all kinds of theories and formal doctrines. When he became a man of action these theories served him only as far as they supplied the basis of his work. He refused to become a violent revolutionary as he thought the time was not ripe for it. He chalked out a plan for the execution of his "idea" and the rest of his life was devoted to this single purpose. He found a fertile ground for his teachings among the unemployed workers and the

landless people, who were not averse to any change in society and Government. Peasants could not be trusted as they are conservative by nature and too much attached to the soil. He adopted every means to achieve his end. He never had any scruples on that score as long as they served his purpose. The niceties of morality did not bother him. We learn that he employed even a woman of the streets called Grusha to distribute his pamphlets among the workers. Later he duped the police and took their money as well as the help of a coiner, a forger of bank-notes in his work. He worked single-handed and conducted his propaganda by means of yellow booklets and a number of papers. He was hunted by the police all over Europe, but baffled all their attempts to corner him. He got hold of every one who possessed enough of hate and turned him into a revolutionary. He even married for the cause. "They were united by their faithfulness to an idea which they valued more than life itself. Their only possibility of failure was the failure of the idea." Wherever he went, whatever he did his one idea never left him for a moment. All his actions were directed to that one end. All his thoughts were absorbed in that one notion. The idea and Lenin became one as later on Bolshevism and Lenin became one. He had an immense faith in his own leadership. He realised that among the dumb millions of Russia he was the only one capable of leading them and achieving something tangible. He alone had the power, the will and the experience for building up the new edifice. He thought it was impossible for him to die before he had accomplished his work, as "that would be an aimless waste."

In this book we are clearly told that Lenin did not want parliamentary government or even a republic as these, in his opinion, were bound to be dominated by the *bourgeoisie* class, whose inveterate and born enemy he was. Nor did he want peasants to assume power as they are not progressive by nature. He was a disciple of militant Marxism and so wanted a purely Communist Government and State. So not only had he to do away with the monarchy but its chief prop, the *bourgeoisie* class as a whole. He said, "Without the initiative and the guidance of the proletariat, the peasantry is but a cipher in my revolution." His proletarians must manage the new show. The author deserves credit for clearing this issue, as it has been confused by many other writers on the subject.

Lenin knew every impulse of the Russian soul. This is the real secret of his success. It is the possession of this knowledge which allowed him to make such an effective use of his pen rather than his bullets.

Some harrowing details of diabolically cruel and fiendishly inhuman happenings of the revolution have been given in this book. One fails to understand why they have been narrated in such minute detail. Savagery, brutality and bestiality are not the monopolies of Russians alone. Turn a few pages of the history of any revolution and conquest to find parallel cases. Revolutions are necessarily reactions. Vengeance and vandalism of the lowest type are never absent from such upheavals. The author narrates them, as if they were deliberately planned. Nothing is however further from the truth. Lenin himself is said to have writhed in agony when he saw and heard of these atrocities. The only woman (Helen) he ever cared for fell a victim to this system. He would certainly have avoided it, if it were possible. We should hesitate before we blame him for these gruesome incidents.

On the whole, the book presents the life of Lenin in an interesting manner and brings a number of new ideas and facts connected with the subject to light.

For a serious student of history it has a doubtful value, since it is more of fiction than anything else. It is certainly based in parts on historical information but a great deal has also been added from imagination. The reader will understand something of the ideas and work of Lenin from a perusal of this book which the author has done his best to make interesting.

M. S. CHEEMA.

INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL SUPREMACY.

THE FIGHT FOR FINANCIAL SUPREMACY.

BY PAUL EINZIG. (Macmillan.) 1931. 22cm. 144p. 7/6.

IN this highly interesting and very readable book Dr. Einzig examines the relative abilities of the American, British and French financial centres to become the financial centre of the world. He traces with great ability the fight that has been going on during the last few years to win in the race and puts in a plea for co-operation of the important financial centres. Dr. Einzig has a warm corner for the financial organization of England and has great appreciation for the technical organisation of the London group and comes to the deliberate conclusion that London will emerge victorious in the struggle for international supremacy.

In his examination of the financial rivalry between London and New York Dr. Einzig opines that New York can never rise to permanent supremacy as her interests in international affairs will always remain of an essentially spasmodic nature. "The speculative interest the public takes in American shares" says he, "makes it difficult to get them permanently interested in foreign securities".

In his chapter on Paris vs. London Dr. Einzig explains why France felt it necessary to push ahead as an aggressive agent in the race for financial supremacy. He comes to the conclusion that while in the case of New York collaboration with London was the rule and competition the exception, in the case of France, rivalry was the rule and collaboration the exception. Dr. Einzig also explains how in a way the flow of gold to France was largely responsible for the decline of the world price level in 1929 and 1930 and was thus a contributory cause of the world-wide trade depression.

Dr. Einzig has some interesting things to say about the Bank for International Settlement. "There are," he says, "signs which seem to indicate that the French idea was that the new institution should become the means to the furtherance of France's financial supremacy in Europe as an intermediate stage to world supremacy." He believes that the Bank for International Settlement ought to have been located in London and that England did not put up as strong a fight for it as it must have. Dr. Paul Einzig is strongly of the view that the French have played a masterly game in manoeuvring many matters connected with the establishment of the Bank for International Settlement.

In his concluding chapter the author examines the importance of England in the financial world. "It would be anything but wise," says he, "to sacrifice these economic and political advantages for the sake of the doubtful benefits that can be derived from the adoption of an inverted Munroe doctrine as the basis of Great Britain's European policy." Dr. Einzig holds a warning hand to France about her uncompromising attitude in matters of international finance and advocates honest co-operation among the important financial centres. If all the three—British, American, French—were to adopt the attitude which characteris-

ed the French financial houses, namely, to refuse to participate unless they led the syndicate, there could obviously be no co-operation at all. If the three centres are to work together each must be prepared from time to time to play a secondary part in international syndicates. Such co-operation becomes absolutely indispensable in the interests of the stability not only of the money market but also of the world price level.

In his preface to the second edition the author notes some signs of co-operation between Paris and London and hopes that though the fight for supremacy may yet continue it may be fought with more consideration for general interests than has been shown in the past.

The book is well written and the fact that a second edition had been called for within two months of the original edition is an indication of the usefulness of the publication.

S. V. AYYAR.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE LONG VIEW. PAPERS & ADDRESSES.

BY MARY E. RICHMOND. (Russell Sage Foundation, New York.) 1930. 24cm. 648p. \$ 3-00.

THIS is a book containing papers and lectures by Mary Richmond who was a great social worker in the cause of woman's uplift work in various parts of America. It deals with every sphere of woman's work, its troubles and trials, its successes and experiments, that Mary Richmond attempted. It is an inspiring work for a social worker to read and assimilate and one who wants to know how certain problems can be tackled. We have much pleasure in recommending it to all these who are interested in woman's uplift work.

FATHER YESUDAS, C. S. S.

STORIES OF AFRICA. Chosen BY E. C.

PARNWELL. (Oxford University Press.) 1930. 15cm. 359p. 2/-

THIS is an anthology of African folklore and other stories about Africa. Some episodes from the experience of African adventurers have also been chosen. A short glossary of obscure local words is given on p. 360.

S. A. W.

Miscellaneous.

THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION.

TEXT OF RESOLUTIONS.

The following is the text of the resolutions passed by the National Liberal Federation of India which met at Bombay last week with Mr. C. Y. Chintamani as President:—

SYMPATHY & CONDOLENCE.

THE National Liberal Federation of India places on record its sense of the loss the country has sustained by the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru, Maulana Mahomed Ali, the Maharaja of Mahmudabad, Mr. K. T. Paul and Mr. Eardley Norton, and the country, and the Liberal Party in particular, have sustained by the death of Sir Shankarrao Chitnavis, Rao Bahadur K. G. Damle and Principal B. G. Sapre, all of them patriots who rendered meritorious services in the furtherance of India's achievement of self-government; and the Federation offers its sympathy

and condolence to the families of the distinguished and lamented deceased in their great sorrow.

CONDEMNATION OF OUTRAGES.

The National Liberal Federation of India records its strong condemnation of and abhorrence at the dastardly attempt on the life of His Excellency Sir Ernest Hotson, the acting Governor of Bombay, and the assassination of Mr. Garlick, the Sessions Judge of Alipore. The Federation considers such acts highly detrimental to the best interests of the country.

LORD IRWIN.

The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of high and grateful appreciation of the distinguished services rendered to India and England by the Rt. Hon. Lord Irwin as Viceroy and Governor-General and of the services that he is continuing to render for the recognition of India's status and her claims as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth.

WELCOME TO THE NEW VICEROY.

The National Liberal Federation accords a cordial and respectful welcome to their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon and earnestly hopes that his Excellency's Viceroyalty will be signalized by the establishment of responsible government in India and by the achievement of Dominion Status.

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of appreciation of the useful preliminary work done by the last session of the Indian Round Table Conference, especially in getting the principles of a Federated India and responsibility at the Centre accepted.

(b) This Federation greatly appreciates the services rendered to India and England by the Prime Minister, the Lord High Chancellor and the Secretary of State for India, among other members of His Majesty's Government, by their assiduous labours in connection with the Conference.

(c) This Federation welcomes the Prime Minister's statement on behalf of His Majesty's Government that "responsibility for the Government of India should be placed upon legislatures, Central and Provincial," and expressions of the willingness of Ruling Princes that the Indian States and British Indian Provinces should form component parts of a Federated India. The Federation trusts that the next session of the Conference will succeed in producing a workable and satisfactory constitution for securing genuine responsible government for India as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

(b) While the Federation is gratified that the Indian National Congress will be represented at the next session of the Conference, it most earnestly appeals to His Excellency the Viceroy and His Majesty's Government to remove, instead of increasing, the inequalities of representation in the Conference by inviting to its next session an adequate number of Nationalist Musalmans, of representatives of Burma opposed to separation from India, and of Indians representing labour and the agricultural classes.

THE SCHEME OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

The National Liberal Federation of India, while cordially approving of a scheme of Indian Federation constituted of States and Provinces, is of opinion that—

(1) The Federal Executive should be made responsible to the popular Chamber of the Legislature. The Federation is in favour of preventing a vexatious use of motions of no-confidence and securing the stability of the Executive by means of reasonable provisions. It recommends in particular that procedure

similar to that applicable to motions of no confidence obtaining at present in legislatures in India and in certain other countries should be adopted in the future constitution. Members of the Federal Assembly belonging to the States excepting Ministers should have no right of speech or vote on motions of no-confidence arising out of matters affecting only British India.

(2) There should be no nomination of British Indian representatives and the States should allow their representatives to be chosen by some form of election which should after a fixed transitional period be uniform with the system obtaining in British India although in the beginning all of them may not be elected.

(3) The Provinces shall return their representatives to the Lower House by direct election.

(4) The Federation is of opinion that in the popular Chamber of the Federal Assembly, the distribution of seats should be made strictly on the basis of population.

RESIDUARY POWERS.

That exhaustive lists as far as possible of central and provincial subjects be made and the central Government be vested with power to deal with any matter affecting the whole country that may not have been anticipated and put in the central list.

GOVERNMENT OF STATES.

The National Liberal Federation, while recognising the maintenance of internal autonomy and sovereignty of States, hopes and trusts that the rulers of States will seriously consider the desirability of gradually making their administrations approximate to the system of administration in British India.

DEFENCE.

The National Liberal Federation is of opinion that Defence should be a reserved subject under the Governor-General during a transitional period, its duration should be fixed by statute, and provision should be made on the following lines regarding Defence during such period:—

1. The expenditure should be fixed for five years and revised every five years by a committee of an equal number of experts nominated by the Governor-General and of members elected by the Legislature.

2. The amount so fixed should be at the disposal of the Governor-General without a vote of the Legislative Assembly in this behalf but without prejudice to its right of discussion.

3. Any excess over that amount should be the subject of a demand for grant which will have to be voted by the Assembly.

4. The Governor-General should, in the event of hostilities on the Frontier, have the further power of declaring an emergency and appropriating supply to meet it without prior reference to the Legislature. But he should report his action to it and it should have the right of discussion.

5. A definite scheme for the Indianisation of the Defence Forces including officers and men within a specified time as far as practicable should be immediately propounded and the provision of facilities for the training of Indians for service in all arms of defence so as to complete the process within a specified period should be in charge of a Minister responsible to the Legislature.

SAFEGUARDS.

(a) The Federation is of opinion that the "Governor-General's special powers" should be confined to cases where there is a breakdown of the constitution by reason of serious disturbance of the peace likely to involve the country as a whole.

(b) The Federation is of opinion that while the "service of loans and the salaries and pensions of persons appointed on guarantees by the Secretary of State", should be secured along with the supply required for the reserved departments (subject in respect of defence in the foregoing resolution) "as Consolidated fund charges," no power with regard to finance should be vested in the Governor-General except that as regards external loans, provisions similar to those contained in other dominion constitutions may be embodied in the Indian constitution.

(c) The Federation disapproves of the "Safeguards" proposed at the Round Table Conference vesting power in the Governor-General to override the Finance Minister in the matter of Exchange and Currency, borrowing and budgetary arrangements and is of opinion that the necessary safeguards in this behalf for the transitional period may be secured by the creation, if necessary, of a Statutory Financial Council till a Reserve Bank is established.

(d) The National Liberal Federation regrets that the policy pursued by the Government of India with regard to Exchange resulting in frittering away the gold resources of the country is calculated indefinitely to postpone the establishment of a Reserve Bank.

TRADING RIGHTS.

The National Liberal Federation is unable to accept the proposal embodied in clause 14 of the Minorities Committee's Report unless it is made clear that the future Government of India will have complete freedom to take measures for promotion of basic trades and industries.

THE INDIAN DEBT QUESTION.

The National Liberal Federation, whilst unreservedly denouncing all suggestions for repudiation of India's public debt by any future Government of the country, is of opinion that, in view of the various financial obligations imposed hitherto on India, an impartial and independent tribunal be appointed to investigate and decide the nature and extent of adjustment between Great Britain and India on the eve of the transference of power from the British Parliament to responsible Indian Government.

PROVINCIAL CONSTITUTION.

The National Liberal Federation of India, while generally approving of the recommendations of the Conference Sub-Committee on Provincial Constitution, is strongly opposed to the following majority recommendations, viz:—

1. That the Governor should be endowed with special powers, legislative and financial, for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity, except that he may have emergency power to deal with a serious disturbance of peace, and,

2. That second chambers should be established in some and may be established in other provinces.

3. It is this Federation's deliberate conviction that these two recommendations, if carried into effect, will materially detract from the autonomy of provinces and should be reconsidered.

I. C. S. GOVERNORS.

The National Liberal Federation is strongly of opinion that no member of the permanent Indian Civil Service be hereafter appointed as Governor of any province.

BURMA.

The National Liberal Federation of India is of opinion that the Secretary of State for India's declaration in Parliament upon the separation of Burma from India was premature as the proceedings of the Round Table Conference show that the issue was left open for further consideration. The Federation urges that the question should be decided on the merits after

the fullest opportunity has been given to that section of opinion in Burma, which is opposing such separation, to state its case.

THE SERVICES.

The National Liberal Federation is of opinion that Indian judicial services throughout should be recruited entirely from the members of the Bar in India and that members of the Civil Service should not be eligible for the same; that provincial governments should have the same freedom in respect of the recruitment of their medical services as in respect of other services under their control, and that their control over the police in their respective provinces, both legislative and administrative, should not be less complete than over any other departments.

FRANCHISE.

The National Liberal Federation approves of the extension of the franchise for men and women alike and strongly supports the recommendations of the Franchise Sub-Committee of the R. T. Conference.

THE MINORITIES PROBLEM.

While the National Liberal Federation regrets that until now no solution of the problem of minorities acceptable to all could be reached and while it is deeply concerned that every possible attempt should be made by all the parties to arrive at an agreement generous to minorities and fair to all, this Federation is of opinion that in any arrangement, the following points should be borne in mind as being essential to its durability and acceptability and as conforming to the requirements of responsible government:—

1. Separate electorates should be done away with and they should be replaced by joint electorates with reservation of seats for minorities.

2. There should be no statutory fixation of a majority.

3. The position of all important minorities should be equitably considered in the determination of weightage.

4. There should be no statutory recognition of communal representation in the All-India or the Provincial Executive or the services, but by a convention, a fair and adequate representation should be secured to the various communities consistently with considerations of efficiency and the possession of the necessary qualifications.

5. All necessary, reasonable and practicable guarantees should be given to all communities with regard to their religion, culture, language and special laws.

THE "DEPRESSED" CLASSES.

The National Liberal Federation has the strongest sympathy with the most legitimate and laudable aspirations of the classes called "depressed" to ameliorate their condition in all the spheres of national life and heartily commends all suitable measures achieving this end.

MEETING PLACE OF THE NEXT SESSION.

Resolved that the fourteenth session of the National Liberal Federation of India be held at Calcutta on such dates as may be fixed by the Council in consultation with the Reception Committee.

MR. G. K. DEVADHAR'S TOUR IN SOUTH INDIA.

PRESENTATION OF ADDRESSES.

IN the course of his South India tour Mr. G. K. Devadhar, President, Servants of India Society accompanied by Mr. Andrews Dubey, a member of the Society, visited Tirur on the July 25. Here a

public address was presented to Mr. Devadhar most of the leading citizens being present on the occasion. The address referred to the great services rendered by the distinguished guest during the unhappy days when Malabar was devastated by the Moplah rebellion and floods and thanked him for his visit to Tirur which had recently become a centre of the welfare activities of the Devadhar Malabar Reconstruction Trust of which he was the president. The attention of Mr. Devadhar was also invited to the need of a child welfare centre. The students of the D. M. R. T. Night Higher Elementary School also presented him with an address in which they hailed him as the champion of the weak and the oppressed and requested him to bless the Elementary School teachers whose lot was the most unenviable. They also thanked the D. M. R. Trust which started a Night Higher Elementary School for them to enable them to improve their status and increase their knowledge.

Replying to the addresses, Mr. Devadhar said that he was not such a big man as to deserve the eulogistic addresses presented to him and added that they were only the manifestations of the fulness of hearts of the people of Tirur to whom he would be ever grateful. He assured them that his services and those of the workers of the D. M. R. Trust were ever at their disposal to effect the reconstruction of their place. Referring to the question of starting a Child Welfare Centre he said that if the public of Tirur were ready to contribute their mite the Trust would be in a position to open a centre and he would gladly give all facilities to impart the necessary training at the Poona-Seva Sadan to one or two lady workers that may be deputed by them. He expressed his joy to see a large number of Moplah teachers attending the Night School opened by the Trust in order to improve their status not by favours but by real merit. Through this institution the original intention of Adult Education was being fulfilled. He remembered the days he spent in Malabar during the Moplah Rebellion when the District Collector asked him to put on Malayalee dress in order to ensure the safety of his life when touring in the affected areas. Those days of communal antagonism were happily over and he believed that the teachers who go out of the D. M. R. T. Night School would be the apostles of communal harmony and rural uplift work.

AT TANUR.

At Tanur, addresses of welcome were presented to Mr. Devadhar by the students and workers of the Trust and the members of the Puthentheru and Kattilangadi Weavers' Co-operative Societies. Replying to these addresses Mr. Devadhar expressed his joy to see the work of the Trust increasing and affording relief to all communities. True education, he remarked, should enable them to work for the development of all departments of life. Agriculture, Co-operation, Public Health, Sanitation and other vital matters should receive their increased attention. They should become self-relying citizens taking an intelligent interest in the affairs of the world at large. He appealed to them to live as one family, to love all and share the joys and sorrows of each other. That was the real reconstruction for which the Trust was striving. He announced that Mr. Suryanarayana Rao had been able to secure the promise of a loan from the Government on behalf of the Weavers' Societies and reminded the members that real co-operation did not consist in looking for outside help always but in the adoption of self-help as the best help.

AT KOTTAKKAL.

At Kottakkal Mr. Devadhar delivered an address to the students of the High School in the course of which he pointed out that real education consisted not in passing examinations but in acquiring and using the knowledge acquired by them at school, to improve the condition of the country. He invited the attention of the students to the portraits of the national leaders hung on the walls and said that those leaders were adored not because they were rich but because they tried to improve the condition of their country. The best ideal in life, he said, was to serve one's own country. He appealed to them to become heroes not by wielding the sword but by using the knowledge acquired by them to serve their fellowmen.

Mr. Devadhar then proceeded to the Palace School where he was presented with a welcome address by the public of Kottakkal. Replying to the address Mr. Devadhar said, among other things, that when he heard that 30 or 35 rebellions had so far taken place in Malabar he felt that there was something wrong there and he believed that ignorance and poverty were the root cause of all these troubles. As Kanji was distributed in the relief camps during the rebellion knowledge should be imparted in the different adult education and community centres. He was glad to see that under the able guidance of Mr. Suryanarayana Rao the work of adult education was progressing. He also emphasised the need of female education and said that the spirit of the age required that all communities and classes including the so-called depressed classes should go forward hand in hand.

AT TIRURANGADI.

In the course of the address presented to Mr. Devadhar at Tirurangadi it was stated that the people of Tirurangadi appreciated the efforts that were being made by the D. M. R. Trust to improve their condition. A request was also made to open a Child Welfare Centre and a Technical School. In replying to the address Mr. Devadhar said that he was very glad to see the people of Tirurangadi rise above considerations of religion or sect. He wanted all of them to consider themselves Indians first and Hindus and find Mohammadans afterwards. He was very sorry that Moplahs were poor. With the spread of literacy most of their complaints would, he hoped, vanish and institutions like Child Welfare Centres and Technical Schools would come into existence. He requested them to start a Co-operative Society and a Village Panchayat. He had seen the beneficial effects of Panchayats in Mysore where the villagers devoted one day every week for doing public work.

Mr. Devadhar also visited Satyamangalam and opened a Rural Reconstruction centre there. Here too he received an address of welcome. The other places which had the benefit of his visit were Mangalore, Udipi, Cannanore and Feroke. At all these places besides interviewing prominent people and addressing meetings Mr. Devadhar made it a point to acquaint himself with the working of local institutions by seeing them at work.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

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