

The Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

Madras Europeans on Retrenchment.

To judge from the proceedings of the recent meeting of Madras Europeans, Indian and European opinion is at one in thinking that despite their protestations to the contrary the Government have not yet done all that was possible with a view to effecting retrenchment in public expenditure. This is necessary before calling upon the taxpayer to shoulder the burden of additional taxation. But in India fresh burdens are levied on the people even before their need is established by convincing public opinion that no more room for retrenchment exists. As the speakers at the meeting pointed out with the aid of specific instances, this stage has not yet arrived in this country. Even in these extraordinarily hard times the Government of India budget still contains a provision of as much as five lakhs of rupees for the grant of hill journey allowances to their different departments. How can anybody believe, while such items do not disappear, that all possible economies in the Government's expenditure have been effected? It was pointed out at the meeting that all the economies suggested by the Incheape Committee nearly ten years ago had not yet been carried out. It is a matter for satisfaction that European opinion, which is vitally affected by the proposed increases in import duties, now stands shoulder to shoulder with Indian opinion in insisting upon all needless expenditure being mercilessly cut down. Even in regard to military expenditure, European opinion as represented at this meeting has come to see the justice of the Indian complaint that it is needlessly heavy, and has asked for its further reduction. In this connection is it not surprising that even after the lapse of ten years Indian military expenditure has not gone down to Rs. 50 crores, where, according to the Incheape Com-

mittee's recommendations, it should have stood all these years? All which shows beyond doubt that when Government officers talk, as they are often in the habit of doing, of the limit of retrenchment being reached, they make an assertion which does not strictly correspond to facts. It is to be hoped that when the Assembly meets next month for giving further consideration to the Government's financial proposals, it will convince itself, by a close scrutiny of departmental expenditure, that it has been reduced to a minimum before giving its approval to the Finance Bill introduced in its last session.

In the interest of Discipline?

WRITING soon after the unsuccessful attempt on Sir Ernest Hotson's life at the Fergusson College last July, we ventured to warn the authorities against using the incident for harassing those in charge of the College with unreasonable demands for measures in the supposed interest of discipline among students. Many must have considered the warning uncalled-for at the time; but the information published last week in the press about the negotiations going on between the College authorities and the Director of Public Instruction shows that the warning was not quite pointless. The Director asks that the strength of the College should be restricted to 1,200, that the staff should be so increased that there will be a professor for every 40 students, that rectorial accommodation should be added to and that fees should be increased. Now we ourselves are as keen as the Director himself that the students of the College should not behave like rowdies, as they unfortunately did on the occasion of Sir Ernest Hotson's visit to the College; but we would go about the business of re-establishing discipline in the College in a totally different manner. We would trust to the good sense of the College authorities to devise suitable measures for the rehabilitation of discipline. But let that pass. We do not think it is at all necessary to restrict the number of students at the College to any particular figure, for we have in view, as must have our readers also, cases of colleges with much smaller numbers where instances of students breaking their college discipline have by no means been rare. To single out the Fergusson College for this kind of treatment while placing no restrictions on admissions to other colleges is to place it at a disadvantage. As for the tutorial system which forms part of the Director's proposals there can of course be no particular objection to urge against it. But for it to be successful it should never have the appearance of being forced upon an unwilling College by an all-powerful Director intent upon reprisals, as it is sure to have in the present case. The way the College situation is being handled by the Government is a sure way of defeating the purpose for which they want these measures to be carried out. Lastly, we strongly object to the proposed increase in fees, as being a violation of the fundamental object of the Deccan Education Society which came into being

specially in order to cheapen higher education. The College fees are already high enough. To see to enhance them at a time when the utmost sacrifices are expected of everybody in order to enable the Government to get through the present economic crisis successfully and to enhance them merely with a view to the restriction of numbers is nothing short of penalising the parents to whom the task of educating their sons and daughters is already causing an almost unbearable financial strain. We hope the Governing Body of the College will not meekly submit to the Director's dictation, but make him realise the strength of public feeling in the Deccan on the subject of the enforcement of measures which he is trying to force on the College authorities.

An Angry Nawab.

IN a special press statement the Nawab of Rampur has given the world the benefit of his views on Mahatma Gandhi's Birmingham speech. We do not know that the Nawab is very much in the habit of taking the public into his confidence in relation to questions agitating the public mind in British India, nor is he known to be an active politician. For his part, the Mahatma has not expressed the views he expressed at Birmingham for the first time. Indeed they have been a part and parcel of his political faith. Why should the Nawab then have put himself to the trouble of expressing his dissent from them only on the present occasion? The reason, we believe, is obvious. It was a matter of indifference to the Nawab what the Mahatma talked, so long as he did not utter a single word in criticism of the Princes. In his Birmingham speech however the Mahatma, usually so deferential to the Princely Order, referred to the possibility of the members of that order being "dispossessed of their insolent palaces." It is this, and not the Mahatma's views on British India politics, which gave the Nawab the shock of his life and made him come out with a somewhat strongly-worded statement characterising his opinions as unpractical, paradoxical, impossible, etc. While the anger of the Nawab is not going to harm the Mahatma, his outburst shows how very touchy the Nawab is when anybody refers to a contingency, however remote, when the princes would be required to live a less luxurious life. Referring to their present insistent demand for a voice in the future Indian constitution, the Nawab says that it was now their turn "to take and receive," not, be it noted, to give and take. The Nawab's candour in this respect will be a source of considerable embarrassment to those Princes who are never tired of telling us that in entering the Indian Federation they are making very great sacrifices—a condescension for which British India must remain ever grateful to them.

The Mysore Dewan's Survey.

IN his address to this year's Dasara session of the Mysore Representative Assembly the Dewan took a rapid survey of the whole of Mysore administration. Like all other Governments, the present world-wide economic crisis has affected the Mysore Government as well, throwing its financial system out of gear. It has created a wide gap between the revenue and expenditure sides which, despite its retrenchment campaign, the State is finding it difficult to fill. It was at one time expected that the crisis might after all be tidied over without recourse to the extreme step of a reduction in the salaries of State servants; but this is now found necessary in the interests of the finances of the State. Though the Mysore scale of salaries is lower than that in British India, the proposed reduction will not be, as in British India, inclusive of the increased rates of income-tax, but over and above them. Thus the attempt to reduce public expenditure

in Mysore is more real and earnest than in British India.

The economic position of the Bhadravati Iron Works also is found to be a source of considerable weakness to the State. An idea of the dimensions of the Works can be gained from the fact that the total investment on the Works so far has been Rs. 240 lakhs and during the ten years in which it has been in operation the total losses have come to Rs. 36 lakhs. If to this is added the interest on the capital supplied to the concern which it is calculated amounts to Rs. 125 lakhs, the undertaking must be said to have up to now cost the State Rs. 4 crores. With a view therefore to minimise the losses on the undertaking it has now been decided to keep it in partial operation. We hope this measure will give the finances of the State some much needed relief.

Phaltan in 1930-31.

THE administration of Phaltan State for 1930-31, the report for which year has recently reached us, presents some features to which attention may be called here. The State has a legislative council in which the elected and nominated elements very nearly balance each other. The Council consists of 9 elected and 10 nominated members of whom half are non-officials. It can also boast of a nominated non-official as president. This is satisfactory, so far as it goes, but if the Council is to be a faithful reflection of public opinion in the State, it is necessary that it should have a clear elective majority and should be allowed to elect its own president. We hope this will be the next stage in its evolution, which will not be very long in coming. During its brief existence of a little over two years the Council has established a creditable record of work. Its insistence upon the provision of compulsory physical education to and the medical inspection of school children is indicative of its high sense of importance of the physical well-being of the rising generation. The constitution of the legislative council, we observe, is closely modelled on that of the only municipality in the State which has been in existence since 1886. Out of its total membership of 16, eight members are elected and an equal number nominated by the State with a nominated nonofficial as president. For a municipality as old as this one, this constitution must be said to be antediluvian. It is high time the municipality consisted of four-fifths elected and one-fifth nominated members with the right of electing its own president and vice-president. We hope the democratisation of the municipality will receive the ruler's urgent attention.

Educational statistics given in the report are from many points of view worthy of note. During the year under report, the number of educational institutions increased from 31 to 34, one of which was a high school, 32 primary schools and 1 a primary girls' school. In these less than 2000, or to be exact 1847, students were studying. With a total population of 58,700 and with 15 per cent. as the school-age population, this works out at over 9000 children who must be brought to school if the younger generation is to be made literate. Thus what is so far accomplished is only a small part of what remains to be done. The total educational expenditure is Rs. 25,000 out of which more than 23,000 are shared almost equally by the high school and 32 primary schools. The amount spent from the State revenues upon education during the year under report was Rs. 13,200, while the ruler's expenses came to Rs. 36,000. In other words the palace expenses were only a little less than three times the amount that could be spared for education.

THE PRINCES' BLACKMAIL.

HOW CAN IT BE CIRCUMVENTED?—IV

I CANNOT help owing to a feeling of chagrine and disappointment at the interruption of my series of articles on this subject at the most crucial point, and lest you should grudge me room for the somewhat lengthy article that I had submitted to you before, I have now compressed my remarks and beg you to give them publicity before the subject ceases to be of general interest. Since this is my last article, I would repeat the request which I made at the beginning that whoever finds anything at fault in my reasoning, which indeed represents the reasoning of a small group of students of public questions, will kindly share his thoughts with the readers of your journal. The views expressed here, though formed with meticulous care, are so very much out of harmony with the prevailing views that those who hold them fully recognise the possibility of their being all wrong. I and my friends are anxious to know just where they are wrong. Why not supply the correction which they so earnestly seek?

If the Princes refuse to introduce the elective system into the representation of the States in the legislature, or introduce it in such make-believe fashion that the representatives are their own nominees in all but name, the resulting constitution, being an oligarchy instead of a democracy, must be rejected by all whose aim is not merely the transference of power from European into Indian hands, but the establishment of genuine popular government. This is my proposition, but it is dismissed by the average politician as impracticable on the alleged ground of our helplessness. It is objected that we are, unhappily, now so placed that the transfer of power itself will come about only if we all agree to turn a blind eye to the character of the government that will come into existence. It is true that our objective is not merely Indian government, but democratic government; but the political forces have so arrayed themselves that even a moderate insistence on our part upon adherence to democratic doctrine will end in both democracy and autonomy being forfeit. In these circumstances which are altogether beyond our control practical statesmanship demands that we should limit our immediate aim to the attainment of autonomy, oligarchic and undemocratic as it may be, hoping gradually to work our way up to democracy. Democracy is in any case out of our reach at present; but it will be brought very much nearer if we shake ourselves free from the domination of the foreign bureaucracy. And after all it would perhaps not be altogether to our disadvantage to make two bites of an apple.

In the previous three articles I have endeavoured to show that if we disencumbered ourselves of federation, which is the factor that in the present mentality of the Princes makes democracy impossible, the quantum of power to be obtained from the Britisher need not be much less (in fact any less) than under federation. The Government of India dispatch

on the Simon Report establishes this. But the critic, even if he admits the cogency of my reasoning so far, has another objection to urge. I will consider this last objection in the present article. It may be put in this wise: You ask us to scrap federation and hold fast to unitary government. You argue that under the latter we have all the advantages of the former, without any of its disadvantages: we get as much power, and yet are rid of the *bloc* of the Princes' nominees. Assuming that what you say about the quantum of power is correct, is it quite fair to contend that only in the federal scheme do we encounter a large nominated element, and that the Government of India scheme is free of it? Obviously not, because the latter scheme also contemplates nomination to a certain amount in the federal legislature. It is not therefore as if the choice lay between a wholly elected legislature under a unitary form of government and a partly nominated legislature under federation. Nomination is involved in both. Then why reject federation?

The objection can be further reinforced. It may be said: The whole of the States' share of representation must not be assumed to be nominative. We have already received an assurance from two Princes that their local legislatures will be given a voice in the choice of their representatives in the lower house of the federal legislature. Some others may do likewise. What proportion of the States' representatives will thus be chosen with reference, more or less, to the popular wishes we do not know; but this much is clear that all of them will not owe their places solely to the will of the Princes. This is one point to be taken into account in mitigation of the danger of princely nomination. The other point is that the Princes' nominees will not vote *en bloc* in the legislature, as the members nominated by the British Indian executive are found to do and are intended to do. There are no separate State interests as such, and therefore it is wrong to assume that the Princes' nominees will all vote one way, and British Indian representatives the other way. Thus the chief objection to nomination is in a fair way to disappear. Theoretically, of course, nomination is bad; but practically it will not work much serious mischief. So much cannot be claimed, however, for the nominees of the British Indian executive, who will necessarily cast their votes against the interests of the country. The upshot of all these considerations is that the Government of India scheme, providing as it does for nomination, is open to the same theoretical objections as the Sankey Report's scheme, the only difference being that in the latter case the objections are attended by several mitigating circumstances which are not available in the former.

This objection is easily answered. It is true that the Government of India dispatch does contemplate nomination, but even so this scheme can be shown to be much less objectionable than the scheme

developed in the Sankey Report. In the first place, the proportion of nominated members in the Government of India scheme is less. It allows for 38 nominative seats in the Legislative Assembly (it is unnecessary to consider the Council of State) consisting of 200 members, i. e. a little less than 20%. In the lower house of the federal legislature the nominated element will consist of (i) Crown representatives and (ii) the States' representatives. Assuming for a moment that the latter are all nominated, the proportion of nominative seats will be approximately 37%, which is a little under double the proportion of nominative seats in the Government of India scheme. I assume that all the States' representatives are nominated. To what extent can we expect the nominative principle to be tempered by the elective in the States? To the extent of 10%? This is indeed a very sanguine estimate, but even allowing such a large proportion for election, we must take 30% out of the 33 $\frac{1}{4}$ %, which is expected to fall to the share of the States to be pure nominees of the Princes. The ratio of the nominated members in the two schemes is thus 20 to 34.

But I know that my critics lay great store by the probability, which to them is a certainty, that the Princes' nominees will be progressive, while the nominees of the British Indian executive will be reactionary. Those who put forward this contention capitalize the existing prejudice against the Government of India's nominees. But will not the character of its nominees change with a change in the character of the Government of India? The future Government of India is to be mainly a Cabinet responsible to Indian opinion. It is such a Government which is hereafter to be charged with the function of nomination. Who then are likely to be more acceptable to popular opinion—the nominees of the British Indian Government, which will be at least partially amenable to the legislature, or the nominees of the governments of States, which will be wholly autocratic for the most part? Then it is said that the States' representatives will not vote *en bloc*. If so, why will the Government of India's nominees vote in a block? If on Railways, Posts, Mint, &c. the Princes' nominees have no other interests to subserve than those which the elected members from British India have at heart, why is it to be assumed that the nominees of the British Indian executive will have interests of their own to safeguard?

Will the members nominated by the Government of India be more under the influence of the Britisher than the States' representatives? On the contrary, is there not a very strong probability (to put it no higher) that the Britisher is far more likely to work through the States' representatives whom he can still dominate through the channel of paramountcy than through the nominated members in British India? These, be it remembered, will be nominated by the Government of India who in personnel as well as in spirit will hereafter be Indian and to them the Britisher will have no access. In fact the insistence of the die-hard Britishers upon

federation as an essential condition of the grant of responsible government makes it clear that, being ousted from British India, they hope to maintain themselves in control only through the representatives of the States. The Princes' nominees will at least in some cases be the nominees in an indirect manner of the political officers of the British Government. There is to my mind no doubt whatever that nomination, highly objectionable as it always is, is far more objectionable, when it proceeds from the autocratic Princes than from the popular Ministers in the Government of India.

There is one other consideration which must never be lost sight of. It will be far more difficult to get rid of the nominated element under federation than under a unitary government for the simple reason that the process of constitutional amendment will be rendered extremely difficult under the federation proposed in this country. When under the proposed scheme will every State be required, as it must be, to return all its representatives to the lower house of the federal chamber by direct popular election on a wide franchise? A separate treaty must be entered into with each of the States. This sounds very much like the Greek Kalends to my ears. An amendment of the Government of India Act, on the other hand, in the desired direction is well within our reach; it is a matter of a decade at the most.

My conclusion therefore is that the Government of India scheme, being distinctly better than the Sankey scheme from the point of view of popular government and no worse from the point of view of the amount of power to be conceded, may be made the basis of our constitution unless the Princes, becoming reasonable, introduce election and other modifications necessary for the successful working of a federal constitution. Above all, British Indians need not feel helpless in urging the acceptance of democratic principles at the R.T.C. I am not opposed to federation, but am decidedly opposed to a federation on the Princes' own terms. British India will not lose but gain if she returns a decisive "no" to the present terms of the Princes. I can only echo what Mr. C. R. Reddy has said so well: "We want both federation and responsible government at the centre. If they are incompatible with each other, we must give up federation for the time being. The aim of Indian agitation is not to place the country under the dual control of England and the Princes but to secure self-expression for the people."

OBSERVER.

SIR MIRZA ISMAIL'S SCHEME.

HOW prolific of evil the wrong lead given by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in regard to the representation of the States in the upper chamber has proved can be best measured by the scheme which Sir Mirza Ismail has now evolved. Sir Mirza, both on account of his own liberal sympathies and on account of the great prestige which attaches to him as a representative of the most advanced State in India, is rightly counted among the progressive delegates who

are taking part in the R.T.C. But even he has been betrayed into a false position by the remark made by Sir Tej Bahadur to the effect that in the lower chamber the people of the federating units are to be represented and in the upper the governments of those units. As we have shown before, this statement is not in conformity with constitutional theory. The contrast here is not between the people and the Governments, but between the people and the units as a whole. Woodrow Wilson's description of the upper chamber in the U. S. A. Congress contains the correct doctrine on this point. He says, the Senate "does not represent population, but regions of the country, the political units in which it has been cut up. The senate therefore represents the variety of the nation as the House does not. . . . Regions must be represented, irrespective of population, in a country physically as various as ours and therefore certain to exhibit a very great variety of social and economic and even political conditions. It is of the utmost importance that its parts as well as its people should be represented; and there can be no doubt in the mind of anyone who really sees the Senate of the United States as it really is that it represents the country as distinct from the accumulated populations of the country." The upper chamber is designed to represent the States *qua* States; it is not intended to represent the governments of the States, as claimed by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Sir Tej no doubt gave this little twist to the correct theory in order to justify the representation of the Indian States in the upper chamber of our federal legislature by nomination, which otherwise could not be justified.

But the distortion which the theory has suffered at his hands has had more far-reaching results. The Princes now demand that the upper chamber, since it is meant to represent the governments of the States, should be modelled on the Bundesrath of the German Empire, which is the only instance, as was pointed out by Dr. Ambedkar in a powerful speech at the Federal Structure Committee of the members of a Senate being appointed by the governments of the federating units. This body was composed of delegates who were appointed by the princes of the States and who voted according to instructions received from them, and, following this example directly suggested by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's erroneous theory, our Princes too now demand that "the members of the Council would vote and act according to the instructions of their respective governments." This is Sir Mirza Ismail's scheme, and no one can blame him for putting it forward. If political theory is as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru enunciated it, if in the upper chamber the governments are to be represented, then surely it follows that the nominees whom the Princes send into the Council should vote and act not according to their own convictions but according to the instructions which they may receive from those to whom they owe their seats, and that the analogy of the Bundesrath should be closely followed. If this is to be the composition of the upper chamber, what are to be its powers?

Absolutely co-extensive with the lower chamber. As Sir Akbar Hydari suggested (and he spoke not only for himself, but for the whole of the Indian States' delegation), the upper chamber is to have equal power with the lower in regard to money bills and votes on supply.

Under Sir Akbar's scheme the differences between the two chambers are to be resolved by a joint session of an equal number of members selected from them. But Sir Mirza now improves upon this position. If the upper chamber rejects a bill or a grant passed by the lower, then a majority of two-thirds or three-fourths will be required in the lower chamber again for the proposed measure to take effect. Last year Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had recommended from the depth of his knowledge of constitutions that a two-thirds or three-fourths majority should be necessary in a joint session in order that a non-confidence motion against a Ministry should be operative. It is but a small step from that recommendation to suggest that the upper house should be given the power of suspensive veto over all the acts of the lower house, the veto being overcome by a majority of the same size obtained in the lower house. It was said in criticism of Sir Tej Bahadur's suggestion, under which a simple majority can veto bills and budgets but a special majority alone can dismiss the Ministry, that "places are evidently more important than policies." No ground is now left for such criticism when Sir Tej Bahadur's proposal is modified in the way Sir Mirza desires, the Princes' nominees now being able not merely to keep an unpopular Ministry in office but to control the entire policy of the Central Government.

Only one more suggestion was needed to complete the futility of the legislative organization, and that has been obligingly supplied by Sir Mirza Ismail. For he suggests that the upper chamber should be given opportunities of active co-operation in administrative matters, as the Senate of the United States is consulted on external affairs. If there was any lingering doubt as to the effect of this suggestion, it should be completely dispelled by Sir Mirza's reference to the U. S. Senate. He obviously has in mind the provision in the U. S. Constitution in regard to the making of treaties, by which a majority of two-thirds of the senators is required for any treaties to take effect. It is surprising how our constitutional experts have a rare faculty of picking out the worst features in constitutions for our adoption. This particular provision has been characterised as an "irreparable mistake" on the part of the framers of the Constitution of United States, which allows a one-third minority in the Senate to interpose its veto upon the acts of the President. Discussions that took place in the Senate on the Versailles Treaty and the World Court of Arbitration have proved how intolerable is the situation created by this provision. It is only because of the isolationist policy of the U. S. A. that it has been endured so long. If the United States were a part of Europe, the provision would have been repealed long ago. And it is such a provision which Sir Mirza, the most liberal of the States' representatives at the

R. T. C., would like to see copied into our constitution! Yet it is almost a logical development of the theory laid down by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru of the position of the upper chamber in a Federal Government that the representatives of the States' governments should be taken into consultation in executive matters.

LABOUR IN INDIA.

RESULTS OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION'S ENQUIRY--XI*

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

THE Workmen's Compensation Act, which came into effect on 1st July 1924 has been admittedly an experimental measure. Although the Act had worked smoothly on the whole, thanks to the special machinery set up for its administration, the experience hitherto gained has also shown some of its shortcomings. In one important respect the Commission have noted its incomplete success in that workmen and to a less extent their dependents have not taken full advantage of the benefits conferred upon them by the legislature. This is mainly due to the illiteracy and ignorance prevailing among the working classes and their unorganised condition in many industries and concerns. Also when a workman expects only a small amount by way of compensation for some partial disability he prefers to forgo the claim to losing his job by displeasing his employer by insisting on the claim being paid. Especially is this so in these days of widespread unemployment. The Compensation Act as it stands to-day is applicable to certain classes of workers. The Commission recommend a gradual extension particularly where unusual hazards are involved. The method of advance should be, in their opinion, such as to include first workers in organised branches of industry, whether these are hazardous or not, and secondly to extend the Act gradually to workers in less organised employment, beginning with those who are subjected to most risk. Detailed recommendations have been made following these lines. The Indian seamen have serious grievance against the present Act, applying, as it does, only to those engaged on sea-going ships registered under Indian Acts, on the larger coasting ships registered under those Acts and on the larger inland steam vessels. The great majority of Indian seamen are, however, engaged on ships registered outside India and mainly on British ships. These have no statutory claim to compensation under the Indian Act, but they have the protection of the British and other Workmen's Compensation Acts. It is, however, in most cases a difficult matter for them to avail themselves of this protection, and their dependents find it even more difficult. The Commission, therefore, recommend that the possibilities of giving Indian seamen the right to compensation while serving on ships registered outside India be explored by the Government of India and the Home Office and that

*Previous articles in this series appeared in our issues of July 23 and 30, August 6, 13 and 27, September 3 and 10, and October 1, 8 and 15.

special attention should be given to the possibility of extending the Indian Act to Indian seamen while serving on all ships within India's territorial waters and on British ships engaged in the coastal trade of India. It is also recommended that the limit of tonnage for sea-going and coasting ships be reduced to 50 tons. The inclusion of certain fresh classes is recommended which will have the effect of adding about two million workers to the number already covered by the Act, which is estimated at four millions. The waiting period for which no compensation is allowed to an injured workman is recommended to be reduced from 10 days to 7 in all cases. But this too is unnecessarily high and it can be reasonably brought down to three days.

TRADE UNIONS.

The Commission have briefly reviewed the recent and contemporary history of the trade union movement in India. It is observed in the Commission's Report that mining workers are poorly organised in every field, and that in the plantations genuine organisation on the labour side is quite unknown. "Measured geographically trade unionism is strongest in Bombay Presidency and weakest (having regard to the potentialities) in Bengal." It is plainly stated in the Report that other forms of organisation, such as works councils and works committees, serve a useful purpose when employers are well-disposed, but *they cannot be a substitute for trade unionism*. This is specially significant in view of the fact that the Commission was presided over by the Rt. Hon. J. H. Whitley, after whom the works councils are named. The employers who have feelings of nothing but antagonism towards trade unions would do well to remember the advice offered by the Commission that whilst the advantages to be gained from repression are temporary and precarious, those that accrue from healthy organisation are lasting. The Commission have also mentioned that the attitude of some employers in their dealings with trade unions was singularly ill-calculated to secure that end. As an excuse some of these employers point out the unhealthy tendencies that have crept into the labour movement, especially the communist propaganda, but it is urged by the Commission that the repression of trade unions because of unhealthy tendencies is unlikely to produce a healthy growth, laying down the dictum that responsibility can only be developed by power and experience. It is a notorious fact that the employers are most reluctant to recognise the unions of their workers. The Commission do not plead for a formality, but want recognition in the letter to be followed by recognition in the spirit, by a readiness to discuss sympathetically points put forward by the union, by accessibility to its officers, and by willingness to let them have credit where credit is due. That the union consists of only a minority of workers or that two or more rival unions exist in the same industry or concern is, in the Commission's opinion, no adequate reason for withholding recognition. The Commission also do not hesitate to state that the endeavour to dictate to unions on the subject of their officers or leaders is equally shortsighted and unwise. The

whole chapter on Trade Unions in the Commission's Report deserves to be read and pondered over by all the employers especially by railway and other Government officials who have to deal with the unions of their work people so that an object lesson may be provided to the private employers.

The Commission consider that the Trade Union Registration Act should be re-examined in not more than three years' time. Some of the restrictions which were regarded as wise in the infancy of the movement are, in the Commission's opinion, unsuited to a more advanced stage, and all the limitations imposed on the activity of registered unions and their officers and members should be reconsidered. It is recommended that all unions should be able to secure free of charge the conduct of their audit by officials of Government. Registered trade unions are precluded from initiating and carrying on co-operative societies, but this obstacle has been recommended to be removed by the Commission, believing as they do that the maintenance of co-operative credit or supply societies, subject to the usual safeguards, is a legitimate function of trade unions.

INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES.

Sometimes much is made of the political and communistic influences or of the influence that in some rare cases has been exercised by persons interested in commodity prices and share markets in starting and prolonging strikes. In this connection it is observed by the Commission: "Although workers may have been influenced by persons with nationalist, communist or commercial ends to serve, we believe there has rarely been a strike of any importance which has not been due, entirely or largely, to economic reasons". The Commission do not believe in a mere symptomatic treatment of industrial unrest, strikes being one of the symptoms most evident to the public of underlying discontent. "The attempt to deal with unrest must begin rather with the creation of an atmosphere unfavourable to disputes than with machinery for their settlement." The lack of contact between employers and employed is an important factor at work in the creation of industrial unrest in India. "An immense amount of thought and toil has been devoted to surmounting the technical, financial and commercial difficulties in the way of industrial development in India. But it will fail to secure the results it deserves unless much more attention is given to the difficult sphere of human relationships." Several helpful suggestions have been made in the Report regarding the formation of works committees and the organisation of joint machinery for the settlement of disputes. The present writer who has worked as secretary for some time of works committees in three textile mills in Bombay has no hesitation to endorse the dictum laid down in the Report that "the spirit is all important and the form entirely secondary."

Under the present Trade Disputes Act the workers employed in public utility services have been handicapped in the use of strikes for bringing their employers to reason. This may be alright for maintaining the services essential to the safety,

health and welfare of the community, but to be employed in a public utility service should not, in fairness and justice, be tantamount to delivering oneself bound hand and foot to the employers. This has been found to be the weakest point in the Act by the Commission. The Act gives in return no assurance to the workers employed in public utility services that their grievances will receive a hearing. Obviously these workers must have compensating advantages. The Commission have not presented a satisfactory solution. If the workers employed in public utility services are to be deprived of the rights enjoyed by other workers, they must be given security of employment and a longer notice should be required for discharge. And also it is essential that it should be compulsory for the managers to enquire into their grievances and to submit their findings if they are not acceptable to the workers to an impartial tribunal for final decision, the representatives of the workers being free to produce evidence and present arguments in support of the workers' demands.

The suggestion made by the Commission for appointing conciliation officers for bringing the parties privately to agreement is worthy of serious consideration by the Government, since it is in the earlier stages that assistance of the right kind can be most valuable. "India has tried," it is observed in the Report, "to copy the less valuable part of the machinery employed in Great Britain whilst ignoring the most valuable part."

P. G. KANEKAR.

Our European Letter.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

GENEVA, OCT. 16.

THE SINO-JAPANESE DISPUTE

WITHIN the last few days the Sino-Japanese dispute has assumed an aspect which can only be described as a challenge to the League's authority. From the outset Japan has objected to the League's intervention in the matter, characterising it as a merely local affair to be dealt with by the two Powers directly concerned by means of negotiations. This claim was substantiated by the assumption that the Government in Tokio had no cognisance of the action of the Japanese army in Manchuria, which was subjected to great strain on account of continuous provocations from Chinese mobs. Japan further assured the League Council that her troops would be ordered to withdraw, in good time, to the base from which they had started on their adventure. This explanation seemed to be so convincing at the time that the Council meeting was put off and it was felt that Japan must be left free to carry out her undertaking by being saved from the slight of having been called to order. Lord Cecil went so far as to administer a mild rebuke to the Chinese representative, who was insistent on settlement, not by direct negotiation but through the League, to the effect that while the Council could be prevailed upon to prevent war-like

developments, it could not be constrained to intervene in all kinds of differences between nations.

This apparently favourable attitude towards Japan on the part of the Council, which was much criticised in certain quarters, was determined by various considerations. Lord Reading was not in Geneva at that time and Monsieur Briand had already left to get ready for the Berlin visit. Two other Foreign Ministers, of those who attended the Assembly, had returned home. This was the first issue of an important nature, in which a Great Power was involved, which the League was called upon to deal with, and the League authorities preferred to walk warily, as they were aware that American cooperation would be essential in this matter and as it was far from their desire to make Japan's position unnecessarily difficult. The extent and importance of Japanese interests in Manchuria are well-known and so is also the incapacity of Nanking to control the outlying regions surrounding Mukden and the anti-Japanese manifestations provoked there. Moreover, adequate information about the actual happenings was lacking.

Now, however, there is little doubt that the Japanese occupation of Mukden was well prepared and what the army and the Government or both sought to do was to repeat the tactics of Port Arthur. The issues of Japanese newspapers immediately preceding the crisis are full of allusions to Manchuria. The *Tokio Asahi* gives the world to understand that in the army "every one is aware that the next war in which Japan will be engaged will be fought in the plains of Manchuria and Mongolia". The editor of the *Mainichi*, an avowed pacifist, announces "without hesitation, that Japan and China are on the eve of declaring war". And the *Japan Times* of 20th September has produced a big illustrated supplement, whose cover bears the question "Can peace be preserved in Manchuria?" containing articles entitled "The problems of Manchuria call for a new solution," "The Railway war in Manchuria", "The interests of Japan in Manchuria" "Manchuria before the advent of the Japanese", "The possibility of a Sino-Japanese conflict in Manchuria," etc. Although the Japanese Government did not initiate war-like action against China, they took no serious disciplinary measures against their military leaders when these captured several towns on Chinese territory and bombed others far from their legitimate bounds. It seems quite evident that the Tokio Government are anxious to negotiate with China from their vantage-point in the occupied territory.

Such a method of seeking redress to grievances, even if Japan's complaints against China were numerous and long-standing, is in conformity with the old diplomacy, but can hardly be reconciled with the principle of League diplomacy or with the obligations of the Kellogg Pact. The League Covenant does indeed envisage war as a means of settlement of international disputes, but only as the last and ultimate resort, after all other methods have been tried. The Kellogg Pact discountenances war under any pretext. In first resorting to military measures and

then speaking of negotiations Japan has clearly put herself in the wrong while China, by submitting the case to the League, has attracted the world's sympathy.

The League cannot be indifferent to the call from China, specially as Japan showed no signs of abandoning the occupied territory until a conclusion to the dispute was obtained. In dealing with China's appeal, both on account of the implications of the Kellogg Pact and the nature of the political forces at work in the Chinese waters, the League has been constrained to seek the cooperation of the United States. The Japanese representative has objected to America's association with the League on this occasion on the ground that there is no provision in the Covenant for the participation of a non-member in the affairs of the Council in this manner. But the members of the Council led by the British, French and Spanish representatives, have decided that this is a question of procedure which does not call for a unanimous agreement and for which a majority vote should suffice. The League's formal invitation to Washington for the American Government's representative to take part in the deliberations of the Council in this connection will be therefore duly despatched and will meet with a favourable response. Recent reports from Washington state that the American Secretary of State is giving all his attention to this question, as he is persuaded that the key to the relations between America and Japan lies in China.

The final outcome of this deplorable incident cannot yet be foreseen. But it is certain that if the League had been more hesitant in dealing with this situation its prestige would have irretrievably suffered. With the Disarmament Conference so near, any such blow to the League would be a blow to the international order which is the basis of security and on which any further plans for the reduction of armaments must be based. Further, there are explosive ingredients in the mixture of political forces in the Far East which cannot be left to themselves. So Japan had to be checked. It is a salutary check to the manifestations of a belief which lies at the root of a great deal of disorder in the world today. This is the first time, during a great many years, that the principle that a Great Power which has vital interests on the territory of another nation, which is unable to afford sufficient protection for them, can legitimately proceed to establish its own rule on that territory has received a set-back. If the League can only devise an alternative solution for difficulties of this kind it would have deserved well of the world.

Review.

THE BATTLE OF WARSAW.

THE EIGHTEENTH DECISIVE BATTLE OF THE WORLD. WARSAW, 1920. By VIS-COUNT D'ABERNON. (Hodder & Stoughton.) 1931. 21cm. 178p. 10/6.

ACCORDING to the Creasy computation there were fifteen decisive battles of the world before 1851.

Since that date three great battles have been fought namely, Sedan, the Marne and Warsaw. But while the battles of Sedan and the Marne though important in themselves were not contests between two opposing civilisations, the battle of Warsaw fought in 1920 was a trial of arms between two fundamentally divergent systems, namely, Bolshevism and European civilisation. The battle may well be regarded as the Eighteenth Decisive Battle of the World for it saved Central and Western Europe from the fanatical tyranny of the Soviet. As the author says in p. 9,

Had Pilsudski and Weygand failed to arrest the triumphant advance of the Soviet Army at the Battle of Warsaw not only would Christianity have experienced a disastrous reverse but the very existence of Western civilisation would have been imperilled.

Apart from the Bolshevik peril which it warded off, the battle of Warsaw is important in military history for the great principles of strategy employed in the course of the campaign. In fact as the author says :—

Daring strategy determined the fate of the forces immediately engaged, and sealed at one stroke the issue of the whole campaign. (p. 14.)

Another circumstance which adds to the interest and importance of the battle is that Marshal Pilsudski, the Polish commander-in-chief and Toukhatchevsky, the Russian commander, have written narratives of the battle of Warsaw so that students of military history may judge of their actions in the course of the campaign.

It is this decisive battle of Warsaw that Viscount D'Abernon has described in the book before us. Viscount D'Abernon was one of the members of the Anglo-French Mission despatched to help the Poles in their hour of peril. Abernon undertook the Mission on the diplomatic side, the other chief members of the Delegation being General Radcliffe, the English military delegate, General Weygand, the French military delegate, and Jusserand, the French civil representative.

To understand Marshal Pilsudski's strategy which resulted in the total discomfiture of the Bolshevik forces, it must be remembered that on the 12th of August, 1920, the Russian commander had not concentrated his full strength against Warsaw. On the other hand, he had dissipated his forces in three directions. He despatched one along the Russian border to take Thorn; another was allowed to pass by the Warsaw front in a westerly direction with a view to crossing the Vistula below Warsaw and then to attack Warsaw from the west and south; a third part of the army was posted at his extreme left with a view to capture Lwow instead of protecting the left wing of his main attack on Warsaw. Subsequent events showed that the dissipation of his forces in three directions, instead of concentrating them upon the capture of Warsaw, was a fatal blunder.

The learned author admits that it was due to the personal initiative of Marshal Pilsudski that the Polish plan of defence was drawn up. The Polish commander's plan was to concentrate a force of five and a half divisions on the river Wieprz. He therefore withdrew units from the armies defending Warsaw and Lwow. These five and a half divisions should assemble behind the Wieprz near Deblin on August 13th, and should be so organised as to be capable of extreme mobility. The Russians were to be allowed to attack Warsaw for Pilsudski was confident that the Polish troops, though weakened by withdrawals, could maintain an adequate defence for three days. In the meantime a flank attack from Deblin was to be arranged to give relief to Warsaw by disturbing the enemy's communications.

To carry out the plan Pilsudski left Warsaw on the evening of the 12th August and put himself at the head of the mobile attacking force. The attack on Warsaw was begun by the Bolshevik forces on the 14th August. If only the Soviet forces had been concentrated for the attack on Warsaw, the Polish capital would have fallen long before the Polish flank attack could materialise. But as the Russian commander says in his narrative, "Our troops at the supreme moment were scattered and faced different directions."

Pilsudski had originally arranged to organise his flank attack on the 17th August, but in view of the grave news from Warsaw he decided to commence the advance on the 16th at dawn. On the 16th and the 17th Pilsudski's force covered a great distance and the enemy was taken by surprise and his communications were cut off. The learned author points out that the success of Pilsudski in breaking the Russian lines of communications was due to the failure of the Russian cavalry to keep the Polish right occupied, to the Russian commander's idea that the Poles were incapable of making a surprise attack, and to the fact that on account of severe fighting in other parts of the field, the Russian commander had withdrawn the necessary troops from his lines of communications. It will thus be seen that the success of Polish strategy was not due so much to the strategy itself but to the blunders of the Russian commander. But nothing succeeds like success, and we will leave it at that.

In the meantime the attack on Warsaw had been made with persistent effort by the Bolsheviks, but Pilsudski's flank attack not only broke the Russian lines of communications but brought about a demoralisation of the Russian army. Pilsudski wanted to organise an effective pursuit of the Soviet army, but on arriving at Warsaw he found the army dispirited for it had not understood the magnitude of his victory. He convinced his compatriots that they were victorious and that they must follow the victory. Pilsudski's presence was enough to infuse courage into the dispirited army, and the Poles achieved a complete victory by driving the Bolsheviks from the Polish territory.

The battle of Warsaw is thus a decisive battle for it saved Central and Western Europe from the tyranny of the Bolsheviks. The author must be congratulated not only on his lucid description of the battle but also upon publishing at the end of the volume the narratives of the Polish and Russian commanders.

We, however, differ from the author when he over-emphasises the part played by the French General Weygand. The author wants us to believe that the French general was greatly responsible for the Polish victory. The despatch of the Anglo-French Mission was certainly a source of encouragement to the Poles in their hour of despair, but to say that without General Weygand there would have been no plan is to exaggerate the part played by the French General on that historic occasion. If General Weygand had played such an important part at the time of the battle, how is it that there is no mention of even his name in the narratives of Pilsudski and Toukhatchevsky? We feel therefore that the services of General Weygand have been exaggerated, but this over-emphasis does not in any way detract from the excellence of the book.

The book is neatly got up and there are three plans to illustrate the positions of the Polish and Russian armies before, during and after the battle.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

SHORT NOTICES.

ILLITERACY IN THE UNITED STATES.

By SANFORD WINSTON. (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.) 1930. 22cm. 186p. \$3.00.

IN 1930 the reviewer had the opportunity of spending a fortnight in visiting educational institutions and efforts in the south-eastern section of the United States of America. Among the States visited, none offered a braver showing than North Carolina in its constructive educational programme not only for negroes, but for white illiterates, adults as well as children. The book under review is a sample of the scholarly investigation which accompanies this practical work.

This study of illiteracy in the United States is based upon the census reports of the last five decades. It is a statistical investigation, intended for students of sociology and education rather than for the general reader. About half of its pages are taken up with percentage and correlation tables.

The first section of the book deals with the general problem of illiteracy between the years 1870 and 1920, showing its gradual reduction from 20% to 6% of the total population. It analyses the relation of illiteracy to such general factors as sex and age, race and nationality, rural *versus* urban environment. The situation in the States is complicated by the presence not only of American Indians and Negroes in addition to whites but also by the various nationalities of Europe, many of whose adult immigrants swell the number of the illiterate population.

The second part deals with the correlation found between illiteracy and such social phenomena as the birthrate, infant mortality, early marriage and urbanization.

Students of education and social uplift in India will be interested in this study, and in finding how far its conclusions throw light upon similar problems in the Orient.

A. B. VAN DOREN.

CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE AND MODERN PRACTICE. BY A. G. PITE. (Association Press, Calcutta.) 1931. 20cm. 119p. 3/6.

THE author has dealt with the subject very efficiently, but on the assumption that his readers love the Christian view of marriage. Thus he seems to beg the question from the beginning. If the present tendency in European society is viewed impartially, it can be said to be anything but Christian. However, he has done his bit to impart, as he says, "Christian education in the particular matter of preparation for marriage", and we fervently hope that he will rescue at least some from the canker of "companionate" and other forms of marriage which are sapping the foundations of civilization. Lady Davidson, who has written a short introduction to the book, says, from personal experience, that "the joy of perfect marriage (Christian of course) is unspeakable." So says also the authoress of the book *Into Their Company*. From the testimony of these cultured Christian ladies we see that the Christian view of a perfect marriage is still extant to a considerable extent in what is apparently depicted on the stage and the screen as a fallen society. If the preservation of that standard is helped by the reading of such books, their purpose will be amply fulfilled.

V. M. BHAT.

Miscellaneous.

THE SLUMS OF MADRAS.

MR. VENKATA RAMAN'S SURVEY.

Mr. S. R. Venkata Raman, member, Servants of India Society, recently made a detailed study of the slum problem in Madras. The following are his observations on the subject:

THE growth of slums in a city may be directly traced to the large influx of villagers into the city who are attracted to it by the high wages that they expect to get in a factory or in an industrial workshop. Along with this, the lure of the town life with all its attractions and amusements like theatres, cinemas, illuminated streets, beautiful bazaars, vast crowds and the like has made the villager leave his village and settle in town. In some cases it may be that a poor man with no lands or agricultural work to keep him in the village, ultimately turns to the town to earn his living. The rapid progress in the means of communication has brought the town and the village nearer and has made migration to and fro easy and frequent. The accretion to the town population arising out of the influx of villagers into the city in search of employment has created the problem of the slums. The Royal Commission on Labour in India say in their report that "in the urban and industrial areas, cramped sites, the high value of the land and the necessity of the worker to live in the vicinity of his work have all tended to intensify congestion and overcrowding." In another place they say that "the establishment of an industry in the average Indian town has in certain respects not always been an unmixed blessing."

SLUMS AND THEIR ORIGIN.

The locality where these industrial and factory workers live has come to be known in common parlance as a "slum," and it has been thus described in the Encyclopædia Britannica. It is "a squalid, dirty street, or quarter of a city or town or village inhabited by the very poor, destitute or criminal classes; overcrowding is another characteristic. The word is a comparatively recent one and is of uncertain origin. It has been doubtfully connected with the dialectical use of 'slump' in the sense of marshy, swampy place."

The slums in the city of Madras probably had their origin in a number of the poor belonging to a particular community living together in a group far removed from the quarters of the caste people. These are called *cheries* in Tamil, and invariably they are all inhabited by the depressed classes like the *Adi-Dravidas*. But the word "slum" nowadays is generally used to denote those localities which are inhabited by the poorer classes of people belonging to all communities. Therefore, by the word "slum" here we mean the latter. Many such slums have sprung up and are still springing up in this city on account of the growth of factories and industrial workshops and on account of the increasing demand for various kinds of skilled and unskilled labour.

According to the figures furnished by the Corporation authorities, there are as many as 158 slums in the City of Madras. In the sanitary survey of the slums that is now being carried out by the Madras Sanitary Welfare League, the workers of the League often come across *cheries* or slums not mentioned in the list, and it is surmised that there are at least fifty such slums. These are probably the new slums that have come into existence owing to the increase of population during the last decade. Therefore we may take it that there are about 200 slums distributed all

over the city. The slums are big and small. The bigger ones consist of about 500 houses and of about 1,000 families, the smaller ones consist of about 20 houses and of about 50 families. The Royal Commission on Labour in India says that "In a city like Madras there are 25,000 one-roomed dwellings sheltering 150,000 persons or one-fourth of the population. The general shortage of houses is so acute that many hundreds of workers are entirely houseless and live on the streets or on the verandahs of godowns in the vicinity of the harbour."

GOVERNMENT AND CORPORATION CHERIES.

The 158 slums in the city may be generally classified under three headings according to ownership. They are owned by either the Government, the Corporation or by private landowners. For purposes of municipal administration, the slums owned by the Government and the Corporation are treated alike. That is to say, the Corporation can effect improvements in these cheries when funds are available, and can provide the fundamental civic services in these cheries or slums, like the provision of water taps, lights, latrines, bathrooms, etc. In privately owned slums the Corporation is not in a position to effect sanitary improvements, because it is objected to by the Government auditor.

The 158 slums in the city can therefore be analysed according to ownership thus :

Government slums	...	23
Corporation slums	...	20
Privately owned slums	...	115
Total	...	158

That is to say, 15 per cent. are Government cheries, 13 per cent. are Corporation cheries, and 72 per cent. are privately owned cheries. As a rule the cheries owned by the Government and the Corporation are better kept and attended to than the privately owned cheries, from the point of view of sanitary arrangements. But they are not what one would desire them to be. I may just cite one instance. There are a number of model huts owned by the Corporation intended for housing its menials like the scavengers and sweepers in Egmore division. The Corporation also owns about 70 huts in Goyyatope to house an equal number of families. But to our dismay we found the whole colony overcrowded. The hut contains a living room about 8 feet by 10 feet with a verandah in front which has no roof. There is a verandah at the back which is roofed and is being used as a kitchen. Its dimensions will be about 4 ft. by 10 ft. Besides this there is a small courtyard at the back which is used for bathing and other domestic purposes. This is scarcely sufficient to accommodate an average family of five members. But in the case of those sweepers and the scavengers no family consists of less than five members and the average in their case may go up to six or even seven members for a family. On inquiry we learnt that each hut contained more than one family and some of the sweepers and scavengers had sub-tenants from whom they also collected rents. We found numerous huts in which as many as four families were living. It is surprising that the Corporation which owns these huts should allow such a state of affairs to continue and should remain indifferent to the urgent need of housing its own employees. Perhaps conditions will improve as soon as the houses in Bogipalayam are completed. It may be mentioned here that in Bogipalayam the Corporation is building about 180 model huts with the aid of a Government loan.

PRIVATELY OWNED CHERIES.

Privately owned cheries are the worst in this respect. They are very insanitary and the Corporation does not think it its duty to attend to their

sanitary needs. Out of the 115 private cheries, on a rough calculation it may be said that about 30 of them belong to religious or communal bodies. The rest are owned by Mahomedans, Hindus and Christians. It will be an easy matter for the Corporation to tackle at first the cheries belonging to the temples. They are not properties owned by any single individual but are owned by the community as a whole. The Corporation for instance can compel the temple authorities to effect the necessary sanitary improvements in the cheries, and I hope with the growing civic conscience among the people it will not be very difficult to persuade the trustees of these temple properties to provide for the people on land belonging to the temple the irreducible minimum civic amenities.

CASTE AND TRADE DIVISION.

The slums may be analysed according to castes, also, as follows. The Dnobbies, fishermen, earth workers, leather workers, lime-kiln workers, scavengers, toddy drawers, bricklayers and Adi-Dravidas, all these are scattered over the City of Madras, some of them in exclusive blocks. The cheries inhabited by a particular caste are distinguishable from the rest. For instance the names of slums ending with cheri are Adi-dravida slums, that is the untouchables. In it may be living domestic servants like the butlers and chaprasies, rickshaw pullers etc. Kuppams are fishermen's quarters. The name "palayam" is being indiscriminately used for the rest. The slums where the leather workers live are in some cases called Chakkilipalayam. Some of these slums are known by the name of gardens also; for example, Mackay's garden is a colony of Adi-Dravidas. There are many similar colonies in the city.

There are several cheries inhabited by people belonging to the same trade or occupation. But this rule is not absolute. We come across cheries with people of a particular calling preponderating over the others. As there is a tendency among the poorer class of people to live very near their place of work, they all live together in one locality though they may belong to different castes or communities. There is also the case of people belonging to a particular community always living together in a compact group in one or more places. The bond here is communal. As instances of the second we may mention the following. The leather workers who are chuck-lars live in Perambur, Pudupet, Triplicane and Periampet, in compact bodies or groups. Rickshaw pullers live in small cheries off some public road in small groups of 40 or 50 families. Domestic servants, office boys, etc., live in slums in and round about Mount Road, Chetput, Kilpauk and Nungambakkam within easy access to offices and European quarters. Hand cart pullers and casual labourers live along the bank of the Buckingham Canal, and in its vicinity. People working in the Harbour live in George Town, lime-kiln workers in Kolukkupet and fishermen are found along the sea shore. We can thus multiply instances. The point is that the general tendency among the people is to flock either to a cheri peopled by their own castemen or by fellow workers. Cherries which are mixed in character are scattered all over the city.

Looked at from the point of view of the faiths professed by the inhabitants of the slums, they can be classified under two groups. One group consists of those cheries which are peopled exclusively by followers of one faith, like the Hindus and the Christians. The other group is a mixture of all faiths including Islam.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STATUS.

It is also worth while to consider their social and economic status. Most of the people living in

the cheries are poor labourers. They occupy the lowest position economically and socially. They lead a hand-to-mouth existence. Their poverty does not permit them to live in a good locality or in decent houses, but drives them to the slums where they construct a small house or hut at a cost of Rs. 10 or 15, or more according to their means. Those who are not in a position to build huts live in rented huts. People owning huts in private cheries pay to the land-holder ground rent ranging from annas eight to Rs. 2 in the case of thatched huts and from Rs. 2 to Rs. 4 in the case of brick and tiled buildings. The owner of a hut with a view to supplement his income lets a portion of his hut for rent thus making overcrowding in the cheri still worse.

They are a miserable lot, the people living in the cheries. As a general rule all the low-lying marshy lands belonging to private individuals which they cannot put to any private use without spending much money to improve them are offered to these people for building huts. As these poor people cannot afford to pay ground rent for sites in an elevated place, they are naturally pushed on to the low-lying lands. During the rainy season these cheries are not fit for human habitation. They get flooded; the floors of the huts become damp, and the surroundings are rendered insanitary.

IN THE RAINY SEASON.

During the cyclone in November last, a number of slums in the city were flooded and the huts therein were damaged. The cheries in the north of the city like Pulianthope, Bogipalayam, Chakkilpalayam, Kursadi cheri and a number of others were the worst sufferers. In all these cheries on account of their low level and the heavy rain there was knee-deep water in a few and waist-deep water in the rest. In Perambur and Chakkilpalayam there was four feet of water. After the floods had subsided the roads became so very slushy that one got stuck up in the mud six inches deep. Darkness, bad air, dampness, dirt and dilapidation are the characteristics of the slums. The walls of these huts are of mud and very low. The doors are small and narrow. In several of these slums the huts are on a lower level than the plinth level by two feet. Roofs of these huts are of thatch ordinarily but we also came across huts whose roofs are made of flattened kerosene tins. At times old gunnies serve as a wall or partition. The streets in many of these cheries are narrow and full of foul smell as people throw all their rubbish and garbage there and allow it to rot. They allow their children also to use the streets as latrine. They seldom bathe and wash their clothes. Their habits of life are very insanitary. This is the general condition of most of the cheries in the city. In addition to the appalling condition of these private cheries, the absence of good water-supply, lighting, latrine and bathing arrangements, makes one shudder at the kind of life the people in the slums are forced to live in a city like Madras. It is a wonder that a fourth of the population in the city is left untouched by the wholesome influence of the civic services of the Corporation. Thus the poverty of the people, their bad houses, insanitary habits, the absence of a spirit of self-help among them to improve the sanitary conditions of their surroundings, and the utter neglect of the land-owner to provide them with the necessary civic amenities like water-supply, lighting, latrine and bathing accommodation etc., added to the indifference of the Corporation to look to the sanitary needs of the slums, all these have contributed in no small measure to the gravity of the problem of public health in the city,

the seriousness of which has not yet been fully realised by our city fathers. When we take into consideration that there are 115 private cheries with nearly 100,000 people living in them without water taps, lights latrines and bathing fountains and without any arrangements for scavenging the gravity of the problem will be better realised.

POWERS OF THE CORPORATION.

The problem of the slums in the city is mainly a problem of private slum-owners. It has already been pointed out that the 115 cheries in the city are not provided with the fundamental civic services. The Corporation has got ample powers given to it under the City Municipal Act to provide the necessary sanitary conveniences to the people in the cheries, at the cost of the land-owner; but it is strange that the Corporation has not used its powers to the fullest advantage. The City's High Mortality Committee in their report suggested as far back as 1927, the amendment of the Municipal Act to enable the Corporation to attend to the sanitary needs of these private cheries without being objected to by the Government auditor. But so far nothing has been done.

Besides these there are a large number of "squatters", that is camps of houseless labourers scattered all over the city. They sleep in the streets and lanes under the canopy of the heaven. This is again due to lack of cheap housing accommodation in the city. To understand the condition of these squatters requires a little more investigation. We have to find out whether it is the want of land in the vicinity of their place of work that makes them squat in open places, verandahs and pavements. Perhaps verandahs and shop fronts are better than damp huts. These squatters use the open drains, streets and lanes as public latrines with the result that the neighbourhood in which they live is rendered very insanitary.

The existence of these slums, and more particularly the bad housing conditions therein, is responsible for the high death rate in the city for the last one decade. The lack of a proper housing scheme in the city to house its poor inhabitants has led to overcrowding, congestion, squalor and disease.

SANITARY WELFARE LEAGUE'S WORK.

So far the general condition of these slums has been described. But it will be premature to suggest any remedy before a careful survey is made of all the slums in the city from the point of view of their sanitary needs. It is encouraging to find that the Sanitary Welfare League which has been recently started by some people interested in the civic problems of the city is conducting sanitary surveys into the sanitary condition of each slum. The League has the following objects: 1. to carry on a campaign of sanitary education to investigate and assist in bettering conditions of living in the city. 2. to bring together persons and bodies interested in the sanitary improvement of the city and to co-ordinate their work, and 3. to focus public attention on the main problems of sanitary improvement and to bring to the notice of the municipal authorities the sanitary needs of different localities in the city. Since it was started about twenty workers have come forward to work on behalf of the League. A questionnaire from the point of view of sanitation has been prepared and out of the 158 cheries nearly 35 have been surveyed. After the survey is completed the information thus got will be made available to the public in the form of a report.