

# The Servant of India

EDITOR : P. KODANDA RAO.

OFFICE : SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S HOME, POONA 4.

VOL. XV, No. 21. }

POONA—THURSDAY, MAY 26, 1932.

{ INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6.  
FOREIGN 15s.

## CONTENTS.

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK. ... ..	165
ARTICLES :—	
Sino—Japanese Conflict ... ..	167
The Permanent Settlement. By Dr. R. P. Paranjpye ... ..	169
REVIEWS :—	
Gold Standard. By M. H. G. ... ..	170
Disarmament. By C. V. Hanumantha Rao ... ..	170
MISCELLANEOUS :—	
The Cape Town Conference. ... ..	170
CORRESPONDENCE :—	
The Riots and the Congress. By "A Friend" ... ..	171

## Topics of the Week.

### The late Mr. B. C. Pal.

THE passing away at the age of seventy-six of Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal removes from the Indian political stage one of its veterans. It was during the anti-Partition agitation of 1905, inaugurated by the late Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, that Mr. Pal rose to all-India fame. He was then the idol of young India who were thrilled and roused to frenzy by his fiery and exuberant eloquence. He was one of the pioneers of the extremist school of politics in India, which ridiculed constitutional agitation as mendacity. Gradually his views underwent a change until he became more moderate than the Moderates themselves and a regular and much-welcomed contributor to the Anglo-Indian press. He was a journalist during the best part of his time. He was editor at one time or other of the *Tribune of Lahore*, *New India* and *Bande Mataram* of Calcutta and the *Independent* of Allahabad.

### Lord Irwin on Federation.

IN the course of his Massey Lecture to the University of Toronto, for a good summary of which we are indebted to the *Times of India*, Lord Irwin discussed three alternative policies for the Government of India: control from England, creation of an Indian autocracy or oligarchy, and the development of democratic government. The first would be the abandonment of all hope of basing the Government of India on the consent of its people. As such, it was untenable. The second was, in his opinion, equally untenable as it stood no chance of acceptance either by the British or the Indian peoples, because it was opposed to the spirit of the times and the whole political history of India as the Indians themselves had made it. The Sankey Scheme, read with the latest demands of the Princes, is perilously near inflicting on India the very thing that Lord Irwin

thought would not be supported either by the British or the Indian people. He need not be surprised if the Indian people oppose certain features of that Scheme. They believe, with him, that the only course left is the development of genuine democracy in India, whatever be the difficulties in the way.

It is a pity that Lord Irwin did not say what he thought of the claims of the Princes. He was merely content to note that the Princes were chilled with doubts and that British India cast jealous eyes on their claims and that the fate of the federation, in the form in which it was at first acclaimed, hung in the balance. He however urged that, even at the price of some delay, it was best that the ever widening community of interest between all parts of India was given full play and that subsequently a comprehensive constitution was evolved. From this we may draw the legitimate conclusion that Lord Irwin is not an ardent supporter of the Sankey Scheme. But it is not clear whether he wished all constitutional progress was put off till the community of interest had had full play and a comprehensive scheme was possible on democratic lines, or whether he wished the British Indian Provinces went ahead pending that consummation. The first would prolong control by England, which he has already condemned; the second is opposed even by the Indian Moderates. The solution lies in persuading the Princes to learn speedily that democracy was inevitable and to get them to help devising a genuinely democratic constitution for India.

### The Wisest Course.

IN a special interview to the "Hindu", Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar agreed with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Sastri that the reform at the Centre should be simultaneous with that in the Provinces and that the delay in passing a comprehensive measure need not exceed six months. But he is not one of those who would irrevocably link central responsibility with federation. He said :—

I am also of opinion that it would be a great mistake to hang reforms upon the willingness of the Princes to join Federation. Any such condition would mean an intolerable amount of delay which would surely have the effect of creating or confirming suspicions in the people of India as to the willingness of the British Government to grant responsible government and prolonging the agitation and tension. The demand of the Princes that Federation should depend on the adhesion of fifty-one per cent of the population of the States and fifty-one per cent of State units is preposterous. Unpalatable as it may be to British politicians who have coupled the idea of responsibility at the Centre with Federation of Indian States and British India, the wisest course would be to provide a constitutional framework for the Federation, but start responsible government at the Centre, irrespective of the adhesion of the Princes and leave the door open for the

Indian States to enter the Central Legislatures and when they choose to come in, whether singly or collectively. I believe that progressive States of South India and Baroda would be quite willing to join the Federation from the start and when some of the more important units have joined the Federation, the other units may be trusted to come fairly quickly.

\* \* \*

### Communal Harmony.

THE Government of Bombay have issued a *communiqué* recapitulating the distressful story of the Bombay communal riots and have ended it with a claim that the situation had never got out of hand, and with the assurance that Government had enough forces at their command to ensure security of person and property. Considering the brutal crimes committed in broad daylight for nearly a week, Government's assurance of their power to guarantee security of person and property is far from inspiring confidence in the public, though, from the nature of the crimes, it is difficult to see what more the Government and the police, who, by all accounts, had done exceptionally well, could have done. Isolated assaults in narrow gullies are more than can be controlled by the police. They will stop only when the ugly passions that frenzied the people die away.

Restoration of normal relations of amity between the communities can be accelerated by vigorous and prompt propaganda for conciliation. The Bombay Citizens' Conciliation Committee, under the chairmanship of the Mayor, Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, issued a manifesto on the 22nd evening in which they appealed for conciliation and mutual forbearance. Those who are at a distance from the scene may find it rather difficult to understand why a manifesto of the kind should have taken so long to issue and if it could not have been issued to greater purpose a week earlier.

While it is a matter for satisfaction that those who are in need are being helped by relief committees, it is a matter for regret that the committees are communally constituted. It is a great pity that even in purely humanitarian work communalism should intrude. Wisely did Sir Mirza Ismail observe when he opened the Mahratta Conference in Bangalore:

If these community conferences are to be conducted in a spirit of separateness, of hostility, even of defensiveness, they would not be of use to any one, and to the State they would be a very serious injury. There is no hope, no future, for a community that cannot see beyond its own good.

Continuing, Sir Mirza said:—

The co-operative unity of which I am thinking, and which is far more positive than toleration, is not merely sanctioned and commanded by religion. It is a social and a national necessity. Everything in our country's future, from material prosperity to political progress and the fulfilling of India's spiritual destiny, depends on it.

\* \* \*

### Communal Trade Unions.

INSPIRED by some of the Muslim members of the Legislative Assembly, a section of the Muslim employees of the North Western Railway met recently in Delhi to form a "N. W. Railway Muslim Employees Association." The Muslim legislators who inspired the idea have done the workers no good, nor have the members of the organisation done themselves or the trade union movement generally in India any good. It is a deplorable move. The Muslim employees are not likely to secure redress of any of their special grievances, if they have any, by this means. On the other hand, they make it easy for the employers to

have it all their own way. The history of recent strikes in Bombay has shown conclusively how the employers are not above using communal cleavages to break up strikes, and that such action has often led to communal riots. Communal organisations, like rival organisations in the same trade, weaken the bargaining power of labour. The action of the Muslims will provoke the formation of trade unions by other communities.

While the splitting along communal lines of the none-too-well-organised labour unions may be an advantage to the Government, as an employer, there is a special responsibility resting on the Government, as the guardian of Labour, to discourage such suicidal policies. Happily when some years ago an organisation of Muslim employees in the Postal and Railway Mail Services sought recognition from the Government, it was refused. The Government will be doing a great service to Labour if they pursue the same policy now and ever.

We hope all the trade unions in India will un-animously discourage this disastrous move on the part of some of the Muslim employees in the Punjab and invoke the moral pressure of the trade union movement abroad.

\* \* \*

### Municipalities in the Punjab.

THE Government review of the working of the Municipalities in the Punjab for the year 1930-31 is a most depressing document. If the picture is not overdrawn; municipal administration in the Punjab is an utter failure and the despair of all those who believe in greater autonomy of local bodies. Referring to Lahore Municipality, the Government said that it

revealed an extremely disquieting state of affairs in the premier municipality. Indeed, few of the evils to which municipal administration is prone are absent from the working of this Committee: procrastination, dilatoriness, carelessness with regard to the property of the public, the Committee and the Government, communalism, inordinate delay in correspondence with Government and its officers, and lax control of establishment being prominent among the Committee's failings.

It is unnecessary to quote further from the Government review, except to say that Lahore was not the worst sinner. Recently Government put through the Punjab Legislative Council a bill by which Municipalities will have Executive Officers approved by the Government. This will to some extent mitigate the evils so rampant now. But as the *Tribune* pertinently enquired: will this innovation, which is itself a diminution of the autonomy of the municipalities, mend matters radically? It can only reduce to some extent the responsibility of the local bodies, but no more. The root cause of the trouble is communalism. The great bulk of the municipalities in the Punjab are constituted frankly on a communal basis, while others have it though not so obviously. In the latter the wards are so delimited that they have large communal majorities in them. The voting is, therefore, almost wholly communal. Hardly nay matter that comes up before a municipality is considered on its merits; communal considerations outweigh all others. The municipalities in the Punjab are a staggering warning against the principle of communalism in local bodies.

\* \* \*

### Swadeshi.

NO special arguments are still necessary to support the plea of Swadeshi; it ought to be by now a part of our being. But yet such is the force of inertia of settled habits and of vested interests that there is still great need for vigorous propaganda in

favour of a more universal acceptance of Swadeshi. The Swadeshi and the "Buy India" Leagues are doing very valuable work. The venerable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has appealed for the celebration of the Swadeshi Day on the 29th, and we hope it will meet with adequate and enthusiastic response from all quarters, including the official.

#### Bombay Mill-Owners.

THE Trade Commissioner of the *Bombay Chronicle* bitterly complains of the conduct of the Bombay mill-owners in preferring American cotton to Indian cotton. It appears that because some time ago American cotton was quoted cheaper than Indian cotton the mill-owners placed large orders for American cotton. Over two lakhs of bales are said to have arrived and some fifty thousand more are on the way. The justification for this preference was, according to Mr. H. P. Mody, the Chairman of the Bombay Mill-Owners Association, that American cotton was then cheaper than Indian cotton! It seems almost incredible that the mill-owners, who zealously supported the Swadeshi campaign as well as the boycott of foreign cloth, who agitated successfully for protective tariffs, should, at the very moment when they were asking the Indian consumer to prefer their products, even at a sacrifice, to those of Lancashire and Japan, themselves prefer foreign cotton to Indian cotton particularly when the requisite type of cotton was available in India. A more convincing explanation is due from the mill-owners.

#### Russia's Achievement.

WHILE the curse of unemployment is fairly universal and in some countries acute, Russia alone seems to be free from it. Russia has wiped out unemployment since 1930. The number of employed has increased amazingly from over 11 million in 1928 to over 21 million in 1932. Not only every available man but every available woman was employed and the wages of women have gradually approximated to those of men and in many trades are now nearly at par. The total amount of wages paid to workers has nearly quadrupled since 1928. Workers received higher wages than they did in 1928. Since 1924 the number of workers who received 40 rubles a month has been reduced by seven-eighths, while the number of those who received 100 rubles and over has increased twenty times. This achievement was due partly to the prohibition of the employment of juveniles under 16, to the restriction of the hours of work of workers between 16 and 18 to 6 a day and of most adult workers to 7 a day. This applies primarily to industrial workers. But even agricultural workers have shared in the prosperity and freedom from unemployment. If all this is possible in Russia, which is primarily an agricultural country, there is no reason why India should not profit by her example.

#### Burma Separation.

ACCORDING to a *Free Press* telegram from Rangoon, it appears that the three most important Burmese Associations, which were all against Burma separating from India, have combined and have, in consequence, greatly strengthened the anti-separatist movement in Burma. They are confident of sweeping the polls at the next elections. The present electoral rolls were made last year and were defective inasmuch as compilation of voters was greatly hampered by the rebellion in several important districts and by the anti-Indian riots. The Associations have asked that fresh electoral rolls should be prepared, and pointed out that failure to do so would vitiate the

verdict of Burma on the separation issue. The Burma Government had declined the request on the ground of expense and the fact that the rolls were prepared only last year. It suggested however that qualified voters might of their own accord register their names on the rolls by a particular date. The Government's decision is rather unfortunate. Voluntary registration can never take the place of preparation of the rolls by the Government. Considering the momentous issue which has to be decided by the results of the next elections and the fact that there were in operation last year causes which made the exhaustive compilation of voters' lists impossible, and more than all, the Government itself is under a thick cloud of suspicion that it fomented separation, it would have done well to have gone out of the way, if necessary, and given every facility for public opinion in Burma to declare itself and give an unchallengeable verdict. As it is, the Government has put itself in the wrong. The Associations have appealed to the Secretary of State to do otherwise.

But that hope may not be realised. That throws on the shoulders of the Burmese Associations a specially heavy responsibility to see that all qualified voters are enrolled. The issue is too momentous to be allowed to go by default.

#### Vindicating Injustice.

IN an article, reproduced elsewhere in this issue, remarkable for its candour and illogicality, the *Natal Advertiser*, a British paper in Durban which can yet take a fair view of the Indian question, is reduced to vindicating injustice. With righteous indignation it condemned the attitude of the Britisher in Natal towards the Indian; it spoke in praise of the qualities of the Indian and asserted his right to remain in South Africa and condemned the colonisation idea as unjust to the South African born Indian. And yet it advised the Indian to flee from their homeland and seek salvation in foreign lands! Its advice is no better than that of the *Natal Mercury*, the British paper uniformly hostile to the Indian. Only it offers its advice with a heart full of contrition, despair and anguish. It would condemn the Britisher but penalise the Indian!

## Articles.

### SINO-JAPANESE CONFLICT.

THE decision of the Government of Japan announced on May 11 to withdraw their troops from Shanghai within a month in deference to world opinion expressed at Geneva will cause a measure of relief to those who believe in the peaceful method of settling international disputes, but it does not bring to a close the chapter of Sino-Japanese hostilities in China which commenced in September of last year when Manchuria was invaded by Japanese forces, who virtually established their military occupation over a territory bigger in area than France and Great Britain combined, having a population of over 20 millions. Both the belligerent nations are members of the League of Nations, pledged to seek redress always through peaceful and conciliatory means, and committed solemnly by their signatures to the Covenant of the League, the Nine Power Treaty and the Kellogg Pact to banish all thought of war under any and every circumstance whatsoever. The Chinese Government at the initiation of hostilities by

Japan forthwith lodged an appeal with the Council of the League against the aggressive action of its neighbour.

The Council, after hearing representatives of both the nations, resolved to set up an impartial commission of five to enquire into the basis of dispute between the two countries and submit its report. While the League Secretariat was engaged in bringing into being this machinery of enquiry, the Japanese, emboldened perhaps by their easily-won victories in Manchuria and stung to indignation by the anti-Japanese demonstrations and vigorous boycott of their goods, made up their mind to teach the Chinese a lesson and crush violently the boycott movement. The Japanese naval arms came booming to Shanghai about January 21, and started operations, whose casualty toll rose to over 23,000 killed and wounded and the property damage in Chapei and Kiangwan mounted to over £100 millions by March 3. What an irony of fate! February 1932 was witnessing on the part of the nations of the world an endeavour at Geneva to disarm, with Japanese and Chinese delegations participating therein, and simultaneously Shanghai was being drenched in human blood at the hands of Japanese troops armed to the teeth. Strange to say that the very countries of Europe which sacrificed over a million of their kith and kin between 1914-1918, supplied the deadly munitions of war to Japan to be used against her weak and disorganised neighbour. The Chinese soldiers offered for a time a determined resistance to their disciplined foes, but capitulated eventually. When the battle raged, fierce and strong, round Shanghai and endangered the lives and property of European settlers in the International Settlement, the powerful nations of the West began their protest and summoned for the first time a special session of the League Assembly on the request of the Chinese Government to cry a halt. Cessation of hostilities and withdrawal of forces of the invading country immediately were decided upon. It is in pursuance of this action of the League that Japan has ordered, somewhat belatedly, recall of its army from Shanghai within a month.

Critics are not wanting who attribute the League pressure on Japan in favour of stoppage of warlike conflicts instantly to the exposure of western nationals and their property in Shanghai to Japanese bombs and shells, implying, uncharitably perhaps, thereby that but for the European settlers in Shanghai, the deadly operations might have been prolonged and the League's action might have been somewhat hesitant and dilatory.

The Lytton Commission of Enquiry is now in Manchuria sifting evidence for and against the rival parties, and is probably being told by Japan that Manchuria has been for years a battleground of Chinese militarist factions; in the absence of peace and order in the country due to Chinese violence, it is futile to speak of "open door" or of equal opportunity for economic activities of all nations, as the Nine Power Treaty guarantees; not only did the existing machinery of justice and civilised existence break down through organised looting by Chinese

armed volunteers, but criminal activities of bandits who infest the country were naturally stimulated; cases of bandit raids in the vicinity of the railway zone totalled over 1500 in last November and December. China for its part must be levelling counter-charges against Japan's notorious lust for power and pelf in Manchuria. But perhaps the most difficult aspect of the problem confronting the Commission arises from the Sino-Japanese Railway competition in Manchuria. Prior to 1905, this country was traversed by two lines—the Japanese-owned South Manchurian Railway and the Russian-owned Chinese Eastern Railway. Thereafter, until about 5 years ago, Japan's efforts centred in securing priority, to the exclusion of other foreign capital, in financing the construction of new Manchurian railways. Although the new lines were financed almost exclusively by Japan, they remained legally in possession of the Chinese Government, and will become Chinese-owned upon repayment of the Japanese loans. Since 1927, Chinese authorities began building railway lines with their own skill and capital. By 1930 Japanese loans and advances including accumulated interest due to China's default in payment rose to about £. 125 million. The situation reached the breaking point when in 1931 the Chinese Railways intensified competition against the Japanese by cutting down their rates and fares in a period of economic depression, causing a substantial fall in the revenues of the South Manchurian Railway which led directly to the drastic step by Japan in September 1931 to defend its position in Manchuria.

The question seriously asked is: has not the League of Nations stultified itself by letting one of its strong members spurn its vows and pledges in favour of the Conference method, and resort to warlike activities against a weak colleague? If Japan's militancy against China did not call for putting the Covenant sanctions into action, of what use are these sanctions? The subject of sanctions bristles with incalculable difficulties. Sanctions contained in the Covenant are the last instrument in the League's possession. Resort to them implies failure of all other alternatives. Prudence demands preservation of some reserve strength in the body politic as far as possible. How could the League Council effectively operate the sanctions against Japan instantaneously to prevent horrors of war? How can the big powers in the League, bound by solemn covenants to only peaceful means in solving acute international situations adopt warlike measures against a defaulting colleague, without dishonoring themselves; and particularly when two of the largest powers of the world—U. S. A. and Soviet Russia—are outside the League commitments? Finally, the Chinese spokesman himself in the Assembly, appreciating the dire consequences involved did not plead for the use of sanctions against militant Japan. These considerations justify the conciliatory policy of the League, Japan has certainly erred in taking the law into its own hands. Its appeal against China lay at the world forum of Geneva. The League in handling the Sino-

Japanese affair may have moved cautiously, may have even faltered somewhat in warning Japan, but the League stands justified and offers a proof of vitality which will necessitate the revision of its charter, since only the defects of that charter have prevented its speedier success as a peacemaker.

Now that the League has succeeded in making peace, the next move of Japan in adopting the Conference method in regard to the settlement of outstanding issues which is announced in the press recently may be heartily welcomed.

### THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT.

THE Federal Finance Committee in their report have been making various attempts, not always successful, to formulate proposals to set the coming Federal Government and the Provinces on a sound financial footing. In spite of various special artifices it appears that the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and Assam would be faced with some deficit even after the allocation of income-tax to the provinces and the remission of all contribution to the Federal exchequer. The Committee state frankly that the only method of relieving the deficit provinces is to spread the charge on the other provinces. Now in spite of the greatest good will in the world it is certain that the other provinces are bound to feel some sort of resentment at having to bear the burden of these provinces. Since the beginning of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms these three provinces have not contributed anything appreciable to the central revenues and Bengal has always managed to wriggle out of its obligation to pay its contribution according to the Meston Settlement, and the other provinces had to pay a proportionately bigger amount till the contributions were wiped out four years ago.

In the case of a really poor province the resentment might have been indicative of want of sympathy or national spirit, but when this call for sacrifice is made to help provinces which have deliberately given up a potent source of taxation, the resentment is surely intelligible. Until this source is tapped just as in the other provinces, these latter should not be asked to come to their aid. We refer, of course, to the permanent settlement which has deprived Bengal and Bihar of an elastic and growing source of revenue. The people of the other provinces pay a much heavier assessment on their land while the landlords of Bengal and Bihar only pay the small burden which has been fixed once for all ever since the time of Lord Cornwallis. The settlements then made may have been politically expedient at the time, but they have worked as a drag upon the progress of those provinces for over a century. The tax collectors of those days were put, to serve an administrative convenience, in full proprietorship of vast territories to which they had no real claim and all the progress of the country due to the settled government under British rule has only added to their incomes for which they have not done a particle of work. The Permanent Settlement has become a kind of religious creed any criticism of

which is sure to raise a howl of execration against the rash heretic who dares to question it. Even such a mild proposal as taking into account the agricultural income to determine the rates of income tax and super-tax on non-agricultural incomes was, a few years ago, defeated by the selfish clamour of these landlords. As long as this Permanent Settlement continues it will be an incubus on the provincial finances and real progress of the people in those provinces will be impossible.

The big zemindars are not unaware of the dangers of a rise of democratic feeling. Though a British Government may feel bound to respect the sacred character of the settlement, the same will not be the case with a Government responsible to the elected representatives of the people. The large majority of the electors who have no direct interest in the land, whose lot is only to toil and moil all the days of their lives in order to enable these zemindars to increase their unearned increments will not be content to do so for ever. But these latter have even advocated the insertion of a section in the new Government of India Act preventing the elected Councils from ever touching the permanent settlement. We hope that these attempts will not succeed and the landlords will be wise enough to see that if legal means of reform are barred, the people will not be content for ever to submit to an admitted abuse of vested interests. If there is an outburst of feeling among the electors against these parasites of society and no constitutional means exist to make them useful members of society the only way left open would be that of a revolution in which the sympathies of other provinces will not be with them. The question of a modification of the permanent settlement has not attained so far any great importance as the political leaders of the country have not been too ready to place further resources in the hands of an irresponsible foreign Government. But the situation will be certainly altered after the coming of complete provincial autonomy and the military might of the Federal Government will not be allowed to be used to suppress popular agitation against the continuance of this iniquitous settlement.

According to advanced political ideas land belongs to the people and should be used for the general well-being of the masses of the population. It cannot be allowed to remain for ever in the hands of a very small fraction which refuses to bear its full share of the demands of taxation and which otherwise has to fall on the larger but poorer part of the population. It is not to the interest of the average elector that a few people should be in possession of millions to which they have no moral claim according to current ideas and should be able to live luxurious lives in Calcutta or Europe. If indeed the generality of these landlords realised the great opportunities that lie before them of doing public good, of adding to the sum of national wealth by hard personal work, of helping their less fortunate countrymen with their own superfluities, of serving as foci for the diffusion of those higher activities of mind like art, literature, music etc. that the wealthy in other lands patronise, then there

is something that might be said for their continued existence. *But we have yet to hear that they do any of these things.* All their activities are directed to reinforce their privileged position, to get a disproportionate amount of representation in the Councils and other elective bodies and to agitate with great vehemence against every measure, however trivial, that appears to invade their vested interests. Nay, even if they lived on the land and attempted to develop those lands by their own exertions and add to the national wealth one might have had some sympathy for them. But the way in which many of them have refused to take any personal interest in their lands, have once for all realised the unearned increment of their holding and have given place to various kinds of subtenancy holders, shows that they do not realise their responsibilities as landed proprietors do in any other country. The appalling growth of sub-infeudation has produced problems in Bengal which are unknown anywhere else and a popular government in that province will be compelled to take radical measures for tackling with this question.

In the meanwhile the other provinces must make Bengal and Bihar clearly understand that unless and until these provinces tackle their land problem and derive an adequate amount of revenue from their land just as other provinces do, these latter will not willingly agree to bear needless sacrifices to allow the scandal of a permanent settlement to continue.

R. P. PARANJPYE.

## Reviews.

### GOLD STANDARD.

**THE GOLD STANDARD IN THEORY AND PRACTICE.** (2nd. Edn.) By R. G. HAWTREY. (Longmans, London.) 1931. 20 cm. 161 p. 3/6.

THE main interest of this edition of Mr. Hawtrey's book lies in Chapter V. Between 1926 when the first edition appeared and 1931 when the second one did, "the gold standard as an international institution has been a disastrous failure." And in Chapter V the author in his usual authoritative and brilliant way examines the causes and effects of this failure, and suggests a course of future action.

Admitting that the trade depression effected production and the money market, Mr. Hawtrey argues that the policy of the Bank of England and of the American banks tended to worsen the depression. For to take one instance, the English Bank rate was put up instead of being lowered when trade was depressed. "The brake was being kept on while going up the hill." The effect of credit stringency was greatly intensified by the psychological consequences of the Wall Street collapse. Prices fell by more than 30%, and this catastrophic fall in world prices, according to Mr. Hawtrey, "is the cause of the breakdown of the gold standard."

The author has put in a good word for France which has been in some quarters accused of cornering gold for political reasons. Among other reasons which led to the accumulation of gold in France was the statutory limitation of powers of investment of the Bank of France.

Mr. Hawtrey concludes: "we should absolutely refuse to return to gold till there is some adequate

safeguard against undue fluctuations in the purchasing power of gold," and pleads for international cooperation, or at least an Anglo-American stabilisation policy. But the question is: Is it necessary or even useful to return to the gold standard?

The author's diagnosis of the causes and effects of the crisis and his conclusions might not find universal acceptance. But no one can deny that the book is admirably written and deserves nothing but praise, though sometimes one feels that Chapter V could have been more easy reading.

M. H. G.

### DISARMAMENT.

#### THE POLITICS OF NAVAL DISARMAMENT.

By GIOVANNI ENGELY. TRS. By H. V. Rhodes. (Williams & Norgate) 1932. 23cm. 301 pp. 15.

THAT the problem of naval disarmament has been hanging fire for over ten years is sufficient to indicate its complicated nature. It is a problem in the solution of which various viewpoints have to be considered and placated and reconciled. Beginning with the Disarmament Conference at Washington in 1921, a series of international conferences have been held with the idea of exploring the possibilities of bringing about disarmament, especially naval disarmament. The idea is there for the last decade and more but the will to put that idea into effect has been lacking in the nations. Suspicion, distrust and misunderstanding have all along stood in the way of carrying the ideal into practice and until these give place to cooperation, understanding and trust, the question of disarmament is doomed to failure.

Mr. Engely in his book traces the history of the evolution of the plans for naval disarmament from the time of their inception up to the end of the London Conference of 1929, and he presents the viewpoints of the statesmen and diplomats of the different countries in regard to the various aspects of naval disarmament by references to official documents and public pronouncements of Ministers. Mr. Engely is however specially concerned with the presentation of the viewpoint of Italy in regard to the question of disarmament for he considers that there is a special Italian point of view to be considered. It is entirely favourable to the ideal of disarmament provided each nation gives up its talk of national security and cooperates in a general plan for the limitation of armaments.

Mr. Engely's book is necessarily full of technical details, little interesting to the general reader. But it will be a useful guide book to one who is interested in the technical aspect of disarmament.

C. V. HANUMANTHARAO.

## Miscellaneous.

### THE CAPETOWN CONFERENCE.

THE guarded barrenness of Dr. Malan's statement on the result of the Indo-Union Conference of some months ago is deeply significant. One might at first be inclined to exclaim that too much secrecy has been observed over a matter on which apparently there was little of a definite kind to be said. If the Minister of the Indian Government had released this statement two months ago (so it might be argued) no harm would have been done: for the utterance is devoid of any definiteness whatsoever.

But this would be a foolish and short-sighted way to view the matter. It must rather be supposed that the weeks which have transpired since the Indian delegation left on

shores have been spent, by those delegates at least, in discovering whether or not they were justified in proffering to the Indian Government so poor a harvest of achievement; while the fact that apparently the Indian Government has approved the general tenor of Dr. Malan's utterances goes to show that the Viceroy and his Council have nothing better to offer to the Indian people in Natal. The Indian delegation has returned to India with empty hands. This is the full significance of Dr. Malan's statement; and the fact that that statement accords substantially with the Indian Government's view of the matter invests it with a very great significance.

#### BETWEEN THE LINES

Reading between the lines, the only conclusion that a dispassionate observer can come to is that South Africa is not disposed to encourage, or even to suffer, Indian Government interference in the domestic legislation of the Union so far as that legislation affects the Indian people in Natal. For some years past, the Indians in this Province have had the temerity to raise their eyes to their own Fatherland and to hope that some succour might be found for their plight in the powerful advocacy of the Indian Administration. Whether or not this advocacy should rightly have been looked for, or whether or not the disaffection of the Natal Indian was being exploited by the Indian Congress as a factor in the larger scheme of India's struggle towards "independence," does not matter greatly at the moment. For some years it has been the fashion of Indians in Natal to look overseas for help. The "agreed" statement of Dr. Malan virtually closes the door on his hope. Eighty per cent. of the Indians in Natal to-day are Colonial-born. Their native land is South Africa and for well or ill, they are the political subjects of the Government of South Africa. India apparently acquiesces in this position. India has failed to secure any amelioration of their condition. India has as concluded that the most she can do is to co-operate with South Africa if and when the latter country devises a scheme which will offer the Natal Indian some alternative to the conditions he knows to-day.

Now it is at this point that we want our Indian readers particularly to look facts clearly in the face, and reject, as we are compelled to reject, what is desirable as against what is probable. There is room in South Africa for all the Indians who are here at present; for the Indian is by no means the worst type of subject we have in our midst. He is intelligent; he is industrious. In these two qualities alone he is far in advance of thousands of people who are fated to be his political lords and masters for a very long time to come.

#### THE CAUSE IS LOST.

But he is not allowed to live in South Africa. He is virtually confined to Natal; and because of that he is regarded (with some economic justification) as a menace, and is regarded, too (also with justification), with a fear that, in time, breeds hate. Deplorable though the fact is—thrice deplorable from a British point of view—he is not likely to gain ground in the affection or regard to the ruling race in this country. He is more likely to lose ground. If he prospers he is feared. If he sinks to a dull lethargy and abandons all ambition to improve his standards of living, he will more and more provoke the resentment of European peoples who will dread the rapid multiplication of his type which is an inevitable concomitant of destitution and despair. The majority of white people in South Africa are not likely to be fair or just to him because they either fear or hate him; and not all the political pleading of that minority which still has some regard for justice and equity is likely to alter the position. If India has decided she cannot promote the lot of the Indian in South Africa, the cause of the local Indian is lost. He should make what terms he can with a white master who fears, distrusts and sometimes hates him, and certainly is never disposed to give him the citizenship that all men who help to build a nation are entitled to expect.

#### A FRESH START!

And this brings us to the dark hints about colonisation

overseas by Indians at present in Natal. We know that even a man with a brown skin, with rags on his limbs and poverty as his inheritance, is entitled to love his native land and to cling to it with a dumb tenacity though it has nothing to offer him but a grave. At the same time, though a great many Natal Indians were born here and know no other home, they should be ready to confess, even though they do it with bitterness in their hearts, that the Natal experiment has not been a success. They should—if they really cherish those latent aspirations to a lot that is more than helotry—be content at least to view with open minds any practical way of escape from what otherwise may prove an age-long condition of political servitude. The British Empire is still a real and living organism; and where doctrines of self-government have not steeled men's hearts against the liberal principles that once were the glory of our race, there are still fields of Imperial endeavour ruled over by British administrators where the industrious Easterner is treated as a subject with subject rights and a man who shall have some say in the making of the laws which govern him. For forty years the Israelites wondered before they came to Canaan, and often they knew temporary subjugation to alien masters before they could call their souls their own. The years of the Dispersal were almost countless. Yet the Jew never lost the desire for the National Home that only today he is inheriting. Even our Dutch friends in the Union sit at times and count the generations of tribulation they endured before a virtual sovereignty in South Africa came within their grasp; and often the home that was theirs one day was theirs no longer the day after. If there is, then, a real hunger in the Natal Indian's heart for a sense of nationhood beyond the seas; if he has outgrown the ryot philosophy of his peasant fore-fathers, and feels stirring in the blood the desire to have an abiding home under the British Flag, but a home that will assure him the right and the power to develop those political instincts which South Africa, in a queer sort of way, has quickened; let him at least meet half-way any practicable proposals that seem to assure to him and his offspring a happier future in lands where he will be a colonist rather than a helot. Let his psalm hereafter be:

*Woe is me that I sojourn in Mesekh, that I dwell in the tents of Kedar!*

*My soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace.*

*I am for peace, but when I speak they are for war.*

Let him gird up his loins and depart where he can be free!—*Natal Advertiser.*

## Correspondence.

### THE RIOTS AND THE CONGRESS.

TO THE EDITOR, "THE SERVANT OF INDIA."

SIR—The cruel pastime of hurling reckless charges in connection with last week's tragic events in Bombay was started by the "Times of India" at a juncture when it could not but add fuel to the fire. The lead given by that paper which misses no opportunity of villifying the Congress and of exaggerating communal tension has unfortunately been followed by others. Among them I regret to have to include the "Servant of India" which takes the cue from the Anglo-Indian paper of Bombay and, without seriously examining this heinous charge against a party unable to defend itself, endorses the views of a paper which, as its record of the last twenty-five years shows, has scarcely been an upholder of inter-communal amity. In these days even to defend the Congress against this false accusation may be making oneself subject to action under the Ordinances; but in as much as the Congress admittedly stands for a large mass of public opinion it becomes pertinent to inquire whether there is any substantial evidence to justify

this wild charge. The four items that go to make up the charge are: the boycott of certain Muslim firms, the picketing of Muslim shops, the non-abandonment of the raid at Wadala and the general lowering of respect for law and order as a result of the Civil Disobedience Movement. The boycott of firms of the cotton, bullion or stock exchanges has, so far as the general public are aware, been directed against all—whether Hindus or Muslims—who have not fallen in with a particular policy agreed to by the others in that line of business. No distinctions have been made on communal lines and it is only those with a perverted mentality that will make capital for communal purposes, out of this form of boycott, whatever one's views about the advisability or wisdom of this form of economic pressure. Then as regards picketing, it is common knowledge that the activities of picketers were concentrated in the principal cloth markets, and Mahomedan localities came in for such scant attention at their hands that large numbers of Hindu traders dealing in foreign cloth transferred their shops to the Muslim area where they considered themselves safe from the attentions of picketers. The Wadala Raid may have been a misguided move, but the happenings on Saturday were so sudden and swift that those who planned the raid could, one can well imagine, hardly have foreseen them. And the fact that the Commissioner of Police with a large Police force accompanied by Magistrates proceeded to Wadala indicates that nobody in the city suspected that the incident of the previous day was not a passing affair. If the Police with all their inside knowledge of the city's affairs did not turn their attention from Wadala to the heart of the town, how does the "Servant of India" expect those responsible for directing Congress activities in Bombay to give up their little demonstration at Wadala, which by the way, as the official report tells us, was too mild and tame an affair to demand all the display of authority, which could easily have been spared for a situation that needed watching. Of all the counts, the grossest is the last one, namely, that lawlessness in the sense of encouragement of acts of violence is bred by the Civil Disobedience campaign. So far as one can judge from the published reports of happenings in the city of Bombay and of the court trials of Congressmen not one of the persons arrested has been accused of any crime of violence, of raising his hand against his brother, causing an injury to the protectors of law and order, engaging in scuffles either with policemen or others, much less of more serious crimes such as arson, looting, homicide or murder. What justification is there, then for making an untenable charge or is it done merely because the Congress deserves to be hanged, so why not give it a bad name and see that its chargesheet leaves no room for escape! It may suit the interests for which the "Times of India" stands to level these charges against an organisation the leaders of which are not in a position to rebut the accusation. But surely, the "Servant of India" as a responsible organ of a respected public body should have known better.

#### A FRIEND.

[Our esteemed Correspondent has in his gallant defence of the Congress covered a wider range than we are concerned with. Whatever be the intentions of the Congress, does our Correspondent deny that the Congress campaign of boycott and picketing has aggravated communal tension in Bombay, certain com-

munities being largely hostile to this campaign? As regards Wadala, does he mean that, even if the Police fully appreciated the danger in Bombay, the Wadala salt pans should have been left undefended? As things turned out, fewer police would have been adequate for the purpose: but did the Congress have the courtesy to inform the Police in good time that it meant to stage only a mild affair at Wadala? It is quite possible that the Congress authorities, who planned the Wadala campaign, did not realise the gravity of the impending trouble in Bombay. We postulated that possibility, and observed a due reserve as our Correspondent will find if he refers again to our comments, but we find that the *Free Press Journal* which is not unfriendly to the Congress, and which, being published in Bombay, might be expected to know more about the happening than we did, condemned the Congress without such reserve. However, all that was needed was a statement by the Congress authorities that they did not realise the gravity of the situation and that if they had done so, they would have abandoned the Wadala Campaign, and that they regretted that their action led to the diversion of some police who were more needed in Bombay. The lament that the Congress has no exponents and defenders is happily not justified as long as it has disinterested friends of the type of our correspondent. We do not know if the defence of the Congress is punishable under the Ordinances; but is the disapproval of the Wadala campaign forbidden under the Congress ordinances? Or does our correspondent contend that the Wadala raid is non-violent and does he approve of it? — Ed.]

#### SASTRI SPEAKS.

A record of the writings and speeches of the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C., C. H., during his eighteen months' tenure of office as the first Agent of the Government of India in South Africa. A store-house of information on the position of Indians South Africa—political, social, economic, and educational: and as such indispensable to everybody who wishes to understand the South African Indian problem.

Mr. Jan H. Hofmeyr, who contributes a foreword, describes the speeches as

"A real enrichment of our South-African life."

Besides Mr. Sastri's speeches, the Cape Town Agreement, Mr. Sastri's Memorandum and evidence on Indian education in Natal and his reports for 1927 and 1928 are among the valuable documents printed as appendices which highly facilitate an understanding of the Indian position in the Union.

Over 300 pp.

Price: eight shillings net.

The Natal Press,

Pietermaritzburg, South Africa.