

# The Servant of India

EDITOR : P. KODANDA RAO.

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## Topics of the Week.

### Third R. T. C.

IT is in the air that the British Government have decided to restore the Round Table Conference method and that the third session of the Conference will be held in November next. We hope the press forecast is true and that Government have at last come round. It will be even more satisfactory if, as rumour has it, Government propose to place concrete proposals before the Conference as the basis for discussion and agreement. Nothing will expedite the work of the Conference so much as the presentation of definite, though in the nature of things provisional, proposals by the Government. If this policy had been followed at the earlier session of the Conference, much unnecessary delay might have been saved. However, it is satisfactory that Government have at last seen the wisdom of the coming out with their proposals.

It is also said that to the third session will be invited not all those who took part in the first and second sessions but a smaller number. It has never been our contention that as many as were invited to the earlier sessions should have been invited to them. The number and selection were entirely of the Government's choosing. But it appears to us that it would be very impolitic, to put it no worse, to leave out anybody who was invited to the earlier sessions of the Conference. It must be remembered that the second session was merely adjourned, not dissolved, and the Prime Minister spoke of the members meeting again to review the work of the Consultative and other committees set up. There is no good purpose served by dropping some of the members now. The expense cannot be the deciding factor. As for delay, it was not due in the past so much to the large number of delegates as to the failure of the Government to put forward their own proposals or join in the discussions to effective

purpose. Considering the background of suspicion and distrust of the *bona fides* of the Government aggravated by the Secretary of State's speech on June 27 and the more recent Communal Award, it is necessary that the restoration of the Conference method should be as complete as possible. We hope the Government will not commit the blunder of radically altering the composition of the Conference and opening a wide front for adverse criticism.

### The Reunion Scheme.

While fully sympathising with the natural resentment felt by the South African Indians against any proposal aimed at reducing the Indian population in the Union on the ground that they are an undesirable aliens, we cannot but regret that some of their leaders have decided to dismiss out of hand the proposal to draft 2,000 Indian labours from Natal to the Island of Reunion, on the ground that it smacked of the colonisation scheme adumbrated in the Cape Town Agreement to which they were opposed. It is an admitted fact that there is unemployment among the Indians in Natal and that it is, in part, due to the white labour policy of the Union Government. But what is the remedy? Will it be enough if we kept up a continuous protest against the neglect and hostility of the Government? Do the Indian leaders see any hope of amelioration of the conditions of their unemployed compatriots that way? If not, what is the alternative? Would it be humane and wise to let our countrymen starve in Natal rather than find work and wages in Reunion? Would it be prudent to reject a scheme, if it promises an improvement in the conditions of our people, simply because it will incidentally promote and further the Union Government's desire to reduce the Indian population in South Africa? The struggle for the recognition of the rights of Indians in South Africa will not, need not, be weakened by the emigration of some of them to better conditions elsewhere. It has not in the past weakened because many thousands of Indians emigrated to India where their condition was appreciably worse. Those who remain behind, and must remain behind, will carry on the fight, and, in view of the influence of the number of Indians on their status in the Union, with better chances of success. The Reunion scheme deserves to be considered on its merits. Will it improve the status of Indians migrating there or not? That is the only question. And that can be known only after thorough local investigation.

Since writing the above comes the cabled news that the South African Indian Congress has agreed to cooperate in exploring possibilities of colonisation in other countries. It is all to the good.

### Indians in Ceylon.

The recent protest of the Indian Agent in South Africa against the policy of the Union Government

and the white employers in South Africa of throwing out of employment Indians who had many years of service to their credit in order to make room for the white unemployed finds an echo in the Report of the Indian Agent in Ceylon for last year. It appears that some 180 Indian labours with considerable service to their credit, were discharged by a Local Board without the grant of a pension or gratuity and were repatriated against their will. It is, however, somewhat comforting to be assured that these tactics were discountenanced by responsible men, and we hope the intervention of the Indian Agent will put a stop to such inhuman practices.

The Ceylon Indian Agent's Report discloses the fact that in 1931 the immigration of Indian labour to Ceylon was the lowest and repatriation to India the highest during recent years. Wages, direct and indirect, of estate labour, which are protected under minimum wage legislation, have been reduced and social services generally cut down. Non-estate labour is not protected at all. It is satisfactory, however, to learn that it is proposed to introduce minimum wage legislation for all labour in Ceylon and it is significant that the designation of the "Controller of Indian Immigrant Labour" has recently been changed into "Controller of Labour." As the Agent puts it, it is a matter for unalloyed satisfaction that the portfolio of Labour and Industry and Commerce in the reformed Constitution of Ceylon is held by an Indian.

The political rights of Indian labourers, which were secured with great difficulty in 1930, were exercised in 1931. The total electorate, Ceylonese and non-Ceylonese, was 1,577,932, or 60 per cent of the total adult population of Ceylon, and the Indian voters numbered 100,574, or only 21 per cent of the total adult Indian population. The Indian vote might well have been much larger. It is an surprising as it is humiliating that the low strength of the Indian vote was partly due to discouragement, amounting in some cases to intimidation, of Indian labourers from registering themselves and that this mischief was most observable in the predominantly Indian electoral district of Bandarawela! It appears that Indians are their worst enemies in India as well as abroad.

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#### New Cotton Duties.

IN response to the urgent representations made by the cotton textile industry in India and on the hurried recommendations of the Tariff Board, the Government of India have increased the custom duties on imported cotton goods of non-British origin from 20 to 50 per cent *ad valorem*. The new duties will remain in force till the 31st March 1933. This increase, which is an emergency measure, was provoked by the depreciation of the Japanese currency and the consequent phenomenal rise in Japanese imports into India, and has nothing to do with the case for the protection of Indian cotton textile industry of a more permanent kind which is being investigated by the Tariff Board. The justification for the emergency measure was, according to the Tariff Board, that, while the depreciation of the Yen and the consequent increase of imports into India of Japanese goods is of a temporary nature, it would, while it lasted, inflict serious injury on the manufacturing industry in India.

The protection now granted was really wanted against Japan; there was no need for it against other countries. But it has been held that the Anglo-Japanese Convention of 1904 stood in the way of discrimination against Japan alone, and hence the new duties have been applied to all non-British goods. We wish negotiations had been opened with Japan to permit of

the new duties being confined to Japanese goods. The protection was needed against a depreciated currency, and there was no intention to discriminate against Japan as such. The extension of the defensive protective duties to other countries will not help Japan, and it can be no consolation to her that it inflicts hardships on others without doing her any good.

Once again the Government have dexterously committed India to another dose of Imperial preference by excluding British imports from the new duties. If, notwithstanding economic considerations to the contrary, purely political considerations stood in the way of discrimination against Japan alone and led to the extension of duties to other countries, they should also stand in the way of discrimination in favour of Britain. There may not be an equally good economic case for extending the new duties to British imports, but the political sentiment of the people of India is decidedly and emphatically against any preference to Britain. Now, as in 1930, the Government have made up their mind to give preference to Britain, and put the Indian textile industry on the horns of a dilemma: either they should accept preference to Britain or go without protection altogether. The price of protection is Imperial Preference.

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#### Textile Industry.

Mr. Manu Subhedar, who appeared before the Tariff Board last week in support of the Indian Merchants' Chamber's claim for effective protection to the textile industry, laid down seven conditions for its grant. There is no doubt that these conditions were devised with a view to ensuring protection to the genuinely Indian cotton industry, i. e., industry run by Indians with Indian capital and in Indian interest as distinguished from textile mills conducted in other interests. They were also intended to promote and support other swadeshi enterprise. There is nothing surprising, for instance, in his insistence on the mill-owners using Indian coal, seeing how shabbily the Ahmedabad mill-owners treated last year the request of Indian Coal producers for the greater use of Indian Coal. It is in the fitness of things that if Indian mills look up to the Indian tax-payer for help, the latter should make it clear to them that it would be available only on condition that they would, in their turn, do their best to encourage swadeshi enterprise. Mr. Subhedar did not want these conditions to remain merely a pious wish but desired that steps should be taken to make them effective. We wish he had been more helpful on the point. There can be no difference among Indians that what Mr. Subhedar suggests should be done. The method of achieving the end in view is not, however, made clear. Beyond suggesting that Government should issue instructions to the mill-owners on the lines of the conditions mentioned by him, Mr. Subhedar was unable to point to more practical ways of achieving his purpose. He need not be told that the acceptance of principle by the millowners was not the same thing as its observance by them. Does he seriously believe that a mere request on the part of the Government to encourage Swadeshi enterprise as far as it lies in their power would induce them to do what Mr. Subhedar, in common with the Indian public, wants them to do? The only effective means of achieving the purpose is to give protection by bounties instead of by tariffs, as recommended by Mr. Subhedar. This would enable Government, when fixing the amount of financial assistance in individual cases, to assure themselves, as a result of close inquiries, that the interests of the Indian tax-payer are effectively safeguarded and that protection is granted only to those

industry as much in the interest of the industry itself as for ensuring effective encouragement to other Indian enterprise at the hands of Indian mill-owners!

#### Handloom Industry.

IN his evidence before the Tariff Board which has finished its work in Bombay Mr. P. B. Advani, the Director of Industries, pleaded for the grant of protection to the handloom weaving industry, which plays an important part in the economic life of this presidency. As pointed out by Mr. Advani, the handloom industry is second only to agriculture in providing employment to the people, and has great possibilities in that direction, the production on handlooms having very nearly doubled itself during the last thirty years or so. In this presidency there are 1,100 weaving centres where about 100,000 handlooms are at work yielding an average yearly income of Rs. 4½ crores. This is far from saying that the weaver class is in a flourishing condition. Lacking capital of their own, they have to depend for it on money-lenders who, according to Mr. Advani, have engaged as many as 80 per cent. of the weavers merely on payment basis and as middlemen pocket all the profits. He suggested the abolition of the duty on yarn, the principal raw material of the handloom industry, as a means of helping the industry. But what was even more urgently needed to prop up the industry was some financial assistance to it. In view of the present depleted state of the Government treasury it was obviously useless to look to it for help in that direction. How

concerns that really stand in need of it. May we hope that the Tariff Board will explore the possibilities of this method of protection to the textile then was the money to be found? Mr. Advani's favoured the imposition of a cess of three pies per pound of yarn produced by Indian cotton mills, which was estimated to yield Rs. 80 lakhs. This should be utilised for starting co-operative societies for giving financial aid to the weavers and otherwise helping their industry. This method of protecting the handloom industry imposes no extra burden on Government finances. And it does not materially reduce the benefit derived by the textile industry as a result of State protection. There are other directions as well like e. g. the provision of expert guidance in the matter of a proper organisation of the industry and the use of improved appliances, in which the Government can help of the handloom weaver. It is also worthwhile considering whether the handloom industry should not be protected against the competition of the Indian mill industry even as the latter is protected against foreign competition. Mr. Advani referred to an arrangement promoted by the Congress by which Indian mills were not to produce *Khadi*. There is much to be said for restraining the Indian mill industry from producing cloth which the handloom industry can and does produce. In view of the fact that the industry is indispensable to India and may go some way in reducing the extent of unemployment in the country, a source of much political danger, we hope the Tariff Board will make recommendations for the effective protection and stimulation of the handloom industry.

## THE COMMUNAL AWARD.

IT is now more than a fortnight since the Government published the Communal Award, and the country has had time for second thoughts also. Happily, perhaps because the heavy losers were Hindus and Sikhs, there have been no communal disorders and riots. But that does not mean that the Award was well received or that it was not bitterly resented, specially by the Hindus and the Sikhs. The Europeans are satisfied inasmuch as in every province and in particular, in Bengal and Assam, they get representation fabulously beyond their deserts and in Bengal they have the casting vote, as it were, in their hands. The Depressed Classes, both those that wanted communal and those who wished for common electorates, are thoroughly dissatisfied because their representation did not come up to the proportions provided for in the Minorities Pact or the Rajah-Moonje Pact. The Indian Christians are dissatisfied because they are put in a separate electorate where, on account of the smallness of their numbers and their exclusion from the common electorates, they will be unable to have the influence on the governments which they would otherwise have had on account of their education, enlightenment and patriotism. The Indian Christian women are among the best educated women in the land, and under a common electorate they would have been returned in larger numbers to the Councils, but under the Award they have hardly any chance. The National Muslims are bitterly disappointed because of the separate electorates. Under common electorates the Muslims in the

Punjab and Bengal might have secured overwhelming Muslim majorities. Under the Award they must be statutory minorities. The Communal Muslims express themselves disappointed because they were not given statutory majorities in Bengal and the Punjab, but are not disposed to reject the Award because it gives them effective majority in the Punjab and gives the "Irish vote" to the Europeans in Bengal. It is a consolation to them that, though they did not get all that they wanted, the Hindus got less than they deserved. The Hindus all over are bitterly disappointed because of the retention and the extension of communal electorates, and the reduction of the seats due to them, while Muslims get proportionately more seats, besides other claims. Perhaps the most bitter against the Award are the Sikhs in the Punjab, and they are more vehement than any other in their denunciation of it. They are contemplating non-co-operation and direct action and other desperate remedies.

For ourselves we see no reason to modify the opinion we ventured to express immediately on the publication of the Award. It is the greatest disservice that England has done to India. It was the proud boast of England that she rescued India from anarchy, lawlessness, insecurity, communal strife, and political oppression and established the reign of law, gave security of person and property, inculcated love of freedom and religious toleration and fostered self-governing institutions culminating in the promise of Dominion Status. But to-day England is undone by her great work in India. Whatever be the

provocation for it, the rule by ordinance has steadily undermined the reign of law, and the administration has tended to revert to the autocratic and lawless days of the pre-British era. And now the Communal Award, which is the culmination of a deliberate policy initiated over a quarter a century ago, has destroyed the national unity that had so laboriously been built up. When the time came for England to fulfil her promise of Dominion Status to India, she hesitated and when she was challenged to implement it, she did not hesitate to play the bull in the china-shop and destroy the beautiful edifice that she had taken benevolent credit for building. She is creating a legacy of anarchy and communal strife. Those who were proud of England's past record in India and were disposed to read sermons to Indians, must feel terribly humiliated now.

But it is futile to keep lamenting that England did not do better. The only question is whether India should accept the Award or get it modified either by bringing pressure on Government or by mutual agreement. Nobody wishes more than we do that the Award were different from what it is. Nevertheless, we are not disposed to agree with those who would now carry on an unrelenting and fierce agitation against the Government with a view to getting it modified. If the Government modified the Award at the instance of one of the parties, it will merely encourage the other who stands to lose by the modification to carry on a more intense agitation to get it reversed, and there would be no end to the see-saw. In the meanwhile, communal ascerbities will be further exacerbated and lead inevitably to communal riots and bloodshed. That way lies disaster and no hope.

The idea of appealing to the nation at large for a decisive verdict on the subject is at first sight very attractive as offering a way out. Communal electorates may be wrong but if the majority of the people want it, well, they must have it. If they do not, so much the better. That will be real self-determination and it will not be open to the criticism that the leaders invited to the Round Table Conference were hand-picked by the Government and did not represent the will of the people. In the case of Burma, it is proposed to refer the question of separation from India to the verdict of the Burmese electorate. Similarly, the present Indian electorate may be invited to return a verdict on the communal as well as on the other constitutional problems now pending solution. The claims of the nationalists and the communalists to have a majority following will be tested. When agreement between leaders has been impossible, somebody must decide. It was the foreign British Government that now decided; why not let the Indian electorate do it? It cannot be worse, and there will be the consolation that it was an Indian decision.

As we said, there is much that is attractive about this proposition. But it is not free from difficulties and dangers. For one thing, it will mean delay, and the prolongation of the period of agonising uncertainty. Secondly, it requires the co-operation of the

Government and the Muslims and the Europeans, among others. Will the communal Muslims agree to a course which throws into the melting pot what they have already secured. And they are in high favour with the Government. The Government must themselves consent to the procedure, which might bring them up against incalculable odds, and they must also consent to release all the Congressmen now under restraint. The necessary goodwill is totally lacking. If the communal Muslim leaders are in a mood to come to a settlement with the leaders of the other communities, there is no occasion for a reference to the electorate; the question is far easier settled in a small conference of leaders than by the cumbrous machinery of a referendum.

If, therefore, it is profitless to put unilateral pressure on the Government to modify the Award and impracticable to refer the question to the electorate, the only alternative, however disagreeable, is to accept the Award temporarily and continue to make efforts to reach an agreed settlement in course of time. It may be granted at once that if an agreement was difficult before the Award, it is even more so after. Nevertheless, we may not give up hope. Those who are tempted to sneer at the inability of Indians to compose their communal quarrels may pause to reflect if under similar circumstances they would have done better, whether it is a common occurrence for a community which is given a privileged position by a foreign government, and which is offered hopes and promises of even greater privileges by that government backed by all the influence which it possesses as a government, to relinquish and refuse the privileges and make common cause with their fellow countrymen against the foreign government. Communal agreement in India demands a type of patriotism far higher than has been evoked in other parts of the world, and it is no discredit to India that she does not possess in plenty what is not common anywhere in the world. It is more than human to expect a community which has gained under the Award and expects more gains to give up the advantages, and that too so soon.

But there is hope that in the not distant future the Muslims will realise that the Award was imposed by the Government, that it was bitterly resented by the large majority of Indians, including the Hindus, the nationalist Muslims, the Indian Christians and the Sikhs, and that it will be the persistent object of the dissatisfied majority to bring about a modification of the Award, and that the Award will last only as long as the British Government is willing to back it up with their power, and that, for that reason, they will be bondslaves of the British Government, and that under the circumstance even provincial autonomy will amount to no more than echoes of orders from Whitehall. As the new electorates begin to function, there is hope that they will bring about a peaceful and constitutional change. The tyranny of the majority may be bad politics but the tyranny of a minority is worse and it cannot last long. The Muslims will be wise in their day if, notwithstanding their gains under

the Award, they chose to come to an agreed settlement with the other communities rather than sell themselves to the British Government for their temporary privileges.

### THE STIMSON AND HERRIOT DECLARATIONS.

IT has been a matter of regret for a large portion of French opinion that the French Press has not devoted more attention and more comment to the speech made by Mr. Stimson before the Council on Foreign Relations in New York, and to the fine answer given by M. Herriot by means of a declaration to the Press.

Mr. Stimson developed the American interpretation of the Briand-Kellogg Pact. It is important to note that he indicated the deliberate purpose of America to support the League, and especially its smaller members. This, of course, may be to a great extent a clever preamble to the United States' action, later on, when the League has to face the Manchurian Commission's Report. Nevertheless, Mr. Stimson's declaration that the United States will not act independently of the League in any threat of war must be duly welcomed by all nations of good will.

Mr. Stimson recalls that during the centuries which have elapsed since the beginnings of international law war between nations was considered a legal situation. The rights of belligerents were defined and a certain doctrine of neutrality was developed. Neutrals had no right to interfere in the conflict or to pass a moral judgment upon the rightfulness or the wrongfulness of the belligerent's cause. Humanitarianism, and sometimes also material interests, have gradually brought some modifications in that doctrine of neutrality, but it is certainly with the Briand-Kellogg Pact that the problem has been set for the first time on an entirely different footing than the legal. Owing to the economic and industrial conditions of our time and to the rapidity of communications, the present world is much more vulnerable to war, and also the difficulty of confining the conflict within narrow limits has considerably increased. Of this the Great War is a very striking instance.

Already at the Peace Conference in Versailles, the victorious nations had entered into a covenant which was calculated to reduce the possibility of war to the minimum. Nine years later, in 1928, the Briand-Kellogg Pact, known also as the Peace Pact, was signed. By this Treaty all the nations of the world united to renounce war altogether as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another, and agreed that the settlement of all disputes or conflicts among them should be sought only by pacific means. These two treaties mark an immense change in world public opinion. It had become more and more evident to all thinking people that another war might destroy civilisation entirely and steps must be taken to prevent this, if possible. War has been declared illegal. The whole Briand-Kellogg Pact is a comprehensive covenant against war, the

only limitation to its initial principle being the right of self-defence, but even in that respect provision has been made so that even this pretext cannot be used as a mask to cover some imperialist policy. Yet, no sanctions of force have been provided for in the Pact. It rests on the sanction of public opinion, and this has been very strongly emphasised by Mr. Stimson in his last speech. "The power of the Briand-Kellogg Treaty," says he, "cannot be appraised unless it is assumed that behind it rests the combined weight of the opinion of the entire world, united by a deliberate covenant, which gives to each nation the right to express its moral judgment." But when moral disapproval becomes the disapproval of the whole world, it takes on a significance hitherto unknown in international law. For never before has international opinion been so organised and mobilised.

A very important consequence of the Briand-Kellogg Treaty is that "consultation between the signatories of the Pact, when faced with the threat of its violation, becomes inevitable. Any effective invocation of the power of world opinion postulates discussion and consultation." The value of this necessary implication has perhaps not been fully appreciated up to now; it has been very clearly emphasised by Mr. Stimson. "I believe," said he in his concluding remarks, "that this view of the Briand-Kellogg Pact will become one of the great permanent policies of our nation... It is a policy which combines the readiness to co-operate for peace and justice in the world; which Americans have always manifested, while at the same time it preserves the independence of judgment and the flexibility of action upon which our people have always insisted... It is only by continued vigilance that the Treaty can be built into an effective living reality. The American people are serious in their support and valuation of the Treaty. They will not fail to do their share in this endeavour."

Mr. Stimson's speech, in spite of its apparently unofficial character, is evidently calculated to express the present American policy as regards world-peace. A special value must also be attached to the fact that his declarations have been publicly approved and confirmed on several platforms of the United States, by Mr. Hoover, for instance although the electoral character of the latter's speech gives to his declarations a somewhat different "colour."

Mr. Stimson's declarations have been warmly welcomed and very favourably interpreted by the English press. The French press has shown, not only more reserve, but also a more critical spirit, although a good measure of genuine appreciation has been granted to Mr. Stimson's noble intentions. A good deal of attention has been given to the implications of the speech in relation to the Sino-Japanese conflict. This point in itself could only be treated in a more extensive study and so we cannot do more than merely mention it here. In other respects, some extreme Right papers have seen in Mr. Stimson's words an attack against France, a kind of deliberate attempt to prevent the establishment of those guarantees for security which France has sought

to obtain for a long time with such desperate tenacity. It is perhaps difficult for foreigners to understand the French point of view in this regard. When a country has lived for centuries with a constant menace on its frontiers, when it has suffered again and again from repeated invasions on its territory, when it has more than once been the victim of its excessive confidence and unexpected breaches of faith on the part of others, it can hardly be at peace without some certitude as to its security. When it has seen that even sacred engagements are not respected, how can it believe, realistically speaking, that the very indefinite sanctions of wavering world opinion will be respected in future? And again, it cannot be denied that the present German unrest and its possible consequences justify all sorts of apprehensions. There is often an impression in a portion of French opinion that declaration such as that of Mr. Stimson, however admirable they may sound, disregard practical difficulties to such an extent, that either they hide some secret motive not quite so pious as appearances would indicate, or, if their good faith is entire, they can hardly be more effective against hard facts and menacing dangers than any kind of theoretical mysticism. "If the outlawry of war is to be effective," says, for instance, the *Journa! des Cébats*, "all states must be ready to take a direct part in the consequences of their international policy. If, as Mr. Stimson seems to believe, moral disapproval is enough to prevent the use of arms, any undertaking to use force against an aggressor will remain void in practice. If, on the other hand, moral disapproval is not enough, a firm undertaking is necessary or the Peace Pact will be nothing but a sham which will even make it easier for an unscrupulous Government to spring a surprise upon its neighbour. Public opinion is strangely complacent in moments of crisis. It did not prevent the German Government from attacking Belgium in 1914, and if the act of aggression had been successful, public opinion would probably not have been slow to accommodate itself to its consequences. Even the United States Government did not deem it fit to protest against the violation of Belgian neutrality at that time, and as long as the rule of national diplomacy remains indistinguishable from that of Pontius Pilate, it will not be possible to feel safe in a world where the forces of destruction are more highly developed than they have ever been before."

In the face of such comments the generosity of M. Herriot's answer appears all the more remarkable, and Mr. Stimson is so well aware of the fact that he has had a note of warm thanks handed to the French Prime Minister on his behalf by the American Embassy in Paris.

"I have studied Mr. Stimson's discourse," says President Herriot, "with all the more interest because the Briand-Kellogg Pact is the result of Franco-American initiative. Ever since its conclusion, European opinion has never ceased to wish that it should develop. The French Government will, therefore, devote the most favourable attention to everything that can enforce the authority of this Pact." And further, "I wish to declare

personally how much interested I have been by the general inspiration of Mr. Stimson's speech, and by his evident desire to conciliate the liberty for decision, so dear to his heart, with the necessity of sincere international co-operation for the maintenance of peace. When responsible men of good faith apply themselves equally conscientiously to the study of such a grave problem, it is impossible that they should not meet. This is why the Government here, always preoccupied to ensure to all nations the security of their labour, has devoted so much attention to Mr. Stimson's declarations and wishes to thank him publicly for them."

This exchange of views is on the whole very encouraging. True, in every country a few discordant notes are heard, which can be explained in the light of historical or geographical considerations; but peace is more and more considered as the primordial necessity of our times by a large fraction of opinion, and it is interesting to register such pertinent declarations to that effect in the United States, France and England. A growing number of statesmen and citizens are prepared to support a peace policy even at the cost of real risks and sacrifices. All these signs of goodwill must be welcomed with hope and confidence as so many landmarks on the arduous path of world-peace.

L. MORIN.

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## Our Paris Letter.

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PARIS, 11th August.

### MILITARY SEDITION IN SPAIN.

YESTERDAY'S papers have brought the news of military insurrections both in Madrid and Sevilla. Madrid woke up to the sound of guns; as early as four o'clock, the rebels had endeavoured to seize the police head-quarters, the post-office and the war-office, but the police had been warned against a possible conspiracy, and the repression, speedily and efficiently organised, succeeded in restoring order in a few hours' time in favour of the actual government, at least as far as Madrid is concerned.

At Sevilla, the case has been more serious. The postal communications having been interrupted from 9 o'clock, the only news available was that the Sevilla *Coup d'état* had been conducted and successfully carried out by General Sanjurjo, one of the most well-known Spanish generals of our time, formerly Commander-in-Chief in Morocco and later of the Civil Guard. To-day, however, we learn that the Sevillian rebellion has also had a prompt ending, and that order reigns all over Spain once more.

Accurate information is necessarily limited at such an early stage, but as far as facts are known, General Sanjurjo had secured the collaboration of a good number of officers. The latter, however, aware of the total failure of the movement in the rest of the country and of the hostility of the masses in general, consulted among themselves, and decided to abandon what they considered a hopeless venture. Moreover, the workmen had declared a general strike and serious difficulties were impending. General Sanjurjo himself consequently gave up the fight and fled towards the Portuguese frontier in his

motor-car. He had almost reached his goal of safety when he was arrested. His son and several other officers have met with the same fate.

Sporadic outbursts of violent manifestations have broken out all over Spain, expressing the loyalty of the people to the Republic. Several clubs, private houses, or news papers offices belonging to or connected with aristocratic families or preaching monarchist opinions have been burned down by the mob. It is interesting to note that in some towns the very same mob also tore up the red flags of the Communists.

During his short supremacy in Sevilla, General Sanjurjo's first gesture was to issue a proclamation by which he claimed that this only motive was the good of the Republic. The assumption of a *Coup* in favour of King Alphonso's return can, therefore, hardly hold good, or at least appear as a sufficient explanation.

In fact, the causes of those outbursts are probably more complex. In the first instance, history shows that the fact of suppressing the existing monarchy is not always sufficient to insure at once the stability of a democratic regime; in fact, oscillations between reactions and counter-reactions may be expected as a normal process. Also Spain is not more privileged than other nations as regards the sufferings inflicted by the present economic crisis and her financial situation justifies many apprehensions. And again one is inclined to suppose that the present Government was not quite so steady as it appeared to be if one notes the important divergences, the serious lack of cohesion among its members. It will also be remembered that the prolongation of the Constituent Assembly, which was due to disappear after the drafting of the Constitution, has been the object of very critical comments; it was whispered that Government was not very confident of the result of eventual elections. Like every other nation, Spain also has her own particular difficulties to deal with. One of them is the question of the Province of Catalogna. Catalogna has asked for autonomy; but the plan of autonomous status framed in Barcelona has received a distinctly unfavourable welcome in Madrid. What, if this example is followed by other provinces? thinks the Central Power, not unmindful of the former campaigns of the Basques for separation.

Another difficult point is the agrarian problem. A good deal has been promised to the peasantry, but it is hardly possible to carry out wholesale and immediate realisation, for instance, as regards sharing all the large properties among the small land-owners; it is not difficult to imagine the practical problems involved; thus certain kinds of generous promises unavoidably engender a certain amount of disappointment. And disappointment has always proved a fruitful soil for extreme solutions.

Last, but not least, a word must be said about the drastic reforms introduced by the present Prime Minister, M. Azana, into the Army, the purpose being, said he, to reduce as well as to regenerate it. When the young Spanish Republic came into power, the army comprised no less than 20,000 officers for 130,000 soldiers. There were 78 Infantry Regiments, 28 Cavalry Regiments, 32 Artillery Regiments, plus other services ("Génie et Etat-Major"), amounting to 16 divisions. Enormous frames, but devoid of that compact vitality, which alone insures efficiency, and also surety and rapidity of command in a modern army, so much so that more than once the six regiments of the Madrid garrison had found it difficult to organise a guard-service! M. Azana ruthlessly suppressed 57 regiments; 8000 officers resigned spontaneously; 4000 others were dismissed. Some military schools were closed. The "cadres" (?) have finally been reduced to 8 divisions, with 9,000

officers and some 100,000 men. All this evidently means, that many military men have been deprived of their situation. Is it not natural to suppose that (given the present economic circumstances) a return of the former regime might have seemed a pleasant prospect to them, and even that they would be willing to help in bringing it about?

But all this is mere conjecturing, and only future developments will enable us to form a final judgment. If, as appears to be the case, the roots of reaction are not vital enough to make the movement a success, the recent episode will only strengthen the authority of the present Government. However, personal factors also play their part, so does fate; masses are easily moved, and often things apparently insignificant may, for a time at least, turn the tables one way or another. The Revolution in April 1931 was mainly the result of King Alphonso's unpopularity, combined with the initiative of several republican personalities in the main large towns. And, practically, the decisive factor was the defection of the Civil Guards. This police force is, apparently, the real bone-frame of Spain, much more so at present than the army itself. Inasmuch as the present Government can efficiently deal with Spain's particular problems, and so long as the Civil Guards remain faithful to them, they will retain the key of power into their hands.

## Our London Letter.

(From Our Correspondent.)

(BY AIR MAIL.)

LONDON, 19 July.

### THE COMMUNAL AWARD.

WE were all agog to know what the 17th would bring forth in the way of a communal award by the Cabinet—and now we all know. It is bound to satisfy no one, but it may be acceptable or at least tolerated by a majority. As to this time alone will show. At the moment, one feels a sense of humiliation and futility that such an award by outsiders should have had to be made at all. It is a painful ordeal to read the Prime Minister's accompanying memorandum and the official despatch, especially when one recalls how near, at one time, the principal parties were to an agreement among themselves. They cannot say that they were not sufficiently warned. They cannot say that the dangers of failure to agree were not repeatedly pointed out and emphasised. And now the award has been made and all the world knows that communal stupidity is greater, far greater, than national patriotism.

The British papers almost unanimously regard the award as on the whole a wise, if temporary, compromise among conflicting claims, a compromise inevitable in the circumstances. The exceptions, of course, are the *Daily Mail* and the *Morning Post*, which regard it as unwise, dangerous, and pandering to an unwanted and undesirable democratic demand. But as such criticisms were to be expected, whether from friendly or unfriendly quarters, they do not count for much. In the nature of things, with the knowledge that the communities had been unable to agree, it was to be expected that the press would generally support the Government's decisions, whatever they were, whilst the re-actionary papers would deal with the matter according to precedent.

The *News-Chronicle* and the *Herald* have dealt with the question in the spirit in which the

award was given. Appreciation is expressed that the depressed classes, in certain circumstances, secure a double vote, whilst in some quarters surprise and regret are felt that the communal question should be introduced in the matter of women's franchise, whilst the non-communal character of the Labour vote is favourably commented upon.

So far news from India emanates from individual communalists and partisans generally. It is expected that the principal organisations will take time to announce their views. No Moderate opinions have been telegraphed, and it is to be supposed that the Moderate leaders, having reconciled themselves to the inevitable, are fixing their minds upon the great constitutional developments still ahead. It is now generally expected that a smaller Round Table Conference will have to be called in the autumn, in order to retain Moderate support. Probably some official announcement of the kind will be made shortly, when the repercussions of the communal award have been analysed. In the meanwhile, emphasis is placed in official quarters upon the fact that the Cabinet decision is a unanimous one, and individual Ministers will refuse to allow themselves to be used as cats-paws by factions and individual dissenters.

The egregious Mr. Patel, who emulates the wasp in his somewhat spiteful and noisy excursions into the political field, whilst awaiting his forthcoming visit to America (he was described in a pictorial effort in the *Star* as "Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel") has, of course, dammed the award (as he would have done an award from Heaven, had the particular archangel promulgating it borne a British name) as complete evidence that all that Britain desires is to fasten afresh the shackles of Imperialism upon India. Whatever else it may demonstrate, the award is a monument to Indian folly rather than to British greed. Certainly, Mr. Patel does not get his ear near enough to the ground, which is distinctly unfortunate for him and for those, if any, who take their cue from him.

Comment is generally made on the success of the recent Indian rupee loan, and the deduction not unnaturally drawn from it is that general discontent with the British connection is not so widespread as the ex-President of the Assembly would lead one to suppose by his diatribes and his exaggerations.

## Review.

### UNCLE SAM'S MANDATE.

**HAITI UNDER AMERICAN CONTROL, 1915-30**  
By ARTHUR C. MILLSPAUGH. (World Peace Foundation, Boston, Mass.) 1931. 21 cm. 253 + xi p. \$2.50.

HERE we have the story of the attempt of Uncle Sam to play the part of a benevolent elderly relative to a Caribbean Island Republic, containing a population of about two million, of French and Negro extraction. The attempt had lasted fifteen years when this survey was written. Fifteen years is but a moment in the life of a nation, and this small Republic is but a drop in the ocean of humanity; yet this tale has much to teach those interested in the study of imperialism in other parts of the world.

A brief statement of the geography and early history of the island opens the story. Haiti's early history contains the thrilling tales of the Negro revolt against French domination, led by that remarkable

coloured man, Toussaint l'Ouverture, and carried on by another full-blooded Negro, Henry Christophe who became the so called President but in reality the Dictator of the Republic. Unfortunately his successors did not display his ability, and the subsequent history of the State became a sequence of revolutions and rapid changes of administration. This continued until American intervention in 1915, when "incompetence, demoralization and corruption in finance had brought the Government to virtual bankruptcy." At this juncture, rightly or wrongly, the United States as an "international police power" intervened in the effort to bring order, financial, political and moral, out of this state of chaos. The occupation was plainly declared to be a temporary measure, designed to set the Haitian house in order, and as soon as this house-cleaning could be completed, to deliver it back to its rightful owners. The date set for the completion of this process is 1936. Much criticism has been aroused not only among Haitians who resent this unmasked display of benevolent autocracy, but also among the Anti-Imperialists of the United States. In answer to these criticisms, Mr. Millspaugh has made this objective study of the years of occupation, in the endeavour to give an unbiased statement of the achievements and failures of the experiment.

Undoubtedly much has been achieved. There is a splendid record of road and bridge building; of the establishment of hospitals and the provision of medical aid; of the introduction of sanitation in towns before quite innocent of it; of preventive measures in medicine; of the putting down of banditry, and the creation of security for the peasant under the "Pax Americana", and not least, in the founding of technical and agricultural schools for the improvement of the peasantry and the creation of an economically stable middle class.

Along with these noteworthy achievements must be taken a parallel list of equally conspicuous failures. As the year 1936 approaches, the impartial observer realizes that little has been done to provide for the carrying on of these admirable reforms when the foreign advisers leave. Much has been done for the people of Haiti, but all too little has been done by them. The Haitian President has been so far a puppet of the American administration and has largely lost the confidence of his own people. The administration has until very lately had the character of a military dictatorship rather than a civil government. Far too small a proportion of government income has been spent on education; and such schools as do exist have been divided into two quite separate systems, that of the literary type under the Haitian Department, and that of the vocational type under American supervision and control. In 1928-29 only 11% of Government expenditure went to education, and only 25% of children of school-going age were under instruction. Yet all admit that permanent stability and lasting reform, as well as any workable form of democratic government, are dependent upon a literate and intelligent population.

It is difficult to see how the United States could have avoided an effort to stabilize the chaotic conditions of this disturbing island neighbour; it is equally difficult to see just what permanent good has been achieved by American efforts, which have worked from the outside rather than within. It all comes back to the old principle that the best intentioned Government in the world cannot achieve much lasting good without the consent and co-operation of the governed.

A. B. VAN DOREN.



# SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY.

## REPORT OF THE YEAR ENDING 31ST MAY 1932.

(Continued from last issue.)

### THE POONA SEVA SADAN.

Mr. Devadhar continued to be the moving spirit of the Poona Seva Sadan Society and its branches and the multifarious activities in which it is engaged. Its range of activities was maintained with unimpaired efficiency and zeal: vocational and general education for women, training in medicine, public health, nursing, teaching and other avocations. The growing financial and other needs of the institution and the numerous problems connected with its administration and expansion made heavy calls on his time, energy and initiative. It was but natural that the Seva Sadan Society, which may be said to be Mr. Devadhar's greatest and most cherished institutional service to India, should have taken the initiative in organizing the celebration of his Diamond Jubilee on the 21st of August last.

### NAGPUR SEVA SADAN.

Messrs. Dravid and Sharangapani were closely associated with the work of the Nagpur Seva Sadan, which is a branch of the Poona Seva Sadan Society.

### BHAGINI SEVA SAMAJ AND MANDIR.

Mr. Chitalia continued to devote his whole-hearted attention to the work of the Bhagini Samaj and Mandir, of which Shrimati Suraj Behn Manilal has enrolled herself as a Sevika or life-worker. The programme of the Mandir consisted of social uplift in the sweeper colony in Vile Parle near Bombay. The sweepers were encouraged to keep their surroundings clean and sanitary; they were given medical aid in their homes, and were given lessons in domestic economy, temperance and sanitation. Two stores were opened for the benefit of the sweepers where the necessaries of life of good quality were sold at cost price. As has been indicated above, the Mandir incurred the displeasure of the Government and its work was, therefore, somewhat disorganised.

### LAHORE POOR HOUSE.

Mr. Haradatta Sharma continued to be the Joint Hon. Secretary of the Lahore Poor House, which helps the helpless and the destitute among all Indian communities irrespective of race, religion or caste. The blind are taught cane-work, and others tailoring and other domestic trades. The inmates include destitute widows and some very old men, past work. The Lahore Municipal Committee makes a grant of Rs. 2,400 towards the upkeep of the Institution.

### VIGILANCE WORK.

Messrs. Venkatasubbaiya and Venkataraman of the Madras Branch continued to be actively associated with the Madras Vigilance Association, of which the latter was Joint Secretary. He studied the problem of the traffic in women and children in Madras City and submitted a memorandum to the League of Nations' Commission of Inquiry into the traffic, and tendered oral evidence before that Commission.

### ANTYAJA SEVA MANDAL.

Most of the members of the Society have always been keen on the uplift of the Depressed Classes, and to some of them it has been their chief interest. Mr. Thakkar continued to be the President and the mainspring of the Antyaja Seva Mandal, specially devoted to the education and uplift of Depressed Classes in Gujrat. The provision of schools, the digging of wells on a large scale and the organisation of co-operative societies for debt redemption for

Municipal sweepers in several towns formed the chief activities of the Mandal. A hostel for Bhangi (sweeper) students was opened at Kaira in December 1931, it being the first and the only institution of the kind in Gujarat.

The Poona Seva Sadan maintained a hostel for Depressed classes women, some of whom came from other provinces.

### DEPRESSED CLASSES MISSION, MANGALORE.

Mr. Suryanarayana Rau continued to be the Joint Secretary of the Depressed Classes Mission of Mangalore and its chief driving force. The Mission maintained seven colonies near Mangalore and Udipi consisting of 80 families. Each family was given, on a nominal rental, a house site with an agricultural plot surrounding it. It is gratifying to report that most of the colonists gave some of their off-time labour to cultivate their allotments and grow fruit trees on them. Some of these colonies are of Koragas, an aboriginal and nomadic tribe. The Mission continued to maintain an English Middle School, two day schools, an adult education centre, an industrial school and three boarding houses, with 70 boys and 9 girls. The admission to the boarding houses had to be severely restricted for want of accommodation and funds. The various institutions conducted by the Mission are rather scattered about and involve a lot of travelling on the part of Mr. Suryanarayana Rau. The financing of the institutions with dwindling public support and reduced Government grants, and the difficulty of finding employment for boys trained by the Mission on account of caste prejudice, caused him grave anxiety.

Mr. Sivaswami continued to devote special attention to the betterment of the Adi-Dravidas, the Depressed Classes of the Tamil Districts. Mr. Venkataraman, in the course of his flood relief work in the Coimbatore District, paid special attention to the housing of the Depressed Classes affected by the floods. Better and more elevated sites were secured for the housing of the displaced people and in Satyamangalam Mr. Venkataraman caused to be built under his personal supervision a model settlement with detached and well-ventilated huts.

### BHIL SEVA MANDAL.

Mr. Thakkar continued to be the President of the Bhil Seva Mandal. Boarding schools, hostels, co-operative societies, and general uplift propaganda formed the principal items of the work of the Mandal. Several of his co-workers in their individual capacities were charged with participation in the civil disobedience movement and sent to jail. The office of the Bhil Seva Mandal was for a time sealed by the police. The movements of Mr. Thakkar himself were restricted for a time. Nevertheless he maintained the institution with unimpaired efficiency. A new boarding school for Bhil boys was opened near Kevari station in Navasari district of Baroda State in December 1931.

### CO-OPERATION.

The promotion of the co-operative movement is one of the fundamental objects of the Society and many members have devoted considerable part of their attention to it. Mr. Devadhar's contribution to the promotion of the co-operative movement not only in the Bombay Presidency but in the other provinces of India as well, is universally recognised. He presided over the Silver Jubilee of the Mysore Co-operative

Society in Mysore, the Belgaum District Co-operative Conference, the Holkar State Co-operative Conference at Indore and the Alibag Co-operative Conference. He was a Director of the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Bank and as such visited many of the branches of the Bank in the Presidency and promoted a branch at Alibag. He continued to be the President of the Bombay Hindu Co-operative Housing Society. During the period under report was published the Report of the Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee of which Mr. Devadhar was a member representing Co-operative interests.

Mr. Venkatasubbaiya was the Office Secretary of the Madras Provincial Co-operative Union, a Director and Purchase Committee member of the Triplicane Urban Co-operative Society (better known as the Triplicane Stores), of the Mylapore Co-operative Building Society and of the South India Co-operative Insurance Society. Much of his time was given to the routine work of the Provincial Co-operative Union and of the Triplicane Stores. With the magic-lantern and slides prepared by him for the Provincial Co-operative Union, he toured frequently and delivered propaganda lectures. He also addressed the students of various co-operative training classes and conducted the examination of their students.

Messrs. Sivaswamy, Suryanarayana Rau, Thakkar and Sahu also devoted a large part of their time to co-operative work. Mr. Sahu continued to be a Deputy Chairman and Development Secretary of the Cuttack Central Co-operative Bank. He was also a member of the Development Committee of the Bihar and Orissa Co-operative Federation. Mr. Thakkar was a member of the Advisory Board of the Dohad Branch of the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Bank.

#### RURAL RECONSTRUCTION.

Messrs. Devadhar, Venkatasubbaiya, Sivaswamy, Suryanarayana Rau and Sahu were engaged on what may generally be called Rural Reconstruction. Mr. Devadhar continued to be Chairman of the Deccan Agricultural Association, Poona, under the auspices of which he was responsible for the many-sided development of the village of Khed-Shivapur. As a member of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, Mr. Devadhar was brought into touch with rural problems on an all-India basis. He presided over the All-India Rural Representatives' Conference at Delhi and was Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Rural Uplift Conference held in Poona under the presidentship of Pandit Modan Mohan Malaviya.

Mr. Venkatasubbaiya was Secretary of the Rural Reconstruction Committee of the Madras Provincial Co-operative Union and in that capacity went out on frequent tours to several rural centres managed by the Union. Mr. Suryanarayana Rau attended the Rural Reconstruction Conference at Pasumalai and took an active part in its deliberations.

Mr. Sivaswamy continued his intensive rural uplift work in the Trichinopoly District. He was principally instrumental in providing several villages with wells, schools and other amenities. He organised Youth Leagues. He has taken steps to start at Maynur, his head-quarters, a boarding school for the training of rural leaders. He has recently started a Social and Civic Progress League in Trichinopoly with the object of interpreting the requirements and grievances of the rural population to local bodies and Government Departments and fostering the growth of civic conscience and leadership among the rural population. The League proposes to train the largely-increased number of voters to use their new-found power to secure their share of the amenities provided by public authorities and the redress of the grievances.

#### DEVADHAR MALABAR RECONSTRUCTION TRUST.

Mr. Suryanarayana Rau continued to be in charge of the Devadhar Malabar Reconstruction Trust which runs a Night Higher Elementary School in Tirur with a large number of Moplah teacher-students, two Weavers' Co-operative Societies at Kattailangadi and Puthantharuvai, a Depressed Class Colony with a school, a boarding house and an agricultural farm at Gopalpuram, and five Adult Education Centres. Considering the intensity of the caste feeling in Malabar, particularly against the Depressed Classes, it was a remarkable achievement that Mr. Suryanarayana Rau was able to persuade teachers belonging to the higher castes to live with their families in the Depressed Class colony and share a common well. One of the special features of his work was to bring together the Moplahs and the Hindus in a common endeavour.

Mr. Sabu continued his rural uplift work at Chowdwar near Cuttack and it is very gratifying to note that his aged mother greatly helped him in running the centre.

#### HEALTH & SANITATION.

Mr. Devadhar represented the Public Health School, the only institution of its kind in India, run by the Poona Seva Sadan Society, at the Health Worker's Conference at Delhi to which he was invited by the Red Cross Society. He was General Secretary of the Bombay Baby and Health Week Association and organised a Divisional Exhibition at Alibag. He promoted a scheme for opening a maternity home at Bhiwandi in Thana District as a part of the "follow up" work of the Poona Seva Sadan Society.

Mr. Venkataraman was secretary of the Madras Sanitary Welfare League which carried out a detailed survey of the sanitary conditions of the slums in the city of Madras with a view to draw the attention of the public and of the Corporation of Madras to the urgent need for cleaning them up. Out of 120 slums surveyed, Mr. Venkataraman was responsible, jointly or individually, for the survey of about 70. He had several interviews with the Municipal authorities, from whom he received cordial co-operation. He was elected Joint Secretary of the National Health Association and delivered a number of lectures in Tamil on public health and sanitation with the aid of the magic-lantern in the slums of the city.

The Devadhar Malabar Reconstruction Trust, of which Mr. Suryanarayana Rau is the secretary, organised the Health and Baby Week in all its Centres and carried on an intensive propaganda throughout the year on health and allied subjects.

#### LEPROSY WORK.

Mr. Sahu conducted two leprosy clinics, one at Chowdwar and the other in Cuttack, at each of which 40 to 80 patients were treated every week. Besides this, he carried on large correspondence with individual patients in different parts of Orissa and outside.

#### SEVA SAMITI.

Mr. Kunzru continued to be the General Secretary of the Seva Samiti. It has had to curtail its expenditure as, owing to the economic depression, Government reduced their grant, and contributions from the public are harder still to get. The work among the Naiks in the hills, who have to be persuaded not to bring up their daughters to a life of shame, has however gone on unabated. The Seva Samiti hospital has continued to prosper. Generous donors have supplied it with some of its most pressing wants in the surgical, gynaecological and dental departments, e.g., an operation table, a dental chair etc. One of the distinctive features of the Samiti's activities was the assistance given to Muslim pilgrims to the famous

*dargah* at Ajmer last winter. The work done by the volunteers and scouts was greatly appreciated by the authorities. Another important activity of the Samiti consisted in the development of the section relating to physical culture. Two educated men, who have received special and prolonged training for their work and one of whom has been trained in Yogic exercises, have been appointed physical instructors. Their work has been appreciated by the public and increasing demands have been made for their services.

#### SCOUTING.

The organisation of the Seva Samiti Boy Scouts continued to be one of the special features of the Upper India Branch. Mr. Kunzru was the Chief Commissioner, Mr. Shri Ram Bajpai the Chief Organising Commissioner of the Association and Mr. Dube the District Scout Commissioner for Lucknow. The Association has on its rolls more than 25,000 scouts who are spread over several provinces and States. In addition to routine work of the Association, Mr. Bajpai conducted the Scout Masters' and Patrol Leaders' Intensive Training course at Nirmal Vana near Rishikesh and the All-India Fourth Scout Mela at Deoria, which was attended by about 2,000 Scouts and was a great success. The Hon. Sir Sitaram, President of the U. P. Legislative Council, presided over the closing ceremony of the mela and asked the public to give greater support to the Seva Samiti Boy Scouts Association. At the celebration of the Malaviya Jayanti at Benares, the Seva Samiti Boy Scouts mustered in large numbers, presented an address to Pandit Malaviya and gave a grand display. Mr. Bajpai published three Hindi pamphlets on public health, home nursing and cooking.

The Depressed Classes Mission, Mangalore, also organised Scout troops in all its schools.

#### DISCHARGED PRISONERS.

Mr. Bajpai continued to be the Secretary of the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, Allahabad. Mr. Suryanarayana Rau interested himself in the rehabilitation of the Moplah prisoners who were convicted for their participation in the Moplah rebellion of ten years ago and were recently discharged. He is the Secretary of the Moplah Aid Committee which arranged to meet the prisoners on their arrival in Calicut, secured medical attendance where necessary, used its good offices to reabsorb them into society and to secure them work, besides giving them temporary relief.

#### FLOOD RELIEF.

Mr. Venkataraman was engaged for several months in relief work in the Coimbatore District on behalf of the Coimbatore Flood Relief Committee. Fresh sites were either secured free from Government or purchased from private parties, and the people who suffered from the floods were helped to rebuild their homes. Of 45 villages affected 20 were shifted to new sites. The total number of families helped was 1,319, of which 546 were those of Depressed Class Hindus. The total amount spent by the Relief Committee was Rs. 27,287-7-2.

Messrs. Shahane and Sharangpani toured the flood-stricken areas in the Balaghat District consisting of over 30 villages and appealed for funds for relief. Mr. Shahane was able to raise Rs. 500, of which over Rs. 300 were contributed by the student community of Nagpur alone.

Mr. Thakkar toured in 20 villages of Nasik District on flood relief work in August last and published a report of his work.

Calicut and South Malabar suffered seriously on account of a cyclone in May last. Some of the buildings belonging to the Devadhar Malabar Recon-

struction Trust suffered heavy damage. Mr. Suryanarayana Rau took immediate steps for administering relief on behalf of the Malabar Distress Relief Fund Committee of which he is Secretary.

#### TEMPERANCE.

Mr. Dube, who has been the Secretary of the Oudh Temperance Federation for several years, was unanimously elected as its representative on the Excise Licensing Board of Lucknow City. The Federation carried on propaganda through the press and the platform in favour of temperance and got up largely signed memorials protesting against the location of liquor shops in the vicinity of areas where the labouring classes live.

#### SWADESHI.

Mr. Devadhar took a leading part in the "Swadeshi day" celebration at Poona on the 29th May. Mr. Kaul organised the Swadeshi League in Lucknow and carried on propaganda on the subject. His project for Swadeshi Exhibition did not however materialise on account of political circumstances though he had to put in plenty of preliminary work. Mr. Kunzru recently addressed the Boy Scouts Associations affiliated to the Seva Samiti Boy Scouts Association on the various methods by which they could promote Swadeshi. He wrote a few leaflets for public circulation, showing the economic importance of Swadeshi and organised a number of meetings at which he exhorted the public to patronise home-made goods even at a sacrifice. He has been elected a Vice-president of the All-India Swadeshi Sangha, Benares, of which Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is the President. He also drew the attention of the Scout officers at the annual meeting of the Association held in March last to the following advice given by Lord Baden Powell to the British Scouts in a recent issue of the *Scouter* :—

'I have been agreeably surprised at the number of enthusiastic letters I have received as the result of my having urged scouts to help the country in her present difficulties. I realise that a number of scouts and scouters are anxious to give active help, just as they gave it in the war. They only want to know how. I have already shown that by buying British Empire goods the nation can save two hundred and thirty millions in a year from going abroad to other countries. The Empire Marketing Board is planning a great national campaign to bring this to the knowledge of the public, and get them to buy British goods. This campaign begins on November 15 (1931). The Board is having thousands of posters printed for the owners of retail shops, etc., to put up in their windows in every town and village throughout the United Kingdom. Their difficulty is to get the posters into the hands of the shopkeepers. This is a job which scouts could do in their different localities all over the country, if they will. I hope, therefore, that county commissioners will confer with their district commissioners and if they approve the idea, they will plan their schemes for distributing the posters, as a service to the nation. At this juncture it will be a definite step in preventing some of the present leakage of millions of pounds from our country.'

#### LAHORE CENTRAL RATE-PAYERS ASSOCIATION.

Mr. Hardatta Sharma organised the Association with the object of promoting reform in the administration of the Lahore Municipality and stimulating the civic conscience in the rate-payers. He was elected General Secretary of the Association, which has 180 members and held nine meetings and contributed thirty letters and articles to the local press on municipal reform, and waited in deputation on the Minister for Local Self-Government and the Commissioner, Lahore Division, in that connection.

**COMMUNAL AMITY.**

Mr. Sharma issued an influentially signed manifesto appealing to the Hindus and Moslems for communal amity when it was threatened over the death of a Muslim boy in the course of an altercation. Five informal meetings were organised by him to consider the communal problem, which resulted in the formation of a Unity League. Its objects are to eradicate communalism and to develop common citizenship. It has nearly a hundred members representing various communities and schools of thought. It has issued a comprehensive questionnaire on the communal problem.

**STUDY CIRCLES.**

Mr. Venkataraman organized a Study Circle in Madras, of which he was elected Secretary. The Circle held ten meetings during the year which were attended by students, professors and publicists. He read papers at three of them. Mr. Shahane got up a Study Circle in Nagpur with the co-operation of some college students.

**LITERATURE AND ART.**

Mr. Kaul, who has written some modernist novels in Urdu, has been asked by the U. P. Hindusthani Academy to write a book in Urdu on modern Russia. In spite of ill health he devoted a considerable portion of the time during which he was on leave last year to the study of the subject with which he has been asked to deal. A portion of the book is ready; but it will require a few months more for its completion. Mr. Bajpai, in collaboration with another writer, prepared a series of Hindi readers which were approved for use in the primary schools in the U. P. by the Department of Public Instruction. These readers have been introduced in their schools by several District Boards and have been greatly appreciated. Mr. Shahane was elected Joint Secretary of the Nagpur Art Circle and contributed some articles to the *Hitavada* on art subjects, besides Marathi articles on literary topics in various Marathi journals.

**PRINTING PRESSES.**

Messrs. Patwardhan and Barve were in charge of the Aryabhushan and Dnyan Prakash Presses in Poona, the latter giving his whole attention to them. Mr. Dravid generally looked after the Hitavada Press in Nagpur and Mr. Parulekar gave some of his time to looking after the Bombay Vaibhav Press.

**G. I. P. E.**

The Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics which owes its foundation to the munificence of Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale of Satara, continued its good work along the two lines of research and post-graduate teaching. The report of the Institute is appended and need not be anticipated here, except to say that to achieve in an adequate measure the high purpose it has in view, the endowment must be multiplied many times. We appeal to the generous public who appreciate that type of work to make it possible for the Institute to increase its usefulness.

**FINANCE.**

The finances of the Society, which were never very satisfactory, suffered a serious setback recently, so seriously indeed that it may be necessary to reduce the allowances of Members\* and even to curtail some of the activities of the Society. To the uninitiated in accounting a casual glance at the Balance Sheet may convey the impression that the Society has large funds. A closer examination will reveal that several

\*Since writing this, the allowances of Members have been reduced by about 10 per cent. for one year.

items in it are really trust properties which the Society administers but cannot use for its own purposes. The real financial position of the Society is indicated in the Statement of Income and Expenditure. The receipts during the year amounted to Rs. 61,985-6-9 and the expenditure to Rs. 73,033-15-6 leaving a deficit of Rs. 11,048-8-9. The deficit during the year 1932-33 is expected to be greater still.

The bequest of one lakh of rupees left to the Society by the late Rao Bahadur D. Laxminarayan, referred to in last year's report, was received during the year and safely invested. The last instalment of Rs. 5,000 of the munificent grant by the Trustees of the Wadia Charities to the Society's Fire Relief Fund was received during the year. It need hardly be said that the Society is specially grateful for these donations.

**APPEAL.**

Such is the record of the Society's work for the year under report, for which it claims no more than that it was rendered in a spirit of humility and devotion to the best interests of the country, as it sees it. And in order to enable it to continue the work in an increasing measure, it appeals to the generous public to extend to it their moral and material support in an adequate measure.

( Concluded ).

**BOOKS RECEIVED.**

- INDIAN DUST. BEING LETTERS FROM THE PUNJAB. By PHILIP ERNEST RICHARDS. (Allen & Unwin.) 1932. 20cm. 272p. 6/-
- INDIAN JUDGES. Biographical and Critical Sketches. (Natesan & Co., Madras). 1932. 20cm. 509p. Rs. 3.
- MODERN INDIA THINKS. A Symposium of Suggestions on Problems of Modern India. By KESHAVJEE R. LUCKMIDAS. (Taraporewalla, Bombay.) 1932. 20cm. 289p. Rs. 6.
- INDIA AND CEYLON. A Federation. A New Effort in History. By KALMANE. (King.) 1932. 20cm. 127p. 4/-
- MARTYRDOM IN OUR TIMES. Two Essays on Prisons and Punishments. By A. MITCHELL INNES. (Williams & Norgate.) 1932. 20cm. 119p. 3/6.
- SOCIOLOGY. By ERNEST R. GROVES. (Lippincott, London.) 1931. 20cm. 160p. 4/6.

**INDIAN CONSTITUTION**

AND

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DR. BENI PRASAD, M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.,

Professor in Civics and Politics,

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