

# The Servant of India

EDITOR : P. KODANDA RAO.

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## CONTENTS.

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK. ... ..	389
ARTICLES :—	
Aimless Destruction. ... ..	391
The League Assembly. ... ..	393
The Lytton Report. ... ..	394
Bengal Provincial Council. By A. V. Thakkar. ...	395
The Bargain at Ottawas. By Prof. D. G. Karve. ...	396
OUR GENEVA LETTER. ... ..	398
OUR LONDON LETTER. ... ..	398
BOOKS RECEIVED. ... ..	400

## Topics of the Week.

### Golden Jubilee of the *Swadesamitran*.

THE celebration of its golden jubilee by the *Swadesamitran* on Saturday last was, very properly, made the occasion of much rejoicing in the southern presidency, towards the building up of the public life of which the paper has during the last fifty years made no mean contribution. Journalism in this country with all the risks involved in the presence of a stringent Press and sedition law and the statute book is a very precarious business and the instances of journals which live to celebrate the completion of fifty years of their existence and that too in a flourishing condition, as the *Swadesamitran* has been fortunate enough to do, are very rare. To us who look upon the *Swadesamitran* as also on its English counterpart the *Hindu*, both founded by that illustrious Congressman and veteran journalist, the late Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, as valued organs of public opinion, the fact that the paper entered on its fifty-first year last week has given real pleasure and we sincerely echo all the good things said about the paper in Madras and elsewhere. Vernacular journalism, though appealing only to the people of the province, is full of great possibilities for the influencing of public opinion and, will, with the growth of political consciousness among the people and the spread of literacy, come to occupy a more and more important place in our public life day by day. Bright as has been the career of the *Swadesamitran*, we have no doubt it has a still more bright and useful future before it. The principal congratulatory function in connection with the celebration took place in Madras, from where the paper is issued, under the presidency of Mr. N. C. Kelkar, himself one of our veteran journalists, and was influentially attended, which shows how high is the value set upon the work of the paper in that presidency.

### Indian Affairs in England.

TWO conferences were held in England last week the proceedings of which are full of interest to India. One of these was the conference of the Conservatives who overwhelmingly predominate the present "national" Government in Great Britain, and the other was that of the Labour party forming an important part of the Opposition in the present Parliament. The former was held in Mr. Churchill's constituency and its proceedings would have been far livelier but for his enforced absence due to illness. But he did not allow even illness to come in the way of letting his colleagues know how he feels about India and her problems. This is natural, for he regards India, as he made clear in his letter to the Conference, as the "central glory of the British Empire" whose loss will not only sound the death-knell of our greatness but *destroy the means of livelihood of millions of this island.* (our italics.) We are sometimes told by well-meaning Englishmen that Britain's object in not leaving India to her fate was her anxiety to train Indians for self-government and the fulfilment of her obligations for the uplift of the voiceless masses of the Indian people. The type of Imperialist represented by Mr. Churchill whose strength in the councils of the Conservative party is by no means negligible, avowedly takes a different view of the rationale of Britain's connection with India, which is really a matter of bread and butter to him. However much Mr. Churchill's views may be distasteful to Indians, he deserves praise for his frankness in expressing them. His remedy for India's political troubles is, as expected, hopelessly antiquated. He still swears by the Simon report and thinks it anathema to go beyond it even by an inch. This at a time when he ought to know full well that the political hunger of this country is not going to be satisfied by anything short of Dominion Status to be reached at a very early date. Living in a world of his own, he entirely disapproves of the attempt to make the Indian Government responsible to the Indian people; it would be a catastrophe; and there was no pressing demand for it from Indians. That, we think, is the limit even for Mr. Churchill who must be either deliberately blind to recent Indian happenings or labouring under a hallucination. The resolution the Conference originally intended to pass wanted to postpone the grant of a further political advance to India to an unspecified date; and all that Sir Samuel Hoare's passionate defence of the Government's Indian policy and his earnest appeal to his hearers to trust it could do was to secure from it a halting approval of the procedure to be followed in the future stages of Indian constitution-building. To Lord Lloyd, who replaced Mr. Churchill at the Conference, the political maxim that good government is no substitute for self-government was naturally meaningless when applied to India. But His Lordship seems to us to have really excelled

himself when he said that all that Britain was committed to at present was the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. Does he wish us to believe that the sanction given by Parliament last December, not to go further back, for the framing of an Indian constitution based on federal responsibility counts for nothing? It is utterances like his that work untold mischief in India and aggravate the estrangement between the two countries. If people like Lord Lloyd desire that India should not go out of the Empire, as they very sincerely do, the least they can do to facilitate the achievement of that object is to place a self-imposed ban on their speeches, as it is not in them to talk sense.

The proceedings of the Labour Party Conference, though they attracted comparatively small notice, were more helpful. The Conference stressed the desirability of a conciliatory attitude in regard to India and the revival of the policy underlying the Gandhi-Irwin pact. There is no doubt that this Conference showed a better appreciation of the Indian situation than the Conservative one, and Mr. Wedgwood Benn's speech at it was a forceful justification of the Labour Government's policy in regard to India of which it is not too much to say that it was found acceptable to a much larger number of Indians.

#### Ancient History.

THE Educational Commissioner's review on Indian education which has been recently published is a document so out-of-date that it can be said without exaggeration that its contents can have nothing more than historical interest to the general reader. The review relates to the year 1929-30 and deals with a state of affairs nearly two and a half years old. But its belated nature will be better realised if it is borne in mind that the narrative begins with the publication of the Hartog Committee's Report. Everybody knows that much water has flown under the bridge since the Committee's report saw the light. Not only has the Simon Commission itself to which the Hartog Committee was an auxiliary reported, but even the Round Table Conference, itself an offshoot of its work, has met twice and is soon to do so for the third time. How can then such a dated publication interest to any extent the general public for whose benefit we take it, such publications are brought out at such heavy cost of public money and labour. Cannot the Government do something to expedite their publication so that their contents may describe a state of affairs which is not long past? While one is prepared to make allowance for some delay in bringing out a publication the preparation of which depends largely upon reports from the provinces there can be no doubt that the time taken over its preparation and publication is out of all proportion either to its utility or its size. The report itself appears to have been ready in April last and it passes our comprehension why the printing of a pamphlet of about 80 pages need have occupied more than a fortnight. But in the present case the delay of six months cannot be satisfactorily explained except on the supposition that its printing and publication took all the time from April onwards. If such publications are to serve any useful purpose, it is up to the authorities concerned to see that they are brought out as soon after the close of the period dealt with by them as possible.

To come to the statistics in the publication. The number of educational institutions increased by a little less than 3000 to nearly 261,000, while the number of scholars went up by nearly  $3\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs to over  $12\frac{1}{2}$  millions. The percentage of scholars to the population which was 4.92 for 1928-29 went up to 5.06 in the year under report which can

hardly be called an advance. It appears from certain figures printed in this report that of all communities, the Parsis are educationally the most advanced, having 22.2 per cent. of its total population at school, the Europeans and Anglo-Indians following close upon their heels with 19 per cent. and the Indian Christians with 14.2 per cent. In this matter even the Muslims and Sikhs with 5.4 and 7.7 per cent. respectively rank higher than the Hindus with only 4.8 per cent. of its population in receipt of instruction. Among the major provinces, Madras is the most literate with 6.8 per cent. of its population brought under instruction, while Bihar and Orissa and the Central Provinces stand at the bottom with 3.2 each. But we forget that the statistics in the report are ancient history, a study of which can be of no interest to the general public.

#### The New Panchayat Bill for Bombay.

THE Bombay Legislative Council continues in session without attracting much public notice. Its only noteworthy doing during the last week was its reference of the Panchayat Bill brought before it by the Government to a Select Committee. It is not as if there has been no Panchayat Act for this presidency. No, that is not so, but it is a fact that the one in existence has not been able to encourage the spread of the Panchayat movement in this presidency where indeed it is the weakest in the whole of India. Though the Act has been on the Statute Book for ten years, the presidency with a total of about 26,000 villages could not boast of more than 256 Panchayats even in 1931! This is generally believed to be due to the fact that while the bodies coming into being under the Act were given ample powers of taxing the villagers, their functions were not suitably widened. As a matter of fact, popular leaders who happened to be members of the legislative council, in 1920, when the Act was passed, pointedly drew attention to this defect in it and prophesied failure for the Government's scheme on this ground. But the Government did not choose to profit by their suggestions with the result that all these ten years during which the Act has been in force may without exaggeration be said to have been almost completely wasted so far as the village panchayat movement is concerned.

The Bill introduced in the Bombay Legislative Council last week tries to remove this defect by conferring on the new Panchayats powers to try petty civil and criminal cases arising within their area, not to speak of certain other functions like the supervision of the water supply and the local school, maintenance of the village roads, preservation of public health, etc. with which it seeks to invest the new bodies. It has been since suggested that they may also be entrusted with the duty of protecting and managing the village forest areas. We hope it will be found possible to incorporate this provision in the Bill and that the contemplated enlargement of their functions will go far to add to the utility of the Panchayats.

We are however unable to understand why while introducing adult suffrage in panchayat elections the Government should seek to prevent women from standing for election to the new bodies, as is provided for in their Bill. It is true that even if the door were widely opened to them, not many of them would find their way into them in the present stage of their development. This, instead of justifying the ban on their membership, makes it all the more unintelligible. Nor can it be defended on the ground of their unfitness for the responsibilities of membership. For it would be difficult to maintain that the men in villages are from this point of view better

qualified than the women. We trust that when the Bill emerges from the select committee it will have been relieved of this serious defect.

A demand for special provision for the protection of their respective communal interests has sprung up from certain well-known Depressed Classes and Muslim quarters. We should have thought that the inclusion of the principle of adult suffrage in this Bill would have made such a demand quite unnecessary. The spirit of the Poona Pact which may be relied upon not to die out so soon may be safely looked upon by these minorities as a shield for their protection. If the working of the new measure shows that their interests are jeopardised in the absence of special protection there will be time enough to think of devices which will do so. But to press for it even before the ink on the Pact is dry is to proclaim one's want of faith in it.

Jamkhandi in 1931-32.

WE have been favoured with a copy of the administration report of Jamkhandi State for 1931-32. The year was specially important for the people of this State, as it was marked by a public declaration by the Chief of his intention to associate them with the administration by bringing a representative assembly into being. That he did not want this declaration to remain a mere pious wish but really meant business in the matter was clear from the steps he took to implement it. The Committee with the Dewan as chairman appointed by him to draw up a constitution for the proposed body is believed to have concluded its labours and the public is asked to expect a formal announcement on the subject on the next anniversary of the Chief's installation. It is to be hoped that this will be liberal enough and will confer some real power on the people. It is necessary that if the people are to use the new powers wisely and well, they must be allowed to train themselves in the art of self-government in the comparatively limited sphere assigned to municipalities which number six in the State. Their constitution as it stands at present is hardly in accordance with the new policy of trusting the people with enlarged responsibilities and needs to be thoroughly democratised. As it is, only one municipality is allowed to elect its own President, while in the case of the others the

offices of the President and Vice-President are automatically held by revenue officers and mamlatdars respectively. This antiquated arrangement must soon cease and the elected non-official element in these bodies must be placed in a position in which it will enjoy a decisive voice in managing local affairs.

Coming to education, we find that it is free both in its primary and secondary stages and that free boarding and scholarships are given to the poor and deserving students irrespective of their caste and creed. Special steps seem also to be taken to encourage the spread of education among the backward and depressed classes. All this is good so far as it goes, but is not enough to meet the needs of the situation, specially in view of the new responsibilities the people are expected to shoulder in the near future. What is needed as much to fit them for these as for preventing waste of money in educating children who after a short time at school relapse into illiteracy is compulsory education. From the statistics given in the report it appears that education suffered a set-back in the year under report by the reduction by 12 in the number of schools which stood at 64 and the consequent decrease in the number of pupils by 700, the pupils in schools numbering about 5,000. This, we find, represents less than even a third of the total number of school-age children, which would come to about 17,000 on the basis of the present population of the State, if there is to be universal literacy in the State. Notwithstanding the fact that the present times are unpropitious for the commencement of any fresh activity requiring any considerable outlay of expenditure, nothing can be more desirable than that the forthcoming announcement by the Chief with regard to the constitution of the representative assembly was accompanied by the declaration of compulsory education being the goal of the State's educational policy and of prohibition the goal of its excise policy to be attained in, say, ten years. We cannot persuade ourselves that this is impossible, if only the ruler could bring himself to reduce his personal expenses which in the year under notice came to nearly Rs. 1½ lakhs or about 18 per cent. of the revenue, and was about 1½ times the amount spent on such nation-building activities as education and medical relief.

## AIMLESS DESTRUCTION.

OF all the activities connected with the Congress none appears to be more wantonly destructive than the interference that has continually been taking place under its auspices with the cotton trade in Bombay. Round the picketing and boycott of shops of liquor and foreign cloth a halo of pietism and patriotism can be thrown, although in fact to the mind of the picketer no nobler sentiment than that of harassing Government and foreign dealers may be present. The disorganization of the cotton market that has been brought about by calling frequent hartals is however incapable of being referred to such a seemingly elevated motive. To the extent that this boycott succeeds—and it has by all accounts succeeded only too well—it ruins farmers and agriculturists who, even without such an artificial and humanly engineered calamity, are already too badly hit by the general economic depression. Impoverished as they already are by

the precipitous fall in the prices of agricultural produce, the enforced closures of the cotton market at frequent intervals deprive the growers of cotton of a large part of even these reduced earnings. There is a body—the East India Cotton Association—which has been statutorily charged with the duty and endowed with the authority to control and regulate the cotton market. Sir Purshotamdas Thakordas was till recently the Chairman of its Board of Control. It consists of members who are all individually interested in keeping the cotton market open. But the threat of social boycott held out against those who would enter upon any transactions has been enough to cow them into submission. Out of 159 working days from January to August this year the market had to be closed for 93 days. The E. I. C. A. passed resolution after resolution during this period deprecating hartals, but is wholly unable to put a stop to the interference which it

meets with. If the dealers had themselves desired to deal no more in cotton, then it would have been a different matter. But the dealers, desiring to carry on business, are being coerced into abstention by a third party, which neither grows cotton nor trades in it.

The obstruction of this third party is not in dispute. In addressing the Indian Central Cotton Committee, Sir Purshotamdas, who is not likely to prefer charges lightly against the Congress volunteers, observed :

"There were hartals and trading was confined to three days in the week for the past few months. The East India Cotton Association deplored this outside interference with the internal interests of the trade. Scenes of commotion were witnessed in the Marwadi bazar where the trading ring for forward cotton was situated. Sentiment reigned supreme, and all efforts of the Directors of the East India Cotton Association and others interested in the cotton trade were fruitless. Work in the rings for three days a week became the order of the day, and business was diverted from the open market to private offices and elsewhere. Boycott was carried on by tacit consent and business suspended by the Brokers' Association, not officially countenanced by either the East India Cotton Association or the Mucadams' Association, the latter of which was subject to picketing and harassment and the former found itself helpless, much as they deplored outside interference and obstruction."

The cotton magnates may not be overmuch distressed if the only result of this obstruction was to reduce a little of their profits but the major part of the loss is incurred by the agriculturist who gets a much lower price for his crop on account of the disorganised state of the market. Seeing that the E. I. C. A., by its own confession, lacks the ability to discharge its own proper function, the Bombay Government introduced into the present session of its Legislative Council a Bill taking to itself the power, in the event of a default of one Board of Control, to appoint another which will perform its duty. This of course is an emergency power, a proposal to confer which naturally provoked much opposition. But there was general recognition that the E. I. C. A. had drawn it upon itself by the spinelessness of its own policy. There was general recognition too that, far from its providing for governmental intrusion into commerce, the Bill purported only to remove outside interference with the market. The only opposition that was worth considering proceeded from members who doubted whether by this means Government would be able to afford to the trade the protection that it wants. On this point the Government members and other supporters of the Bill were clear that the Bill would effect the purpose it had in view. One such supporter said : "The main reason why the Board of Control will be able to see its wishes carried out is largely this, that every contract, in order to be a good contract, requires that delivery has got to be effected at Sewri, and the Board of Control being in command of Sewri will be able to take effective disciplinary action against those of the trade who do not carry out its orders."

We hope that the Bill, which is now passed into law, will enable the cotton market to remain freely open for the transaction of business without outside

interference; but what we are more concerned with is to reason with the Congress volunteer and persuade him to give up an activity which can do no sort of good to the country. Does he want cotton to be *tabu* like liquor or foreign cloth? Is it his desire that all sales of cotton should cease—outside our country? Our home consumption is only about 42 p. c.; the rest has all to be exported if it is not to rot in the fields here. Does he consider it humiliating that so large a proportion of the home-grown cotton should have to be sent abroad? If so, he may reflect upon the fact that even in U.S.A. only 45.3 p. c. of the cotton grown there is consumed at home and 54.7 p. c. has to be exported to other countries. Or, does the Congress volunteer think that the major portion of our surplus cotton goes to Great Britain, and that it would be a good plan to starve the British cotton industry by cutting off its supply of raw materials? In fact, out of the 3,868,000 bales of cotton that India exported to other countries in 1930, not more than 286,000 or 7 p. c. went to Great Britain. One of the major complaints of our economists against the Ottawa Agreement in fact is that the concession promised by Great Britain regarding greater use of Indian cotton in British mills will not really yield any substantial results. We export 36 p. c. of our cotton to Japan, which is not even a European country upon which we can patriotically inflict an injury along with Britain. Indeed our people were visibly disturbed when in retaliation against the levy of anti-dumping duties on piece-goods Japan threatened to boycott our cotton. Whom then do we wish to ruin by forcibly closing our cotton market? We can only ruin our own country, and our farmers at that—just that section of our people in whose behalf the Congress carried on a no-rent campaign in the U. P. How is it that these champions have suddenly become empty of bowels for our distressed cultivators? Even Sir Purshotamdas, who cannot be accused of hostility to the Congress has at last been driven to denounce this particular activity of the Congress.

What can be the real object of this part of the Congress activity? It can only be to throw the whole normal machinery of the country out of gear, whatever injury it may bring in its train and upon whomsoever it may bring it. It so happens that in this particular instance the policy of aimless destruction only ruins ourselves. Cannot the leaders of the Congress stop at any rate this part of the movement, which we find it difficult to believe could have been carried on so long with their countenance? Mahatma Gandhi very rigidly and somewhat ostentatiously kept the Congress out of the Nasik satyagraha movement being carried on to secure for the depressed classes temple entry which he so ardently desires because it smacked to him a little of violence and coercion. Is it not time his followers who are in control of the civil disobedience movement should actively discourage an agitation of which, so far as one can see, the very essence is violence and coercion?

### THE LEAGUE ASSEMBLY.

**T**HIS is the thirteenth time that the League Assembly meets, and it has not brought to Geneva the animation and buoyancy of the previous years. Last year already there was some anxiety, but it was only whispered. This year it is avowed, declared. And the dominating words as well as the dominating facts are: crises, conflicts, problems. International life is becoming more and more rugged. It is not so surprising even if we forget for a moment the special circumstances which make for greater difficulty: the economic depression, Manchuria and the divergences concerning disarmament. International organisation has reached a point at which problems have to be met and the enthusiasm, the fine words and even the good will of the first years can no longer blind peoples to the limitations of Geneva in dealing with crucial problems.

The growing dissatisfaction of public opinion towards the League was expressed in a stern and severe way to the dismayed and silent delegates by Mr. deValera who, as the President of the Council, had to open the Assembly and be in the chair pending the election of its President. The presence of Mr. deValera in that place was suggestive of the rapid political changes in which the world already finds itself—yesterday a rebel, condemned to death; to-day the chief of a free State, who had to be listened to by the representatives of more than fifty nations when he dwelt on the destiny of his own once persecuted country in a spirit of confidence and determination. "Speaking for my own country," Mr. deValera said, "I am confident that if we are left free to pursue our own policy we shall succeed not only in securing the proper adjustment of our own social and economic life but be able in addition to contribute more than our share to human progress throughout the world. . . . If we are left free our way will be the way of peace, of thinking in terms not of selfish interest, nor of the acquisition of territory, nor of petty power, but of human beings living, as they have a right to live, in the best that our State can give them, whilst contributing to the world the best that is in us."

Mr. deValera echoed various criticisms of the League heard of late: the growing suspicion of public opinion that Geneva does not justify the expectations it aroused and the energies it absorbs. "We are defendants at the bar of public opinion with a burden of justification which is almost overwhelming." The only remedy seemed to him to be "an uncompromising adhesion to the principles of the Covenant," specially on the part of the great Powers, for "the critics of the League will measure the confidence that can be placed in it by the confidence which the more powerful members of the League themselves place in the security the League is capable of affording." The success or failure of the Disarmament Conference will give the measure of this confidence. Mr. deValera went on to point out the importance of the World Economic Conference which is being planned, referred to the 25 millions unemployed,

the hundred millions "faced with starvation in the midst of a world of plenty" and advocated the "re-opening of old channels of international trade" and the sacrifice of all special interests to the solution of this deeply human problem.

M. Politis, the distinguished Greek jurist, who had the honour of being elected to this year's Assembly, emphasised the anxiety amidst which the thirteenth session had met. Like the President of the Council, he also drew attention to the problem of the hour and the League's difficulties, but added that "if there was anything" at the present moment "which discouraged pessimism and authorized hope for the future, it was to be sought in the rudimentary international organisation presented by the League."

Mr. Hughes, the Australian delegate, said that "misery and despair make people restless and reckless and that a return to prosperity would be the surest asset of peace in the world."

The Aga Khan hoped that the Disarmament Conference would succeed, as on it "might depend nothing less than the peace of the World." He deplored the almost exclusively European character of the activities of the League and hoped that as the World Economic and Monetary Conference would not have such limitations, India could participate fruitfully in its work. The Aga Khan welcomed the two Asiatic newcomers: Turkey and Iraq as their entry would bring the League "sensibly nearer to that co-operation between all the nations of the World, at which it must constantly aim."

The speech most looked forward to in the Assembly however, was that of the French Prime Minister, in view of the fact that an impasse has been reached in the negotiations concerning Disarmament. The German note on the equality of armaments, rather of disarmament, as the Chancellor explained, received a stiff reply from Great Britain and France with the consequence that Germany decided not to pursue the controversy further, but to maintain an adamant attitude of non-participation in the further proceedings of the Disarmament Conference, until her claims had been recognized. Outside the Assembly vigorous negotiations were being pursued by Sir John Simon to bring the two principal disputants together again on the basis of a common formula and it was expected that the French Premier would indicate a way out. That expectation was not justified. There are at least three different schemes of disarmament, negotiations for which are at present going on and it is not possible to say which one of these is likely to find ultimate acceptance. Meanwhile as usual, indeed more than ever, political effort and public attention are concentrated on the negotiations outside the League and the League itself has at least three important questions, disarmament, the Sino-Japanese dispute and the Bolivian-Paraguay dispute, all in a state of animated suspension.

The Council has at last taken direct cognisance of the Bolivia-Paraguay dispute and although the Manchurian question will not come before the League Assembly until November, the Lytton report will be almost immediately published.

## THE LYTTON REPORT.

**T**HE Lytton Report is out and Reuter's admirable summary of it must have reached India. It is an extremely able, conscientious and objective exposition of the Manchurian situation and may be regarded as a masterly contribution to empirical politics. Even if the League can do no more than promise such clear surveys of tangled situations, its educational benefits will rank very high.

1. "However difficult Japan's problems of assimilation and transformation (of Western thought) may have been", say the Commissioners, "those faced by China were much more difficult, owing to the vastness of her territory, the lack of national unity of her people, and her traditional financial system, under which the whole of the revenue collected did not reach the central Treasury. Although the complexity of the problem which China has to solve may be so much greater than that which confronted Japan as to make unjust any comparison between the two, yet the solution required for China must ultimately follow lines similar to those adopted by Japan. The reluctance of China to receive foreigners and her attitude towards those who were in the country was bound to have serious consequences. It concentrated the attention of the rulers on resistance to and restriction of foreign influence, and prevented her from profiting by the experience of more modern conditions in the foreign settlements. As a result, the constructive reform necessary to enable the country to cope with the new conditions was almost completely neglected."

2. The Report states: "It appears that disruptive forces in China are still powerful. The cause of this lack of cohesion is the tendency of the mass of people to think in terms of family and locality, rather than in terms of the nation, except in periods of acute tension between their own country and foreign Powers. Although there are, nowadays, a number of leaders who have risen above particularist sentiments, it is evident that a national outlook must be attained by a far greater number of citizens before real national unity can result." Nevertheless, the Commissioners are clear in their conviction: "Although the spectacle of China's transitional period, with its unavoidable political, social, intellectual and moral disorder, is disappointing to her impatient friends and has created enmities which have become a danger to peace, it is nevertheless true that, in spite of difficulties, delays and failures, considerable progress has in fact been made. An argument which constantly reappears in the polemics of the present controversy is that China is 'not an organised State' or 'is in a condition of complete chaos and incredible anarchy,' and that her present-day conditions should disqualify her from membership of the League of Nations and deprive her of the protective clauses of the Covenant... In many things, no doubt, the (present) Government has failed, but it has already accomplished much."

3. The Report records: "The nationalism of

modern China is a normal aspect of the period of political transition through which the country is passing. National sentiments and aspirations of a similar kind would be found in any country placed in the same position."

4. The Commissioners are definite in their judgment of events on and after September 1931. Dealing with the occupation of Mukden they say "The military operations of the Japanese troops during this night cannot be regarded as measures of legitimate self-defence. In saying this the Commission does not exclude the hypothesis that the officers on the spot may have thought they were acting in self-defence."

5. The Commissioners admit that "so far as Japan is China's nearest neighbour and largest customer, she has suffered more than any other Power from lawless conditions... Over two-thirds of the foreign residents in China are Japanese, and the number of Koreans in Manchuria is estimated at about 800,000. She has more nationals, therefore than any other Power, who would suffer if they were made amenable to Chinese law, justice and taxation under present conditions."

6. But they add: "The Chinese Government has presented to the Commission a document stating that, during the last twenty or thirty years, Japanese agents to a great extent instigated bandits to serve their political interests."

7. The most important and interesting chapter of the Report, dealing with "Manchukuo", is an interesting commentary on peaceful penetration "It is clear that the independence movement which had never been heard of in Manchuria before September, 1931, was only made possible by the presence of Japanese troops. A group of Japanese civil and military officers, both active and retired who were in close touch with the new political movement in Japan, conceived, organised, and carried through this movement as a solution to the situation in Manchuria as it existed after the events of September 18. With this object they made use of the names and actions of certain Chinese individuals, and took advantage of certain minority inhabitants who had a grievance against the former Administration. It is also clear that the General Staff realised from the start, or at least in a short time, the use which could be made of such an autonomy movement. In consequence they provided assistance and gave direction to the organisers of the movement. The evidence from all sources has satisfied the Commission that while there were a number of factors which contributed to the creation of 'Manchukuo', the two which in combination were most effective and without which, in our judgment, the new State could not have been formed, were the presence of Japanese troops and the activities of Japanese officials, both civil and military. For this reason the present regime cannot be considered

have been called into existence by a genuine and spontaneous independence movement."

8. In "Manchukuo", "the effect of the police measures adopted was to keep away witnesses, and many Chinese were frankly afraid of even meeting members of our staff. We were informed at one place that before our arrival it had been announced that no one would be allowed to see the Commission without official permission. Interviews were therefore arranged with considerable difficulty and with secrecy, and many informed us that it was dangerous for them to meet us even in this way." The Commissioners received many delegations representing public bodies and associations in regard to which they "had strong ground for believing that the statements left with us had previously obtained Japanese approval. In fact, in some cases persons who had been presented informed us afterwards that they had been written or substantially revised by the Japanese, and must not be taken as the expression of their real feelings." Many of the highest Chinese officials of the "Manchukuo" were "previously in the former regime, but have been retained either by inducements or by intimidation of one kind or another. Some of them conveyed messages to the Commission to the effect that they had been forced to remain in office under duress, that all power was in Japanese hands, that they were loyal to China, and what they had said in their interviews with the Commission in the presence of the Japanese was not necessarily to be believed." The Commissioners conclude: "After careful study of the evidence presented to us in letters and written statements we have come to the conclusion that there is no general Chinese support for the 'Manchukuo Government,' which is regarded by the local Chinese as an instrument of the Japanese."

9. The Commissioners conclude that in the present conditions it is not possible either to restore the status quo ante or to maintain the "Manchukuo" State and in view of the interests of China, Japan and Russia, which are involved in Manchuria, propose a regime that may be able to put the policy of open door into effect. They consider that Chinese sovereignty should be left intact and the Japanese have no right to control Manchuria politically or economically.

10. No Indian reader is likely to miss the significance of this Report. Even if nothing more comes out of it than the subjection of Japan to perpetual vigilance, the Report will be epoch-making on account of the help that it will thus have rendered China and the corrective it will have administered to political adventurers. But it is hardly likely that we have heard the last of the Manchurian question. The Report is the official record of the awakening in the Far East. The special Assembly in November will consider the Report and after the Presidential election in the United States, the American policy will also emerge more clearly.

Geneva, October 5.

BENGAL PROVINCIAL COUNCIL.

FUTURE COMPOSITION COMPARED WITH THE PRESENT.

UNDER the existing composition, which was based upon the Lucknow Pact, Hindus and "others" had 50% of seats assigned to them to be filled either by election or nomination and Muslims 41.5%. Really speaking, only two out of the communal seats were to be nominated by Government, one to represent the Depressed classes, and the other the Indian Christians. All others i. e. those for non-Mahomedans, Mahomedans, Anglo-Indians and Europeans were to be elected by their respective communities. Thus out of 94 communal seats 47 (46 for non-Mahomedans and one for depressed classes) went to Hindus and "others", i. e. exactly 50%. The share of Mahomedans was 39 seats out of 94, which works at 41.5%, or 1.6% more than agreed upon by the Lucknow Pact. Europeans as such got 5 seats out of 94, which works at 5.3%.

Under the future composition based upon Premier MacDonald's Award of 1932, 216 seats have been distributed between the five communities, the other 34 being reserved for election as follows:—by (1) Commerce and Industry, 19 seats; (2) Labour, 8 seats, (3) Landholders, 5 seats; and (4) University, 2 seats. This number 34 together with the 216 communal seats makes the total strength of the Council 250. The communal 216 seats are distributed as follows:—

Hindus and "others" ...	80
Mahomedans ...	119
Europeans ...	11
Anglo-Indians ...	4
Indian Christians... ..	2
	216

Thus the Hindu seats are only 37% against 50% in the existing Council. The Mahomedan seats as per the Premier's Award are 119 which works out at 55.1% of the total communal seats, as against 41.5% in the existing composition. Thus there has been an addition of 13.6% of the communal seats for Muslims and a reduction of 13% for Hindus and "others". The corresponding proportions of communal seats for Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans has not changed to any material extent.

But the 34 seats assigned to special interests will, it has been calculated, probably be distributed among the three communities as in the table given below and therefore the communal seats should be increased by so many seats in order to arrive at a correct figure of the total seats that will fall to the share of each community, and its percentage to the total strength of the council.

The following table shows the probable distribution of the seats assigned to special interests:—

Community.	Commerce seats.	Labour seats.	Land-holders' seats.	University seats.	Total.
Hindus and "others"	4	5	3	1	13
Muslims	1	3	2	1	7
Europeans	14	0	0	0	14
<b>Total</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>34</b>

Thus the Hindu seats will be 80+13=93 Muslims 119+7=126, and European 11+14=25

those of the Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians remaining the same, viz. 2 and 4 respectively.

Thus under both the methods of calculation, i. e. excluding or including the special interests seats, the percentage of the seats for the five communities works out as follows:—

	Excluding special Interests seats.		Including special Interests seats.	
	No. of seats.	Percentage to total communal seats.	No. of seats.	Percentage to total seats in the council.
Hindus and "others"	80	37.04	93	37.20
Muslims	119	55.10	126	50.40
Indian Christians	2	0.93	2	0.80
Anglo-Indians	4	1.85	4	1.60
Europeans	11	5.10	25	10.00
Total	216	100.00	250	100.00

Thus under the two methods of calculation Hindus get 37% of the seats, and Muslims 55 and 50.4 respectively, while Europeans get 5 and 10 respectively. It is easy to see that because Europeans under the second method of calculation get 25 seats or 10%, Muslims get on the whole 50.4%, instead of 55% as by the first method. As the European community gets through the two channels (Communal and Commerce) a number of seats inordinately large and out of all proportion to its population, the Muslims do not get their full proportion as calculated on the population basis.

The following table shows the percentage of seats calculated by the two methods compared with the percentage which each community's population bears to the total population of the province:—

	Population in millions	Percentage of population to total population	Percentage of seats by first method.	Percentage of seats by second method.
Hindus and "others"	22.44	44.77	37.04	37.2
Muslims	27.80	54.87	55.1	50.4
Indian Christians	0.13	0.36	0.93	0.8
Anglo-Indians	0.027		1.85	1.6
Europeans	0.021		5.1	10.0
Total	50.12	100.00	100.00	100.00

From the above table it is easy to see that though the population of the Christian communities is only 0.36 of the total population, they get 12.4% of the total seats or 12% of the total seats more than is their due. This 12% is taken off from the two major communities, 7.5% from the Hindus and 4½% from the Muslims. If it was at all necessary that the three Christian communities should be given such an astoundingly high percentage of seats, the proportion of seats taken from the Hindu and Muslim communities should have been reversed, as the Hindus form a minority in Bengal. Justice demanded that Hindus should get seats at least in proportion to their population as they are a minority there. But instead of this being done, European Commerce is given more seats than even the Lethian Committee recommended. They recommended 15 for Commerce

while the Premier awarded 19 to that interest, for reasons best known to himself; but if he had split the difference of four seats equally between the Hindus and Muslims, even then the Hindus would have been short of their population ratio and got less their due, and the Muslims would have got full 51% which they so much desire, and with justification.

A. V. THAKKAR.

## THE BARGAIN AT OTTAWA.

IN view of the fact that the agreement reached at Ottawa between the delegations of the United Kingdom and the Dominions on the one hand and the delegates of the Government of India on the other is to be presented to the Indian Legislature in a few weeks' time it is necessary that the subject should be thoroughly discussed in the press. It is obvious that the agreement will have to be treated above everything else from a business standpoint. In this respect the position of the delegation from India has been presented by Mr. R. K. Shanmugam Chetty, M. L. A., a member of the Indian Delegation to Ottawa, who has just returned to India, in the following terms: "From the beginning of this year there has been a radical change in the tariff policy of the British Government. Under the Import Duties Act, which is now in operation almost all the goods imported into the United Kingdom with the exception of a few raw materials and articles of food are subject to duties varying from 10 to 33 per cent. All goods coming from Empire countries are, however, exempt from this duty until November 15th. The attitude of the British Government is that if any of the Empire countries do not come to a satisfactory tariff arrangement with them they will after November 15 extend the operation of these duties to such of the Empire countries also. Under these circumstances the question that we had to consider was this. Suppose we had failed to come to an agreement with the British Government at Ottawa with the consequent result that all these duties were made to operate against us, how much would India stand to lose by such a step which the British Government were bound to take and against which we would have had no reason to complain? On an examination of the problem from this point of view we were convinced that the Indian export trade to the United Kingdom would suffer a very serious setback if the duties were made operative against us. We had therefore to examine whether in the interests of our export trade it was worth while to retain this advantage on reasonable terms. I claim that the agreement we have made has not merely secured the continuance of the existing privilege but has secured additional preferences and higher rates of preferences for certain goods."

In effect the position of Mr. Chetty and his colleagues is that on their calculations under the terms of the agreement the advantages that the Indian producers will secure in the British markets will at least balance the advantages that will be offered to the British producers in the Indian markets. As the full text of the agreement is not before the public a detailed reckoning of the balance of advantages is not possible for some time. But certain main aspects of the question can and must be discussed as a preliminary to the closer examination of the agreement. The preferences to be secured in the British markets will bring benefit to the Indian producers, and the preferences given to Great Britain in the Indian markets will in most cases place a burden on the Indian consumers. The question of questions, therefore, with respect to the Ottawa agreement that every citizen must ask himself



before he makes up his mind on the issue is: Is it reasonable to expect that if there were no agreement with Great Britain our producers will lose more than what we as consumers are called upon to sacrifice for the British producers? When the question is so stated an examination of the export trade of India becomes imperative, not only with a view to find out what Great Britain is offering to India, but also to discover whether there are any chances of other countries by retaliatory measures inflicting serious loss on Indian exporters. It is only by offsetting the estimated figure for foreign disadvantage against British preference that the net value of the British offer can be justly calculated.

It appears from the interview of Seth Haji Abdulla Haroon, another Indian member of the Delegation from India, that in framing their agreement the delegation were guided by figures of trade for no later year than 1929-30. During this year India exported to Great Britain merchandise worth a little more than Rs. 66½ crores, out of a total export trade of Rs. 310 crores. Among the articles which account for a large share of our exports to U.K. are: raw cotton, Rs. 431 lakhs; hides and skins, dressed or tanned, Rs. 697 lakhs; jute, raw and manufactured, Rs. 871 lakhs; lead, Rs. 155 lakhs; oil cakes, Rs. 119 lakhs; paraffin wax, Rs. 112 lakhs; ground nut, Rs. 124 lakhs; linseed, Rs. 181 lakhs; tea, Rs. 2219 lakhs; wool, Rs. 101 lakhs; and raw wool, Rs. 352 lakhs. If we examine this list carefully some tendencies of the working of British preference will be obvious. All these commodities, with the exception of tea, are producers' goods and unless there is a prospect of all the needs of Great Britain being met from Empire sources, Great Britain will not easily think of levying upon them any duties heavier than the general tariff. We have not before us full details of the import figures of Great Britain during recent years. It would appear, however, that from the above list wool is the only product in respect of which British needs may be entirely met out of Empire sources and hence a prohibitive duty on the imports of wool from non-favoured countries must not be left out of calculation. But a major portion of our exports to Great Britain consists of commodities in which the Empire cannot supply all the needs of Great Britain and hence the preference that can be granted on them will tend to be low. Moreover, there are such exports as jute and lac which, besides being accessories to production, are virtual monopolies of India, and hence any discrimination against their imports into Great Britain will not fail to do at least as much harm to the British consumers as to the Indian producers. Though the conclusions arising out of these arguments can be finally expressed in the shape of figures only when all the details are published, it would, we presume, be a safe statement to make that if Great Britain placed India in the non-preferred list on the 15th of November Indian producers would stand to lose something like Rs. 6 crores on the basis of a general 10% preference.

Against this must be set off the disadvantage expected to arise from discriminatory treatment in the foreign markets, particularly in those countries which pursue a policy of 'autarchy' not only in their manufactures but also in many primary commodities. It used to be said till recently that as India exports mainly raw materials and foodstuffs there is not much danger of foreign retaliation. There is some truth in that view even to-day, and where a foreign country by discriminating against Indian exports is likely to suffer from unnecessarily high prices it may not be expected to 'cut its own nose to spite its face.' But this can apply at best to such commodities as jute in which India has a virtual monopoly. In respect of most other exports alternative and

mutually competing sources will be available. The United States, Argentina, Russia, Mexico, Egypt, not to mention several other smaller yet numerous countries, are increasing their production of all primary commodities. If, therefore, in retaliation for the discrimination practised in India against their goods foreign countries were to retaliate by restrictive legislation their industries will not as a rule suffer. Raw cotton, oil seeds, and hides and skins are our principal exports to countries competing with Great Britain in India, and for all these articles alternative sources either already exist or can be easily developed. Even if the extent of foreign discrimination were no more than 5% in respect of our exports of these three commodities to Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, America and Japan, our producers would stand to lose more than Rs. 3½ crores. The possibility of foreign retaliation except in the case of commodities which are virtual monopolies of India cannot, we fear, be so summarily dismissed as the authors of the Ottawa agreement would have us do. If we deduct even this minimum figure of probable foreign loss from the maximum gain in the British market it will be observed that the net preference that Indian producers might expect to gain in the British market dwindles to much less than Rs. 3 crores.

Let us see now what the Indian consumer is called upon to sacrifice in return for this saving to his countrymen dealing with Great Britain. The total import trade of India in 1929 was Rs. 241 crores, of which the United Kingdom answered for Rs. 103 crores. The chief articles of British import into India are: cotton twist and yarn, Rs. 296 lakhs; cotton piecegoods, Rs. 3482 lakhs; hardware, Rs. 180 lakhs; instruments and apparatus, Rs. 303 lakhs; machinery and mill work, Rs. 1368 lakhs; iron and steel, Rs. 928 lakhs; and motor cars, Rs. 159 lakhs. Excepting iron and steel and, for the time being, cotton piecegoods, the import duties at present levied in India are mainly revenue duties and any preference to be granted to Great Britain in their case will have to be in the shape of increased duties on foreign imports. The total imports of the above mentioned commodities into India during the same year were as follows: cotton twist and yarn, Rs. 600 lakhs; cotton piecegoods, Rs. 4935 lakhs; hardware excluding agricultural implements, Rs. 493 lakhs; instruments and apparatus, Rs. 538 lakhs; machinery and mill work, Rs. 1822 lakhs; motor cars, Rs. 376 lakhs; and iron and steel, Rs. 1721 lakhs. It will be observed that in all these articles a very large portion of the Indian market is supplied, and will for a long time continue to be supplied, by countries other than Great Britain. Even if we were to exclude the case of protective tariffs and even if the prices of other imported articles were to rise only by about 5 per cent. as a result of heavier tariffs on foreign sources of supply the whole of the advantage secured by the Indian producer in the British market will be more than offset.

The full details of the Ottawa scheme are not before us. We only hope that the Government of India while publishing their scheme will place all the relevant data before the public. But from such figures as are available the conclusion appears to be irresistible that the effective burdens of preference to be borne by the Indian consumers, in the form of higher prices, will be disproportionately large as compared with the net advantage that Indian producers might be expected to reap by British preferences. In the interviews given by the two non-official members of the Indian Delegation to Ottawa immediately on their return to this country an attempt has been made to show that the Indian producers as a class will on balance gain in

their foreign trade by the scheme of preference and will not lose in the home market, as the protected industries will not be allowed to suffer from any grant of preference to British goods. But what about the consumers, from whose standpoint also the agreement must be closely examined? We must appreciate the difficulties of the position in which the Indian Delegation found themselves; either they accept the principle of preference or on the 15th of November Indian producers lose their present preferred position in the British markets. On this ground we should all be, as practical men, in favour of the principle of preference. But it seems to us that the Delegation has inadequately assessed the possibilities of foreign retaliation, and, judging from the *communiqué* of the Government of India, has consented to pay an unduly high price for the advantages to be secured from Great Britain. As a business proposition the preferences to be given in the Indian market to British products must be less general and more selective than what they appear to be. Without repudiating the principle of preference conceded by the Delegation at Ottawa, it is possible to test the agreement as a business proposition. We suggest that public discussion should be focussed on this object, rather than on the political and theoretical aspects of a preferential tariff, which have been sufficiently dealt with in the past without producing any effect on prejudice and authority.

D. G. KARVE.

## Our Geneva Letter.

( BY AIR MAIL. )

( From Our Own Correspondent. )

GENEVA, 1st October.

### AN EVENTFUL WEEK.

**A**N eventful week has ended inconclusively. The changes in British politics, for obvious reasons, are nowhere more attentively followed than at Geneva, and, if the political correspondents of the London dailies are to be trusted, the possible foreign reactions to the situation in England weighed much with Mr. MacDonald. Foreign opinion has assessed the latest development in British politics at its proper value. It makes no mistake about the present mood of public opinion in England or of the present majority in the House of Commons and in the Cabinet. But it has also taken note of the fact that Englishmen's dislike of coalitions is as strong as ever; that the British people are little inclined to facilitate political fusion for the purpose of uniting Britain against the rest of the world at a time when circumstances call for a clear lead from Britain to a world in sad disarray. It has registered the transference of an important and intelligent section of British politicians from the ranks of those who believe that a heterogeneous Empire can be strengthened by rendering it into a hermetically sealed sphere to the ranks of those who are convinced that in sentimental and spiritual ties lies the greatest security of the Commonwealth. And it cannot but ask: what would be the reactions, silent or otherwise, of Dominions' politicians, who seek security of the markets of the mother country for their wealth, when they see that the very first attempt to make the Empire a closed economic event provokes such a serious opposition in England. The British crisis is over and as a consequence, both Mr. MacDonald and the Conservatives, have emerged with formidable power. In this circumstance and in a number of similar other considerations, such as the inadequacy of Ottawa in the last resort to cure British unemployment, burks an element of doubt,

which may any day become a danger. Foreign opinion has no apprehension about Britain's capacity to wrestle with her troubles, but it regards as far from certain that these troubles are over.

British diplomacy, it has also been duly noted at Geneva, has seldom let the European situation get out of hand as it has undoubtedly done at present. The French and German Foreign Ministers, who are at Geneva for the League Assembly, are hardly on speaking terms and have been known to be at pains to avoid each other in the lobbies. The British and French notes to Germany on her demand for equality of status in the matter of disarmament remain unanswered. The work of the Disarmament Bureau is in a state of suspension and the German attitude towards the President of the Disarmament Conference has been marked by a lack of cordiality which has caused much comment. These incidents reflect a situation which borders on international anarchy, as international machinery has undoubtedly come to a standstill and can be put into operation again only as a result of the success of efforts outside the League to patch up an agreement.

Here again, looking at the position in England from the vantage point of Geneva, one cannot but be struck by a certain contradiction. Successive British Governments have either realised from the outset or have very soon been brought to realise that the old system of balance of power can no longer prevail and in the conditions of post-war Europe, Great Britain and France must pursue the same path in the domain of foreign affairs. The British people, including representative newspapers, on the other hand have never quite appreciated the change and have persisted in the old tradition. Nor has the British Government taken much trouble to educate public opinion in this respect, as it has sought to maintain its initiative unimpaired by putting forward the popular attitude as the chief obstacle against any international commitments. This dual policy was aptly illustrated when early this week it was found that the British Note to Germany was much appreciated in France, while in England the principal newspapers regarded it with unconcealed disapprobation.

Governments can hardly escape such embarrassment if they accept to establish a rigorous international order, while they jealously cling to their ancient isolation. The United States are in the same plight with regard to the Manchurian question. They have for over a decade stood outside the international scheme they themselves evolved and they are now disappointed that the League machinery moves slowly and indecisively in dealing with the Sino-Japanese dispute in which they are interested.

Once more Geneva is full of rumours that the only solution to the Franco-German impasse, some sort of international society built on a basis like the one envisaged by the Geneva Protocol, is to be attempted. These reports have hardly had time to reach England and already the despatches from London are full of assertions on the part of leading British newspapers that the British people will never adhere to any such scheme.

## Our London Letter.

( BY AIR MAIL. )

( From Our Correspondent. )

LONDON, 23rd September.

SUNSHINE . . .

**T**HE glad news came, on Saturday morning, that at long last an agreement had been signed between the caste Hindu leaders and those of the depressed classes, to which Mahatmaji on his

bed of fast and prayer had signified his assent. With it came a spate of telegrams to well-known friends of India here imploring them to use their best efforts to ensure the adoption of the agreement by the British Government with the utmost promptitude in order to bring Mahatmaji's fast, which was telling upon his strength and was hourly bringing him nearer to the danger-line, to an end. Even without such admonitions, some of which it must be confessed were ill-timed and placed, these British friends had already set about their task. Three things had been fairly generally assumed, notwithstanding an enquiry by the India League. One was that no question would be raised as to the representative character of the signatories to the agreement; the second that the agreement itself did not affect the interests or the rights of third parties; the third that in so far as it dealt with matters within the terms and scope of the Government's award it would fall within the undertaking of the Prime Minister that it would be adopted in substitution *pro tanto* of the Government's award. In the result all these assumptions were found to be justified, and even in so far as the Government's announcement of its views on the agreement proceeded to a consideration of matters beyond the scope of the award and also beyond its powers of decision, pending further deliberation on the larger questions of which those matters formed a part, the evidently friendly character of the Government's response was highly encouraging and very gratifying. For this credit is primarily due to two persons, namely, the Prime Minister and Mr. C. F. Andrews.

It unfortunately happened that, in anticipation of a very hectic week to follow, in which important Cabinet changes and questions of Government policy would fall to be dealt with, Ministers had taken advantage of the week-end to go into retirement, in various parts of the country, either to recuperate or to fulfil long-standing engagements, or to prepare for the arduous duties of the ensuing week. In consequence it was extraordinarily difficult at first to make contact, but the indefatigable Andrews, sustained and fortified by a realisation of the greatness of the cause, the importance of the crisis, the seriousness of the emergency, and the constant advice and assistance of dependable, well-informed, but of their own desire anonymous friends, felt no effort too great to be made to bring Ministers together with a minimum loss of time, and to compel their earnest and sympathetic application to the task of responding, as promptly and completely as possible, to the spoken and the unspoken desires and demands of myriads of their fellowmen and women in India. The least of these considerations was Gandhiji's life and welfare. Should the worst happen, there might be irretrievable consequences in Indo-British relations. On Sunday morning Mr. Baldwin returned from a holiday in France. Later in the day Sir Samuel Hoare arrived from Cromer. The Prime Minister returned especially from Chiquera. Lord Lothian was on duty constantly. Other Ministers came as available. The India Office specialists had been at their task of technical advisers day and night. Late on Sunday night, in the middle of the most important conference of all, it was announced that the Government hoped to issue a statement of their views within a brief period. They did so in fact in the early hours of Monday morning, and your readers know the rest better than I can tell. News had come in one telegram from India that at least four days' delay was expected in order to enable the Government of India to obtain and communicate the views of the local Governments on the agreement. I have reason to know that this view was somewhat curtly put aside by the Prime Minister himself. There is no doubt that the expediting of the decision communicated to the Assembly and to Mahatma

Gandhi on Monday was due very largely to the Prime Minister, to whom also must fall a very large share of the credit for the manner and the matter of the Government's announcement.

If it was a near thing with regard to the effect of the delay upon Gandhiji's health and strength, it must be remembered that it took nearly six days for the parties to the agreement to agree among themselves. A day and a half for the Government here in the midst of their manifold preoccupations, and with the heavy responsibilities that they had assumed in this very matter, as well as the care that they necessarily had to exercise to see that the agreement did not infringe upon the rights or interests of others was not too much, and I believe that Mr. MacDonald and his colleagues were much gratified upon reading the appreciativeness with which the promptness of their action has been greeted in India. Here it had been universally welcomed and a very high tribute was paid, notably in the *Times*, to those who had negotiated the agreement, whilst general recognition was accorded to the remarkable results of Gandhiji's personal sacrifice and fortitude. Indeed, it would not be surprising if he had left out his unfortunate attack upon the British Government to find him regarded generally in this country as the hero and creator of a new phase in the social history of Hindu India. As it is, few attempts are made to deny the earnestness and sincerity of his act of sacrifice, though there will be many who will question the necessity for it, either at this particular juncture or at all, when it is recalled that he might, had he been better disposed to compromise last autumn, have reached a similar agreement with Dr. Ambedkar without this great strain upon his physical powers. I have no doubt that Mahatmaji might find a dozen good retorts in reply. How far, however, they would be convincing to the critics is another story.

#### ... AND STORM.

Quick upon the news of the response in India came still better tidings. Mahatmaji had expressed his willingness to consider any worthy suggestion for resuming co-operation with the Government and the Round Table Conference, and it was subsequently learnt that upon his invitation Mr. Jayakar had proceeded to Poona in order to discuss peace moves with him. This was a happy and hopeful sign, for there was a prospect of the restoration of normal relations, and that, in consequence, the Congress might be reconciled, either to active participation in the Round Table Conference, or at the worst to the neutral observation of its proceedings and the reasonable study of its results. Apparently, however, either the Government of India or the Bombay Government had become seriously alarmed lest it might be supposed generally that it had authorised indirect negotiations with Mr. Gandhi and the Congress. Both there and here the slogan has always been, and still remains, that the Government will not negotiate with Mr. Gandhi, and there will not be another Gandhi-Irwin pact. Moreover, the limelight has been far too long shed upon the emaciated hero of Yerawda Jail. Devotees who have had free access to him during and immediately after his fast were reported to have been stripping the sacred mango tree, under which the ascetic was reclining, of its leaves and twigs as mementoes as though he were another Buddha. Doubtless, too, the Jail Superintendent had begun to ask for instructions and had complained that he really could not with dignity run a jail for much longer along these lines without the complete subversion of jail discipline. Whatever may have been the reason, the telegrams from India announcing the sudden reversal of the indulgent treatment of Mahatmaji and his

compulsory retirement behind the jail doors once more in the midst of his conversations came as a shock to us here who had supposed that perhaps a new era of friendly contact had been opened, and that the bitterness of the past was perhaps to be allowed to die down. Needless to say, those who are always active in these causes in this country are resuming their activities, with a view, either to the reversal or the modification of the new orders, which, it is known, do not accord with the views and hopes of certain prominent members of the Government, and which certainly did not emanate from this side of the water. It is difficult to conceive anything more fatuous and dangerous than this supreme example of Indian bureaucratic ineptitude. One would almost imagine that the Devil was at work making mischief and certainly the foolish and misguided youths in Bengal who have been responsible for these two latest dastardly outbreaks of violence have contributed nothing but harm to an already difficult and delicate situation. Mr. Patel in America, too, with his venomous tongue and unctuous manner is adding to the irritation felt by a considerable number of people who might otherwise be persuaded to look differently upon this latest official action. We shall see within the next few days whether friendly efforts have been productive of useful results. I should not be surprised if, at any rate, the official ban upon visitors and correspondents were relaxed so as to enable Mahatmaji at least to prosecute his campaign among caste Hindus for the effective implementing of the depressed classes agreement.

#### GOVERNMENT CHANGES.

I wrote last week of the impending Cabine changes. It was known that the two Samuelite members of the Cabinet and Lord Snowden had virtually decided upon tendering their resignations. They had agreed to await Wednesday's Cabinet meeting before finally making up their minds, but nothing would move them from their resolve, and with them went their junior Liberal colleagues, including Mr. Isaac Foot, Sir Robert Hamilton and Lord Lothian. The latter, as you will know, is succeeded by Mr. R. A. Butler, M. P., son of Sir Montague Butler, Governor of the Central Provinces, and hitherto Parliamentary Private Secretary to Sir Samuel Hoare. He was a member of the Lothian Committee and is a close friend of Lord Lothian. A younger brother is one of the Prime Minister's Private Secretaries. His selection is welcomed in well-informed circles as he is regarded as one of the most progressive of the younger Conservatives and is wholly opposed to the Churchill policy, which, by the way, Mr. Churchill himself will be unable to define at the Conservative Conference next Thursday, owing to serious ill-health, when he will be replaced by his less effective lieutenant, Lord Lloyd. If, as was understood to be the case, it is the Government's intention that the British delegation at the next Round Table Conference could be only of members of the Government, on the ground that it is a "National" Government, not only will the Indian Moderate leaders and their friends be deprived of sympathetic colleagues like Mr. Wedgwood Benn who contributes the preface to Major Graham Pole's new book entitled "India in Transition," Professor Lees-Smith and Mr. Pethick-Lawrence, but also of Liberal friends like Lord Lothian, Sir Robert Hamilton and Mr. Isaac Foot. Moreover, as Lord Reading, too, has declined the Prime Minister's invitation to join the Government in the capacity of Lord Privy

Seal (to which titular office Mr. Baldwin has been appointed in addition to that of President of the Council) he will no longer be available. It is a pity.

#### ANOTHER NEW BOOK ON INDIA.

I am informed that a volume of Lord Irwin's Speeches in India which is being prepared under the editorship of a very competent but anonymous person, is presently to be issued by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., the publishers of Mr. Andrews' books. Mr. F. W. Wilson's new book entitled "India in Chaos" was published to-day. It is perhaps the most powerful exposure of the weaknesses, stupidities and insincerities in Indian public life, both official and non-official, that has yet appeared or is likely to appear. Mr. Wilson has a fluent, able, and trenchant pen, and he spares no one. A great deal of what he says is indisputably true and has been said with less effectiveness, and possibly either with greater reserve or in the privacy of privileged conversation by others. He, however, has chosen to exercise the calculated indiscretion of the practised and experienced journalist. With some of his judgment one would not necessarily agree. In particular, his picture of Gandhiji is far from a comprehensive whole, at times kindly, at other times censorious. Mr. Wilson, doubtless from an inherent incapacity to appreciate certain aspects—and these the most important of Gandhiji's character—does him serious injustice. I imagine that with one or two exceptions the Liberal and Moderate leaders will writhe under the author's lash. He is a friend from whom they might well pray to have been spared. I expect that the book will have, both for its contents and its style, a wide and ready public.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- WORLD SOCIAL ECONOMIC PLANNING.** The Necessity for Planned Adjustment of Productive Capacity and Standards of Living, with its Addendum. Ed. by M. L. FLEDDERUS. (I. I. Relations Institute, The Hague\* Holland.) 1932. 25cm. p. 585, 352. H. Fl. 3.52, 1.
- A PICTURE OF WORLD ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AT THE BEGINNING OF 1932.** (National Industrial Conference Board, New York.) 1932. 23cm. 286p. \$3.00.
- MARKETING RESEARCH TECHNIQUE.** By PERCIVAL WHITE. (Harper, London.) 1931. 22cm. 236p. \$4.00.
- THE CALL OF THE SOUTHERN CROSS.** Being Impressions of a Four Months' Tour in Australia and New Zealand. By ARDASER SORABJEE N. WADIA. (Dent.) 1932. 20cm. 145p. 6/-
- THE CHILD.** By RABINDRAWATH TAGORE. (Allen & Unwin.) 1931. 20cm. 31p. 2/6.
- AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PRINCIPLES OF CIVICS.** By SUDESH KUMAR LAHIRI and BENOYENDRANATH BANERJEE. (The Book Co., Calcutta.) 1932. 20cm. 136p. Rs. 1/12.
- THE CHURCHES AND MODERN THOUGHT.** By VIVIAN PHILIPS. (Watts & Co., London.) 1931. 20 cm. 309 p. 1/-
- SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF SAHITYAKUSALAN.** By T. K. KRISHNA MENON. (The Gosavi Scout Printing Service, Palace Road, Cochin.) 1932. 25 cm. 253 p. Rs. 2.