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## Topics of the Week.

### Elections.

SO the Indian electors are not to have an opportunity of giving their verdict on the Joint Select Committee's report at the forthcoming general election. According to the official announcement on the subject in the Assembly, the procedure to be followed in connection with the election will be somewhat unusual. Elections will apparently not be held throughout the country on a stated day, as generally happens in the case of a general election; but polling will take place on different dates in different provinces. This rather extraordinary course was probably found unavoidable by the Government in the peculiar circumstances in which they found themselves placed. As everybody knows the life of the Assembly has been prolonged till the end of this year so that its dissolution is not possible before December 31st. But the Government were already committed to have an election before the year was out.

HOW was the difficulty to be got over? Under the electoral rules of the Assembly the Governor-General is given power by which he can call upon the constituencies to elect members not earlier than three months before the life of the Assembly is due to expire. It is in exercise of this power that the Governor-General will call upon the different constituencies early in October to arrange for the election of their representatives, the polling of votes taking place in the first half of November on varying dates in the different provinces. According to the latest information about the reforms time-table, the report of the Joint Select Committee is not due to see the light of day before the middle of November, which, as the London

correspondent of the *Pioneer* points out, will be "a few days after the election of members to the Central Legislature in India."

BUT whether the elections precede or follow the publication of the Joint Select Committee's report, the fact that the Government's constitutional proposals are unacceptable even to moderate opinion in the country should by now have become crystal clear to them. With the whittling down which these proposals are, from all accounts, sure to undergo at the hands of the Committee, their obnoxiousness from the Indian point of view will still further increase. The *Pioneer* correspondent tries to make out that the amendments that may be proposed by the Committee will be of a subsidiary nature, relating as they will do, as he puts it, to the details of the scheme. Indirect election in the case of the Federal legislature, more stringent safeguards for British trade and commerce, provincial autonomy *minus* law and order or with the C. I. D. removed from popular control—if these are unimportant details we do not know which are the important ones. Princely nomination instead of official nomination?

### Sham Equality of Status.

IN spite of official protestations to the contrary, the Indian military officer to be turned out by the Military Academy at Dehra Dun seems destined to enjoy an inferior status to that assigned to his British compeer. This fact emerges out of the report of the select committee on the Bill to amend the Indian Army Act designed to legalise the products of the Dehra Dun military college. For a demand for equality of status was made in the Committee, but was turned down and Indian opinion is asked to be content with the assurance that the object would be secured by suitable rules.

IF the select committee was really keen upon leaving no ground for any public misapprehension on the score of the status of the new class of officer, as it goes out of its way to assure the world, its intentions could not have been made good more effectively than by the insertion of a clearly expressed declaration to that effect in the new Act. But it fought shy of such a declaration. The rules, it is made clear, would empower commanding officers "to appoint the occasions" on which Indian commissioned officers may exercise powers of command over British soldiers. This, taken along with the Indian commissioned officer's admitted ineligibility to a seat on a Court Martial on a British soldier, is enough to convince all but purblind apologists of Government that the contemplated equality of status is hardly better than a make-believe. Actually it will turn out to be no more substantial than, e. g., the Nizam's

sovereignty over Berars which is symbolised by the flying of his flag on some Government building in Berar for a stated day in the year. The matter is really too important even for the present Assembly to slur over. We hope it will not rest content till it secures statutory recognition to the principle of equal status and complete reciprocity between the two kinds of officers.

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#### Indianisation of the Army.

INFORMATION officially conveyed to the Assembly last week fully justifies the criticism about the progress of the Indianisation of the army being exasperatingly slow. The number of officers holding the King's commissions in the Indian army may roughly be said to be 3,000. The annual retirements number 110 on an average. These are at present replaced by 90 British and 20 Indian officers. With the military college at Dehra Dun turning out its full quota, the Indian recruitment will rise to 60. Unless steps are taken to increase the capacity of the Indian Sandhurst of which there appears to be no early prospect at present Indianisation of the army will at this rate take at least 50 years to finish.

\* \* \*

THIS estimate must, however, be said to err on the side of optimism when the fact mentioned by the Army Secretary himself is remembered that it takes eighteen years completely to Indianise one division. It is difficult to know the present number of such divisions; but their number about ten years ago was 10. Assuming some reduction in the strength of the army in the interval due to the disbandment of superfluous regiments and reorganisation of military administration, it is doubtful if the number could have been reduced to less than eight. At the rate of eighteen years per division, complete Indianisation of the army will take not 50 years but very nearly three times the number.

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THIS forecast seems nearer the mark, as the output of the Indian Sandhurst is to displace not only the British personnel on the officer establishment but also the officers holding the Viceroy's commissions. To replace one Indian officer by another can hardly form part of a scheme of Indianisation; but that is how things are regarded at present in official circles. And of course official energies are directed not so much to the substitution of British officers by Indian ones but to that of Indian ones on a smaller salary by those on a higher one. We do not know whether the Army Secretary had this aspect of the matter present to his mind when he stated that the lowering of the starting salary from Rs. 400 to Rs. 300 so as to bring it into relation with Indian standards would result in a saving of Rs. 20,000 per unit. If the Viceroy's commissioned officers are to make room for the products of the military academy at Dehra Dun, this saving would perhaps suffer considerable diminution.

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#### Opium-Consumers' Registers in Assam.

THOSE of our readers that took the trouble of going through the article dealing with the Opium Problem in Assam printed in our last issue will easily recall the fact of the Opium Committee not having been of one mind about the desirability of reopening the registers of opium-consumers. While such action had the support of the majority in the Committee, an influential but a minority section led by the Rev. J. J. M. Nichols-Roy, who for some years held the responsible position of Excise Minister, strongly opposed any such course. The

main ground of their opposition was that the registers when once closed must remain so for all time and that their frequent reopening was likely to create a highly unfortunate psychological effect on the consumer. The demand for their reopening might perhaps have to be given some thought, so argued this minority, if the number of unregistered opium-eaters had been very large. It is however estimated to be not more than 9000, which is admittedly mere guess-work. The minority for its part considered this to be an overstatement and held the view that the very small number of unregistered consumers that might possibly exist would not justify such a backward step as was involved in the proposal sponsored by the majority. The minority therefore positively discouraged the idea of any further accessions being allowed to the opium-eaters' register, as they ever so negligible.

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THOUGH the majority was firmly persuaded of the soundness of its view, it nevertheless expressed a desire for the reference of the matter to the Legislative Council. It is not improbable that in suggesting this course the majority expected the Council to stand by it. If it entertained such a fond hope it has been dashed to the ground. When the matter came up for consideration by that body on a motion by the Minister for the recording of the Committee's report, the Council brushed aside the motion and upheld the view not of the majority but of the minority, deciding the question of the throwing open once more of opium-eaters' registers in the negative. The Council cannot be blamed for acting in this manner. The Minister made no attempt to question the correctness of the stand taken by the minority, but merely pleaded with the Council against expressing any definite view till Government was able to make up its mind. Not that it should be presumed that it was favourably inclined to the majority view. In fact nothing would be done, he said, till the Council had discussed the matter. If he was inclined to be so deferential to the Council, he has reason to thank it for giving him a clear and prompt indication of its view. Not to act hurriedly is no doubt a wholesome rule of conduct; but seven months was surely a sufficiently long period to shield the Minister from any possible accusation of hasty action.

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#### Results of An Economic Survey.

AN intensive survey of ten villages in Madras Presidency which has been recently completed has brought out facts about rural economy which deserve to be widely known. The average annual income for a family of five members was found to range between Rs. 30 and Rs. 100, 50 per cent. of the population coming nearer the lower limit. As elsewhere in India, agriculture is the principal occupation followed by more than 75 per cent. of the population. The people of the depressed classes mostly own no land but work as labourers or undertake the cultivation of land on lease. An idea of the low quality of cultivation may be formed by the fact that for every five acres of cultivated land, there are no more than one plough and a pair of ploughing cattle. The profitability of agriculture stands at a very low level, the net profit varying between 1 and 3 per cent. after allowing 6 per cent. on the capital invested in land. It follows that unless and until agriculture is made to yield better economic results, efforts at rural development will not come to much.

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WAGES paid for agricultural labour are very poor and usually take the form of payment in grain, the condition of a class of permanent and even heredi-

tary labourers known as Padiyals being specially pitiable. These generally belong to the depressed classes and the period of their contract varies from one year to a generation or two. During the period of the contract the labourer is bound to be a whole-time servant of the master. In many cases he receives an advance of a few rupees generally for marriage or for house-building. The loan rarely carries any interest and has to be repaid when the labourer leaves his master. In case the debt should remain unpaid during the life-time of the borrower, the liability to serve the money-lender with personal labour is transferred to his sons. The average annual earnings of this class of labourer vary from Rs. 30 to Rs. 45, exclusive of the food given, which would not cost more than Rs. 10. The average annual income of a field labourer's family was found to range from Rs. 25 to Rs. 60! The low income necessarily involves the villager in accumulated debts which he is rarely able to repay, and the rate of interest on which sometimes goes up as high as 25 per cent. No wonder that the people in the rural parts have to drag on an existence of semi-starvation. The report hits the nail on the head when it suggests minimum wage legislation as the remedy. Out of the 250 family budgets, which were most of them deficit budgets, studied in the course of the survey, not a single one was found to provide for the education of the children or for amusements and recreation of any kind. This is an appalling state of things which cries for prompt action.

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#### Certified Schools in Madras.

A PERUSAL of the report on the working of the Children Act and the administration of certified schools in Madras in 1933 is interesting as showing the important part played by these institutions in the reclamation of juvenile criminals. The number of such schools was the same as for the previous year, viz. 6, and the number of pupils in them also very nearly constant. Not that the same children continued in the schools throughout the year. The number at the beginning of the year was 600. While 261 of these were disposed of, 262 were newly admitted, making up a total of 601 at the end. Most of the new admissions were first offenders, only 5 having one previous conviction. 153 children as against 102 in the previous year passed through the Remand Home. 41 of these were sent to certified schools, 57 handed over to parents, 42 released on bond subject to supervision and 5 escaped.

The value of these schools is however to be judged not by the number of pupils admitted to them but by the manner in which they enable the youngsters entrusted to their care to turn over a new page in their lives and become honourable citizens. The activities of the certified schools successfully stand this test. 184 children were given instruction in different vocations like tailoring, weaving, metal work, carpentry, masonry, gardening, blacksmithy, mat-weaving and basket-making, etc. and only 43 of these were found to be not following the vocation they were taught in the schools. This is not to say that they reverted to their former life of a criminal. But even if this were so and the activities of the schools resulted in reclaiming no more than 150 possible criminals, the expenditure of about Rs. 1 lakh on their maintenance must be said to be fully justified. It is satisfactory to note that apart from the vocational training given to the inmates of such schools, they are also instructed in the three R's so that nobody who enters them is allowed to remain illiterate.

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## Articles.

### A DARKENED COUNSEL.

THE more enlightenment Congress leaders offer on the communal award, the more obfuscation of the public mind results.

*Satyamurti.* Mr. Satyamurti was the first to take the field on behalf of the Congress. His explanations are always clever, but the one on the communal award is too clever by half.

Time has not yet come to consider the detailed provisions of the proposed constitution, he says. The Congress rejects the White Paper no doubt, but it rejects it on the only ground that it is not written by the Congress, that is, by India.

The Congress cannot, therefore, express an opinion on the merits of the communal award; it cannot reject it on its merits. And as for rejecting it because it is a British decision, the Congress has already done it by implication since it has rejected the whole White Paper of which it forms part. But he does not explain why the Congress objects to stating explicitly what is so obvious an implication.

Then he shifts his ground. It would be wrong for the Congress, he says, here and now to condemn and repudiate the communal award. To do so would be inconsistent with self-determination. Supposing it was discovered that the people wanted it? At any rate it must be open to any member of the Constituent Assembly, when it is convened, to propose the communal award for adoption. This will not be possible if the Congress, which is the same thing as the nation, has already rejected it.

Why not then, on the same reasoning, leave the door open to a Constituent Assembly member to put forward the White Paper proposals themselves? Why reject them in advance, thus blocking self-determination in one direction?

Ingenious as he is, he has not explained why the White Paper should be immediately rejected, but not the communal award.

*Devi.* Mrs. Sarojini Naidu has recently had a try at this job.

"We cannot abrogate our national respect," she said the other day at Madras, "by either rejecting or accepting the award of a third party." She too invokes the principle of self-determination. We can understand one who takes his stand on this principle not accepting a decision of outsiders. But we cannot understand why it should hurt anybody's self-respect if he were to reject such a decision. Is our national self-respect only to be preserved by maintaining an attitude of neutrality towards what is admitted to be an evil? Why not take up an equally non-committal attitude towards the White Paper?

*Rajaji.*—Mr. Rajagopalachari now admits that the Muslims as a community insist upon separate communal electorates for themselves. In saying so he

admits that National Muslims are in an insignificant minority and he now drops the pretence that the Congress can speak for that community also.

He gives two reasons for not rejecting the communal award. Even if the Congress rejected it, Government would not agree to substitute joint for separate electorates. Is the national institution really so powerless? What, then, is the basis for the assurance in the Congress mind that if the national institution rejected the White Paper proposals Government would agree to put them away and to convene a Constituent Assembly for the drafting of a new constitution.

Even if the Congress won Swaraj, it would not thrust joint electorates down the throats of the Muslims, says Mr. Rajagopalachari. It would try to change Muslim hearts by persuasion. Certainly, but what is to happen if they are not changed or take a long time in changing.

The Congress will not accept joint electorates if the Muslims oppose them; it will not accept communal electorates if the Hindus oppose them. Then, we suppose, it will give the go-by to the very principle of election, and have nomination, pure and simple, as it is willing to allow in the case of the States. Or will Swaraj itself hang in mid-air because Hindus and Muslims cannot reach unanimity on the question of electorates?

*Mahatma.* With the Mahatma of course there can be no reasoning. He can do no wrong. If anything goes amiss, it is to be blamed on the source of his inspiration. He recognises communal electorates to be evil, but he must not resist them. It is a curious theory of Non-Resistance of Evil that he has developed. How different from the Tolstoyan theory! To him non-resistance means submission.

*Others.* Other minor leaders have their own reasons for not rejecting the communal award. Mr. Muthuranga Mudaliar the other day put bluntly into words what lies deep in the hearts of most Congressmen. "If the Congress rejected the communal award," he said, "the Nationalist Muslims would leave the Congress." We had no idea that things had come to that pass. We had thought that by some ingenuity some sort of difference could be shown to exist between "communalist Muslims" and "nationalist Muslims." If on thirteen points the two sections agreed, there was at least a fourteenth on which it was believed Nationalist Muslims could show their nationalist spirit.

If now the whole Muslim community stands by the communal award, why should not the Congress accept it, and accept the whole White Paper along with it?

We were cudgelling our brains for a long time to find out why the Congress rejects the White Paper and neither accepts nor rejects the communal award. We are now vouchsafed an explanation. *The Indian Express* of Madras has been good enough to offer it.

The whole trouble arises, it says, because people confound rejection with mere disapproval, whereas

in fact they are entirely different. That is why even the Liberals think that they are in agreement with the Congress policy on the White Paper. Because the Liberals have a few words of declamatory disapproval to utter of the White Paper, they delude themselves with the notion that they too reject the White Paper. But rejection is as different from disapproval as chalk from cheese.

*Rejection and Disapproval.* "Rejection is not identical with disapproval," we are told. It implies a positive determination to do all that lies in one's power to prevent the passage of the J. P. C. proposals based on the White Paper into law and, if they are finally placed on the statute book, to carry on the opposition to cause a breakdown of that constitution."

This is a very good explanation, but why does not the *Indian Express* get the Congress to define rejection in this sense? At present it has no authority but its down to support it.

"The difference between rejection and disapproval," it continues, "is plainly brought out in the Congress attitude towards the White Paper and the communal award. In their manifesto the Parliamentary Board have expressed as strong disapproval of the award as of the White Paper, but they have not rejected the award. In other words, the Congress Party does not propose to carry on an unremitting campaign of hostility to the award. On the contrary, the Party is pledged to carry on such a campaign against any constitution which is thrust upon the country by the British Government."

This means that if the communal award is thrust upon the country, the Congress will perhaps enter its protest and then—submit. Is this interpretation acceptable to the Congress?

But if the avowed purpose of the Congress is, as the *Indian Express* says, to deadlock the entire constitution, it will in effect not allow the communal electorates to work either. Then why does the Congress boggle at rejecting the communal award and preventing its enforcement either? If it wants to show consideration to the Muslim community on the communal question, it must give up its obstruction policy in regard to the White Paper too.

Thus we come back to the original position. The Congress must accept the White Paper if, as the Muslims desire, it will let the communal award come into force. Or, alternatively, it must reject the communal award if it insists upon rejecting the White Paper.

The Nationalist Party leaders believe that the Congress will accept the White Paper along with the communal award. The Muslims believe that the Congress will reject the communal award along with the White Paper.

Which is it going to be?

## AMERICA'S SILVER POLICY.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S proclamation concerning the nationalisation of silver in the United States does not inaugurate a new silver policy but merely constitutes a reaffirmation of the policy contained in the Silver Purchase Act of June last and helps only to remove doubts that had arisen about the Administration's willingness to put the law vigorously into force. These doubts were almost universal, and there was enough ground for their existence. The Act was in one sense permissive and in another mandatory. Section 2 of the Act declared it to be the policy of the United States that "the proportion of silver to gold in the monetary stocks of the United States should be increased, with the ultimate objective of having and maintaining one-fourth of the monetary value of such stocks in silver." Section 3, which provided for silver purchases, read as follows:—

"The Secretary of the Treasury is authorised and directed to purchase silver, at home and abroad, for present or future delivery, with any direct obligations, coin, or currency of the United States, authorised by law, or with any funds in the Treasury, not otherwise appropriated, at such rates, at such times and upon such terms and conditions as he may deem reasonable and most advantageous to the public interest..."

Here it will be observed that the purchases of silver were to be made by the Administration in its discretion, and that no limit of time was fixed in which the purchases were to be completed so that a quarter of the metallic reserves might consist of silver. Thus it was quite possible for the Administration not to exercise the discretion given to it by the Act and not to buy silver at all. And the general belief was that President Roosevelt would not be in too great a hurry to acquire enough stocks of silver to establish the required ratio.

The silver bloc on the contrary maintained that the Act not only "authorised" but "directed" the Treasury to purchase silver until this ratio was attained. What quantity of silver should be purchased and at what time was no doubt to be determined by the Secretary of the Treasury acting with the approval of the President; but the Administration was bound, as Senator Pittman said, "in good faith ultimately to acquire sufficient silver to equal 25 per cent. of our reserves." The Bill as originally proposed by the silver group had made it incumbent upon the Treasury to buy not less than 50 million ounces of silver bullion every month. This obligation was eventually removed and from that point of view it has become a permissive measure. But it is also of a compulsory nature, the silver party contended, in the sense that it places the Treasury under an obligation to purchase, within a reasonably short time, enough silver to provide the requisite 25 per cent. silver backing for the currency. This interpretation too on the face of it was not wrong, but it was commonly held at the time the Act was passed that President Roosevelt was not the man to eat such a dish as hot as it was cooked for him. It was thought that he would be quite long, considering the amount of silver

that would be needed for the purpose, in fully carrying out the object of the law. It has become evident for some time, however, that he is intent upon making energetic use of the discretionary powers vested in the Administration. By the end of June the Treasury had already acquired 70 million ounces and the recent announcement states that its purchases from abroad now amount to 100 million ounces. It is believed that by the end of the current year the policy will have been fully implemented and a quarter of the monetary stock will be in silver. It is estimated that for this purpose about 1,350 million ounces of silver will have to be purchased.

It is obvious that when silver purchases on such an extensive scale and in so short a time are in contemplation, the price of the white metal will go up enormously; and the Act therefore envisaged from the first the possibility of nationalising silver. It gave power to the Treasury to take hold, at its discretion, of all domestic silver hoards at a fixed price and further provided for a tax of 50 per cent. being levied on profits that speculators might make. The President has now exercised the discretionary power conferred by the Act and ordered all silver to be delivered to the mints within 90 days at a price of 50-01 cents per ounce. The coinage value of silver is still \$1.29 an ounce as before; but the mint will charge 61 8/25 per cent. of this as seigniorage while taking delivery of silver. The net price that the depositor will thus get for his silver that he may tender will be the balance.

The Administration was given power under the Act to issue silver certificates to the full legal tender value of silver, viz. \$1.29 per ounce, but in fact it issued certificates so far only to cover the cost of the purchases. However, we are now told that this policy will be reversed. Certificates will be issued not on the basis of the actual cost, but on that of the full monetary value; and this will apply both to the metal held by the Treasury in its general fund and to the purchases made under the Act. Thus, it is explained that silver in the general fund amounts to nearly 62 million ounces, which cost about \$46,900,000, but certificates of approximately \$80,000,000 will now be issued against it. Similarly, a press message says, "silver certificates will be issued against metal acquired under the Silver Purchase Act, including the nationalisation decree at the full value of \$1.29 per ounce." The establishment of the ratio of 25 per cent. silver to 75 per cent. gold in the metallic reserves will need the acquisition of about 1,350 million ounces, and the purchase of so much silver bullion will result in the addition of silver certificates to the amount of \$1,745 millions.

These certificates will be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and are redeemable in standard silver dollars. But they will not be redeemable in gold. The U. S. A. currency still remains on the present gold basis and silver will still be but a credit currency as it must be so long as the market value of silver is lower than the monetary value

given to it by law. It can circulate only in the United States and as part of the monetary reserves and as a means of the settlement of international balances it will be useless so long as other countries also do not accept it. Here therefore is involved the entire question of a general remonetisation of silver and the adoption of a bimetallic international standard, and President Roosevelt is clearly feeling his way towards it. In his message to Congress last May he announced that he had already set on foot discussions "with some of our neighbours in regard to the use of both gold and silver on a co-ordinated basis as a standard of value," and it is now stated that "as a sequel to the silver proclamation the Administration is to resume unofficial talks with foreign countries with a view to the early assembly of an international conference to discuss financial stabilisation" and that "the chief aim will be agreement on a stabilised standard for the monetary value of both gold and silver." The outcome of such a conference no one will be so bold as to prophesy with certainty.

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## Our London Letter.

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( BY AIR MAIL. )

( From Our Correspondent. )

LONDON, August 3.

### THE JOINT SELECT COMMITTEE

PARLIAMENT adjourned for the summer holidays on Tuesday, but the Joint Select Committee held one or two further meetings, as they were empowered to do, before adjourning to 8th October. Though the Committee have still a considerable amount of work before their Report is completed, it is anticipated that they will have finished it by about the 25th October, Parliament resuming for the balance of the second session on the 30th. If this forecast is accurate, it will mean that the Report should be available for circulation to Parliament and in India by about the middle of November, as I indicated not long ago, and this would give sufficient time for consultation with the Tory Party caucus and for the necessary debate in Parliament. I have heard nothing that would appear to show any change in the Government's hopes of being able to present the Indian Constitution Bill to Parliament very early in the new session and secure a second reading and reference to committee before Christmas.

It is expected that in principle the White Paper proposals will be recommended, subject to some important modifications in detail. An endeavour will undoubtedly be made, for what it is worth, to include adequate safeguards for British commercial interests. In all likelihood, too, indirect election to the Central Legislature will be proposed, but I can obtain no confirmation of the rumour that it has been agreed to reduce the size of the Federal Legislature. It is also pretty certain that Law and Order will be transferred, though it is probable that some formula will be suggested regarding the control of the Political Police. There can be no minority reports under the procedure of the Joint Select Committee, but it is understood that on most matters one or other of the members has recorded an objection, and members are entitled to have their special points of view recorded as part of the proceedings.

### FUTILITY OF POLITICAL ASSASSINATION.

Mr. W. A. J. Archbold, now residing in Cambridge, but formerly well-known in India in scholastic circles, contributes a very interesting letter in to-day's *Times*, in which he discusses the literature in the subject of assassination, sometimes, as he remarks, spoken of apologetically as tyrannicide. He quotes the late Lord Acton as saying, more than thirty years ago, that "assassination has hardly ever altered the course of history." The following quotation that he gives from Walter Bagehot is worth recalling and may be deemed to have a very definite application to Indian conditions: "We, in common with nearly all English thinkers, and with the better portion of Continental ones, have at last found out that such acts of violence are nearly always impure in motive, that they are intellectually irrational, that politically they are blunders, that they are with the rarest exceptions indisputable crimes, and that it is for the good of the world that they should be held up to signal condemnation." It may be added that Mr. Archbold's letter is apparently intended to be a comment upon the recent assassination of Chancellor Dolfuss.

### THE LATE JAM SAHIB.

A special correspondent of the *Morning Post* recently alleged, and that reactionary paper had no hesitation in publishing the charge, that the late Jam Sahib's death was directly attributable to the manner in which Lord Willingdon treated him at the historic session of the Chamber of Princes, when the Jam Sahib began a criticism of the federation proposals, and was requested by the Viceroy not to proceed with his remarks, which were out of order, having regard to the matter then being discussed by the Chamber. The *Morning Post* correspondent alleged, among other matters, that the Jam Sahib was mortally affronted by the treatment that he conceived himself to have received in the presence of his fellow-Princes, and that he thereupon went back to Jamnagar there to die. Many circumstantial, but apparently imaginary, incidents were added in order to give verisimilitude to the correspondent's story. These included statements that on his way from Delhi to Jamnagar the Jam Sahib made a point of visiting the places he loved best, and meeting those of his closest friends whom he had not met in Delhi, that on arriving at Jamnagar he began a pilgrimage to the places that he loved best and visited the friends of whom he was fond in anticipation of his death, and that, having his demise immediately before him, he sent for a supply of holy water from the Ganges, and prepared a room ready for his death.

Every one who knows the *Morning Post's* vendetta against Lord Willingdon realised that this imaginative effort was intended to be merely one more piece of evidence that Lord Willingdon, who was known strongly to have backed the White Paper scheme, was unfit to enjoy the confidence of his countrymen, since he must be held directly responsible for the untimely death of that fine sportsman, the Jam Sahib, who was opposed to those proposals.

This week, Mr. Naoroji Dumasia and Mr. Roland G. Wild, the late Jam Sahib's biographer, have had no difficulty whatever in demolishing this amazing journalistic fabric, whose inherent flimsiness almost invited destruction. Both of them bear testimony to the inherent improbability that so courageous a sportsman as "Ranji" should so easily have succumbed to opposition and should have taken it so deeply to heart that he could even foretell his immediate death as a consequence. They also, independently of each other, testify to the very cordial relations between the late Jam Sahib and Lord

Willingdon, notwithstanding the Chamber of Princes episode, and right up to the time of the former's death. Mr. Wild, indeed, flatly denies every one of the gestures alleged to have been made by Ranji in preparation for his death.

If anything were required to settle the controversy once and for all, and notwithstanding the special correspondent's attempt to justify his allegation, it is to be found in a letter addressed to the *Times* to-day by the present Jam Sahib's solicitor contradicting seriatim every one of the allegations contained in the original statement appearing in the *Morning Post*. It is therein authoritatively declared that immediately after the meeting of the Chamber the late Jam Sahib had a lengthy and most cordial conversation with Lord Willingdon and discussed with him plans for a Viceregal visit to his State in the near future. "To the last he looked upon Lord Willingdon as a sincere friend of himself and his State". Contradicting the other allegations, the letter says that the Jam Sahib returned direct from Delhi to Jamnagar without visiting any place en route, that on his arrival there he made no pilgrimage and visited no one except his sister, that he did not send for any Ganges water, since he always brought with him a supply, and did so on this occasion as part of a regular practice, that he gave no orders to prepare a room in anticipation of his death, but that on his arrival at Jamnagar he drove through the City in an open car to greet and be greeted by his people. It was a chilly morning and in his then weak state of health he contracted a chill which ended fatally. It is to be hoped that this matter will now be allowed to remain where it at present stands.

#### OF INTEREST TO INDIA.

In the *Spectator* Dr. Edward Thompson disusses "India Analysed; Vol II, Economic Facts." He disagrees with Dr. Pillai's apparent assumption that in India industrialisation means progress on the ground that so long as most Indian capitalists are reckless of anything but their own gain, being not a whit better than the worst capitalist elsewhere, India will gain little if she becomes a slave population in factories. Dr. Thompson pays a tribute to Dr. Vera Anstey's chapter on "The Trader" and to Mr. Shiva Rao's chapter on "The Labourer". He thinks that the next Viceroy will save the situation and earn the eternal gratitude of both countries if he is prepared to stand up to employers as President Roosevelt is standing up to them in America.

It appears from replies this week in Parliament that there is no intention to release Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, but that there is just the possibility that the authorities may, in the not distant future, favourably consider the release of the "Frontier Gandhi", if they are satisfied that it will be safe to do so, and upon suitable conditions.

The news of the split in the Congress ranks at the Benares meeting of the Working Committee does not come as a surprise to well-informed people here, and it looks as though Congress candidates in the Assembly campaign will be severely handicapped.

The *Daily Telegraph* considers that the imposition by the Colonial Office over the heads of the Ceylon Ministers of restrictions on Japanese textiles in the interests of British goods is no justification for similar interference in the case of India, which, unlike Ceylon, enjoys fiscal autonomy. In the paper's judgment events in Ceylon do not in any way bear upon the question of constitutional safeguards for British trade in India.

It has been stated that the frequency of bug-infestation is a sure sign of low civilization. It may be poor comfort, therefore, to your readers to

have learnt of Lord Crawford's assertion that bug-infestation in this country is increasing in frequency. Possibly this is still another sign of our growing decadence!

Lord Strickland, the mischievous and reactionary former Head of the Ministry in Malta, to whom more than to any other person may be attributed the present constitutional situation in the island, has placed the following motion on the Order Paper of the House of Lords for the 1st November: "To draw the attention of the Government to some lessons applicable to India from the failure of the provision of designedly most ample safeguards in the constitution of Malta and to the resulting state of illegality, stagnation and reaction consequent on the non-application of 'safeguards' in good time, and constitutionally, and to move for papers".

A returned British Colonist from New Zealand writing to the *Nottingham Guardian* suggested that Britain should invite India to buy out her interests there, and that Britain should then hand over the country, reinvesting her investments in Australia or some other British Dominion. It is a pleasing prospect, and I can almost visualise India jumping at the opportunity.

This week we have celebrated the actual date of the emancipation of slaves within the British Empire. The act of emancipation came into operation on the 4th of August, 1834. In a letter to the *Times* to-day, Lord Lugard reminds us that there are still places in the world where legal slavery still remains to be finally abolished. Wage-slavery, factory-slavery, and various other forms of semi-slavery still prevail in large parts of the world, and the efforts of the emancipators ought, therefore, not to be relaxed for a single moment.

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## Reviews.

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### INDIAN JUDICIAL REFORM.

A MONOGRAPH ON THE SEPARATION OF EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIAL POWERS IN BRITISH INDIA. By NARESH CHANDRA ROY, (M. C. Sarcar & Sons, Calcutta.) 22cm. 154p. Rs. 5/-

THE India of the future must be typified not by the policeman but by the administrator as all modern States are. Every citizen in a civilised country must be protected against the danger of the administrator himself interpreting the law that he applies. Historically, the concentration of the power to interpret in the same hands as the power to administer has been associated with tyranny. Looked at from the point of view of this country, this problem has remained unsolved till this day. From the time of Lord Cornwallis right up to the present moment there has never been a clear-out separation between the judicial and executive powers and this in spite of a continuous agitation to the contrary. Professor Roy has done a great service by writing such a book as this on such an important problem.

It is a problem that has agitated public men since the very beginning of modern India's political dreams and struggles. It is sad to reflect upon the fact that neither the efforts of such officials as Sir John Peter Grant, Sir Barnes Peacock or Sir Bartle Frere or the struggles of such non-officials as Sir Sankaran Nair, Mr. S. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar or Sir Surendranath Banerjee have been of any avail. For

over 30 years the Indian National Congress agitated for it and at last gave it up in despair, ceasing to be at the same time an instrument of the moderates. Prof. Roy has taken praiseworthy pains to show how, forgetting all theory and all idealism, British officials of the civil service have till this day opposed the principle of separation because Sir James Stephen taught them that this question was not one of justice or injustice so much as that of the safety of British rule in India. "All the world over the man who can punish is the ruler" has been the foundation of their ideology.

The evil effects of this evil combination are clearly brought to light in one example after another in this book. Indeed the merit of the book lies in the fact that the case for separation of the judicial and executive powers as made out in it is not based merely on principle or sentiment but is supported by actual cases which do credit to the author's research. Not only is it clearly shown how often magistrates in the districts have to curry favour with the police, or how executive officers in their work as magistrates act in a biased manner, but it is also shown how the executive sometimes influences even the higher courts. Only recently certain questions were put in the Punjab Legislative Council asking whether there was any executive interference with the working of the Lahore High Court. This shows how this topic is before the public eye even to-day.

After recounting the evils of the existing system the author meets most of the arguments against its immediate replacement and enunciates the principles on the basis of which he believes the separation of executive and judicial powers should best be effected. In conclusion we can only say that the book is as useful as it is interesting and is worthy of a place on all book-shelves. It is both a timely reminder of the direction of India's hopes and aspirations and a sad monument of her frustrated attempts to make the magistrate independent of the policeman.

P. N. DRIVER.

### CONDITIONS IN RUSSIA.

**DRIVING AXLE.** By V. ILYENKOV. (International Publishers, New York.) 1933. 20cm. 455p. \$2.00.

HIGHLY inflammable and undisciplined are the ingredients that enter into the boiling pot of Russian Revolution. Turf-riders, those who sent the workers tossing into the mid-air of Marxian ideology, are hard at work controlling the passions of the multitude so as to make the world safe for socialism. But human nature being what it is, the ineradicable instinct of individual aggrandisement, interferes to undo the plans of socialisation of production and distribution of wealth. Man, whether he be driftwood floating in conventional economic waters or a red-hot Bolshevik, goes on being unfair to man. For all the Soviet Commandments to the contrary, he continues to be making deceitful gains. To all appearances, he swears the loudest by Lenin and yet asks why it is wrong to enrich oneself at the expense of his fellows if it is not a crime to steal a neighbour's wife. This is the turbulent sea of life that Ilyenkov dramatises in his novel overflowing with the full-blooded vigour of literary genius. The whole Soviet structure lies unconcealed in all its mechanical endeavour, hiding dark powers of frustration, such as "well-lined purses", disaffection, discontent, bureaucratic authority, and consummate graft.

"They are in such a state that we don't even get our wages. There's plenty of posters and lectures but when it comes to paying—they have got no money. Always calling a man an absentee and an idler. I am not a machine.

I must live my life. If the engineers can, why shouldn't we workers? There is a lot of talk about what they do for the workers, but it is all humbug really. We don't even get enough bread. The worse is there are some among us who are ready enough to kowtow to the management. Much they care for the worker's interests! Just count how many bosses there are at a plant; in the office, shops, plant committee, district committee—two managers, three assistants, hundreds of engineers. And each one must get four or five hundred roubles, while the worker is as ragged and starved as he ever was. . . . And that is called socialism."

In their descent from the realm of theory into practical politics the principles of communism not only break the bones of feebler mortals but also cause subtle enslavement of the strong, "It is inevitable. We are on the march. All must be sacrificed to future victory. Can a victory be won without its toll of maimed and dead? Many will not reach the goal. But thousands, hundreds of thousands, millions will reach it in an impetuous rush, as irrepressible as an avalanche."

To have gathered these restless elements in all their strength and weakness in one literary sweep is Ilyenkov's proud distinction. A trustworthy tale told by a disillusioned comrade so hopeful of the beneficent potentialities of Russian patriotism, it is free from all rancour that is so characteristic of unforgiving denunciation. Rare is fiction that is so passionately alive and so vitally compounded of the life and blood of a people in revolutionary torment.

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

### SHORT NOTICES.

**THE JEWS AND A CHANGING CIVILISATION.**  
BY NORMAN BENTWICH. (John Lane the Bodley Head.) 1934. 18cm. 146p. 2/6.

IN this treatise, Mr. Bentwich discusses Jewry's contribution to world's culture and progress. He recognises that the Jew has a mission to perform in this world but is unable to do so because of the physical and moral persecution of the Jews, as is seen in Germany, the land of Kultur. He also discusses in this very interesting book the various causes that have contributed to the rise of anti-semitism in Europe. Jewry is unfortunately judged by the world by its sinners and not by its saints. The Jew is still made the black sheep of history and the scape-goat of humanity. Some one has said that the Jews have found homes everywhere but are at home nowhere. Hence the Jew constitutes politically a "question" and spiritually a "problem," throughout the world. Mr. Bentwich in this concise but comprehensive treatise offers Palestine as the only solution of the Jewish problem. He says,

"When Palestine has become the home of a larger remnant developing the new Hebraic civilisation, the physical, intellectual and spiritual centre of a self-conscious, self-reliant people, then the Jews, by fulfilment of their pacific purpose and by reviving their moral genius, may be able to serve humanity with a living influence for peace and understanding between nations, and Jewish culture will be recognised as a branch of the tree of mankind deriving sustenance from the whole, and giving its fruit to the whole."

Mr. Bentwich writes with a sincerity of feeling which must command a respectful hearing. His exposition of the Jewish problem and its solution deserve consideration at the hands of all who have the welfare of humanity at heart.

The format of the book reflects great credit on the talented editor, Mr. Krishna Menon, and the enterprising publishers.

S. S. KODER.



**THE CAUSES OF WAR.** Ed. by ARTHUR PORRITT. (The Hogarth Press, Madras.) 1934. 20cm. 235p. Rs. 2/-.

THESE are days of conferences and commissions, resolutions and reports, good, bad and indifferent, on matters momentous, ordinary and insignificant. People all over the world feel that they have never been in such a muddle as this before and are desperately seeking steps to climb out. Some believe in a rescue through economic arrangements, others through political conciliation, a third set through the force of religion. In 1930, a session of the World Conference for International Peace through Religion was held in London, and this book, an Indian edition of an English publication by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., is a collection of essays written under the auspices of this Conference. It contains contributions from competent men, each of whom deals with an aspect of the subject on which he can speak with authority.

Sir Arthur Salter contributes a chapter on the economic causes of war, Prof. Zimmern on cultural causes, Mr. Wickham Steed on political causes, Mr. C. F. Andrews on racial influences and the late Sir J. A. Thompson on science and war. There are other equally interesting chapters on the press, labour problems, tariffs, &c. It is disconcerting to find that so many causes lead to war. As if it is not bad enough to know that any State can fling down the gauntlet for any reason in general, or for no reason in particular, Mussolini declared some time back that "warfare is as natural to man as childbirth is to woman." If that be so, one may console oneself with the thought that child-birth is ceasing to be so natural to woman after all. Sir Arthur Salter and others explain how the seed of war can germinate in differences in political, religious or economic interests. Some method of "war-control" seems most desirable, so that such differences may not end in the birth of war. But, before a method could be tried, it is necessary to understand to what extent such differences have resulted in the birth of wars in the past. That is one of the important purposes served by this book—to help us to understand this.

What we want is not a clouded, suspicious world but a positively peaceful one where people can have freedom to develop their individual powers and have a satisfying life generally. How can one get that freedom? How can one realise that sort of world? To throw some light on these points is another object of this book.

T. C. SANKARA MENON.

**THE MILK SUPPLY OF LAHORE IN 1930,** INQUIRY CONDUCTED BY ROSHAN LAL ANAND. (The Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, Lahore.) 1933. 25cm. 140p. Rs. 2/-

THIS report is the fourth and most comprehensive in the series on milk problems published by the Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab. The editor has dealt with the historical aspect, the way of feeding and breeding milk cattle, the price of milk and sources of milk supply and has arranged the details in tables. A few illustrations showing the condition of stables and means of conveyance are also given. At the end there are four appendices, two of which deal with the theoretical aspect of the properties and general composition and value of milk as an article of food, and the other two deal with the existing legislation regarding the milk supply.

The effort is a commendable one and needs to be imitated in every big city. Pamphlets in vernacular describing the bad condition of the milk supply and suggesting means of clean and economic ways of the dairy trade should be freely distributed. Several attempts have been made elsewhere to investigate into the nature and sources of the milk supply of the Indian cities. Dr. Mann and Dr. Joshi took special interest and could supply much valuable information regarding this problem. But the investigation of Dr. Mann regarding the milk supply of Poona City dates as far back as 1913, and periodical investigation are necessary, taking into consideration the rapid growth of the city.

With the growth of cities there is a greater demand for milk and milk products, but the so-called veterans of the milk trade hold fast to antiquated methods. In fact the milk supply of the town has been allowed to develop hap-hazard without any attempt at regulation. As long as the trade is allowed to remain in the hands of poor illiterate Gavalies (or Gujars in Lahore) there is no hope of improvement. Dairy farms, where fodder supply and breeding of dairy animals can be carried on side by side with the supply of milk, is the ideal solution of this problem. The dairy farms may be private, co-operative or municipal. In case of such dairy farms, the question of conveyance will have to be faced. Here railway authorities can lend a helping hand by reducing railway freight. In some cases special motor service will be more economic.

The book is as useful to the research students as to the general public.

S. G. NAVATHI.

## SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY.

REPORT FOR 1933-34.

The Servants of India Society is a body of national missionaries whose ideal is to devote themselves to the service of India, without limitations of race or religion, colour or creed and without seeking any personal advantage for themselves. Its members are drawn from various provinces of British India and the Indian States; and they do not all belong to one community or caste. No tie of a common religion holds them together, though they seek to serve the Motherland in the spirit in which religious work is undertaken. The common bond between them is the political and social service of India in the widest sense.

In politics the Society stands for Dominion Status for India, to be achieved by constitutional means. It stands for national as against narrower sectional interests. Notwithstanding large and even catastrophic revolutions in the political policies which have found popular favour in the country

during the last twenty-five years and which shook to its foundations many a political institution, the Society has survived for twenty-nine years and the members have, with an exception or two, held together, owing to their faith in the principles of the Founder, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, which time and experience have increasingly vindicated.

The progress of India demands service on all fronts. Progress in one particular direction will not be effective unless it is general. Simultaneous service on as many lines as opportunities allow has been the policy of the Society. Within wide limits, members have been able to choose their work according to their aptitudes and opportunities with the result that the variety of work undertaken by the Society is great. An idea of it may be gathered from the synopsis, by no means exhaustive, published on the last page of the cover of this Report.

Such a large variety of work would have been

impossible for a small band of twenty-eight members to attempt, but for the free and cheerful co-operation of many others, who are not members of the Society. It has been one of the special features of the Society that the bulk of its work is done through other organisations, which its members have either helped to found or develop. Of such organisations members act as energising nuclei. They, however, lay no claim to exclusive credit for the work of these bodies, in the execution of which so many others have collaborated. There are some kinds of activity, however, such as the conduct of the Society's periodicals, for which members alone are responsible. Because of this policy of working through other organisations, it is not easy to give a comprehensive account of the work of members without going into the details of the work of these organisations. Only the briefest mention is possible here. Fuller information may be obtained from the reports published by such organisations.

Many of the members are engaged in institutional work, which must to a large extent be of a routine type, though nonetheless exacting and laborious, and which does not, therefore, lend itself to fresh annual description without tedious repetition of old matter. The Report of the Society should be read subject to these qualifications.

#### Personnel

During the year two Probationers, Messrs. R. S. Gupte of Nagpur and V. R. Nayanar of Malabar, were admitted to Membership and have been posted to Nagpur and Calicut respectively. Including them, the number of Members rose to 29 from 27 of last year. Their names and addresses are given in Appendix I. Of these 22 are Ordinary Members, who have completed five years' service in the Society, and the rest are "Members under Training."

The centres of work of the Members are Poona (headquarters), Madras, Bombay, Nagpur and Allahabad, and Lahore, Lucknow, Cuttack, Mayanur, Coimbatore, Calicut, Mangalore, Delhi, Jalgaon, and Bhambara.

Though the need for adding to the Membership of the Society is great and pressing, particularly in view of the advancing age of the older Members and the expansion of the work and responsibilities of the Society, and though there has been no dearth of applicants seeking admission, financial considerations have set a stern limit to the expansion of membership.

Illness laid a heavy hand on the Society during the year. The President, Mr. G. K. Devadhar, who was in somewhat indifferent health for some years, had to undergo a major operation in the Sassoon Hospital in Poona in May, 1933, and was unable to resume his normal work till October. His health is not yet above anxiety. Messrs. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, N. M. Joshi, N. A. Dravid, K. P. Kaul, R. Suryanarayana Rao and L. N. Sahu kept poor health right through. Mr. R. R. Bakhale, Mr. D. V. Ambekar and Mr. Sri Ram Bajpai fell ill more than once. On the 10th March last Messrs. S. G. Vaze and P. Kodanda Rao were involved in a serious motor accident which interfered with their work for some weeks.

Mr. M. D. Shahane returned to India in August last after completing his studies in the Toronto University Post-Graduate School of Politics and Economics as the Vincent Massey Fellow for 1932-33. During his stay in Canada he had many opportunities of speaking on India. On his way back he visited British Columbia, Japan and China. In British Columbia he spent a week studying the conditions of Sikh workers in the lumber camps.

Much to the deep regret of the Members, Messrs. D. V. Velankar and K. M. Bal passed away during the year. Mr. Velankar was a Permanent Assistant and faithfully served the Society right from its inception till a few years ago when ill-health disabled him from active service. Mr. Bal was connected with the Aryabhushan Press for over forty years and since its acquisition by the Society, he served it with zeal and loyalty. He stuck to his post of duty in spite of failing health and died in harness. Since the close of the year the Society has suffered a severe loss by the death of Mr. B. M. Ambekar who served the Society as an Attaché for 27 years. All this time he was joint editor of the *Dnyan Prakash*. He had won recognition as an exceedingly good writer in Marathi and proved a very able advocate of the principles of political and social reform for which the Society stands. He gave of his best to the service of the Society.

#### Office-Bearers.

Messrs. G. K. Devadhar and H. N. Kunzru were re-elected President and Vice-President on the 12th June, 1933, and Messrs. Thakkar, Limaye and Vaze were elected Members of the Council of the Society. Messrs. V. Venkatasubbaiya, Dravid, Kunzru, Joshi and A. V. Patvardhan, who are the Senior Members of the Madras, Central Provinces and Berar, Upper India, Bombay and Business Branches, were *ex-officio* Members of the Council. Mr. Kodanda Rao was re-appointed Secretary and, in his occasional absence from Poona, Mr. Vaze officiated for him.

#### Political Situation.

The political situation at the commencement of the year under report was far from satisfactory. Mahatma Gandhi and some thousands of his followers were in jail on account of their participation in civil disobedience. From the Yeravda Jail the Mahatma was guiding and supervising the campaign for the removal of untouchability. Suddenly on the 30th April, 1933, he announced his determination to fast for twenty-one days from the 8th of May as a penance for the weaknesses of some of his instruments in the Harijan cause. He was released from jail on the 8th May, and the same night he issued a statement advising the Congress to suspend civil disobedience for six weeks during his fast and convalescence and invited the Government to release political prisoners. Government, however, demanded guarantees against the recrudescence of civil disobedience as a condition precedent. Most of the leaders of the Congress were in favour of abandoning it on its own merits. In June, when Mr. Sastri was in Poona in connection with the Society's annual session, Mahatma Gandhi had frequent private talks with him. Messrs. Kunzru and Thakkar also had talks with the Mahatma and other Congress leaders on the political situation. Ultimately a meeting of Congressmen was held in Poona in July to review the situation. Mahatma Gandhi requested Mr. Sastri, who had returned to Coimbatore, to come back to Poona. Though Mr. Sastri did not attend the Conference of Congressmen at Poona in July, he had daily interviews with the Mahatma and was in constant touch with developments. Mr. Sastri advised that civil disobedience should be abandoned altogether, but that if it was a matter of religion and conscience with the Mahatma, he should at least release the Congress from the policy and allow it to return to constitutional methods. (The Mahatma was at the time disinclined to accept the advice. In April, 1934, however, he changed his view and, while retaining civil disobedience for himself, counselled its suspension by other Congressmen and supported the Swarajist move to enter the Councils. This radical change of policy has since been confirmed by the All-India Congress Committee at Patna.)

Contrary to well-founded anticipations, the Congress Conference of July last declined to abandon civil disobedience altogether and, while discountenancing mass action, advocated individual civil disobedience, unless the Mahatma and the Viceroy came to an amicable agreement. The Viceroy having refused to see the Mahatma, the latter, in pursuance of the July decision, offered civil disobedience and was sent to jail again. Soon after he claimed that he should be given the same facilities that he enjoyed before for carrying on Harijan propaganda from within the jail. Government having refused, he went on a fast again, but an indefinite one this time. He was shortly afterwards released unconditionally. He decided that, notwithstanding his unconditional release, he would consider himself a prisoner for the full term of his sentence as far as civil disobedience was concerned and would not, therefore, resort to it, but devote himself entirely to Harijan service. The Congress call for individual civil disobedience evoked very little response from the country. And there were not wanting indications that, though some Congressmen might not yet countenance openly the return to constitutionalism, they would not be disinclined to take notice of the White Paper and join with other parties in examining it. A definite, though tentative, move was initiated at the Servants of India Society, in Poona, in August last. A memorandum enumerating the improvements desired in the White Paper, which might permit of common action, was drawn up. The Communal Award was excluded from the discussion. It was realised that there could be no agreement between the various affected communities regarding the Communal Award, as modified by the Poona Pact. The memorandum was submitted to certain select leaders in the first instance, but the response was not enthusiastic enough to justify a move forward. Later, the Bombay Presidency Association initiated a similar move for an All-Parties Conference. Mr. Devadhar approved of it and Messrs. Joshi, Bakhale, Limaye, Ambekar and Kodanda Rao from the Society attended the meetings of the organising committee. But the attempt was finally postponed *sine die*.

The Society has consistently held that civil disobedience and direct action had no chance of success in India at the present time, that they resulted in more injury to the people than to Government, and imposed on the people needless suffering and hardship. As regards the White Paper, the Society generally held that, though it made some improvements in certain spheres, it was on the whole meant to hold India down and tighten the grip of Britain, assisted therein by the conservative and reactionary forces in India. It was not a genuine attempt to forward India along the path to Dominion Status. It was a constitution that India might well save herself from, if she could. The White Paper by pandering to the vanity and the self-interest of the Princes, the Britishers, the Muslims and other communalists and special interests, and by giving them privileged positions, had already created new vested interests and accentuated every existing division.

#### Joint Select Committee.

Mr. Joshi was a member of the Indian Delegation of the Joint Select Committee of Parliament in London and attended all the meetings of the Committee. He attended the private meetings of the Indian Delegation under the chairmanship of H. H. the Aga Khan. He signed the Memorandum on the White Paper prepared by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, subject to reservations regarding Labour and allied questions in which Mr. Joshi was specially interested. He signed the Memorandum submitted by the Indian Delegation and submitted two separate memoranda

on Labour legislation under the new constitution and the representation of Labour and the Backward Classes. He gave evidence as a witness before a sub-committee of the Joint Committee on behalf of the National Trades Union Federation along with Messrs. B. Shiva Rao and Aftab Ali.

#### Statutory Railway Board Committee.

Mr. Joshi was a member of the Committee appointed to consider the constitution of the Statutory Railway Board, and submitted several minutes of dissent from the Report of that Committee, in which he insisted that the members of the Board should all be appointed by the responsible Government of India, that all interests, not excluding Labour, should be represented thereon and that the Board should be wholly responsible to the future Government of India.

#### Legislatures.

Mr. Joshi continued to be a nominated Member of the Legislative Assembly and took every available opportunity to press forward the interests of Labour, without disregarding other interests. Of special interest to Labour were his speeches on the Workmen's Compensation Act Amendment Bill, Cotton Textile Industry Bill, Payment of Wages Bill and Indian Factories Bill. He himself introduced two bills, one to penalise the besetting of industrial establishments by creditors to recover loans from debtors and the other to prohibit civil imprisonment for debts and attachment of salaries for recovery of loans, both being measures recommended by the Royal Commission on Labour. The first bill was opposed by most of the Provincial Governments, except Bengal, which has been requested by the Government of India to legislate locally. Further consideration of the bill has been postponed. Government having offered to prepare a bill themselves on the subject of his second bill, its consideration also has been postponed.

Mr. Joshi moved a resolution on unemployment and reduction of wages, which the Government accepted with some modification. He opposed the Princes' Protection Bill, pressed for better amenities for third class passengers on the Indian Railways and better conditions of service for the subordinate staff of the Railways. Regarding land, he pleaded that no statutory safeguards for property should be encouraged and that possession of land should be secured only to those who cultivated it.

Mr. Bakhale was a nominated member of the Bombay Legislative Council to represent Labour interests. He gave evidence before the Select Committee on the Karachi Municipal Bill and pleaded for two seats for organised industrial labour. This was accepted, but only one of the seats was to be filled by election through trade unions. He sought to get one seat reserved for labour on the Improvements Committee of the Bombay Corporation. Government agreed to nominate a Labour representative if one was not returned through election. He unsuccessfully sought to raise the upper age limit from 11 to 12 and the lower from 6 to 7 in the Bombay Primary Education Act. He successfully piloted a bill securing a seat by nomination for Labour on the Karachi Port Trust. His Bill to restrict the rents of certain classes of houses in Bombay was defeated by just six votes. He introduced a bill to remove certain disabilities of the so-called Depressed Classes with respect to public wells, etc. He secured the passage of an amendment to the Government's Maternity Benefit Bill by which the beneficiary will be consulted as to the basis of calculating the benefit.

He took every opportunity to promote the interests of Labour, and in particular the textile industry in Bombay. He put in a vigorous plea either

for the control or the nationalisation of the industry. Within a week of his speech, the Bombay Government ordered, very largely on the initiative and at the suggestion of Mr. Bakhale, an enquiry by the Bombay Labour Office into the condition of the industry with reference to wage cuts, etc. He sought to move the adjournment of the Council over the strike situation in Sholapur in the last budget session, but failed to secure the necessary unofficial support.

#### Liberal Organisations.

During the year the National Liberal Federation of India held two sessions, the first in April, 1933, in Calcutta and the second in December last in Madras. From the Society Messrs. Sastri, Joshi, Kunzru and Patvardhan took part in the debates at Calcutta. Mr. Sastri was the Chairman of the Reception Committee at Madras, but sudden illness prevented him at the last moment from delivering his address. Some weeks later he delivered a course of three lectures in Madras on the subject of the White Paper, which received wide publicity. Messrs. Kunzru and Patvardhan took a prominent part in the discussions of the Federation. Mr. Kunzru spoke on "The New Constitution" at Calicut, Ernakulam and Trivandrum during his South Indian tour in January last. Messrs. Kunzru and Dube took part in the proceedings of the U. P. Liberal Conference at Allahabad in October last. Mr. Dube was the Secretary of the Lucknow Liberal League which met several times during the year. Mr. D. V. Ambekar was the working Secretary of the Deccan Sabha of Poona for the fourteenth year in succession. He gave a large part of his time to the work of the Sabha and to the completion of the Gokhale Hall and the discharge of its financial liabilities. Mr. S. R. Venkataraman was a Secretary of the Madras session of the National Liberal Federation and the Joint Convener of the newly formed National Liberal Party of Madras.

#### Periodicals.

The Society conducts three papers: the *Servant of India*, an English weekly, the *Dnyan Prakash*, a Marathi daily, with a weekly edition, both in Poona, and the *Hitavada*, an English bi-weekly, in Nagpur. Messrs. Kodanda Rao, Vaze and D. V. Ambekar shared between themselves the responsibility for the conduct of the first; Messrs. Limaye, Gokhale and B. M. Ambekar of the second and Messrs. Dravid, Shahane and Gupte of the third.

#### Indian States.

Messrs. Patvardhan and Vaze gave a very large part of their time to the promotion of political reform in the States. The former was the Secretary of the Dakhini Samsthan Hitawardhak Sabha and a member of the Working Committee of the All-India States' People's Conference. He was the President of the Legislative Council of Phaltan and a member of the Legislative Council of Aundh. He continued to edit the *Sansthani Swarajya*, an Anglo-Marathi weekly, in the interests of the subjects of Indian States. Mr. G. R. Abhyankar, one of the staunchest associates of the Society, who was editing the English section of this journal, has been laid up with serious illness for several months. Mr. Vaze occasionally helped in editing this section in his place. Mr. Patvardhan presided over the Punjab States People's Conference at Delhi in April, 1933, and took part in the Aundh State People's Conference in April, the All-India State People's Conference in Bombay in July, the Sangli State People's Conference in September, the Kathiawad States' Peo-

ple's Conference in November and the Deccan States' People's Conference in Poona in December. Mr. Vaze presided over the Sangli State People's Conference in September last.

#### Indians Abroad.

The *Servant of India* sustained its special interest in Indians abroad and, in particular, in South Africa, Eastern Africa, Ceylon and Malaya. The policy of Sir Kunwar Maharaj Singh, the Agent of the Government of India in South Africa, was consistently supported by the paper. It also stood for the policy of utilizing the legislature in Kenya, which has recently been adopted in that country.

#### Orissa Province.

Mr. L. N. Sahu of Cuttack threw himself heart and soul in the work for the consolidation of the Orissa-speaking population under a separate province, which has now been decided upon by Government. He gave a large part of his time to touring in the outlying parts of the area to win over opposition where it existed and to strengthen, support and create enthusiasm for the new province.

( To be continued )

## Correspondence.

### RECOVERY OF MUNICIPAL DUES.

THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—Aprcos of your note regarding "Recovery of Municipal Dues" appearing in your issue of August 9th, may I bring to your notice the following provision of law, viz. clause (f) sub-section 2 of section 15 of the Bombay District Municipal Act, 1901, introduced into the former section by the amending Act No. 12 of 1931? The new clause is as follows:

If any Councillor during the term for which he has been elected or appointed

"(f) fails to pay any arrears of any kind due by him to the Municipality within three months after a special notice in this behalf has been served upon him"

he shall be disabled from continuing to be a Councillor and his office shall become vacant.

If this power which, contrary to your impression, already exists is freely resorted to, the scandal of Councillors themselves allowing municipal dues to remain unpaid will soon become a thing of the past.—Yours, etc.

G. C. BHATE.

Roha, August 11.

[We are thankful to our correspondent for the information.—Ed. S. o. I.]

### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- WAR AND A CHANGING CIVILISATION. By C. DELISLE BURNS. (No. 5) (John Lane.) 1934. 20cm. 154p. 2/6.
- MONEY AND A CHANGING CIVILISATION. By M. A. ABRAMS. (No. 6.) (John Lane.) 1934. 20cm. 177p. 2/6.
- THE HOME AND A CHANGING CIVILISATION. By NAOMI MITCHISON. (No. 7.) (John Lane.) 1934. 20cm. 169p. 2/6.
- ART AND A CHANGING CIVILISATION. By ERIC GILL. (No. 8.) (John Lane.) 1934. 20cm. 158p. 2/6.
- RECENT ESSAYS AND WRITINGS ON THE FUTURE OF INDIA, COMMUNISM AND OTHER SUBJECTS. By JAWAHARLAL NEHRU. (Kitabistan, 17, City, Road (Allahabad.) 1934. 20cm. 148p. Rs. 2.