

# Servant of India

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## Topics of the Week.

### Army Standing Committee.

THE Assembly deserves to be congratulated on its passage against Government of a non-official motion for the establishment of a standing committee for the Army Department. Similar committees are associated with other departments like Railways, Finance, etc. and in passing the motion the Assembly merely pressed for an extension of that practice to the Army Department. As explained by the mover, the personnel of the Committee was to be drawn from both Houses of the Indian Legislature and its status was to be of a purely advisory nature, its decisions having no binding force on the Government. A Committee so constituted could hardly be a source of embarrassment to the Government; but they apparently think otherwise and chose to oppose the motion. The only advantage worth mentioning which Indian opinion sees in the constitution of the Committee is that Indian opinion would thereby get an insight into army problems, which at present are a sealed book to it.

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WE do not know whether it was so stated in the Assembly, but the genesis of the motion is to be found in some remarks made by the Army Secretary during the last session which can be construed as a sort of half-hearted encouragement to the idea underlying the present motion. A protest against the Government's action in sending troops to Addis Ababa was then sought to be registered by means of an adjournment motion. In the course of the debate Government were roundly censured by non-official speakers for not taking the legislature into its confidence before taking that step. Not that they rested their demand on any direct promise to that effect by Government. But an implied promise could certainly be brought home to them. When the Indian Navy Bill was under discussion two years ago, the Army

Secretary, with the approval of the Secretary of State, announced the intention of Government to consult the Indian Legislature, so far as may be possible, in all cases in which the Navy was proposed to be used for purposes other than those of Indian defence. If the legislature could be consulted with regard to the despatch of the Navy outside Indian waters, why, the argument runs, should not the same rule or convention hold good in regard to the Army as well whenever it has to be sent overseas? The reasoning is unanswerable and in the present debate Mr. Tottenham had to admit that the undertaking did apply by implication equally to the Indian Army as well as the Indian Navy.

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WHY, then, was the legislature not called into consultation before the despatch of troops to Addis Ababa? For the simple reason that the legislature was not in session at the time. This difficulty would be obviated by having a small Standing Committee for the Army Department which could be more easily assembled. A suggestion to that effect was made by a non-official speaker last year. While conceding that there was "a good deal" in it, Mr. Tottenham did not go beyond promising to consider it. It was apparently to accelerate this process of consideration and, if possible, favourable consideration, by Government that the present motion was brought forward.

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BUT its effect on Government was quite the opposite of that desired by non-officials. Far from welcoming it, the proposal was opposed by them on the ground that it covered wider ground than that to which consideration was promised last September. Even so far as the limited objective of securing a voice to the legislature not on all matters affecting the Army Department but only about the despatch of troops abroad was concerned, it failed to commend itself to Government. Two reasons were assigned for that view. One was that such consultation would involve delay and the other that the secrecy of the movements of troops would be difficult to maintain. The argument about delay is a mere make-believe, for a decision to send troops out of India is hardly ever so hurriedly reached as not to allow time for calling together a handful of representatives of the legislature and explaining the situation to them. In regard to the necessity of secrecy about the movements of troops, persons occupying the responsible position of legislators may be relied upon to keep confidences. And in any case it is hardly fair to start by making a presumption to their disadvantage, as Government do. If Government are so minded, the experiment might be tried and the capacity of the members of the proposed committee to keep secrets put to the test. A similar fear used to be expressed by opponents of the admission of Indians to the executive councils—a fear which experience has shown to be thoroughly unfounded. We are confident a like

experience will be in store for those who now set their face against this modest innovation.

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#### Indians in Iraq.

THE grievances of Indians in Iraq were voiced on the floor of the Legislative Assembly over an adjournment motion, which was eventually withdrawn. In a communication addressed to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore on their behalf last year, the complaint was made that notices were being served on many Indians asking them to leave the country. Nobody can doubt the serious nature of the hardship that might have been caused to our countrymen if the externment notices had become operative. But in the course of the debate the information was officially supplied that none of them had become or were likely to become operative, thanks to the intervention of the British Consul. This is something for which the Indian community is sure to be thankful.

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BUT the question still remains: why were such notices issued at all? It would appear that in Iraq, as in Russia, a law passed in 1923 enjoins every resident of Iraq, whatever his nationality, to be in possession of a permit from the Government. The Government of Iraq merely tried to give effect to this law last year in the case of all non-Iraqis including Indians. And as some of our countrymen had failed to arm themselves with the required permit, they were asked to quit Iraq. Since then the permits have perhaps been applied for, with the consequence that the notices of externment automatically ceased to have force.

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BUT the troubles of our countrymen do not end here. The Iraq Government, it would appear, is promoting legislation restricting certain forms of unskilled labour to Iraqis alone. It is easy to see that if this law comes in due course to be put in operation it would correspondingly reduce opportunities of employment open to Indians, who are naturally stoutly opposed to its enactment. It is not clear from summarised reports of the debate whether the Government of India have adopted an attitude of firm opposition to the measure or whether they are going to accept the inevitable in a spirit of resignation. The speech of the Government spokesman, as reported in the press, however, appears to give ground for the impression as if they had reconciled themselves to it, relying on the assurances of the Iraqi Government as to its enforcement in a reasonable manner. Frankly, we are not disposed to take these assurances at their face value. That is the lesson ingrained on our mind as a result of experience in this land. If there are any reasons to suppose that the Iraqi bureaucracy will be better behaved than its Indian counterpart, we for our part are not aware of them. If the Government of India are holding their hand in the hope that the proposed law would not be misused, they must be said to be building on very slender foundations.

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THE Foreign Secretary is also reported to have deprecated the idea of the Government of India offering any criticism of the measure while it was still under the consideration of the Iraqi Legislature. Here too we find ourselves unable to appreciate his logic. If the Indian Government's criticism is to be of any practical use, it must obviously be offered while the measure is yet in the formative stage. What is the good of the Iraqi Government being made aware of the views of the Government of India about it after it is placed on the statute book? It is

also no use banking too much on the Iraqi Government's fear of retaliation by the Government of India and letting slip opportunities of effective criticism in the belief that such a fear might act as a wholesome check on the Iraqi Government dealing unfairly by Indians. There is no sense, therefore, in the Government postponing its criticism of the legislation for that reason. Let the Iraqi Government be told in time and without any mincing of matters how unfavourably the measure is viewed by Indians

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#### The Jharia Fire.

THE heart-rending calamity in Jharia coal-field is too shocking for words. The death roll as a result of the fire has gone up to about 40, not to mention the large number of workers more or less seriously wounded. And the material loss too is equally appalling. The coal lost by the fire is estimated at over 12 million tons. Nor can this be said to be a final or exhaustive estimate. When the inquiries are completed, it might be found that the loss of coal was even heavier. According to Sir Frank Noyce who made a full statement to the Assembly on the subject, most of these underground fires are caused by spontaneous combustion. This, he added, is attributable in its turn to unsatisfactory mining methods.

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SO it is clear that these accidents are not absolutely unavoidable, as is generally supposed. With the enforcement of improved methods of mining it is possible, if not altogether to eliminate them, at least to minimise them. But even in a matter in which so much of value, both human and material, is involved, the Government find themselves unable to depart from their traditionally dilatory methods. Sir Frank Noyce admitted that the Government were awakened about a year ago to the dangers involved in unsatisfactory methods of mining coal. But it is surprising in the extreme that they should have done nothing in the meanwhile to introduce safer methods. The official report of a similar accident in the same area had taken a whole year to prepare and is to form the subject of consideration by expert technical opinion at a conference proposed to be convened on the 19th inst.

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TO this conference are going to be invited representatives of coalowners' organisations and experts whose advice will be sought as to the measures to be adopted to reduce the number of such accidents. We fail to see why the miners, who are so vitally concerned in the matter, should be excluded from the conference, as is the Government's intention. We hope better counsels will yet prevail and they will be allowed suitable representation at the proposed conference. Moreover, the least that the Government can do to minimise hardship to the dependants of the victims to the fire is to see that liberal compensation is paid to them and paid as promptly as possible.

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#### Sir George Anderson and Educational Problems.

IN his speech in connection with the celebration of the Bengal Education Week, a strong plea was put in by Sir George Anderson, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, for a reconstruction of the existing system of education. The sentiment as coming from one in his position has great value. He described himself as a keen supporter of compulsory education and pointed to the existence of as many as 3,073 compulsory school areas in the Punjab, where he served as the head of the Education Department for a long time. But he felt bound to admit that the effective results of the introduction

of indiscriminate compulsion were by no means commensurate with the efforts made. In trying to account for this phenomenon, he said :

Unfortunately, compulsion cannot be introduced merely by an order or by a stroke of the pen : careful preparations are required. An essential condition to success is that the schools in which compulsion is applied should be both efficient and economical. I am also doubtful of the morality of fining parents for the non-attendance of their children, unless and until we can assure them that their children would gain practical benefit by their schooling.

These considerations are appreciated in certain quarters. Hence the proposal that compulsion should first be attempted in a few progressive districts. I do not myself agree with the partial introduction of compulsion in a number of wide areas.

I am strongly in favour of applying compulsion in every school area, in which the primary system is both economical and effective and in which public opinion is favourable. In other words, compulsion should be regarded as a reward for good work, good administration and general enthusiasm.

What would be the criterion for judging whether a school is run efficiently and economically? "The object in view," said he, "should be that, in the interests of economy, every class of every primary school should include the full complement of pupils (say 25); and that in the interests of efficiency, no teacher should teach more than one class at the same time."

#### The Bank of Maharashtra.

THE inaugural ceremony of the Bank of Maharashtra, which has Prof. V. G. Kale, the well-known economist, as the chairman of its Board of Directors, was performed by Sir Sorabji Pochkhanwala at Poona on Saturday last. To some the wisdom of bringing regional banks into existence may be open to question. But Sir Sorabji with the whole weight of his experience and authority not only saw nothing wrong in it, but gave his whole-hearted support to the scheme of the Bank. The starting of such banks was, in his opinion, a necessary phase in Indian banking development; for he believes that "it is banks of this nature that can more successfully spread the banking habit amongst the masses and thus bridge the wide gulf of disparity between our country and others."

HIS advice to bank promoters however was that they should turn their attention more to rural areas than to big cities like Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. To him the cities appeared to be 'overbanked' leading to "unhealthy rivalry, unseemly competition and a ruthless rate-war." What was really necessary, he thought, was for banks to try to mobilise the savings of the rural folk and to cater to their diverse financial needs. The line of development that he favoured was the starting of small taluka banks which should confine their activities to their respective geographical areas without attempting to set up branches elsewhere. Sir Sorabji attaches great importance to the Directorates of such banks being composed entirely of local people.

THOUGH in commerce and industry this Presidency is very advanced, in point of banking it has unfortunately to take a back place. Its backwardness in the matter may be appreciated from the following extract from Mr. Diwanji's book on Branch Banking, to which reference was made by Prof. Kale in his speech on the occasion. Says Mr. Diwanji:

Though Bombay is the pioneer of Western banking, it does not stand first either in point of number of bank offices or number of places served by banks in the

provinces. In respect of number of bank offices, the Punjab ranks first, Madras second, Bengal third, U. P. fourth, and Bombay stands fifth, while for number of places served by banks, Madras comes first, the Punjab second, Bengal third, Burma fourth, U. P. fifth, and Bombay comes sixth. While if we take the average number of bank offices per every 10 lakhs of population, N. W. F. comes first, Cochin State second, Travancore third, Punjab fourth, Baroda State fifth, Burma sixth, Mysore State seventh and Bombay eighth. If we take the average number of bank offices per 1,000 sq. miles, the place of honour goes to Cochin State, Travancore State standing second, N. W. F. third, Punjab fourth, Baroda fifth, Bengal sixth, Mysore seventh, Madras eighth, U. P. ninth and Bombay tenth.

#### Tolerance of Moghul Emperors.

MR. N. C. MEHTA, I. C. S., has published in the *Statesman* of the 6th inst. a hitherto unpublished *farman*, now in the possession of the Nawab of Bhopal, given by the Emperor Babar, the founder of the Moghul dynasty, to Humayun, his son and successor, on Hindu-Muslim relations in general and cow-sacrifice in particular. An English translation of the *farman* is quoted below :

God be praised.

Secret testament of Zahir-ud-Din Muhammad Babar Badshah Ghazi to Prince Nasirud-Din Muhammad Humayun. May God prolong his life.

For the stability of the Empire this is written. O my son! The realm of Hindustan is full of diverse creeds, Praise be to God, the Righteous, the Glorious, the Highest, that he hath granted unto thee the Empire of it. It is but proper that thou, with heart cleansed of all religious bigotry, should dispense justice according to the tenets of each community. And in particular refrain from the sacrifice of cow, for that way lies the conquest of the hearts of the people of Hindustan; and the subjects of the realm will through royal favours be devoted to thee. And the temples and abodes of worship of every community under the Imperial sway, you should not damage. Dispense justice so that the sovereign may be happy with the subjects and likewise the subjects with their sovereign. The progress of Islam is better by the sword of kindness, not by the sword of oppression. Ignore the disputation of Shias and Sunnies, for therein is the weakness of Islam. And bring together the subjects with different beliefs in the manner of the Four Elements, so that that body politic may be immune from the various ailments. And remember the deeds of Hazrat Taimur Sahib-qirani (Lord of the conjunction) so that you may become mature in matters of government.

"And on us is but the duty to advise." First Jamadi-ul-Awwal 935 H. = 11th January, 1529.

MR. MEHTA adds :

It should perhaps be noted that Babar's message is only one of the series of Imperial rescripts which were issued from time to time by the Princes of the Moghul Dynasty. Some of these have been published by the Goswamis of the Nathdwara. Hamida Bannu, the mother of Akbar, had granted free rights of grazing to the cows of the Goswamis within the Braf-mandal, a part of the present district of Mathura. Akbar and Jahangir went as far as to prohibit the slaughter of animals on certain days during the week. The policy of tolerance was continued during the time of Shahjahan. In other words, the glory of the Moghul Empire coincided with the policy of tolerance and goodwill towards all the subjects of the Empire irrespective of religious differences.

## THE OTTAWA AGREEMENT.

V.\*

WE have made it abundantly clear above that no quantitative measurement of the effects of the Ottawa Agreement on our export trade is possible. It is even more difficult to gauge the cost to revenue and to our consumers of the preferences that we have in return extended to British goods. We do not undertake an examination of the increase in the imports of British goods into India as a result of preference, as the ascertaining of the profits accruing to British trade is neither relevant nor useful for our purpose. What is necessary and useful is to estimate the loss suffered by revenue on account of the preference and the increased burden on the consumer. For it is clear that the cost of the preference is borne by India partly in one way and partly in the other.

The Central Board of Revenue prepared for the Assembly Committee in 1934 a statement giving an appreciation of the effects of the Ottawa preferences on the customs revenue. This statement consists of three tables. In these tables are considered tariff headings (i) completely affected by the Ottawa Agreement, (ii) partially affected by the Agreement, and (iii) not affected by the Agreement. The tables set out the customs revenue obtained in the years 1932-33 and 1933-34 under the various headings and indicate whether there has been an increase or a decrease. The conclusions arrived at are that under head (i) there has been a slight increase in revenue, under head (ii) a fair decrease and that the most substantial decreases have taken place under head (iii). It is supposed to follow from this that the Ottawa Agreement has not affected our customs revenue. It is difficult to understand how these figures can prove anything. The yield of customs revenue depends on two factors: (i) the extent of the trade and (ii) the rate of duty. When we are considering the problem of estimating the effects of preferential treatment on customs revenue we have to take two possible effects of preference into account: one that of contracting trade and affecting revenue and the other that of diverting trade from imports liable to a higher duty to those liable to a lower duty. In the case of those articles in which the level of duties did not rise at all as a result of the Ottawa Agreement the first type of effect would be totally absent.

For example, the duty on motor cars in Dec. 1932 was 37½% and preference was given to U.K. by lowering that duty in the case of U.K. imports. In doing this no further obstacle to general trade was raised and one special section of it was encouraged in preference to others. The total effect of the Ottawa scheme on the motor customs revenue would be gauged by estimating the extent to which in that year trade was stimulated because of the preference—this would count on the credit side—and also estimating how far trade was merely diverted from cars liable to 37½% duty to cars paying 30% duty—this would count on

the debit side. It is only estimates of this nature which would show the effects of preference on customs. Instead, the Board of Revenue gives the figure of increase in customs revenue from 1932-33 to 1933-34 and seems to consider that as measuring the effect of Ottawa. For aught we know, the trade in motor cars would have increased to the same extent even without the preferential treatment of British cars and the only effect Ottawa had was in increasing the sales of English cars at the expense of American cars and thus causing a loss to our revenues. At least, it is clear that the mere figures of customs revenue for the two years warrant us in drawing no conclusions.

In the absence of statistical information of this nature we can only proceed on the basis of estimating probable reactions of trade. The majority of preferences given were in the neighbourhood of about 10% and in the majority of cases the preferences were given by increasing the standard level by 5% and lowering the U. K. level by 5% as compared with the previous rate. It is difficult to say to what extent the demand contracted, or its recovery was impeded by the increase of the general rate of duty by 5% or thereabouts. But we are of opinion that in the majority of commodities the preference given to U. K. goods was not likely to stimulate trade. In those commodities in which U. K. was the dominant supplier and its supplies already priced low, trade could be stimulated by preference, but as in the case of the majority of articles this did not hold true, preference would have had the effect of merely bridging the competitive difference between British and non-British sources of supply and enabling the U. K. producer to expand his market at the cost of non-British competition or to hold his own. It is most likely, therefore, that the effect of preference on our customs revenue was felt mostly by way of the loss entailed on account of the transference of a portion of the market to U. K. producers, i. e. the lightly taxed producers.

Another feature to be noticed about the tables presented by the Central Board of Revenue is the exclusion from the influence of Ottawa of cotton piece-goods and iron and steel. Formally the exclusion of iron and steel might have been correct in 1934; but as the 1935 Indo-British agreement balances the free entry to Indian pig iron against the preferential treatment of British iron and steel, even this no longer holds true. But in view of the Mody-Less pact and the consideration of raw cotton under the Ottawa arrangements it was obviously never right to exclude cotton piece-goods. For our part we have always maintained that the preferences granted under cotton and iron and steel ought both to be reckoned in a measurement of the total effects of preferential arrangements. The value of trade under both these items is very considerable and the measure of preference accorded is also great. The preferential element, be it noted, in iron and steel has actually been increased in a number of items in 1934. It is extremely likely,

\* The first four articles appeared in our issues of January 16, 23 and 30 and February 6.

therefore, that under them loss the of revenue is most marked.

There are not data enough to evaluate quantitatively the loss to revenue along lines indicated above. But it is only along such lines that an even approximately correct estimation of loss is possible. Whatever the loss in customs revenue sustained by us it is clear that we can ill afford it. It is notorious that the Central Government in India depends to a very large extent on receipts from customs for its finance and it is the falling off of this revenue that has led it in recent years to resort to the very objectionable method of levying excises.

While it is difficult to attempt an estimate of the loss sustained by our revenues the burden imposed on the consumers by the preferential arrangements is almost impossible of estimation. Dr. Meek, for his report on the working of the Agreement for the year 1933-34, had caused to be compiled a series of statistics of comparative prices for the pre-Ottawa and post-Ottawa periods. Figures on the same lines have been given in the 1934-35 report also. The writer of the 1934-35 report has contented himself with pointing out the difficulties which make it impossible to draw any conclusions from these statistics of prices. Dr. Meek, however, in his report hazards the definite conclusion that the consumer has not suffered. It is evident that Dr. Meek was carried away by his too great enthusiasm in the cause of Ottawa. For it is otherwise not possible to explain how he could write sentences like the following and place them in juxtaposition :

Lastly the price reductions may have been effected by imperceptibly reducing the quality of the supplies . . . Some of the Collectors of Customs have definitely stated that some prices have been reduced at the cost of quality . . . But by whatever method the end was achieved the fact remains that the prices of both preferential and non-preferential items have fallen in most cases and the consumer has, therefore, profited to some extent as a result of the scheme of preferences.

To begin with it is obvious that Dr. Meek's claim amounts to saying that the consumer must benefit from a price reduction even though it has been brought about by a deterioration of the quality of the commodity in question !! Further even though it be admitted that the prices have fallen, how can that fall be called a result of the scheme of preferences? The one way by which Dr. Meek tries to establish a connection between these two is by visualising the non-British importer as cutting down his prices in an attempt to compete with the British importer getting preferential treatment. No doubt temporarily such devices may be resorted to, but they cannot operate over a series of years. In the long run quality must suffer or the market given up. And if this did not happen and the non-British importer was always able to cut prices and keep his market why should the Britisher ask for the preference, unless it be, of course, out of benevolent intentions towards the Indian consumer? Further, even Dr. Meek admits that in commodities where international prices are controlled by rings this type of consideration would not operate. How such rings would take

full advantage of the tariff wall is best exemplified by what happened in the case of galvanised sheets. When the supplementary agreement to Ottawa was entered into we had remarked that the consumer had now been delivered bound hand and foot into the hands of the combined iron and steel industries of Great Britain and the India Government to put some check on this exploitation of the consumer imposed a maximum price on the trade but it transpires that this maximum was exceeded and Government never noticed this till it was reported on by the Tariff Board.

As a fact the small price fall in recent times of imported articles has had nothing to do with preference. The imports of India mostly belong to the group of manufactures; and the last two years have witnessed a tendency towards the bridging of the gap between the prices of agricultural and manufactured goods by a continued fall in the price level of the latter. The following table shows the movement of prices of these two groups of articles in India :

	Exported Articles.	Imported Articles.
Indian Index No.		
Dec. 1932	120	129
Dec. 1934	124	124
Calcutta Index No.		
Dec. 1932	69	115
Dec. 1934	76	109

The movement revealed by both these indices is identical. This is further a movement not confined to India. The League of Nations' Review of World Production and Prices (1925-34) notes that "in most countries for which information is available raw materials rose more (or fell less) in prices in 1933 than manufactured articles." In 1934 also the same movement was continued in a large number of countries. Supporting statistics may be cited from Japan which next to U. K. supplies to us the largest volume of our imports. The following figures are taken from the monthly circular of the Mitsubishi Economic Research Bureau :

Index No.	Commodities for export.	Imported commodities.
Jan. 7-1933	159.0	171.2
Jan. 10-1935	133.9	192.3

Japan imports mostly raw materials and exports manufactured articles. Hence the movement of prices in these groups is opposite to that shown in the table of Indian index number. It will be observed that the extent of the movement in the Japanese index numbers is even greater than that shown by the Indian index numbers. It is unnecessary to enter into the causes of this tendency of price movements. For our purpose it suffices to point out that the price fall in imported commodities is the result of causes extraneous to the preference arrangements.

It has further to be noticed that the movement of exchange rates has been a factor powerfully affecting prices and trades. Thus, one of the reasons why Japan has been able to lower the prices of its goods is the exchange advantage obtained by it. On the other hand, the countries of the gold bloc and Germany have been handicapped by their exchange

rates and have found it difficult to lower the prices of their products to any marked extent in the period since Ottawa. The extent to which exchange considerations may influence trade is clearly shown by the variations in the imports of motor vehicles into India. In 1933 helped by the adverse dollar exchange and the Ottawa preference Great Britain was able to capture a considerable portion of the Indian market for motor vehicles. In 1934, on the other hand, the depreciation of the dollar placed U.S.A. in its turn, in a favourable position and American cars recovered their old position in the Indian market in spite of the preference.

It has been maintained a number of times that the Ottawa arrangements have led to a lowering of tariff barriers. It is obvious that this is not true at least of India. It is not possible for us to compile an index of the level of customs duties. But it is enough to point out that of the 163 items contained in Schedule F to the Ottawa Delegation's report on which preference has been granted to U. K. the grant of preference has meant some raising of the general rate of duty in nearly 100 items. In most cases this has been achieved by lowering the rate on British goods by half the measure of preference and adding half the measure to the general rate. On more than 15 items, however, Ottawa has meant raising of the general level of duty by the full measure of the preference. Now it can confidently be maintained that so far as consumer's prices and the real measuring of the tariff wall is concerned, it is the general rate that is the ruling one. It is not the height of the barrier at which one section of the supply comes in, but the height at which the general supply comes in that determines trade and prices. Hence the cases in which the tariff rate is lowered in favour of U.K. without lowering the standard rate are not to be reckoned as instances of a lowering of tariff barriers. They mean no doubt no additional burden to the consumer but they mean also, in general, no relief to him; and in their case it is the loss of revenue involved that measures the loss caused by preference to the country granting it.

It may perhaps be argued that this is not true of trades in which U. K. is the sole or at least the dominant supplier. It is difficult to determine to what extent this may be true. But we need not enter into any complicated analysis on this account. For, in contrast to the position which India holds in a great many lines in the U. K. market, it is only in a very few items of trade that U. K. can claim even as great as a three-fourths share of the Indian market. Among the groups of articles to which preference has been granted by India there are only four such items. These are: arms and ammunition, engine and boiler packing, toilet soap and

cycles. And among these cheap Japanese soap has been kept out since December 1933 by a specific minimum duty. On the other hand there are a large number of heads under which U. K. does not contribute even 25 per cent. of the total imports even after preferential treatment. The most important of these are earthenware and porcelain, haberdashery and millinery, packing paper, toys, umbrellas and motor omnibuses. We can in this connection do no better than quote a paragraph from what we wrote in 1932.

There are a great many important lines in which the U. K. importer is in so inferior a position that a large part of the supply will continue to be drawn from other countries in spite of the preference. Such lines are motor cars and lorries and pneumatic motor covers; metals like brass, aluminium and copper; metal lamps, enamelled iron-ware and builders' and domestic hardware; cutlery; electric lamps and fans; typewriters; blankets and rugs and woollen piece goods; printing and packing paper and pencils; canned fruit and condensed milk; porcelain; toys; playing cards etc. Secondly in these and even in others in which the United Kingdom is dominant non-British supply is mostly taken up by the poorer consumer. Mr. Ainscough emphasises again and again the strength of the competition in what he calls bazaar trade. The Indian consumer may be blamed for disregarding quality, but it is obviously his lack of means that forces him to do so. As Mr. Ainscough has himself put it at one place, "every pie counts." If for such a statement any authority is needed we may quote it in the words of the Fiscal Commission. "The great mass of the people in India, it must be remembered, are poor." And it is especially the poor that consume non-British goods. For these they evince a partiality because of their cheapness and we are now being asked to penalise them very heavily. In respect of tariff burdens the Fiscal Commission has clearly laid down; "Such burden as appears to us inevitable in the pursuit of a policy of more rapid industrial development of India, the Indian consumer must be asked to bear. But he should not be called upon to bear an additional burden on top of this for the furtherance of interests which are not primarily Indian." (para 243). This additional burden is being imposed, it should further be remembered, at a time when, on account of the fall in world prices, the mass of the Indian population is enormously poorer than it has been for many years past.

In a number of commodities mentioned above the U. K. share has increased since the grant of preference, but in most of them non-British supplies are still very important and all of these now bear a higher duty than before. It is always extremely difficult to measure the burden on the consumers and in this case the task is rendered impossible by a contemporary fall in the prices of manufactured articles. But there is nothing in the situation that can lead us to believe that the burden of the tariff has not been passed on to the consumer.

D. B. GADGIL

## A TESTING TIME FOR THE LIBERALS.

**N**O more critical test has ever faced the Liberals or Constitutionalists in the past than will face them when the new constitution will come into operation. The constitution itself goes to their

marrow. They are irreconcilably opposed to it. Their thorough-going opposition was loudly expressed while the constitution was in the making. But it is likely to be thought by some amongst them that, now



the constitution is an accomplished fact, there is nothing to it but to settle down quietly to its working. This defeatist attitude, it is true, the Liberal Federation which met in Nagpur has severely condemned. It has warned the Liberals that they must not content themselves merely with extracting from the constitution what little good can be got out of it, but that they must address themselves to the far more important task of replacing this constitution by one that will be acceptable to the country. If, as the Federation itself says, it is a more important task it is also a more difficult task—a tremendously more difficult task, but it is a task which the Liberals must constantly strive to achieve if they are to carry out the dictates of their Party machine.

But will they do so? A doubt on this point arises because the new policy that circumstances now demand is wholly away from their tradition. The Liberals have never hesitated in the past to offer a stern front to the Government when it proposed measures which in their judgment were not in the country's best interests. But opposition to specific measures introduced under a more or less accepted constitution belongs to a different order of ideas from opposition to the whole constitution itself. Opposition of the latter kind is apt to lead to a general unsettlement which is not involved in opposition of the former kind. A cry will at once be raised by the interested parties when this unsettlement appears imminent that the Liberals who have always been for amity and goodwill are instrumental in unleashing the forces of strife and discord; that, having always worked for peace and order, they are now pursuing a policy which tends to put peace and order in peril and which may lead directly to a widespread upheaval and consequently to disorder. Are they justified in doing so, it will be asked. The Liberals may oppose as much as they wish, our critics will say, but they must withdraw their opposition when it reaches a point at which peace may be threatened and the established order of things may seem about to give way.

The reasoning looks plausible and will certainly appeal to not a few Liberals. So far peace and tranquillity have appeared to the Liberal Party their highest desideratum. These have been the supreme consideration with them. They have carried on agitation against the Government, but have always stopped short whenever the remotest danger to peace was suspected. This is not their doctrine, but it has been their invariable practice. It was a good practice too in the circumstances that then existed. There was a reasonable hope at the time, without touching the roots of things, to evolve an order which they wished to see established, to secure justice without endangering peace in any way. But that hope has now vanished. The constitution is not only reactionary, but it closes the door on further change. It puts rank reaction in power, without the possibility of its being dislodged therefrom. In such a situation justice may not be possible without some harm coming to peace. The Liberal Party must, therefore, think afresh which they

place first, justice or peace, when these may appear temporarily in opposition to each other. They were happily saved from considering such a question till now, but they must seriously begin to ask themselves from now which they prize more, justice or peace.

A similar question has arisen in international politics to-day. Italy has committed an act of unprovoked aggression against Abyssinia, and it has become necessary for the League to bring its coercive machinery into use to check the aggression. Extreme pacifists in such a crisis ask: Is it permissible for the League at all to employ force? All force is evil, and for the League to use it is to be guilty, from the moral point of view, of the same offence of which Italy is guilty. The offence on the part of the League is not as serious as that on the part of Italy, it is true; but it is still an offence. The League should only perform a conciliatory function; it is not the function of the League to punish an offender. To this objection, of course, the answer is easy. The League Covenant has a definite place in its scheme for force. As in domestic affairs the enforcement of the State law requires the use of force, so in international affairs the enforcement of international law requires the use of force, and the League Covenant contemplates such use. It is wrong to think that all force is inherently wicked. Force cannot be wholly banished from international politics as it cannot be wholly banished from internal politics in a State. It is the motive with which force is used that determines whether in a given case the use of force is right or wrong. And to employ lawful force in order to put down lawless force is not only permissible but absolutely imperative.

But, admitting this in theory, a further practical question is raised. To take the Italo-Abyssinian dispute again, it is asked: Italy is no doubt the aggressor, and it is the duty of the League to restrain and punish an aggressor. But the aggressor in this case happens to be a powerful country. It is capable of being restrained and punished—but only at the cost of a general European war. Would it be right for the League to provoke a big war in order to stop a little one? In any case, would it not be better in the interest of peace for the League to connive at this act of aggression than to check it? It was this mentality that was responsible for the treacherous Hoare-Laval proposal for the partition of Abyssinia. Sir Samuel Hoare knew well enough that the proposal, if agreed to, would reward the aggressor and injure the victim of aggression; but it would preserve peace, and establishment of peace Sir Samuel Hoare conceived to be the real function of the League. What is the reply of his critics? The reply may be framed thus: It is not the only or even the main function of the League to maintain peace; its main function is to maintain justice between State and State. An enduring peace is possible only if it is based upon justice. To seek peace on the basis of injustice is to sacrifice both justice and peace, and thus when a conflict arises between peace and justice the League must stand for justice, even if it should lead immediately to an aggravation of discord.

hoping that it would eventually be possible to establish peace through discord.

If the Indian Liberals will go on working the constitution contentedly, without forcing the issue of constitutional amendment, for fear that to press for the substitution of a better constitution for the new one would give rise to an intensive agitation which might result in disorder they will be guilty of betraying the country, even as the League Powers will be guilty of betraying the collective system if, with a view to preventing a European war, they will fail to mobilise all their resources against the aggressor for the purpose of protecting the weak against the strong. Peace and order cannot be the *summum bonum* for the Liberal Party as they cannot be the *summum bonum* for the League. They are a means to a greater good: political freedom for India in the case of the Indian parties including the Liberal Party and international justice in the case of the League. When this ultimate objective is not likely to be served but on the contrary hampered by what is after all a matter of secondary importance this latter must obviously give way to the former. The Liberals cannot keep on the even tenor of their way, doing the work that comes to their hand without giving a thought to the future, as the League Powers cannot, in face of aggression, go on numbing peace without applying, if necessary, military sanctions against the aggressor. For the Liberal Party to do so would be to ring down the curtain on the political struggle as for the League to do so is to sacrifice all the League principles.

It is not suggested here, of course, that the Liberal Party should deliberately try to disturb peace or upset the settled order. Peace and order it will continue to value in the future as it valued them in the past. It will be the endeavour of the Party to preserve them as much as is possible consistently with an unflinching pursuit of its final aim—a pursuit which is enjoined by the Party upon all who own allegiance to it. It will use every resource which is calculated to ease over the transition from the hateful new constitution to the constitution which it wishes to see enacted. But it must make up its mind not to draw back from the path that it sets

before itself from fear lest peace will in fact be disturbed on occasions. It must throw the responsibility for such breaches, if they should occur, upon the shoulders of those who have chosen, in spite of grave warnings, to impose upon the country a constitution which it is impossible for any self-respecting people to submit to without a fight. A great lover of peace as it is, the Liberal Party has no use for a policy of peace at any price. If the Liberals will follow such a policy they will cover themselves with disgrace as Hoare and Laval did in the Abyssinian imbroglio.

All reactionary forces will make common cause in the new regime. The Hoare constitution will prove in fact a forcing bed for the worst type of Toryism. The Liberal Party must play its proper part in the struggle that will open with the inauguration of the new constitution. It must make common cause with all forward-looking politicians for preventing reaction. A merger with other progressive parties is not practical politics. There will undoubtedly be a regrouping of political forces in the future. But it will take time. It is no use trying to force the pace of this inevitable and desirable movement. All that is possible now is for all the progressives to seek out points of agreement. A conscious attempt should be made for united Left activity on as wide a front as possible. It cannot be that the Liberal Party will agree with every detail of the Congress programme for instance. In such matters it will of course maintain its individuality, but it can never afford to forget that, upon the whole, the Congress will be its ally and the bureaucracy and the reactionary elements which the bureaucracy will take under its wings its opponent. In matters of divergence with the Congress, the Liberal Party should remember that if it does not like the Congress it likes the bureaucracy and its satellites much less. It should further remember that the realisation of the country's destiny will depend upon a free and cordial co-operation of all the progressive groups. Such co-operation, however, will not be possible unless it regards itself, in the shifting of emphasis that altered circumstances have necessitated, a seeker of justice rather than of peace.

A YOUNG LIBERAL

## INDIA'S NEW CONSTITUTION.

BY P. KODANDA RAO.

INDIA has just been given a new constitution which has been received with widespread criticism and opposition by large sections of the Indian people. It is of interest to Canadians because it purports to be a step in the progress towards Dominion status. I have found in my recent tour of Eastern Canada that my Canadian hosts have shown a good deal of perplexity about it and about the Indian opposition to it. The question they asked me most often was why India should not accept it gratefully and proceed to develop it by custom and convention towards the ultimate goal of Dominion status just as the British North American colonies developed their constitutions until the Dominion of Canada reached its present position of national autonomy.

Perhaps it is well at this stage for me to declare my outlook and my background. I have been a member since 1922, and the secretary since 1930, of the Servants of India Society, the founder of which the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C. I. E., said in the Preamble to the Constitution of the Society that "its members frankly accept the British connection as ordained, in the inscrutable dispensation of Providence, for India's good. Self-government within the Empire for their country and a higher life generally for their countrymen is their goal." Though much has happened since this was written in 1905 to test our faith, we have not repudiated it.

Secondly, I belong to the Liberal Party, or the Moderate Party, in Indian politics, of which the leader, who is best known in Canada, is the Rt. Hon.



V. S. Srinivasa Sastri : he visited Canada in 1922 on behalf of the Government of India, and he was subsequently the Agent-General of the Government of India in South Africa, and a member of the Round Table Conferences in London in 1930 and 1931. Mr. Sastri is a member of the Servants of India Society and was its President from 1915 to 1927. I had the honour of serving Mr. Sastri as his Private Secretary for several years now in India, South Africa and in London. And since 1930 I have been the editor of the SERVANT OF INDIA, the chief organ of the Servants of India Society, and an organ of the Liberal Party of India. The Liberal Party held the view that it was possible for India to attain Dominion Status by constitutional means, as opposed to direct action and non-co-operation; that, notwithstanding occasional set-backs, there was a general tendency in the British Commonwealth towards self-government and self-determination and that the growth of free institutions was due as much to conventions as to constitutions.

Thirdly, the Liberal Party, though no less dissatisfied with the Montagu Constitution of 1919 than the Indian National Congress, because of its inadequacy, felt that it was an improvement, and should, therefore, be worked, and made the starting point for further reforms in the Indian constitution. In pursuit of this policy, it took the extreme step of tearing itself away from the Indian National Congress, to which it was bound by ties of loyalty and long devotion, and of openly opposing Mahatma Gandhi's non-co-operation policy. If anything, it has been accused of being pro-British rather than anti-British. So much then for my outlook.

Among the questions put to me during my tour in Canada may be mentioned the following:

1. Does India insist on independence or will she be content to be a Dominion;
2. If the British withdraw from India, will not the Muslims and the martial races of northern India overrun the whole country and land the country in chaos; and
3. Notwithstanding the letter of the law and the limitations of the new Indian Constitution, is not India likely to attain Dominion status by the growth of conventions, even as Canada has done?

Considerations of space will not permit of adequate treatment of the three propositions. Categorically speaking, there is no material difference between independence and Dominion status since the Imperial Conference of 1926 and the Statute of Westminster. Dominions are as independent as independent countries. If anything, Dominion status is superior independence. Canada, as a Dominion, takes tariff liberties with Great Britain, which, as a nation outside the Commonwealth, she might not be able to take without courting retaliation. Those in India who seek independence ask for the right to secede, if India ever so chose. And that right is implied in Dominion Status.

As for the second, all that is possible here is to point out that Mr. Sastri, for instance, belongs to the Hindu and non-martial races in India, and he is foremost in asking for Dominion status! Is it to be presumed that people, even like him, do not realize the danger they run, if the danger were real and significant? Moreover, was it ever suggested that on a particular day the whole British personnel in the civil and military services in India should depart? Was that how it was done in the case of Canada and South Africa? The persistent agitation has been for the gradual and steady Indianization of the civil and military services in India. With the best goodwill and the normal speed, it will take

some thirty years to Indianize the officer ranks in the Indian Army.

It was not surprising that many friends, when they were told of the reactionary and anti-democratic character of the new Indian Constitution, pointed to the development of Dominion Status in Canada and anticipated that a similar development, by conventions, will eventuate in India as well, notwithstanding the statutory limitations. The Liberal Party in India is no stranger to the thesis that the spirit of the constitution may be more liberal than its letter. It has reason, however, to hold that the Indian Constitution leaves little room for the liberalizing of the Constitution by the growth of conventions.

The Report of the Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform, which is the basis for the new Indian Constitution, says:

It is certain, on the contrary, as we shall show, that such an Act (of Parliament) must seek to give statutory form to many "safeguards" which are essential to the proper working of parliamentary government, but which in Great Britain, have no sanction save that of established custom. (Para. 14.)

Again,

In these circumstances, the successful working of Parliamentary government in the Provinces must depend, in a special degree, on the extent to which Parliament can translate the customs of the British Constitution into "statutory" safeguards. (Para. 20.)

To the extent to which matters, which are governed by conventions in Great Britain and the Dominions, have been given statutory form in the Indian Constitution, growth is possible only by the amendment of the Constitution itself, and not by the growth of conventions. It will take too long to enumerate here the conventions that have been given statutory form; all that can be said is that they are not a few.

Secondly, the development of the constitutional practices in the Dominions and Colonies, which have written constitutions, was secured by the Instrument of Instructions. The Report of the Joint Select Committee thus refers to this point:

To imprison constitutional practice and usage within the four corners of a written document is to run the risk of making it barren for the future. This was foreseen by the framers of those Dominion and Colonial Constitutions which have followed the British model; and since it by no means followed that the circumstances of a State were appropriate for the application of the whole body of English doctrine in its most highly developed form, recourse was had to another device, no less flexible, for the purpose of indicating to the Governor-General or Governor how far in the exercise of the executive power he was to regard himself as bound by English precedent and analogy. This is the Instrument of Instructions; and though Dominion and Colonial Constitutions, and especially the former, necessarily embody much that is still regulated by usage and custom in the United Kingdom, the Instrument of Instructions long preserved (and in many cases still preserves) a sphere in which constitutional evolution might continue without involving any change in the legal framework of the Constitution itself. (Para. 70.)

The British Government's original proposal, as contained in the White Paper, preferred to regulate the relations between the Governor and his Cabinet Ministers by means of more flexible Instrument of Instructions and not by statute. But the Joint Select Committee ruled otherwise. The Report says that the statute, according to the White Paper, would provide that "the Governor shall have a Council of Ministers to aid and advise him, but his relations with the Ministers are left to be determined wholly by the Instrument of Instructions. We agree that it

is desirable that the Governor's special responsibilities, over and above the matters which are committed to his sole discretion, should be laid down in the Act itself than that they should be left to be enumerated thereafter in the Instrument of Instructions." (Para. 74.) Thus some matters which in other Constitutions have been regulated by the Instrument of Instructions have been made statutory in the Indian Constitution. To that extent again, the development of the Constitution by means of conventions is rendered impossible.

Thirdly, the Instrument of Instructions has been an instrument issued by the Executive without reference to the Legislature. The Secretary of State for India could vary its terms without reference to the Parliament. But that procedure is altered in the new Indian Constitution. Says the Report:

The White Paper proposes a novel procedure in connection with the Instrument of Instruction, viz., that an opportunity shall be given to Parliament of expressing an opinion upon it before it is finally issued by the Crown. There is, we think, ample justification for this proposal, which has been rightly extended not only to the original Instrument but also to any subsequent amendments thereof and we are satisfied that in no other way can Parliament so effectively exercise an influence upon the Indian constitutional development. (Para. 76.)

No change in the Instrument of Instructions is possible without the previous concurrence of Parliament, and that includes the House of Lords. The procedure, has, therefore, all the inflexibility of a statutory amendment, without however its legal validity. The Labour Party in the House of Commons objected to this provision on the ground that a Labour Government would practically be precluded from liberalizing the Constitution by the modification of the Instrument of Instructions inasmuch as

the previous approval of the House of Lords, the stronghold of the Conservative die-hards, will be necessary for any such modification.

Fourthly, growth by convention is possible in so far as the Constitution leaves matters to the discretion of individuals. The Constitution, for instance, may provide that the Cabinet shall advise but that the Governor shall decide. A convention may then grow up that the Governor shall decide as the Cabinet advises. Such a development is possible if the Constitution permitted the formation of Cabinets with strong majorities in the legislatures. But the new Indian Constitution makes this impossible by the extended use of the system of separate electorates based on race, religion and caste, which are not subject to change at every election, and by the apportionment of seats in the legislature in such a way that the different groups based on religion and race shall balance one another and none shall have a majority. The Report avows that the Constitution was "so framed as to preserve as far as may be, a nice balance between the conflicting interests of Federation, States and Provinces, of minority and majority, and indeed, of minority and minority." (Para 375.)

The Report admits that separate electorates and excessive representation for racial and religious minorities are incompatible with responsible government. But separate electorates are fundamental to the new Indian Constitution, and they are statutory. No growth of conventions can abolish them. The composition of the legislatures can be altered only by the amendment of the Constitution. The hope, then, that notwithstanding the letter of the new Indian Constitution, India might grow into Dominion status by the development of conventions, even as Canada did, is beyond the reach of realization.—*The Canadian Forum.*

## SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY.

### MR. SURYANARAYANA RAO'S ADDRESS.

*At the Madras Rotary Club meeting held on the 7th inst. Mr. R. Suryanarayana Rao, a member of the Servants of India Society, delivered an address on the history, work and objects of the Society. Mr. Suryanarayana Rao said:—*

The name of Gopal Krishna Gokhale, the Founder of the Servants of India Society, is well-known. His was a life full of activity for his country. Trials and disappointments in public life made him feel for a long time that for the furtherance of nation-building work there was great and urgent need for the devoted labours of a specially trained agency applying itself to the task in a true missionary spirit. In the preamble to the constitution of the Society, Mr. Gokhale explains, in his own inimitable language, the circumstances under which the Society was brought into existence, the high ideals it has to uphold and live upto, and the general lines of work to be carried on to achieve the objects. It is well worth the perusal of everyone interested in the future of India.

Though politics and political subjects are outside the scope of your Club's activities I may just be permitted to mention only one fact which was Mr. Gokhale's article of faith and which every member has to accept if he wishes to be admitted into the Society. In the preamble he states: "Its Members frankly accept the British connections as ordained, in the inscrutable dispensation of Providence, for India's good. Self-Government within the Empire for their country and higher life generally for their countrymen is the goal."

The membership of the Society is open to graduates of distinction and high attainments. Every candidate for admission has to be on probation, for a period of one year. If after that period he is admitted as a member, he will be a member under training for a further period of five years, and during this time he is required to study, travel and work under trusted seniors. Till the period of training is over, he is not permitted to make himself responsible either for a speech or newspaper article or any public utterance or action. It will be seen how anxious Mr. Gokhale was that his men should not only be persons with good University education, but also that before they were sent out for work they should all be fully equipped.

Whatever may be the opinion of those who decried religion as a disintegrating factor in the national life of a country, especially in India, there is a strong body of well-informed opinion which believes that anything in the nature of a moral or religious appeal has a great influence for good.

Mr. Gokhale held this opinion. In public work more than in any other field of human activity, Mr. Gokhale felt strongly that honesty of purpose, integrity of character, strict observance of the well-established and recognised rules of public conduct are essential. As he said, 'Public life must be spiritualised'. So he enjoined on every member on admission to take seven vows which appear to be simple but yet, I may venture to state, form the fundamental basis of all human conduct. Moreover, membership is for life and consistently with the

vows taken, no member can sever his connection with the Society. But owing to continued illness or some other cause the Society has often found itself under the painful necessity of releasing some members from their vows.

Though more than 30 years have elapsed since the organisation was founded—it was on 12th June 1905 the Society was inaugurated—our membership is only 30 and it comprises of members from all parts of the country. The headquarters of the Society is Poona and there are branches at Bombay, Allahabad, Nagpur and Madras with centres of work at Lahore, Lucknow, Cuttack, Calicut, Mangalore and Trichinopoly attached to the branches. Taking into account the magnitude of the task of nation-building, our number is comparatively small. But it has steadily increased and if more members are not taken, it is partly due to financial stringency and partly for want of suitable candidates. Whenever exigencies of work demand and if suitable candidates are available, the Society has not hesitated to take in more members even when the chances of improvement in the financial condition appeared remote. The Society is a secular body standing for national as opposed to sectional interests; it is non-religious, non-sectarian, and non-communal in character, open to all Indians; it strives to work for the country in a "religious" spirit, religion as understood in its wider and highest sense.

Reports of the Society regularly published year after year show that most of the work of its members is done under the auspices of other organisations with which the members are connected in some active capacity or other. So while members cannot take exclusive credit for the work of those organisations, it may be safely asserted that many of the organisations have either been brought into existence by the members of the Society or in the strengthening of which they have taken an active part. This policy of associating themselves with or associating others in any work undertaken by the Society has almost become a tradition in the Society.

Though the Society was started mainly as a political body, Mr. Gokhale realised from his experience that much of the work must be directed towards building up in the country a higher type of character and capacity and he was fully aware that the progress would be slow. While political education and agitation would occupy a prominent place in the programme of the Society, he had the clear vision to look far ahead that there were many other directions equally important in which the Society should work if it is to serve the purpose for which he meant it.

Before dealing with the work of the Society, I make a passing reference to the politics of the Society, as it has an important bearing on its other activities. For years, the members of the Society worked for the Indian National Congress till the change in the creed and methods of work forced them to leave it and throw in their lot with the Liberal Party in the organisation of which they have played a prominent part. Though in politics the Society is identified with the Liberal school of politicians, it has not hesitated to take a line of its own whenever circumstances warranted such a course. But generally, the Society had identified itself with the Liberal Party and its members have actively co-operated in spreading and upholding Liberal principles. They have been acting as the Secretaries of different provincial Liberal organisations as also of the National Liberal Federation. The Society owns one Marathi daily *Dnyan Prakash*, one English Weekly, the *SERVANT OF INDIA*, both edited from Poona, and an English tri-weekly, the *Hitawada*, edited from Nagpur. Through these papers, the Society gives

expression to its views on topics of the day and tries to create healthy public opinion.

The Indians abroad have also found in the members of our Society stout and unrelenting champions of their cause. The work of the late Mr. Gokhale for Indians in South Africa and of the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri as a Member of the Indian Deputation and later as the Agent-General of the Government of India is well known. No inconsiderable part has been played by Mr. Kunzru in regard to grievances of Indians in other Colonies, especially in East Africa to which Colony he also paid a special visit. In view of the anti-Indian measures, some recently enacted and some proposed, greater vigilance is being exercised in this matter by the members of the Society.

There is a class of unfortunate people known as the subjects of Indian States whose cause the Society has unceasingly espoused. The importance of this subject has been greatly enhanced in view of the great part the Indian States will play in the coming order of things. To understand the points of view of both sides and to speak out what in its opinion is just and reasonable without caring for the frowns either of the Rulers of Indian States or of their subjects, is a task which the Society is trying to perform to the best of its ability.

In the economic field, some of the members have been promoting the cause of Indian labour. But it is in the co-operative field that its members have been most prominent. Believing, as they do, that the co-operative movement is the best means for the economic uplift of the masses, almost all the members have devoted a considerable part of time and energy in organising and conducting co-operative institutions. On the West Coast, the Society has organised a Weavers' Society and is trying its best to find a market for its finished products. Also a Store for the employees in a Factory has been organised and is being worked successfully. The work of the late Mr. Devadhar in the co-operative field both in the Bombay Presidency and here is well-known.

It is in the field of rural reconstruction that the Society has been exerting a great deal for some years. It was under the inspiration, guidance and supervision of the late Mr. Devadhar, that the Khed-Shivapur Centre, near Poona, was started by the Deccan Agricultural Association. In Madras, Reconstruction Centres are run under the auspices of the Madras Provincial Co-operative Union. The Choudhvar Centre near Cuttack which maintains a rural school in which rural industries are taught is making steady progress. A leprosy clinic is attached to the Centre. Adult education is carried on by means of night schools and magic lantern lectures and by maintaining a reading room and a library. Similar work is carried on in Mayanur in Trichinopoly district. In this centre, the Central Residential School with a rural bias in which agriculture, bee-keeping, and mat-weaving are taught is meant to produce leaders from among the agricultural labourers who would prove an effective agency for the improvement of village life. Adult education among women is another special feature of the work of this centre. In the Bhambara Centre in Berar under the Nagpur Branch efforts to introduce improved methods of cultivation, conservation and use of manures, have been fairly successful. Health and sanitation work started with the help of the Indian Red Cross Society under the supervision of a Health Worker and Health Visitor is awakening the sanitary conscience of the villagers. A dispensary is also maintained for the treatment of simple ailments.

In Malabar under the Devadhar Malabar Reconstruction Trust which is managed by the Society, a

great deal of rural work is being attempted. There are two rural schools with vocational bias where cottage industries of the locality are taught. Besides a housing colony for the Chemmas, there is a Boarding House attached to one of the schools which is especially meant for the Adi-Dravida children. The Trust also conducts four adult education centres. The worker in charge tries to act as the philosopher, friend and guide of the villages. In addition to the 3 R's, instruction in health, sanitation, civics and co-operation is also imparted to the adults, Magic lantern slides, maps and charts are freely made use of. A Child Welfare Centre is also being run. These centres are located in the Moplah country and a large number of our Moplah brethren are taking advantage of them. They have in a large measure served to re-establish the friendly feelings greatly strained during the unfortunate rebellion.

The Depressed Classes Mission in Mangalore, now managed by the Society, is serving the Adi-Dravidas of the district of South Kanara. It maintains a higher elementary school which provides also instruction in carpentry and weaving. It has also two junior schools and a residential school for the children of the Koragas, an aboriginal tribe of the district. There are Boarding Houses for boys and girls maintained with the help of Government grants. There are a few colonies in the management of the Mission, where Adi-Dravida families have been settled. An Adult Education Centre mainly for the Adi-Dravidas is also run.

The Harijan Sevak Sangha has indented upon the services of many of our members. As its object is to uplift the Adi-Dravidas which is one of our cherished activities, the Society has decided to co-operate with the Sangha in its great work.

One new activity which the Society has undertaken is the management of Criminal Tribes Settlements. A beginning has been made in the Bombay Presidency by taking up the management of the Jalgaon Settlement. The Seva Samiti of Allahabad, the Social Service League of Bombay and the Bhil Seva Mandal of Gujarat working for the aborigines are notable instances of organisations in the starting

and running of which our members are taking great part. The cause of temperance, promotion of public health and organisation of scouting have been general features of all work undertaken by the members of the Society. Suffering caused by floods, fire, famine or earthquake has always received the immediate attention of the members of the Society. The Moplah Rebellion Relief is an instance of the work of relieving distress caused by fanaticism. The relief of distress caused during recent years in South India by floods, cyclone and famine is known to people in the Madras Presidency.

Let me close by again quoting a few sentences from the preamble to which I have made reference more than once. Mr. Gokhale wrote, "Love of country must so fill the heart that all else shall appear as of little moment by its side. A fervent patriotism which rejoices at every opportunity of sacrifice for the motherland, a dauntless heart which refuses to be turned back from its object by difficulty or danger, a deep faith in the purpose of Providence which nothing can shake—equipped with these, the worker must start on his mission and reverently seek the joy which comes of spending oneself in the service of one's country." May these words serve as a beacon-light and guiding star to all those engaged in public work. May we justify by our conduct and work the high hopes and aspirations of the illustrious founder of the Servants of India Society.—The Hindu.

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