

# The Servant of India

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## Topics of the Week.

### Costly Superfluities.

THE complaint is sometimes heard in India that new posts are created not so much because they are absolutely unavoidable but merely in order to provide a berth for some favourite in high circles. To unsophisticated minds like ours the complaint might appear to be incredible; but in view of the recent disclosures in connection with Sir Eric Mievville's appointment as Cabinet Secretary at Delhi, it must be frankly admitted that it is not altogether devoid of substance. Sir Eric, as our readers may recall, served Lord Willingdon as his Private Secretary in Canada where the latter worked as Governor-General. The scene of their joint labours naturally shifted to India with the Lord Willingdon's appointment as the Viceroy of India. In India Sir Eric received universal praise as being the model of a Viceroy's secretary. We daresay the praise was justified.

As the end of his chief's time in India was drawing near the advantages of having a properly trained secretary for the Executive Council and the future Federal Cabinet suddenly dawned upon the authorities at Delhi. Who else could be thought of in this connection but Lord Willingdon's Private Secretary who had won such golden opinions all round? In due course Sir Eric went home on leave and returned to India after undergoing training there in the duties of Cabinet Secretary. India was flattering herself that the efficient working of the Secretariat of the Federal Cabinet was ensured for some years at any rate under Sir Eric's

experienced supervision. But this sense of satisfaction was unfortunately to be very short-lived. For before Sir Eric had been in the saddle for a few brief weeks, his appointment as Private Secretary to the Duke of York was announced, and India was deprived of the invaluable training and experience gained by Sir Eric at her expense.

BUT the really surprising part of the story is still to be told. With the certainty of Sir Eric's departure from India the official valuation of the necessity of the Cabinet Secretary's post also underwent rapid transformation. The authorities at Simla no longer believed that a Cabinet Secretary's post was after all such an urgent necessity. In fact they felt that its duties might as well be discharged by the Legislative Secretary in addition to his own without bringing the administrative machinery to a standstill. And it would appear this arrangement is now in force without putting anybody to any inconvenience. In such a matter, in the absence of authoritative information from official quarters, we have necessarily to depend upon newspaper reports; but it is at least significant that these facts, though repeated times out of number in the columns of the Indian press during the last few days, have so far elicited no official contradiction. While we have no wish to stand in the way of Sir Eric benefitting by his good fortune in his new sphere, the Indian public has certainly a right to know why Sir Eric of all people was chosen for the special secretarial training without making sure that his services would be available to this country for a reasonably long time.

### Shameless Jobbery.

BEFORE the echoes of the public condemnation of the conduct of the Howrah Bridge Commissioners in patronising a British in preference to an Indian firm in the matter of the bridge contract have died down, the *Searchlight* of Patna brings to light another jobbery of instance of a like nature which recently took place in Durbhanga. It would appear that a part of the local market had to be built and tenders were as usual invited. Altogether twenty were received, out of whom four were selected for final choice. Two of them were from Indian firms and two from European. What is really pertinent to remember, however, is that the lowest tenderer was a local Indian firm. If fairness and the interests of the tax-payer had alone been the dominant considerations in the decision of the matter, this firm ought to have had the order placed with itself. Actually it was given to the two European firms, whose quotations were higher, on the recommendation of the Chairman "whom the other members dare not oppose lest they may incur his displeasure." There was no question of the Indian tenderers in this case being regarded, on grounds either of finance or technical skill, as incompetent or unfit for being entrusted

with such a big work, for they have already been carrying out several equally big jobs to the entire satisfaction of those for whom they have been working. As the paper truly says, it is the outsiders for whom all sympathy is reserved, particularly when they happen to be Britishers.

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#### Bhavnagar.

THE administration report of Bhavnagar State for 1934-35 is a record of progress of the departmental activities of the State. While the Governments in British India are still wrestling in vain with the problem of agricultural indebtedness, the Bhavnagar State has taken some practical action towards its solution, which is without doubt a feather in its cap. Its debt redemption scheme is a valuable contribution in the matter of helping the agriculturist out of his economic difficulties and relieving his pitiable plight. Two principles were observed in reducing the debts: one, that it should not exceed a sum equal to three times the annual amount of assessment payable by the debtor; and two, that the total amount paid on account of a particular Tappa should not exceed one-fourth of the total outstanding of that Tappa. The working of the scheme resulted in the total agriculturists' debt of more than Rs. 86 lakhs being scaled down to a little over Rs. 20½ lakhs. Recoveries from debtors towards the liquidation of the compounded loan have so far amounted to Rs. 3,87,000.

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BUT the scheme suffers from a flaw, perhaps inherent in the agriculturist's situation, to which expert economists have repeatedly drawn attention. Even if the agriculturist is thus relieved of his past indebtedness, is there anything, they ask, to prevent him from contracting new debts and that too at exorbitant rates of interest. There was a tendency in some quarters to brush aside this difficulty as being the result of a powerful imagination which has little relation to realities. The experience of the Durbar in this behalf during the last year will, we hope, show it the desirability of adopting a more serious attitude towards it. For the report itself mentions cases of agriculturists having incurred fresh debts at usurious rates. Curiously enough, the report tries to explain away these cases by pointing to the improved finances of the agriculturist as a result of the operation of the scheme; but there can be no doubt that the malady thus disclosed needs more scientific treatment than it has so far received at the hands of the State authorities.

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TWENTY new village panchayats came into being during the year largely as a result of the efforts of the Panchayat Officer appointed by the State, their present number being 40. Eleven more villages are expected soon to have their own panchayats. The obligation thrown on these village bodies under the Bhavnagar scheme of making themselves responsible for the collection of land revenue and other taxes appears to have acted as a stumbling block in the way of some villages desiring to give effect to the scheme. The difficulty was however tided over by the Durbar itself undertaking to make collections of the disputed taxes. To British Indian administrators it may be of interest to note that collection of revenue in panchayat villages is more prompt and regular than in those which have no panchayats. One wonders why the experiment may not be tried in some districts in British India.

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#### Cambay.

WE are not sure that the number of Indian States publishing their administration reports every year is still very large. For that very reason the Cambay State whose administration report for 1934-35 has just fallen into our hands deserves our thanks. The year witnessed the appointment of a retired member of the Bombay Judicial Service to the Dewan's post. The new Dewan has been at his post for too short a time to enable the public to judge of his capacity to reform or regulate the administration of the State. But the fact that he has been able to introduce a budget for the first time is creditable to him.

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THE total revenue of the State was a little over Rs. 13 lakhs; while the palace expenses were in excess of Rs. 3¼ lakhs, or 25 per cent. of the State revenue. The increase of about Rs. 37,000 odd under this head is officially explained as being due to the purchase of cars and carriages, furniture, etc. But in the absence of a legislative council with a real power of the purse, who is there to object to such expenditure of the poor tax-payer's money? An amount of Rs. 55,000 seems to figure year after year on the debit side as grant-in-aid, in addition to charities and religious grants under which head expenditure is separately incurred. What is this mysterious grant? And in whose aid? It cannot obviously be for educational purposes, for on education over Rs. 80,000 are spent annually and shown as such.

\* \* \*

THEN, the expenditure statement shows an item of Rs. 1,63,000 representing what is termed the invested balance which is transferred to H. H.'s privy purse. Obviously this represents money which is exacted from the people over and above the legitimate requirements of the State and is by a stroke of the pen incorporated in the Nabob's private income.

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NOT only, as already pointed out, can the State not boast of a legislative council; even the only municipality in the State is in the leading strings of State officials. Its president is a State official and the elective and nominated elements in it just balance each other! The 85 village panchayats in the State seem to have disposed of a good deal of judicial work which is highly creditable to them. But what we are more curious about is their constitution, about which the report is conveniently silent. Is it sufficiently democratic? Is it such as to enable the popular representatives to make their will effective at least in that restricted sphere?

\* \* \*

THOUGH the number of educational institutions remained stationary at 73, the number of their inmates went up by nearly 300 to 6,765, which represents nearly one half of the total school-age population. Primary education which was completely free throughout the State is now made compulsory in all village boys' schools including one school for the depressed classes in the town. This is a step in the right direction and its wider extension so as to comprise the whole State will, we hope, be found possible in the near future.

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#### Indian Education in Kenya.

A SURPRISING, though not less pleasing, fact stands out in the report of the Education Department of Kenya for 1935. It is the great strides which the Indian community has made in the educational field

Indeed Indians in Kenya are far ahead of all other communities, not excluding even the European. The percentage of scholars of the Indian and Goan communities to the population is given as 17.6 as against 9.9 for the European, while the proportion in the case of the Arab and African communities is 3.8 and 3.2 respectively. The schoolage population is generally calculated at 15 per cent. of the total population; but in the case of the Indian and Goan communities, the proportion of children at school is 17.6 which is doubtless a matter for congratulation.

THIS is however very far from saying that in the disposition of the colonial revenues on this nation-building activity, Indian education receives its fair share as compared to European. With a European population of 18,000 the total expenditure on European education was £44,000, i. e. roughly speaking, £2½ per head. The Indian population totals over 41,000 and at £2½ per head the expenditure on Indian education would come to over £100,000, whereas in point of fact it only amounts to about a third of the amount! The anomaly becomes even more glaring when the native population numbering over three millions is taken into account. At the above rate the expenditure on its education should not be the paltry £74,000 but nearly ten times the amount!

CONSIDERING Indian and Goan education by itself, we find that there were 262 boys and no girls reading in the secondary schools, while the number in the primary stage was 4,253, making a total of 4,515 boys. The number of girls receiving education in primary schools was, we note, in the neighbourhood of 3,000, the total number of pupils coming to 7,431, an increase of nearly 900 over the previous year. While the educational advance of the Indian community must thus be said to be satisfactory, specially in the circumstances of Kenya, it is earnestly to be hoped that the claims of native and Arab education will not fail to receive at the hands of the Kenya Government the attention which their importance demands.

#### Needless Alarm.

THE rumoured possibility of the withdrawal of the British Mandate over Tanganyika had the effect of greatly scaring away the residents of that territory. The withdrawal was said to be the price which Great Britain was prepared to pay in order to get Germany into the League of Nations. As if to give a semblance of reality to the news the British Government was described as being so keen upon Germany's re-entry into the League that it would go to any length in order to gain this end. On the face of it the whole story appears so palpably devoid of any substratum of truth that it is a wonder to us how anybody should have been at all taken in by it. But that many people in those parts of the world did take it at its face value and worked themselves up into a state of considerable, though needless, alarm will have by now become clear to those who are at all in touch with the course of events in that territory.

THE rumour, after being in circulation for some time, received authoritative disclaimer when the Colonial Secretary, speaking at a public function in London, remarked:

British subjects are not for sale... No part of the territories now under British rule would willingly exchange that rule for any other.

But before the rumour was thus laid to rest, a weighty representation was addressed to the British Government by leaders of opinion in Tanganyika. In this the total inadvisability and even the illegality of the dreaded change of masters was seriously argued out at great length. All this might sound ludicrous in the light of later events; but it would appear that the opposition to the feared move is voiced by the Indian population of the territory which numbers about 24,000. Though Indians do not see eye to eye with Europeans on the issue of amalgamation of the East African territories, they were at one with them in resisting the imagined re-establishment of German rule over Tanganyika.

## THE CONGRESS PROGRAMME.

THE election manifesto of the Congress passed by its All-India Committee is a very simple document. It does not go in any detail into the schemes of social amelioration which the Congress representatives in the various legislatures will take in hand, for the simple reason they will not take any such schemes in hand. Their main purpose will be to end the new constitution, by which, the manifesto declares, the British Government seeks "to strengthen the imperialist bonds that envelop India and to perpetuate the domination and exploitation of the Indian people." This of course has been all along the professed object of all Congressmen during the last two years, whether they favoured or opposed council entry or office acceptance. But latterly doubts have arisen in the public mind whether once Congressmen entered the legislatures they would remain true to this dominating objective. If the Congress representatives are to concentrate their attention on bringing the constitution into contempt and prevent it from operating smoothly, the questions as to whether they should enter the legislatures and accept ministerships become questions of minor importance, and the more

Congressmen fought on office acceptance the more ground they gave to the public at large to believe that rejection of the constitution would recede into the background and that the Congress representatives on their entry into the legislatures would turn their attention mostly to using the constitution in a constructive way. The reiteration by the All-India Congress Committee of the resolve of the Congress to destroy the constitution by all possible means naturally led the Socialist Party not to press for its resolution asking the Congress to declare itself unequivocally to be against office acceptance. A doubt may still be entertained whether members of the legislatures who are returned on the Congress ticket and are in favour of office acceptance will in fact be faithful to the Congress mandate that their principal work in the legislature is to scrap the constitution, but the controversy has ended at least for the moment.

Several items of constructive work have been embodied in the manifesto like the reform of the land revenue system, the alleviation of the burden of agriculturists' debts, protection of workers, removal of sex

disabilities, uplift of Harijans, promotion of village industries, establishment of a system of social insurance, but they are barely mentioned in order that the people of India may know what the Congress stands for and what it will try to achieve whenever it has power to do so. These things are for the future; for the present they will not be the chief pre-occupations of the Congress because, the manifesto says, the Congress realises that the vital problems of poverty and unemployment cannot be effectively tackled in the legislatures. The immediate object of the Congress representatives will be to use all their endeavours in wrecking the new constitution and of forging sanctions for this purpose. How small is the general belief, however, in the Congress actually bending itself to the destruction of the constitution is best illustrated by the turn which negotiations between the Congress and the Democratic Swaraj Party of Messrs. Kelkar and Aney took. These negotiations have failed, but they have failed on the question of the communal award. Another vital difference which the Democratic Swaraj Party has with the Congress is on the question of office acceptance. The Party believes in utilising the constitution such as it is for constructive good and to this end urges office acceptance. But in its negotiations it never raised this question because it firmly believed that, whatever Congressmen might say about wrecking the constitution, they were not in fact going to make any serious attempt in that direction. However, now that this policy has been solemnly put before the electorate, we must all assume that the Congress will try to carry out this programme and those who intend to offer themselves as candidates with the ambition of taking a hand in the administration may well think twice before they accept the Congress mandate.

In the manifesto much stress is laid upon the opposition of the Congress to "British imperialism," "alien domination," &c. from which it is to be inferred that the Congress sets to itself the task of wrecking the constitution with a view to ending the

exploitation of the foreigner. One point that requires elucidation in this programme is whether the Congress will dare to disturb the Indian vested interests in its attempt to destroy the constitution. That raises a fundamental question on which it is well-known that there are wide differences of opinion in the Congress ranks. It is clear that, the constitution being what it is, the British Government cannot be dislodged from power unless the Indian vested interests are tackled along with it. But on this question the Congress, understoodly enough, is unable to take up a definite attitude. The manifesto itself says in one place: "The new legislatures, hedged and circumscribed by safeguards and special powers for the protection of British and other vested interests, cannot yield substantial benefits." But if the safeguards are meant for the protection of British and Indian vested interests they cannot be removed without incurring the hostility of Indian as well as British vested interests, but the Congress manifesto does not make a clear declaration to that effect. Mr. Gadgil, M.L.A., however, was successful in introducing one amendment into the manifesto. It adds: "With a view to this end (of wrecking the constitution), every endeavour will be made to prevent the introduction and functioning of the federal part of the scheme which is intended to perpetuate the domination of the imperialist and feudal interests over the whole country and prevent all progress towards freedom." The Congress declares itself in this passage to be out against not only the imperialist domination of the British Government but the feudal domination of the Indian States. This is a departure of very great significance in Congress policy. So far it hoped only to fight the British Government, if possible with the help of the States; now it proposes to give battle to both at the same time. Indeed, the constitution cannot be destroyed, as the Congress aspires to do, unless both feudalism and imperialism that will be installed in power as a result of the constitution are simultaneously attacked. What the Congress will in fact do remains to be seen.

## CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN.

**T**HE Civil War that is raging in Spain, of which the end no one can foretell at present, is a matter of anxious concern not only to Spain, nor only to Europe, but to all countries where the principles of democracy and constitutional liberty are held in respect. The conflict now in progress is essentially not so much a conflict between two rival groups or parties as between reform and reaction, between democracy and liberty on the one hand and fascism and militarism on the other, and it is in this latter aspect that the revolt has an interest for us all. There is no doubt that the revolt was planned a long time before. The immediate cause of the outbreak does not matter much; the real cause is that the Popular Front which won sensational successes in the election last February (the third election since the bloodless revolution of five years ago) made the reactionary forces in Spain fear that the programme of reform which Senor Azana planned and partially

carried out as Premier in the first Republican Government would be brought to completion and that the power of the Monarchists, big landlords, military men and clericals would be broken up for good.

The formation of a Left-Wing pact called the Popular Front including Socialists, Marxists and Anarcho-Syndicalists was a great surprise to the Rightist elements. It produced an electoral programme of mild bourgeois social democracy. The very moderation of the programme enabled the Popular Front to win as many as 265 seats in the Cortes, leaving the Right with 144 and the Centre with 64 seats. The Popular Front promised a general amnesty to all political prisoners, and nearly 30,000 political prisoners, mostly those who were clapped in gaol in the Asturias revolt of October, 1934, were released immediately after the new Government was formed. It promised reinstatement of civil servants and workers discharged for political reasons, abolition of hunger

wages and fixation of minimum wage rates, restoration of autonomy to Catalonia, initiation of a large-scale programme of public works for the relief of unemployment, and similar other measures which were both practicable and admittedly desirable. It proposed to repeal the land law which was enacted by the Government of the Right, or rather the Centre, last year and to return to the policy of the Agrarian Law passed by the Cortes in September, 1932, under the first Republican Government. The land question remains the most urgent question for Spain, where, as in India, some 75 per cent. of the people depend directly upon agriculture for a living. The source of the evil consists in the fact that there are large tracts of the country in which enormous estates are owned by a few big landlords; only part of these estates are cultivated by labourers, who possess no sort of tenancy rights. It is calculated that about 60 per cent. of the land of Spain remains uncultivated. Here the solution obviously is to break up these large estates. The Agrarian Law of 1932 provided for the dismemberment of the estates of the high nobility. Not much expropriation took place in actual fact, but under the law the lands could be seized without indemnity and redistributed to the tenants, the title of the properties remaining with the State. If it be found that the occupants did not use the land well they could be dispossessed of it. This policy was modified by Senor Gil Robles under the Right-Centre Government that followed. Robles is by no means a rank reactionary. He believes in the famous Papal encyclicals on social justice, and the modifications he introduced were two: first, the lands already confiscated were to be paid for, the men to whom they were given being required to pay in instalments and they being thus turned from mere settlers into full proprietors. Second, limits were placed on the lands that could be expropriated. It was provided that no owner could be disturbed whose average rent did not exceed 5,000 pesetas, and even so these lands alone could be expropriated, with compensation, which had not been properly exploited by the owners and which represented a practical monopoly of land. Even this reform would have gone a long way in bettering the condition of agriculturists, but the law was not seriously applied by the Government then in power, and the Popular Front now proposed to put the original Agrarian Law vigorously into effect. It should be remembered that although this Law did not allow compensation to the grantees for the confiscation of their feudal estates, it allowed compensation in the case of other lands. They were to be paid for "by capitalising the value shown on the tax records at the rate of 5 per cent. for farm incomes up to 15,000 pesetas" and the rate rose to 20 per cent. for incomes of 200,000 pesetas and over. The Popular Front also undertook to launch a vigorous campaign for the extension of education. The amount of illiteracy in Spain is something unknown to European countries. It is as much as 45.5 per cent. on an average and in the rural areas it is no less than 85 per cent. The Popular Front also proposed the reform, though not the nationalisation, of the banking system.

In the Government formed after the elections of February last no Socialist or Communist or Syndicalist was included, though all these groups promised their full support to Senor Azana who became Premier. Azana in his own election speeches gave a distinctly moderate tone to the policy of the "Popular Front." "Our programme," he said, "is not of social subversion but one of peace and progress. . . . Fascism is a pastime of idle, badly brought up dandies. In 1935, the Spanish State was in the hands of those who wanted to use the State powers to destroy Republican institutions and take Spain back to the ominous times of oppression. Not since the times of Fernando VII did Spain see a more ferocious, barbarous reaction. We have not proposed that the Spanish people rise in arms to reconquer their rights. Our programme represents true order, political honesty, personal decency, respect for the constitution, guarantees to the proletariat that its liberties will be respected. We are called Marxists because we defend the fraternity of the workers, because we aspire to a better distribution of wealth and land without social overthrow. We propose respect for public liberty, for a social policy, for the development of riches, placing them in the hands of those who work. We believe none of this is revolutionary." It is true that a Left Republican Government will necessarily have to depend upon the support of the Socialists, but the Socialists, though their own programme is much more radical including nationalisation of land, big industries, banks, etc., realise that they and the Left Radicals had a long way to go together before they could implement their own programme. Their leader, Caballero, who is called the Spanish Lenin, therefore, decided, while taking no active part in the government, to give general support to Azana. He said: "The Left bloc programme is a moderate programme within the constitution. We did not ask for anything outside of the constitution. Who is so simple as to believe that the working class is interested in preventing an economic reconstruction?" Senor Azana for his part declared in a speech at Toledo that he was not going to be made a cat paw of those who stood for a dictatorship of the proletariat. He quickly began giving effect to electoral pledges, and it is rather a misfortune that, the President of the Republic being dismissed from office, he allowed himself to be elected President. It would have been better from the point of view of peaceful progress of the nation if his energy and statesmanship were available to Spain as head of the government. The removal of control of the armed forces and the diplomatic corps from men whose loyalty to the State was not above question precipitated the present revolt, and the issue is broadly, as Mr. Eder said in another connection, between the forces of democracy and liberty on the one hand and the forces of reaction and fascism on the other.

There seems little doubt that the militarist rebels are receiving direct help from the fascist countries, Italy and Germany. Mr. Brailsford has stated, on the authority of informants who should know the fact that "General Franco received money to finance



his rebellion from Rome and Berlin." That seems only natural. For "if a military dictator, fascist in sympathy and bound by close ties to Rome and Berlin, could master Spain, the strategical situation in the Mediterranean would be transformed. . . . Spain could help Italy in several ways. Submarines and aircraft, if well handled, could, from the two shores of the Straits, control this gateway, in spite of British guns on the Rock. The Canary and Balearic Islands are invaluable to any Power that aims at the command of the seas. . . . The two fascist dictatorships have had their differences, chiefly as to which of them should swallow Austria. That is a thing of the past. The ambitions of Italy have shifted from Central Europe to the Mediterranean, North Africa and the East. They can therefore work together, as they obviously are doing, both in Spain and the Locarno conversations. There is at length an avowed fascist front." Is there any possibility of the democratic countries of Europe forming a united front to oppose it? Hardly any. The British attitude is one of correct neutrality. So is that of France. These countries fear that if they sided openly with the Spanish Government brought into power as a result of elections, Italy and Germany would give still more help to the rebels. But this might happen anyhow; and if it does happen, Britain and Germany would no longer be able to maintain their neutral attitude. In such a situation no one can predict what further complications will arise and how far the conflagration of war would spread.

## Reviews.

### EASTERN & WESTERN MUSIC.

#### THE MUSIC OF ORIENT AND OCCIDENT.

By MARGARET E. COUSINS. (B. G. Paul & Co., Madras.) 1935. 20cm. 199p. Rs. 2.

THE sub-title of this little book—"Essays towards Mutual Understanding"—indicates its form and purpose. It is a collection of essays written at various times and in varying circumstances, but linked together by the common purpose of bringing about a better understanding by both East and West of the musical culture of the other. The form is responsible for a certain measure of discursiveness and overlapping in the essays and also for the lack of any adequate treatment of many important things touched upon so delightfully by the author.

Mrs. Cousins has had a most unusual and wide experience of many kinds of Eastern music, from Japan to Arabia, and she has given us fascinating pictures of musicians and musical parties in these various centres. By her mastery of Western music, combined with a wide and understanding sympathy with other cultures, which distinguishes many members of the Theosophical Society, Mrs. Cousins has been able to enter into the spirit of other cultures and peoples and to interpret them to us.

As has been noted the central thread of these essays, ranging over the music of both hemispheres, is the desire for a mutual understanding between the East and West in musical thought and expression, and the need for the enrichment of each by the music of the other. One could only wish that Mrs. Cousins, with her mastery of Western music and with her

knowledge of and sympathy with Eastern and especially Indian music, would attempt to work out this task in a more thorough and scholarly book.

There are two aspects of the relationship of Eastern and Western music which have long been considered by those specially interested and which are today beginning to occupy the attention of the wider musical public. The first of these is the historical relationship in the past. There is a good deal to suggest that the music of the West, and particularly the ancient Grecian music, owed much to Indian music. In the spheres of Art and Philosophy India has never been a mere imitator but has always shown a creative power and it is impossible to think that in music she first borrowed from Greece. Besides there is much to lead one to believe that the distinctively Indian system of music was in existence before the Christian era.

In regard to recent historical developments, Mrs. Cousins stresses the debt of the modern Russian composers to the music of the East and calls them 'bridge-builders' between Eastern and Western music.

The second aspect, which often comes before us in this book, is the possibility of enriching the music of the East from the West and vice versa. This theme runs through the essays like one of Beethoven's themes in the Sonatas, but unfortunately Mrs. Cousins does not fully develop it. She expects Western music to find enrichment from the many modes and time-measures of Indian music and she expects Indian music in some vague way to be helped by its association with Western music, but she does not tell us just how that is to be done. For example there is the vexed question of the application of harmony to Indian music which is being debated and experimented with today. Jothi Pandyan of Tanjore has produced some interesting compositions based on Indian ragas with simple Western harmony. The great Gayaka Sikhamani Muthiah Baghavather has blessed this attempt and yet many of us feel that there can be no close dealings between harmonised music and the peculiar melody types of India and we are loth to see the passing of these distinctive moulds and their subjection to the tyranny of counterpoint and technical uniformity. Once harmony is introduced into Indian music it is bound to sweep away all that interferes with its empire and India's beautiful ragas will only remain as a memory and a fragrance still clinging to a few ancient instruments. One would like to have heard something from Mrs. Cousins on this whole matter.

The essays have that lightness of touch and charm of style that are associated with all the work of this author as well as that deep sincerity and earnestness which she showed to such good purpose in the leadership of the Women's Movement in India. There are a few slight errors in regard to technical matters which may be corrected in a later edition. Those who have learnt to love Indian music and have gained some insight into its inner meanings will find this little book full of descriptions and suggestions that call up memories of rich enjoyment. For those who have hitherto failed to catch the spirit and meaning of Indian music this will be a revelation and inspiration.

H. A. POPLEY.

### FOREIGN EXCHANGES.

#### THE PROBLEM OF THE FOREIGN EXCHANGES. By L. L. B. ANGAS. (Macmillan.)

1935. 24cm. 273p. 20/-

NO other topic has been a subject of such grave concern as that of the great depression of "such unprecedented magnitude and intensity" as the one

through which the world is passing at present. A study of its causes and cures has brought forth recently a vast literature on the subject by professionals and non-professionals alike, including also a number of experts' treatises and laymen's guides. But such is the bewildering variety of thought and opinion that it is no wonder if one hears too often a reader casually remark, "This is all far too logical but certainly not practical". But 'to despise sound theory is entirely unpractical' runs the motto of Mr. Angas. It is the business of an economist to convince the public that what is sound in theory must also be practical. This however requires a courage of conviction and an implicit faith in the doctrines you preach, even though you be labelled by your critics 'unorthodox' in temperament or even a 'currency crank' in monetary problems. Mr. Angas testifies to these fully in the volume under review. The problems of foreign exchanges, he believes, are too much influenced by prejudices and lack of perspective on the part of statesmen, bankers, financiers and foreign traders. He frankly points out where the shoe pinches and has freely criticised the vested interests and their 'orthodox' theories which refuse to admit the logical consequences of the new and changing circumstances. The author is thus out to combat the musty doctrines of the jaded economists and big businessmen whose views dominate always government policy.

THE crux of the problem is summarised by the author as follows:

To regard the problem of foreign exchanges as merely one of maintaining stability is unstatesmanlike. The implications of stability must also be considered. First appearances are always deceptive, for unless foreign trade is controlled by government, the exchanges have a definite function to perform, namely, to act as an automatic 'corrector' to haphazard inequalities between imports and exports. There are only two alternative correctors, namely, fluctuating exchanges and fluctuating internal prices. The function of the exchanges is not to remove all forms of fluctuation, as is generally supposed, but positively to make 'net external prices' fluctuate so as to augment exports, check imports and secure the export-import equation. Thus money cannot be 'sound' i. e. stable, both externally and internally—stable money and stable exchanges are mutually incompatible. A choice must be made of the lesser evil, the decision being taken from a *nation-wide* point of view (p. 196).

Mr. Angas points out that the modern industrial system suffers spasmodically and almost simultaneously from six diseases of money and bank credit (Chapter XII). Looking at these several diseases jointly and in the light of past experiences, our conclusion must necessarily be, he argues, that

If the fixed gold standard system is retained, it will not be possible to institute any of the monetary reforms which are necessary to iron out fluctuations of business activity and unemployment; for under gold it would be quite impossible to inflate credit so as to keep prices up, if at the same time it should be necessary to deflate so as to correct the exchange position. . . . The international use of gold prevents internal price levels from being kept stable. It is gold that primarily blocks the path to prosperity. To get rid of the gold incubus must in fact be the first objective of those who wish to cure unemployment and to prevent the anomaly of plenty causing want instead of prosperity (p. 111).

The case for gold is much more influenced by orthodox thinking and by powerful sectional interests of city bankers, industrialists and merchant dealers in exports and imports than by mature consideration of national policy in the interests of the state as a whole. The views of Dr. Paul Enzig, Sir Henry Strakosch and such others are freely quoted and criticised (Chapter XV). A case for "managed paper

currency" as set up by the younger economists—otherwise known as currency-cranks—is fully discussed (Chapter XVI). In spite of all criticisms of paper currency, Mr. Angas argues that "it is not only fairer, but also more intelligent that the burden of international corrector should fall on the foreign exchange market itself—where it rightly belongs—than on the whole community, where its influence is unnecessarily 'geared up' and not only more disturbing but also more unjust and less efficacious" (p. 158).

Mr. Angas however does not subscribe to the views of the socialists who attribute recurrence of trade-cycles to capitalism and find fault with 'industrialism' and 'profit-motive'. He holds that capitalism is never given a fair chance, for the whole of capitalistic working presupposes 'sound' money in existence. "Monetary efficiency is an effective reply to socialism". It would ease cyclical movements of trade and solve problems of unemployment, etc. very easily (p. 190-2).

The problems of restabilisation, the possibility of variable gold standards and the present exchange and tariff deadlocks (1935) are then considered. After considering the conflicting relations of sterling, dollar and franc and the policies of different governments, Mr. Angas concludes:

In future, world-rates seem likely to be subordinated to internal price policies the exchanges, being made to depend on internal prices rather than internal prices on the exchanges. . . . Gold may still be held as a nominal backing to currency and in some cases actual reflation may be effected on gold instead of on paper; but its clogging influence may be expelled from our economy (p. 243).

The volume thus retains an unflagging interest throughout because of the controversial nature of the problems it raises. The style is vigorous and attractive, the thought analytical and incisive. The reading of the volume is thus most stimulating, provoking and even challenging. We strongly recommend the book to all our readers and more especially to our budding economists.

S. G. PURANIK.

## FASCISM.

**MUSSOLINI AND THE CULT OF ITALIAN YOUTH.** By P. N. ROY. (R. Chatterjee & Co., Calcutta.) 20cm. 275p. Rs. 3-8-0.

**THE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL POSITION OF ITALY.** Issued by THE INFORMATION DEPT., ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, (2ND. EDN.) [Oxford University Press.] 1935. 22cm. 59p. 2/-

LITERATURE on Fascism is growing; but this new addition, viz. P. N. Roy's "Mussolini and the Cult of Italian Youth" is a disappointing book. It suffers from four defects. In the first place, it does not add to our information at all. Though the author claims to have derived help from several publications, we do not think that the book lives up to that claim. The information contained in the book is not anything more than is contained in periodicals and newspapers. Secondly, the method chosen by the author does not appeal to us. He calls his book "An Exposition of Fascism based on the speeches of Mussolini" and we expected the author to weave the speeches of Mussolini with an exposition of Fascism. But to our disappointment we find that the author gives a meagre exposition and quotes profusely from Mussolini at the end of every chapter. In Chapter VI entitled "Fascism and Foreign Politics" the author does not describe the Fascist attitude towards international questions. He merely gives a collection of Mussolini's speeches. In the book as a whole, the speeches occupy more

space than the author's narrative. A third defect of the book is that it does not give a pen picture of the great personality of Benito Mussolini. We feel that Fascism in Italy can never be understood without a knowledge of his personality. Finally, the author does not attempt to give an objective statement of Fascism. He is an admirer of Fascism and his work is a partisan production. It need not therefore be treated as a serious book.

From this disappointing book it is refreshing to pass on to a short but brilliant brochure issued by the Information Department of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. The most interesting sections of this brochure are those relating to the "Mechanism of the Corporative State" and the steps taken by Mussolini to maintain the lira on the Gold Standard. The brochure clearly points out that Mussolini set out to plan an economy for Italy in view of her special problems, namely, overpopulation, and an exceptional dependence upon foreign supplies of raw materials. The brochure gives a masterly account of the mechanism of the Corporative State and says that it would not have lasted for nearly fifteen years if it had not had a fair measure of popular support. The pamphlet also gives in a brilliant manner the steps taken by the Fascist Government to free Italy from a dependence on foreign raw materials, but the reader can well doubt the economic wisdom of this policy as it has raised internal prices and reduced the standard of living.

M. V. SUBRAMANYAM.

### CAUSES OF MODERN WARS.

**THE ROOTS OF WAR.** (Hogarth Press.) 1936  
20cm. 72p. 6d.

THIS pamphlet deals with the causes of modern wars and tries to show how they are in the last analysis rooted in the present social order.

It starts by demolishing the theory that war is the 'natural' outcome of the pugnacious instincts of man, by clearly bringing out the difference between those instincts and the organised wholesale hatred underlying modern wars. Then follows a bird's-eye-view of modern wars and the attempt to show how they follow in the wake of fundamental changes in the economics of production.

One is not pleased to find the punitive frontier expeditions of the Government of India compared to the aggressive movements of Japan into Manchuria and North China, but barring a few oddities of this kind the main argument is well-sustained and leads to the obvious conclusion that a serious change in the present social order is necessary before we can hope to eliminate the horrors and wastage of wars.

The solution offered by the conscientious objectors proves to be a purely personal and hence a negative one. The attempt to show up the failure of the League of Nations idea is not so successful, as the imperfections in the present constitution of the League are not given their full weight. The exposure of the insincerities of statesmen and particularly of the Labour Governments of Western Europe, specially in regard to the proceedings of the Disarmament Conference, is complete. But the attempt to distinguish between Russia and the other 'oldest and the fattest bandits' fails because even Russia can be shown to have 'already seized' as much (perhaps more) territory as she can deal with. (Her attitude in regard to the 'oil sanctions' in the Abyssinian affair is vividly present before our eyes.)

The 'propagandist' character of the pamphlet becomes even more marked when the immediate possibility of a war on Russia by Japan and Germany with the active sympathy of the other capitalist nations is hinted at and the class-war mentality is in-

voked to support the cause of the workers' state.

'A working-class mass movement based upon the overthrow of Capitalism can make war as much a thing of the past as the crudities of the Druids and the barbarities of Nero'. To illustrate this proposition the reader is referred to the 'Bardoli' campaign in India and the resistance to the French invasion of Ruhr and such other mass movements. But obviously enough, the adverse repercussions of the Ruhr movement on its own protagonists and the indefinite 'suspension' of the non-co-operation movement in India are not even mentioned.

These defects, however, need not interfere with the study of the book by all those who are sincere friends of Peace.

R. H. KELKAR.

### • THE SLUMS PROBLEM.

**SLUMS AND SLUMMERS.** BY C. R. A. MARTIN. (John Bale.) 1935. 22cm. 185p. 6/-.

ONE of the major social problems that is assuming menacing dimensions in India as elsewhere, threatening public health and national well-being as a whole, is the rapid increase in the growth of slums in all urban and industrial areas.

The book under review is not a doctrinaire treatise on the slum problem. It is the fruit of the author's own experience extending over many years as a Sanitary Inspector. This book deals with slums in England, none the less, it is full of lessons and suggestions for social workers and city fathers in India. The six chapters in the book deal with the slum problem from many aspects. In the first chapter, the author traces the various economic and industrial causes which resulted in slumdom in big centres of industrial activity. The other chapters in the book describe graphically the horrible condition of slums in many of the industrial towns of England, that, dealing with the character, behaviour, tendencies and life of the slum-dwellers being very illuminating and interesting. It gives us an insight into the human side of slum life. The picture painted by the author, though realistic, true to life and sympathetic, is very dismal. He does not see, generally speaking, any virtue in the denizens of the slums. Yet we believe the picture is not overdrawn. This is due to the fact that the poor folk, who are relegated to the slums on account of their poverty and low standard of living, are given no adequate opportunity or facility either by the State or the employer to lead a life of tolerable comfort and decency. They and their children have been denied the proper atmosphere and influence to enable them to imbibe healthy ideas, decent habits and manners.

The two chapters in the book dealing with slum clearance and rehousing contain practical suggestions which will be found useful by our city fathers and slum welfare workers. The author's observation that slum clearance should always be preceded by housing schemes is one which should be borne in mind before any scheme of slum reclamation is thought of. In England Co-partnership Societies and Public Utility Societies have played no inconsiderable part in this matter, though considering the magnitude of the problem, their contribution to the solution of the problems has been only microscopic. Another observation of the author with which we are in entire agreement is that mere housing schemes alone will be of no avail in solving the slum problem unless they are followed up by organised efforts to improve the general behaviour and mental attitudes of the people through social settlements and neighbourhood houses. We commend this book to all city fathers and social workers.

S. R. VENKATA RAMAN.



## CONGRESS ELECTION MANIFESTO.

### REJECTION OF CONSTITUTION AND COMMUNAL AWARD.

*The election manifesto of the Indian National Congress was adopted by the All-India Congress Committee last week. The following is the full text of the manifesto :*

**F**OR more than fifty years the Indian National Congress has laboured for the freedom of India and ever, as its strength grew and it came to represent more and more the nationalist urge of the Indian people and their desires to put an end to exploitation by British Imperialism, it came into conflict with the ruling power. During the last sixteen years the Congress has led great movements for national freedom and has sought to develop sanctions whereby such freedom can be achieved by peaceful mass action and the disciplined sacrifice and suffering of the Indian people. To the lead of the Congress the Indian people have responded in abundant measure and thus confirmed their inherent right to freedom. That struggle for freedom still continues and must continue till India is free and independent.

These years have seen the development of an economic crisis in India and the world which has led to a progressive deterioration in the condition of all classes of our people. The poverty-stricken masses are today in the grip of an even more abject poverty and destitution, and this growing disease urgently and insistently demands a radical remedy. Poverty and unemployment have long been the lot of our peasantry and industrial workers; today they cover and crush other classes also—the artisan, the trader, the small merchant, the middle class intelligentsia. For the vast millions of our countrymen the problem of achieving national independence has become an urgent one, for only independence can give us the power to solve our economic and social problems and the exploitation of our masses.

The growth of the national movement and the economic crisis has resulted in the intense repression of the Indian people and the suppression of civil liberties, and the British Government has sought to strengthen the imperialist bonds that envelop India and to perpetuate the domination and exploitation of the Indian people by enacting the Government of India Act of 1935.

In the international sphere crisis follows crisis in an ever deepening degree and world war hangs over the horizon. The Lucknow Congress called the attention of the nation to this grave situation in India and the world and declared its opposition to the participation of India in an imperialist war and its firm resolve to continue the struggle for the independence of India.

The Congress rejected in its entirety the constitution imposed upon India by the new Act and declared that no constitution imposed by outside authority and no constitution which curtails the sovereignty of the people of India, and does not recognise their right to shape and control fully their political and economic future, can be accepted. Such a constitution, in its opinion, must be based on the independence of India as a nation and it can only be framed by a Constituent Assembly.

The Congress has always laid stress on the development of the strength of the people and the forging of sanctions to enforce the people's will. To this end it has carried on activities outside the legislatures.

The Congress holds that real strength comes from thus organising and serving the masses.

Adhering to this policy and objective, but in view of the present situation and in order to prevent the operation of forces calculated to strengthen alien domination and exploitation, the Congress decided to contest seats in the coming elections for the provincial legislatures. But the purpose of sending Congressmen to the legislatures under the new Act is not to cooperate in any way with the Act, but to combat it and seek to end it. It is to carry out, in so far as is possible, the Congress policy of rejection of the Act, and to resist British Imperialism in its attempts to strengthen its hold on India and its exploitation of the Indian people. In the opinion of the Congress, activity in the legislatures should be such as to help in the work outside in the strengthening of the people and in the development of the sanctions which are essential to freedom.

#### WORK IN LEGISLATURES.

The new legislatures, hedged and circumscribed by safeguards and special powers for the protection of British and other vested interests, cannot yield substantial benefits, and they are totally incapable of solving the vital problems of poverty and unemployment. But they may well be used by British Imperialism for its own purpose to the disadvantage and injury of the Indian people. The Congress representatives will seek to resist this, and to take all possible steps to end the various Regulations, Ordinances and Acts which oppress the Indian people and smother their will to freedom. They will work for the establishment of civil liberty, for the release of political prisoners and detainees, and to repair the wrongs done to the peasantry and to public institutions in the course of the national struggle.

The Congress realises that independence cannot be achieved through these legislatures, nor can the problems of poverty and unemployment be effectively tackled by them. Nevertheless the Congress places its general programme before the people of India so that they may know what it stands for and what it will try to achieve whenever it has the power to do so.

#### FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS.

At the Karachi session of the Congress in 1931 the general objective was defined in the Fundamental Rights resolution. That general definition still holds. The last five years of developing crisis have however necessitated a further consideration of the problem of poverty and unemployment and other economic problems. With a view to this the Lucknow Congress laid particular stress on the fact that "the most important and urgent problem of the country is the appalling poverty, unemployment and indebtedness of the peasantry, fundamentally due to antiquated and repressive land tenure and revenue systems, and intensified in recent years by the great slump in prices of agricultural produce," and called upon the Provincial Congress Committees to frame a full agrarian programme. The agrarian programme which will be drawn up by the A.I.C.C. on the basis of these provincial programmes will be issued later.

Pending the formulation of a fuller programme the Congress reiterates its declaration made at Karachi that it stands for a reform of the system of land tenure and revenue and rent, and an equitable adjustment of the burden on agricultural land,

giving immediate relief to the smaller peasantry by a substantial reduction of agricultural rent and revenue now paid by them and exempting uneconomic holdings from payment of rent and revenue.

The question of indebtedness requires urgent consideration and the formulation of a scheme, including the declaration of a moratorium, an enquiry into and scaling down of debts and the provision for cheap credit facilities by the State. This relief should extend to the agricultural tenants, peasant proprietors, small landholders, and petty traders.

In regard to industrial workers the policy of the Congress is to secure to them a decent standard of living, hours of work and conditions of labour in conformity, as far as the economic conditions in the country permit, with international standards, suitable machinery for the settlement of disputes between employers and workmen, protection against the economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment and the right of workers to form unions and to strike for the protection of their interests.

The Congress has already declared that it stands for the removal of all sex disabilities, whether legal or social or in any sphere of public activity. It has expressed itself in favour of maternity benefits and the protection of women workers. The women of India have already taken a leading part in the freedom's struggle, and the Congress looks forward to their sharing, in an equal measure with the men of India, the privileges and obligations of citizens of a free India.

The stress that the Congress has laid on the removal of untouchability and on the social and economic uplift of the Harijans and the backward classes is well-known. It holds that they should be equal citizens with others with equal rights in all civic matters.

The encouragement of Khadi and village industries has also long been a principal plank of the Congress programme. In regard to the larger industries, protection should be given but the rights of the workers and the producers of raw materials should be safeguarded, and due regard should be paid to the interests of village industries.

The treatment of political prisoners has long been a scandal in India. Every effort should be made to improve this and make it humane. It is equally necessary to change the whole basis of the prison administration so that every prisoner might be treated in a humanitarian and rational manner.

#### COMMUNAL AWARD.

The Communal Decision, which forms part of the new Act, has led to much controversy and the Congress attitude towards it has been misunderstood by some people. The rejection in its entirety of the new Act by the Congress inevitably involves the rejection of the Communal decision. Even apart from the Act as a whole, the communal decision is wholly unacceptable as being inconsistent with independence and the principles of democracy, it encourages fissiparous and disruptive tendencies, hinders the normal growth and consideration of economic and social questions, is a barrier to national progress, and strikes at the root of Indian unity. No community or group in India profits by it in any real sense, for the larger injury caused by it to all outweighs the petty benefits that some have received. Ultimately it probably injures most of those groups whom it is meant to favour. The only party that profits by it is the third party which rules and exploits us.

The attitude of the Congress is therefore not one of indifference or neutrality. It disapproves strongly of the Communal Decision and would like to end it.

But the Congress has repeatedly laid stress on the fact that a satisfactory solution of the communal question can come only through the goodwill and co-operation of the principal communities concerned. An attempt by one group to get some communal favour from the British Government at the expense of another group results in an increase of communal tension and the exploitation of both groups by the Government. Such a policy is hardly in keeping with the dignity of Indian nationalism; it does not fit in with the struggle for independence. It does not pay either party in the long run: it sidetracks the main issue.

The Congress, therefore, holds that the right way to deal with the situation created by the Communal Decision is to intensify our struggle for independence and at the same time, to seek a common basis for an agreed solution which helps to strengthen the unity of India. The effort of one community only to change the decision in the face of the opposition of another community might well result in confirming and consolidating that decision, for conflict between the two produces the very situation which gives governments a chance of enforcing such a decision. The Congress thus is of opinion that such one-sided agitation can bear no useful result. It is necessary to bear in mind that the whole communal problem in spite of its importance has nothing to do with the major problems of India—poverty and wide-spread unemployment. It is not a religious problem and it affects only a handful of people at the top. The peasantry, the workers, the traders and merchants and the lower middle class of all communities are in no way touched by it and their burdens remain.

The question of accepting ministries or not in the new legislatures was postponed for decision by the Lucknow Congress. The A.L.C.C. is of opinion that it will be desirable for this decision to be taken after the elections. Whatever the decision on this question might be, it must be remembered that, in any event, the Congress stands for the rejection of the new Act, and for no co-operation in its working. The object remains the same: the ending of the Act. With a view to this end every endeavour will be made to prevent the introduction and functioning of the Federal part of the scheme, which is intended to perpetuate the domination of imperialist and feudal interests over the whole country and prevent all progress towards freedom. It must be borne in mind that the new Provincial Assemblies will form the electorate for the proposed Federal Central Legislature and the composition of those provincial legislatures will materially affect the fate of the Federal Constitution.

We appeal to the country to give every support to the Congress in the elections that are coming. National welfare demands it. The fight for independence calls for it. The effectiveness of the work that the Congress members of the legislatures will do will depend on their numbers and their discipline and the backing and support that the country gives them. With a clear majority they will be in a position to fight the Act and to help effectively in the struggle for independence.

Every party and group that stands aloof from the Congress organisation tends, knowingly or unknowingly, to become a source of weakness to the nation and a source of strength to the forces ranged against it. For the fight for independence a joint front is necessary. The Congress offers that joint national front which comprises all classes and communities, bound together by their desire to free India, and the exploitation of her people, and build up a strong and prosperous and united nation, resting on the well-being of the masses.

With this great and inspiring goal before us, for which so many men and women of India have suffered and sacrificed their all under the banner of the Congress, and for which today thousands of our countrymen are suffering silently and with brave endurance, we call upon our people with full hope and confidence, to rally to the cause of the Congress, of India, of freedom.

*The following resolutions were also passed by the A.I.C.C. during its meetings last week in Bombay :*

**T**HIS Committee views with great regret the reports of interference by Government officials in some provinces with the activities of the Congress in connection with the forthcoming elections. In particular, it condemns the action of the North-West Frontier Government in arresting the workers of the Parliamentary Board and otherwise interfering with meetings held for election purposes.

This Committee expresses its indignation at the orders passed by the Governments concerned, prohibiting Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan from entering into the North-West and Punjab Provinces and notes with regret the continuation of their policy of suppressing civil liberties of individuals engaged in national activities.

## Correspondence.

### THE MAHATMA'S STATES POLICY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—I am only concerned in this unfortunate controversy to refute one wild allegation made by the SERVANT OF INDIA that Gandhiji betrayed the interests of the people of the States at the R. T. C. and that he was not true to the promise he made to their spokesmen.

I want to reiterate, with all the emphasis of which I am capable, that Gandhiji did not betray the interests of the people of the States at the R. T. C., nor did he break the promises he had made. In support of my contention, let me state the bare facts as known to those that were in close touch with the trend of events in those fateful days.

1. Immediately after the signing of the Gandhi-Irwin truce, Mahatma Gandhijee assured the General secretaries of the All-India States' People's Conference that he had agreed to the principle of federation as an essential requisite of the new constitution, but he had not pledged his word for that principle as indispensable. He explained the difference between the two standpoints and promised us that he was prepared to end the negotiations if he failed to secure, for the people of States, fundamental rights as guaranteed by the Supreme Court and an element of popular representation in the federal legislature.

2. On the eve of the Karachi session of the Congress, Gandhijee repeated his assurance to the deputation of the workers from Indian India that waited upon him but begged them at the same time to permit him to use his own method in gaining this objective. The workers agreed to this and thus waived their demands for including these essentials of federation in the resolution of the Congress. Gandhijee, in response, agreed to refer to these points in his speech at the open session of the Congress. And he did mention these three points in his speech while moving the resolution on the truce.

3. Gandhijee pleaded the cause of the people of the States to the authorities, both in India and England, and secured the promises of their highest spokesmen that they

would exert their influence to see that the R. T. C. did not break on these points.

4. Gandhijee, again, pleaded this cause before the leading Princes in private interviews where, it seems, he was assured full support in his views if he succeeded to bring about a settlement with the British Government on other more vital points. In such a contingency Gandhijee had reasons to feel confident that the minimum requirements of the States' people will be duly fulfilled.

5. Gandhijee had made it clear to the workers of the states that he will use his freedom to adopt his own method effectively in the delicate task entrusted to him, and that he will not press these points on the attention of the Princes till he was able to clear the ground for the same by the elimination of other more vital points such as commercial, military and financial safeguards.

6. Gandhijee, to my certain knowledge, fulfilled his promise to the very letter in the private and delicate negotiations that he was then carrying on with the authorities concerned, and, in his public utterances at the R. T. C. in respectful and courteous, though restrained, language, he urged the claims of the States' people in his inimitable way. Without, in any way, wounding the amour propre of the Order of Princes he firmly specified the minimum requirements of the case and expected their fulfilment in case Congress came to a settlement with the British Government. Unfortunately, the conditions of success did not exist in the then atmosphere of England. Gandhijee failed to come to terms with the British Government on all vital points because of the inherent difficulties of the situation. Hence he did not reach the point when he could have usefully urged the rights of the States' people on the public attention of the British and Princely authorities. The favourable atmosphere existing in India at the time of the Gandhi-Irwin truce, a creation of the immense self-sacrifices and untold sufferings of the Indian nation, had long since disappeared. The mirage of an agreed settlement between the two countries was far away. The potentialities of his peculiar method were temporarily exhausted. It was not possible for him at that stage to render any further useful service to the people of the States.

I hope I have made myself sufficiently clear and have placed enough data before the public to enable them to form its own independent judgment whether the charges made by the SERVANT OF INDIA against M. Gandhijee can stand the test of a close scrutiny. I am myself fully satisfied that the charges are both uncalled for and unjustified, and I still hope that the SERVANT OF INDIA might see its way to withdraw the same in the light of the facts mentioned above.—Yours, etc.

BALVANTRAY MEHTA.

[In his letter from which we have given all the important passages above, Mr. Balvantray Mehta tells us for the first time (the omission of this matter from his previous letter is inexplicable) that Gandhiji had warned the States' people that though he regarded protection of fundamental rights and elective representation of the States' people as "essentials" and "minimum requirements" of federation, he would not make a demand for them in the open session of the I.T.C. until he had obtained full satisfaction of his demands from the British Government, which demands, however, he would make in public. It is obvious that Mahatma Gandhi's strategy was to keep the fight on to nationalist lines at the R.T.C., to push the British Government as hard as possible there, and if, in doing so, the Conference failed, to blame the failure on the British Government and absolve the Princes from it. But his strategy did not succeed, for almost the first matter that came up for discussion was the States' representation in the federal legislature, which left to himself he would not have discussed till the British Government had shown its

hand. When the question arose, some members of the R. T. C. urged elective representation of the States' people as an essential condition of federation, the very thing which Mahatma Gandhi had promised to secure, and Mahatma Gandhi rises in his place to oppose these members and range himself on the side of reactionaries like Gavin Jones! This may be "his own method" of fulfilling his promise, but it does not appear to us to be a proper method. Again, may we ask why demands upon the British Government were to be made publicly, and those upon the Princes privately—in fact the latter to be disowned when made by others publicly? It is surely "an inimitable way" of Gandhiji's; others follow either open diplomacy or secret diplomacy, but not half of one and half of the other. And why are the States to be asked to agree to what one considers to be the pre-requisites of federation only if the British Government accepts one's demands? Why not then ask the British Government to agree to these demands only if the Princes accept the pre-requisites? See what the situation was. Mahatma Gandhi says, unless the British Government comes to terms, he will not even suggest any terms to the Princes in public; the Princes say they will accept his terms provided only the British Government on its part does so (according to Mr. Balvantray Mehta); the British Government says it will accept his terms provided the Princes on their part do so (according to Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya). So both the British and Indian rulers agreed *in toto* with Mahatma Gandhi's demands—privately. The only trouble was that they could not give public expression to this agreement as Mahatma Gandhi himself could not voice his demands upon the Princes in public. Does not Mr. Balvantray Mehta conceive of the possibility that both the Princes and Mr. MacDonald, the then Premier, fooled Mahatma Gandhi? Secure in the knowledge that the other would refuse, neither felt any hesitation in giving provisional consent. And if such was the situation, does it not mean that Mahatma Gandhi assured the Princes that no embarrassing demands would be made upon them till a contingency arose which was not at all likely to arise? Anyone will feel that a less devious and less complicated diplomacy would have served us better. For the only result of this policy is that Mahatma Gandhi is on record as having repudiated the demand which he should have made himself.—Ed. S. o. I.]

**IN THE COURT OF THE SPECIAL JUDGE,  
2ND CLASS, MUTTRA.**

ENCUMBERED SUIT NO. 31 OF 1936.

Date Fixed : Nov. 24, 1936.

1 L. Badri Dass S/o L. Raja Ram, 2 L. Khyali Ram S/o L. Raja Ram, 3 L. Babu Lal son of L. Lachmi Narain, 4 Mr. Dau Dayal Gupta, S/o L. Lachmi Narain, 5 L. Girraj Mal son of L. Badri Das, 6 L. Mohan Lal son of L. Srinath Das: All by caste Vaish Agarwals and resident of Sadar Bazar, Muttra. ... Applicants.

*Versus*

1. M/S Hukam Chand & Sons, Sailkot City.
2. Dr. Narendra Singh, Village Tikather, District Etah.
3. Messrs. Gangoli Sho Chakravarti, Fort, Calcutta.
4. Messrs. Jag Jiwan & Co., Municipal Market, Karachi
5. Messrs. James Anderson & Co., Fort, Calcutta.
6. Messrs. Ghisa Ram Narain, Harding Gate, Muttra City.

7. Messrs. Rewa Chand & Co., Municipal Market, Karachi.
8. Hindu Trunk Factory, Chandni Chowk, Delhi.
9. James Wright & Co., Fort, Calcutta.
10. Messrs. H. M. Bedruddin, Sadar Bazar, Delhi.
11. Messrs. Carro & Co., Industries Roza.
12. Messrs. M. M. Kaderji & Co., Abdul Rahman Street, Bombay.
13. Messrs. Barker & Hooper Ltd., in Voluntary Liquidation, Kashmir Gate, Delhi.
14. Mr. C. H. Parr, Jhansi Cantonment.
15. The Jwala Bank, Mal Road, Agra.
16. Tiwari Saroopal Kanahiyalal, Nahar Garh Road, Jaipur.
17. Khan Bahadur Chaudhri Abdul Husain, Retired Judge, Nahar Garh Road, Jaipur.
18. Rai Saheb Chaobey Banwarim Lal, Secretary, District Board, Muttra.
19. Dr. B. B. Sharma, Harding Gate, Muttra City.
20. Pt. Kumar Krishna Sharma, Advocate, Muttra.
21. Bohorey Ram Narain, Mursan Gate, Hathras City.
22. L. Ram Saran Das Shiv Dayal, Gandhi Galli, Delhi.
23. L. Brij Kishore, Sadar Bazar, Muttra.
24. Pt. Ajai Singh, Advocate, Dempier Park, Muttra.
25. Messrs. Sagan Chand & Co., Drapers, Nasirabad.
26. Messrs. S. Rahaman & Sons, Anarkali, Lahore.
27. Dayal Bagh Dairy farm, Agra.
28. L. Shyam Lal Vaish, Village Kiraoli, Tehsil Achhnera, District Agra.
29. Mst. Sarvati, wife of Lala Ramji Das Madras Wale, Lal Darwaza, Muttra City.
30. Mst. Sarvati, Wife of Lala Ramji Das Madras Wale, Lal Darawaza, Muttra City.

Saleable.

FORM No. 169.

Form of notice under Section 9 of the United Provinces Encumbered Estates Act.

NOTIFICATION.

MISCELLANEOUS.

WHEREAS an application under Section 4 of the United Provinces Encumbered Estates Act, 1934 (Act XXV of 1934), as amended by Act IV of 1935, has been presented

by  
on behalf of

Lala Badri Dass and others *vs.* Jwala Bank and others, resident of Sadar Muttra in the Muttra district, requesting that the provisions of the United Provinces Encumbered Estates Act be applied to him:

Notice is hereby given under section 9 (1) of the United Provinces Encumbered Estates Act, 1934, as amended by Act IV of 1935, that all persons having claims in respect of private debts both decreed and undecreed against the person or property of the said applicants should present to the undersigned, within three months from the date of publication of this notice in the *Gazette*, written statements of their claims, in default of which every claim decreed or undecreed against the said applicant shall be deemed for all purposes and on all occasions to have been duly discharged under Section 13 of the said Act.

Sd. ILLEGIBLE,

Munsarim,

for Special Judge, 2nd grade,  
Muttra Dist.

4-8-36.