

# The Servant of India

EDITOR : P. KODANDA RAO.

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## Topics of the Week.

### Mr. Kelkar's Jubilee.

MR. N. C. KELKAR, the well-known responsivist leader, completed sixty years of his life on Tuesday last—an occasion which has very properly occasioned much rejoicing in Poona and generally in the Deccan. It was nearly thirty-six years ago that Mr. Kelkar made up his mind to give up law and take to politics and to cast in his lot with the late Mr. Tilak. How loyal he proved to his chief is seen from the fact that, while most of the latter's close political associates are found in other camps, Mr. Kelkar stands firmly by the principles with which Mr. Tilak's name has been associated. His place in Indian politics stands high and deservedly so. But politics was not the only activity which claimed Mr. Kelkar's attention. His place as a Marathi author and playwright is high. His work on the local Municipality, first as a member, and later as its elected president extending over a period of twenty-five years, constitutes a bright landmark in his eventful life. It must be said to the credit of Mr. Kelkar that he has all along been an active social reformer. We offer him our hearty felicitations upon his entering his sixty-first year and wish him a long and eventful life.

### The India League Delegation.

THE India League Delegation, consisting of Miss Ellen Wilkinson, Miss Monica Whately and Messrs Leonard Matters and V. Krishna Menon, the last as Secretary, have arrived in India last week and propose to tour the country for some twelve weeks before they return to England. In a press interview soon after landing in Bombay they have stated that they did not come to India on a propagandist tour, but to learn from all available sources of information the real political situation in the country, in order, when they return to England, they

might faithfully report on the conditions in India. A perusal of the press in England discloses the lamentable fact that very little Indian news of real importance gets across to England. Terrorist outrages and communal clashes are about the only news that get wide publicity; the imprisonment of the thousands of Indians for political reasons, the widespread resentment shared by all classes against the recent policies of the Government, these hardly get the publicity that they deserve. Occasionally a sympathetic paper or two publishes some news that startles the conscience of the few. The Delegation are anxious to know at first hand the real state of affairs in India.

Notwithstanding that India's battle for freedom must be fought on Indian soil, it is extremely unwise to neglect the cultivation of public opinion, such as it is, of the civilised world and in particular, of England, which has such a powerful voice in shaping the destinies of India. And no instrument is more effective for the purpose than Britishers themselves. The Delegation deserves well of India for their public spirit, and their ardent desire to have England do the right thing by India.

\* \* \*

### Re-appointment of Governors.

While congratulating Sir Hugh Stephenson on his appointment to the Governorship of Burma, we cannot but protest against the growing habit of re-appointing Governors. Sir Hugh's is the latest instance of a series of such appointments during recent years. Till the other day five year's term of office as governor of a province was the crown of a civilian's official career. But now-a-days, the re-appointment to the same province or another province has become quite a habit. The old policy was certainly more sound; it ensured the independence of the Governor, even as the terms of office of judges of High Courts ensured theirs. The Governor had no temptations of an extended term of office to impair his independence. This safeguard was even more necessary in the case of the civilian, who all his service was accustomed to subordinate his judgment to those of his superiors, than in the case of the politician from England free from such service habits. The appointment of members of the Indian Civil Service to Governorships has always been considered objectionable; their re-appointment is even more so.

\* \* \*

### Toddy Shop Sales in Madras Presidency.

WITH the Congress temperance workers clapped in jail, with the abolition of the Propaganda Board as a measure of retrenchment and with the promulgation of the Ordinances, the sale of toddy and arrack shops has been going on merrily all over the presidency, resulting in the increase of revenue, not only

over that of last year, but also of normal years. A few figures will speak for themselves.

Taluk	Last year	this year	Increase
Kulitalai	Rs. 49,800	Rs. 89,328	Rs. 39,528
Tiruppur	Rs. 47,970	Rs. 1,19,172	Rs. 71,202
Namakal	Rs. 1,08,516	Rs. 2,47,152	Rs. 1,38,636
Salem	Rs. 3,18,816	Rs. 4,68,408	Rs. 1,49,592

The low realisations of last year were chiefly due to picketing and when it has been prevented this year there has been a strong reaction towards drink. The same phenomenon was observed ten years ago when the Non-Co-operation movement was first started. Forced abstention was followed by excessive indulgence. The moral to be drawn seems to be that the drink evil can be mitigated only by state action and not by mere picketing.

\* \* \*

### C. P. Administration Report.

THE Report on the administration of the Central Provinces and Berar for 1930-31 deals, among other things, with three important matters which engaged much public attention during the year, namely, the Irwin-Gandhi Pact, the position of Berar under the future constitution and the financial position of the C. P. Government. The Irwin-Gandhi Pact was welcomed by all classes in C. P. and Berar and, though there were charges and counter charges and minor breeches of the truce here and there, the terms of the agreement were, on the whole, observed both by the Government and the Congress until the renewal of the rupture in December last. The question of the

position of Berar under the future constitution was revived last year and a definite demand was made by the Berar All-Parties Conference for the financial autonomy of Berar and for its separation from the Central Provinces. With the conclusion of the second Round Table Conference, the agitation also died away. But the Beraris are still in suspense about the future of Berar under the new Constitution. The third question and the most important of all, which engaged public attention last year, was the financial position of the C. P. Government. A mixed Committee of officials and non-officials reviewed the entire financial position of the Government and suggested many methods of effecting economy. Reduced scales of pay were fixed for the future entrants to the Provincial and Subordinate services and these scales are already in force. The axe fell heavily on many Government Departments, notably the P. W. D., and the budget was balanced. Turning to other matters it must be mentioned that the Ministry functioned smoothly throughout the year though attempts were not wanting to disturb it. The C. P. Council elected, for the first time in its history, a Mahamedan President; the Deputy President of the Council is also a Mahamedan. There were three parties in the Council, the Democratic Party which is in power, the Nationalist Party, the bulk of whose members are from Berar and a new Party called the People's Party. The C. P. Government says in its Report that there has been a distinct change for the better in the disposal of business by the C. P. Council as evidenced by the discussion of the budget and the nature and number of questions asked.

## THE OTTAWA AGREEMENTS

IT must indeed have been very gratifying to Mr. Neville Chamberlain to have been able to sign on behalf of Great Britain the trade agreement with Canada and thus to have helped the inauguration of an era of full-blooded imperial preference of the type so stoutly championed by his illustrious father. Mr. Baldwin must have been equally pleased with the opportunity of carrying through, under the aegis of a National Government, a programme of food taxes the inclusion of which in his platform had entailed on his party a severe reverse a few years earlier. The Ottawa Conference, has no doubt, had a most unexpected result. For, at no stage of its proceedings had such a large measure of general agreement seemed likely. The speeches with which the Conference began foreshadowed no such result. While Mr. Bennet reiterated his 1930 proposals, Sir A. Chatterjee was as cautious as Sir G. Corbett, and Mr. Baldwin talked of a generally lowered level of tariffs as resulting from the Ottawa deliberations! It is impossible to know what forces operated to change the situation so completely within a month. It is, however, apparent that Great Britain will now have as complete a tariff system as any other country. The very terms that were summarily rejected in 1930 have been accepted almost completely and it will no longer be possible for British statesmen to pretend that their tariffs have been imposed for merely attaining a bargaining position.

We are, however, not concerned so much with the position of Great Britain as with that of India which seems to have been committed by its official

delegation to an equally complete policy of imperial preference. We may state, at the very outset, that we consider the agreement arrived at at Ottawa as extremely objectionable on grounds both general and particular.

In the first instance, it is difficult to understand why Sir Atul should have so entirely changed his position during the progress of the Conference. He had in his opening speech taken up a perfectly correct attitude. He had pointed to the grave political charges in the constitution of India that were imminent and had emphasized the necessity of handing over the protective system built up during the last decade intact to the successors of the present Indian Government. The principle of Imperial preference has never hitherto, been accepted by either the Indian Government or the Legislative Assembly. It was made amply clear during the progress of the discussion on the Indian Cotton Industry (Protection) Bill of 1930 that the preference entailed therein was merely accidental. There is, therefore, not the slightest justification in our opinion for such an important decision being arrived at in a hurry on the eve of great constitutional changes, especially in view of the fact that Indian public opinion has always and emphatically been against this step.

And there is so far as we can see no earthly reason why we should be in a hurry. The depression has hit especially severely those agricultural countries who live almost entirely by exporting their produce, like Canada, Australia and Argentina. There is ample reason why the Dominions should

be in a desperate hurry to get concessions from England for the sale of their agricultural produce. An assured market for wheat, dairy produce, fruit or meat is exactly what the Dominions want at this moment. And how keenly this want is felt by them was made clear by the fact of Canada going back just now on the avowed policy of quickly building up native manufacturing industries and admitting in British manufactures on special terms. India, however, is not similarly situated. The agricultural situation, though bad enough, is not any where near so bad as in the Dominions and further it cannot be alleviated to any large extent by any special concessions in the British market.

In the case of most of our important exports the British market is comparatively small and where it happens to be large the Indian producer is either in a position of a monopolist or has no serious competition to face. Much has been made in the telegrams received about the preference to linseed; but even in this case the Great Britain's takings in recent years do not exceed a quarter to a fifth of the total Indian exports. The slight expansion of the market that may perhaps come about as a result of the 10 p. c. preference cannot then be expected to help the trade even in that commodity to an appreciable extent. Other preferences such as those on pig iron or cotton will affect only an insignificant part of our total export trade. Barring tea, and with the possible exception of tanned hides and skins, our export trade cannot benefit much because of preferences in the British market.

As against this somewhat elusive advantage, India offers, according to the agreement, a 7½% preference on motor cars and cycles and a 10% preference on a long list of other commodities—chief of which are hardware, instruments and apparatus, chemicals, paper and stationery, a number of metals and their manufactures, etc. The list is a long and an important one and embraces a very large section of our imports. Further, it is contemplated that preference will be extended to cotton manufacturers after the Tariff Board has reported on that industry and also to certain classes of iron and steel goods. It has been stated that these preferences may be given either by an increase of duties on foreign goods or by a reduction of duties on British goods or by a combination of both methods. But this will hardly save the situation. For either alternative is not a pleasant one. According to the statements that the Finance Member has been making for the last year and half the financial position of India has made it necessary that the burden of taxation through customs duties should be increased to a very high level. Articles like machinery which had always been exempt from customs duties have had also to be taxed. The financial situation cannot then permit any considerable diminution of the present level of duties. And if preference cannot be granted that way it must be given by raising the general level and taxing the Indian consumer more than ever before. It is useless pretending that preference is not going to cost the Indians anything. Even if it does not mean a lessening of the protection

to Indian industry, it will certainly mean a heavy additional burden which the poor Indian consumer can ill afford to bear. And all this for the sake of advantages which are neither urgently required nor of much substance.

Lastly, it is well to bear in mind that the trade position of India with Britain stands differently from that with any other country. We export much less to Britain than we buy from it while in the case of all the other important countries with whom we trade this position is exactly the reverse. We are thus in a much weaker position *vis-a-vis* these others and have more to fear from a shrinkage of the export trade with them. If the Empire becomes a closed economic system it is not unlikely that outside groups will retaliate. We stand more to lose by the possibility of such a retaliation than to gain by the fact of imperial preference.

On a general consideration of the issue it is clear to us that the Indian delegation at Ottawa has been hasty, and ill-advised. The matter from the point of view of India was not an urgent one. The constitutional and political position in India is such as to make it imperative that questions of this importance should stand over for the time being. The bargain struck means only a certain burden on the Indian tax-payer in return of dubious benefits. It is hoped that the present Government of India will be in no hurry to place these proposals before the Assembly and that it will not exacerbate popular feelings still further by immediately trying to force through, with the help of its official block, a measure which has been universally denounced by all India publicists.

## Our Geneva Letter.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

GENEVA, 15 August.

(BY AIR MAIL)

### AN ADMIRABLE PRONOUNCEMENT.

IF political life were devoid of the element of surprise, on which Mr. Sastri seemed to have insisted recently with reference to India, political progress would indeed be deprived of one of its moving forces. Last Tuesday, Geneva woke up to read one of these cheerful surprises in the telegraphic columns of its morning newspapers. It consisted in a report of the speech of Mr. Stimson, the United States Secretary of State, at the dinner of the Council of Foreign Relations in New York on Monday night. The speech bears all the signs of a deliberate statement, as has been remarked in the leading article of *The Times* of 9 August and as has been since made clear in Mr. Hoover's election manifesto, but what is just as important, in London, Paris and Geneva, and Nankin and Tokio, it has been considered a most important pronouncement of policy.

The speech dealt with the implications of the Kellogg Pact, as understood by the United States Government. The Pact, said Mr. Stimson, had changed the whole doctrine of neutrality. War was no longer the concern only of the nations engaged in it, but of every nation in the world. The Pact provided a means for mobilising the opinion of the world against war, and although there was no provision in it for

consultation between neutrals, consultation was implicit both in the Pact itself and the use which had been made of it in the disputes between Soviet Russia and China in 1929 and Japan and China in 1931.

The fact, Mr. Stimson said, had set jurists a new problem. During the centuries which had elapsed since the beginning of international law, a large part of that law had developed from principles based upon the existence of war. War between nations was a legal situation out of which rights and duties had grown and from which these had developed a doctrine of neutrality, according to which a neutral must maintain impartiality between two belligerents. It was contrary to this aspect of international law for the neutral to take sides between belligerents or pass a moral judgment upon the rightfulness or the wrongfulness of the cause of either—at least to the extent of translating such a judgment into action.

Humanitarianism had brought some modifications of the doctrine of neutrality, but their chief purpose was to produce an oasis of safety for life and property in a world which still recognized and legalised the destruction of human life and property as one of the regular methods for the settlement of international controversies and the maintenance of international policy.

Owing to mechanical inventions and the revolutionary changes in industrial and social organisation by which they were accompanied, however, communities and nations became less self-contained and more interdependent. The population of industrialised States became much larger and more dependent for their food supplies upon distant sources. The civilized world thus became very much more vulnerable to war, modern armies more easily transportable, and their weapons more destructive. The laws of neutrality became increasingly ineffective to prevent even strangers to the original quarrel from being drawn into the general conflict, and in the Great War tangible proof was given of the impossibility of confining modern war within any narrow limits. It became evident to the most casual observer that if this was permitted to continue, war, perhaps the next war, would drag down and utterly destroy our civilisation.

At the Peace Conference at Versailles the victorious nations therefore entered into a Covenant which sought to reduce the possibility of war to its lowest terms. Nine years later, in 1928, came the still more progressive step of the Pact of Paris. In this treaty substantially all the nations of the world united in a Covenant in which they renounced war altogether as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another, and agreed that the settlement of all disputes or conflicts, of whatever nature, among them should never be sought except by pacific means.

Since war between nations was renounced by the signatories of the Briand-Kellogg Pact, it has become illegal throughout practically the entire world. "It is no longer to be the source and subject of rights. It is no longer to be the principle around which the duties, the conduct, and the rights of nations revolve. It is an illegal thing. Hereafter, when two nations engage in armed conflict either one or both of them must be wrong-doers—violators of this general treaty law. We no longer draw a circle about them and treat them with the punctilliousness of the duellists' code. Instead we denounce them as law-breakers."

Since the ratification of the Pact on July 24, 1929, the United States Government had been determined that the new order represented by it should not fail. In October, 1929, President Hoover had joined with Mr. MacDonald in a joint statement at the Rapidan in which they declared that both their Governments

resolved to accept the Peace Pact 'not only as a declaration of good intentions' but as 'a positive obligation to direct national policy in accordance with its pledge.'

In the summer of 1929 hostilities threatened between two signatories of the pact, Soviet Russia and China, in Northern Manchuria. The United States Government at once communicated with the Governments of Great Britain, Japan, France, Italy, and Germany, and the attention of the Governments of Soviet Russia and China was formally called to their obligations under the Pact. Later, when Soviet forces had crossed the Manchurian boundary and attacked the forces of China, 27 nations associated themselves with the United States in urging upon Soviet Russia and China a peaceful solution of the controversy between them. The restoration of the *status quo ante* was accepted by both parties and the invading forces were promptly withdrawn.

In September 1931, hostilities broke out between the armed forces of Japan and China in the same quarter of the world, Manchuria, and the situation was brought to the attention of the Council of the League of Nations. The United States Government maintained its attitude of sympathetic co-operation with the efforts of the Council, and finally, when, in spite of these efforts, Japan had occupied the whole of Manchuria, it formally notified both that country and China, on January 7, 1932, that it would not recognise 'any situation, treaty, or agreement which might be brought about by means contrary to the Covenant and obligations of the Pact of Paris'. This action was endorsed by the assent of the League of Nations, at a meeting at which 50 nations were represented.

"I believe", Mr. Stimson concluded, "that this view of the Briand-Kellogg Pact which I have discussed will become one of the great permanent policies of our nation... It is a policy which combines this readiness to cooperate for peace and justice in the world, which Americans have always manifested, while at the same time it preserves the independence of judgment and flexibility of action upon which our people have always insisted... It is only by continued vigilance that the treaty can be built into an effective living reality. The American people are serious in their support and valuation of the treaty. They will not fail to do their share in this endeavour."

Having quoted at such length from Mr. Stimson's speech, admittedly the most important statement of policy at the present time in regard to international affairs, I shall very briefly summarise the reactions to it in Geneva. In the first place, Geneva fully realises that the League will be faced with a crisis of far-reaching importance when the Lytton Commission produces its report on the Manchurian question before the Assembly next September. It is fully expected that China will accept the report as a basis of discussion, but Japan will not admit of any course which falls short of the recognition of the independence of Manchuria. In that event, it would be impossible for the League to acquiesce to Japan and the support of the United States to the League would be an absolute necessity. As the Stimson statement is an earnest of this support, it is most welcome. In the second place, the more thoughtful observers in Geneva have always recognised that so long as the attitude of the United States in any future crisis remained indeterminate, the edifice of international security must remain incomplete. From that point of view too Mr. Stimson's forcible assertion about the radical changes imported into the doctrine of neutrality by the Paris Pact is a most desirable statement. Thirdly, although there is much scepticism on this ground, a few at least of the students of

international affairs at Geneva have tended to believe that, difficult and long as the task must be, the evils of war can, in the long run, be minimised in the circumstances of today only on the lines of the American method, by making war illegal, like in the case of slavery. But, I will not be setting out the Geneva reactions wholly correctly if I did not also mention that here there is a certain amount of scepticism about America's power to put this policy into effect, without forming part of the League and also a very natural and understandable jealousy of any lead taken elsewhere in the matter of world-peace.

## Our London Letter.

(From Our Correspondent.)

(BY AIR MAIL.)

LONDON, 13 August.

### THE HOLIDAYS.

LONDONERS are already away on well-deserved holidays. Parliament stands adjourned, the courts and the schools are closed, and all who can get away from the noise and discomfort of August in town have done so. The less fortunate are bearing the sweltering heat with such fortitude as they can bring to their seats of endurance in the public parks, enclosures (of which there are a very large number) and the local baths and bathing places.

It is at this time of the year that we hear most of the sea-serpent and other fearsome beasts for which we have too little time at other periods of the year. Occasionally, giant gooseberries and other monstrous vegetable products figure in the newspapers. The holiday-maker does not wish to spend his play-time in reading of the more arduous affairs of the world. Even in the realm of politics, imagination and make-believe play a larger part, in the vacation, than usual. Otherwise, it would be difficult to understand why, to-day, the usually well-informed *Yorkshire Post* contains a leading article, based upon a report that has reached its London correspondent from an alleged well-informed source, which opens with the quite astonishing statement that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is leaving for a professional visit to this country this week-end from India, and surmising that he will take this unique opportunity, when he is here alone, of meeting and discussing Indian affairs closely with Lord Sankey and other well-known statesmen interested in them including possibly even Sir Samuel Hoare. One lives and learns. The present writer, who is not ordinarily uninformed of Sir Tej Bahadur's movement was certainly taken by surprise by this unanticipated announcement. It is so obviously untrue that he has not hesitated to deny the alleged fact at once. But how do these reports get about? Someone seems to be doing some bad guessing.

### A THIRD R. T. C.?

The *Yorkshire Post* statement is the more surprising in that your correspondent has just seen a letter from Sir Tej Bahadur addressed to a close friend here received on the 10th instant and bearing date the 1st August. It arrived by air-mail, and it is clear from the letter that less than a fortnight ago, he was considering quite other methods of spending this month. Moreover, it is evident that at the time of writing, he had no intention of coming to this country at all, in view of political events here and in India. He was far from convinced that the British Cabinet and Sir Samuel Hoare really meant business of the

kind that would at all interest him, and it was clear that he had no belief at all that a new Round Table Conference was then contemplated by the authorities in this country.

Whilst I do not believe that he has at all changed his plans for the next few weeks, it seems possible that he and other Moderate leaders may be contemplating a further visit to England in the autumn, if the news contained in a telegram from Simla appearing in to-day's *Times* accurately reflects the probable turn of events. The statement is to the effect that the Government of India are seriously contemplating the prospect of convening a third Round Table Conference to be held here in the autumn, the Indian personnel of which would contain some twenty British Indians, with some ten from the States. If, then, the Cabinet has really come to the conclusion that its original intention to abandon the Round Table method has failed entirely of its purpose and that it has no other alternative than to revert to the Round Table Conference method and spirit there does not seem to be any reasonable doubt that the Moderate leaders, who exercised so great an influence upon affairs at the two previous Conferences will again be found rendering a similar service to both countries, when the constitutional deliberations are resumed later in the year.

### WHAT IS NEUTRALITY?

The thirty-seventh annual meeting of the International Law Association has just ended. The Conference was held at Oxford under the distinguished presidency of Lord Blanesburgh, and with the collaboration of some of the most eminent of the British, Continental and American experts in public and private international law. One of the most interesting subjects discussed was the report of a committee, of which Dr. C. J. Colombos, one of the best-known of the younger international lawyers, was the convener, on the subject of neutrality, with draft codes relating to the position of non-members of the League of Nations on land and sea during war, in which they were not belligerents. The matter was discussed with great warmth, both emotional and physical, the weather being at its hottest, and in the result, the report was referred back to the committee with recommendations in the light of what is at present happening in the matter of the clearer definition of the subject in consequence of the Briand-Kellogg Pact.

The matter was somewhat complicated by the statement made this week by Mr. Stimson, the American Secretary of State, in which he sought to interpret the Pact and pointed out that, since the signatories had agreed to outlaw war, there could no longer be any neutrals at all, since neutrality itself must become unlawful, at least to those who were signatories to or later adopted the Pact. This entirely new concept of international relations is one that will be very animatedly discussed in diplomatic and political circles for a long time to come, and in Wednesday's discussion at Oxford attention was drawn to the implications of the new relationships deduced by Mr. Wickham Steed, in an important and suggestive letter to the *Times*. On the other hand, the cautious and venerable Sir Graham Bower, whose enthusiasm for the obligations and responsibilities imposed by the Pact and the Covenant of the League no one would doubt, warned the Conference that it would be premature to assume too much from Mr. Stimson's statement until it was clear that his interpretation of the Pact was generally accepted, and in particular that it was adopted by the United States Senate, whose failure to back President Wilson's signature to the Covenant of the League of Nations the rest of the world was still deploring.



## WHAT OF THE I. L. P. ?

Mr. James Maxton and Mr. Fenner Brockway having got their way, and a majority of I. L. P. delegates having decided to break away from the Labour Party many people are wondering what, if anything, is really coming of the decision. Many I. L. P. branches, especially in Scotland, are really nothing else than local branches of the Labour Party, and their only chance of effective Parliamentary representation will be by continuing to be affiliated to the Labour Party. In many other places, opinion is so much divided that it is very unlikely that the branches will be willing to follow the advice and example of the stalwarts. They are more likely to follow the leaders of the minority faction that voted against separation. Many people are asking how Messrs. Maxton and Brockway can form an effective party of their own short of

proceeding so far to the left that they are indistinguishable from the Communists. It is true that the latter have few leaders of brains and character, but one wonders whether Mr. Maxton or Mr. Brockway is really willing to take his marching orders and his slogans ready made from Moscow. They are far too strong and convinced individualists for that, or they would never have broken their group in the way they have done. The I. L. P. had long lost its unique position as the advance-guard of Socialism in the Labour Party, and now the Maxton-Brockway group is little more than the fraction of a faction. It seems a pity to have made so much noise and produced such poor results. Both these leaders are honest and likeable men, but neither seems to have the knack of being able to work usefully with others.

## SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY.

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

(Continued from last issue.)

## DECCAN SABHA.

Mr. D. V. Ambekar was elected, for the twelfth time in succession, a Secretary of the Deccan Sabha, the premier Liberal organisation in the Deccan. The construction of the Gokhale Hall occupied a great part of his time and energy. Happily, the building is very nearly complete. Equipment in the shape of furniture and library yet remains to be provided.

The expenditure so far incurred on the building is Rs. 70,000, of which only Rs. 50,000 has been raised by public subscriptions. To pay off the balance and to complete the necessary equipment, a further sum of Rs. 70,000 has yet to be collected. Recent ill-health has prevented Mr. Ambekar from giving to the work his usual attention.

Mr. Sastri continued to be the President of the Deccan Sabha and Messrs. Vaze, Limaye, Gokhale and Patvardhan members of its Council.

## NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION.

Messrs. Kunzru, Joshi, Patvardhan, Haradatta Sharma and Dube took prominent part in the deliberations of the last session of the National Liberal Federation of India, held in July 1931 in Bombay under the presidency of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, and moved important resolutions on the R.T.C., the Indian States and the Indianisation of the Army. Messrs. Ambekar and Limaye assisted the Reception Committee of the Federation in the matter of enrolling members and delegates. In this connection they visited several mofussil centres like Sholapur, Ahmednagar and Belgaum.

Messrs. Devadhar, Sahu, Kunzru, Haradatta Sharma and Dube were members of the Council of the National Liberal Federation of India and Mr. Bakhale of the Council of the Western India National Liberal Association.

Mr. Kunzru wrote a few articles in Indian and foreign papers on the general political situation in India and the agrarian situation in the United Provinces. He also delivered lectures on the R.T.C. and the Indianisation of the army at Allahabad, Ajmer, &c.

Mr. Sharma organised protests against ordinance rule, repression and the unsatisfactory treatment of women political prisoners in the Punjab.

## "THE SERVANT OF INDIA."

Several members of the Society have been

engaged in journalism. During the absence of Mr. Kodanda Rao on other duty, Mr. S. G. Vaze officiated as Editor of the "Servant of India." He had the advantage of being present in England during the first Round Table Conference which gave him exceptional facility to grasp the inwardness of the proceedings of the second Round Table Conference. He considered the conditions of the federation as envisaged in the Sankey Report as disappointing and earnestly pleaded for a truly democratic and progressive federation of the peoples in British India and the Indian States. Mr. D. V. Ambekar gave a large part of his time to the "Servant of India."

Thanks to the generous co-operation of competent reviewers, too numerous to mention here by name the review section of the paper was maintained at a high level, and the Library received valuable additions. To the reviewers as well as the publishers the Society tenders its grateful thanks.

## DNYAN PRAKASH.

Mr. K. G. Limaye continued to be the Editor and Manager of the daily and the weekly "Dnyan Prakash," published by the Society in Marathi. He was assisted in his work by Mr. S. G. Gokhale.

## HITAVADA.

The "Hitavada" continued to be conducted under the general supervision of Mr. N. A. Dravid in Nagpur. It is the most prominent English paper in the Central Provinces. Mr. Shahane was a frequent contributor to the paper.

## PANCHAYATS.

Mr. Shahane has been an active member of the Nagpur District Council and on its behalf gave a large part of his time to the development of village panchayats in Nagpur District. His work in this connection was greatly hampered by the prevailing political unrest. He met with active opposition from some Malguzars. The action of some panchayats in hoisting the Congress flag and in other ways displaying pro-Congress sympathies froze to some extent official zeal. It was a delicate as well as a difficult task to steer the panchayats on an even keel. Mr. Shahane served on the Retrenchment Committee of the District Council and as a non-party man enjoyed the confidence of all parties in the Council.

Mr. Venkatasubbaiya presided over the West Godavari District Panchayats Conference, and since

April last has been editing the "Village Panchayat" published at Madras in English, Tamil and Telugu.

Mr. K. G. Sivaswami gave a great part of his time to the organisation of village panchayats in the Kulitalai Taluq of Trichinopoly and the Satyamangalam Taluq of Coimbatore districts in Madras Presidency. He had to contend against apathy, inertia, party factions and occasional opposition from the villagers, particularly in the Kulitalai Taluq. He was able to form several panchayats in that area and in Satyamangalam. He was constantly on tour visiting each village panchayat at regular intervals and keeping up its efficiency. Recently, he tackled the most difficult of the functions entrusted to the panchayats, viz., to tax themselves.

#### ORIIYA PROVINCE.

Mr. Sahu was an enthusiastic supporter of the plea for the constitution of an Oriya Province and devoted a great part of his attention to the organisation of public opinion in its favour. He toured the Oriya districts in Bengal, Bihar and Madras provinces mobilising public opinion.

#### INDIAN STATES.

Several members of the Society actively interested themselves in the problem of the Indian States, both with regard to their internal administration and their relations with British India in the contemplated federation. Mr. Patvardhan continued to edit the "Sansthani Swarajya" on behalf of the Daxini Sanathan Hitawardhak Sabha, and in its columns he kept up a persistent and vigorous agitation for the liberalisation and democratisation of internal administration in the States, and for federation, not of the Princes, but of the peoples of the States, with those of British India. Mr. Patvardhan was a member of the Managing Committee of the All-India States' People's Conference and in that connection took a leading part in organising the Indian States Week in the Deccan States. During that Week he organised a series of lectures, enrolled members and obtained signatures to a memorandum to be submitted to the President of the Indian National Congress. He interested himself in promoting the deputation to England of Messrs. G. R. Abhyankar and Amritlal Seth to place the point of view of the Indian States' peoples before the members of the second R. T. C. Mr. Patvardhan presided over the 1st Aundh State's Subjects' Conference held in May 1931. He was nominated to the Legislative Councils of Aundh, Bhor, Phaltan and Sangli. He was a member of the Finance Committee of Aundh and the nominated President of the Phaltan Legislative Council. In a dispute between the Bhor Darbar and some of its subjects, which led to a no-rent campaign in the State, Mr. Patvardhan was frequently engaged in using his good offices to reconcile the parties. Fortunately, this dispute has been amicably settled.

Mr. Thakkar continued to take deep interest in the problem of Indian States. He presided over the Punjab States' People's Conference at Simla in July 1931. It was declared illegal and dispersed by the District Magistrate after the presidential address was half read. He was an active member of the Indian States' People's Conference. He presided over the Rajpipla State's People's Conference and was the President of the Executive Committee of the Rajpipla Loka Sabha.

In the columns of the "Servant of India," Mr. Vaze put up a vigorous plea for the direct representation of the Indian States' subjects in the federal legislature to be.

#### INDIANS ABROAD.

Mr. Sastri, who was deputed by the Government of India for the purpose, gave evidence on its behalf before the Joint Parliamentary Committee on East Africa in June of last year on the proposals of the Hilton-Young Commission on Closer Union of Eastern Africa. He opposed the federation of the Eastern African territories of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika and advocated the introduction of the common roll in Kenya. In December he sailed from England for South Africa to attend the second Round Table Conference at Cape Town to confer with the Union Government with regard to the Cape Town Agreement and the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Bill. As the result of the Conference the Cape Town Agreement was renewed, with this difference that assisted emigration to India was virtually dropped and the proposal adopted for the exploration of the possibilities of Indian colonisation in other parts of the world. Some of the worst features of the Asiatic Bill were also dropped.

#### LABOUR: I. L. O.]

While several members of the Society have been interesting themselves in the labour movement in India, the Bombay members, Messrs. Joshi, Bakhale and Parulekar, were more or less whole-time workers in the cause. The promotion of labour legislation and the representation of labour interests in the legislature in India and at the Round Table Conference in London have already been referred to. Mr. Joshi attended the session of the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation in October last, and spoke strongly in favour of action being taken on Mr. Bakhale's resolution passed by the Assembly of the I. L. O. in the previous year advocating the holding of an Asiatic Labour Conference under the auspices of the I. L. O. The Governing Body, by a majority, decided to consult the Governments concerned on the possibility of holding such a Conference. In January last Mr. Joshi attended a meeting of the Overseas (non-European) representatives on the Governing Body of the I. L. O. This meeting considered the question of the methods to be adopted by which non-European countries might obtain the maximum advantage from the I. L. O. Mr. Joshi attended a meeting of the Governing Body of the I. L. O. in the second week of January before returning to India.

Mr. Bakhale attended the International Labour Conference at Geneva in May and June 1931 as the Indian Workers' Delegate. At the Conference, he was appointed a member of the Executive of the Workers' Group of the Conference, and was elected a member of the Committee which examined the ratification by State Members of International Labour Conventions. In this Committee Mr. Bakhale protested against the Government of India's failure to bring into operation the Unemployment Convention which the Government had ratified some ten years ago. He challenged the Government of India's contention that there were no labour organisations in India to consult with regarding the application of Conventions. He also pointed out that, belated as was the application of the Hours Convention in respect of railwaymen in India, the benefit was denied to 20% of the railway employees.

Of the thirteen resolutions passed by the Conference five stood in the name of Mr. Bakhale. They referred to the inclusion of more States within the orbit of the I. L. O., the necessity for the State Members to report on the effect given to Labour Conventions, the need to inquire into unorganised industries and non-industrial occupations, the need for representation of Native and Coloured labour in

the Colonies and mandated territories, and the desirability of holding in Asia an Asiatic Labour Conference. The resolution on the last subject had been defeated in the previous Conference and its unanimous adoption last year was very gratifying.

Mr. Bakhale strongly supported a resolution sponsored by the French Workers' Delegate which recommended, *inter alia*, that the I. L. O. should hold a watching brief in the interest of labour when constitutional changes were proposed in any country, so that the ratification and application of International Conventions might be rendered less difficult and more widely applicable. The joint efforts of Mr. Bakhale and his colleagues to secure for Indian labour a seat on the Governing Body of the I. L. O., as distinct from a substitute seat, which Mr. Joshi has been holding for the last nine years, were unfortunately not successful.

#### BRITISH LABOUR.

During their stay in London both Messrs. Joshi and Bakhale renewed their contacts with the British Labour and Trade Union groups. Mr. Joshi attended the annual session of the British Trade Union Conference held at Bristol as a fraternal delegate from the Indian Trades Union Federation, and conveyed the latter's greetings and assurances that Indian labour wished to come up to European standards of life and had no desire to lower Western standards. Mr. Joshi addressed the Labour Members of the House of Commons on the Indian Round Table Conference and spoke at the Trade Union Club Dinner in London.

#### TRADE UNIONS.

Mr. Joshi was closely associated, as an office-bearer or otherwise, with the Bombay Textile Labour Union, the Dharavi Tannery and Leather Workers' Union, the Ambernath Match Factory Union, the Seamen's Union and the All-India Trade Union Federation, which last he represented at the Trade Union Unity Conference.

Mr. Bakhale continued to be the Secretary of the Indian Trades Union Federation and in that capacity he visited several industrial centres in the country. As a result of his visits the number of trade unions affiliated to the Federation rose to forty with a membership of 78,000. Mr. Bakhale continued to be the General Secretary of the Bombay Textile Labour Union, and was elected President of the Bombay Port Trust Railwaymen's Union and Vice-President of the Bombay Port Trust Employees' Union. He was Joint Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Trade Union Conference.

Messrs. Bakhale and Parulekar gave considerable attention to the strike in the Kurla Swadeshi Mills which lasted nearly five months.

In connection with the strike Mr. Parulekar, who was assisting the strikers, was himself arrested and put up for trial. His case is still before the Court.\* He devoted some attention to the strikes of textile labourers in Bombay and Sholapur. He attempted to reorganise the Municipal Workers' Union and studied the conditions of life and work of the employees of the Bombay Municipal Health Department. He spoke frequently to the workers on labour questions. He investigated into the conditions of work of the employees of the B. I. S. N. Company and published the results of his inquiry. He was the General Secretary of the Dharavi Tannery and Leather Workers' Union and as such supervised four strikes by the members of the Union. In each case the Union won the day. It raised about Rs. 250 in aid of the strikers in the

Kurla Mills and further gave relief to the unemployed in the leather industry. Mr. Parulekar published the results of a special study into the condition of the leather workers in Dharavi. He attended the Kolaba District Peasants' Conference and moved several resolutions thereat. He has been editing the "Trade Union Record."

Mr. Kunzru was elected President and Mr. Bajpai the Secretary of the Allahabad Railway Porters' Union. Owing to the attitude of the Railway officials the Union has had to face serious difficulties. A number of porters were recently prosecuted on various charges, and Messrs. Kunzru and Bajpai had to arrange for their defence. Mr. Dube was the Chairman of the Postal and R. M. S. Employees' Union in Lucknow. In that capacity he had several times to interview the officials of the Department with a view to restoring the recognition of the Union. Mr. Suryanarayana Rau organised two trade unions for file workers at Feroke and as their president, submitted a memorandum to the Indian Franchise Committee. Mr. S. R. Venkataraman has been recently elected to the Executive Committee of the Madras Labour Union, for the members of which he organised a co-operative store.

#### EDUCATION.

Mr. Devadhar continued to be the Chairman of the Aryan Education Society in Bombay. He presided over a secondary schools teachers' conference at Bordi. During the course of his tours, he delivered addresses to students of schools and colleges in Benaers, Allahabad, Indore, Calicut and Ichalkaranji. Mr. Kunzru continued to be a Member of the Executive Council of the Allahabad University and the Court of the Benares Hindu University. Mr. Kaul continued to be the Secretary of the Ganga Prasad Varma Memorial Library and attended to its office work, selection of books, and general management. Mr. Dube was elected a member of the Board of Christian Higher Education for the United Provinces. Mr. Sahu helped to start the Orissa Khandayat Kahatriya Poor Students' Hostel at Cuttack and presided over the All Ganjam Students' Conference at Berhampore. Mr. Bajpai was a member of the U. P. Lantern Lecture Committee. Mr. Venkatasubbaiya was chiefly responsible for the construction of a cheap magic lantern which is particularly well suited for rural propaganda.

#### G. M. LIBRARY.

The transfer to the Society of the funds of the Gokhale Memorial Library Trust in Nagpur, which was referred to in last year's report, has since been completed.

#### EDUCATIONAL TOURS.

During the year some of the members had opportunities to travel abroad and in India, which was of great educative value to them. Mr. Dube accompanied Mr. Devadhar in his South Indian tour, including Malabar. Mr. Sharangpani visited several Criminal Tribes Settlements in the Bombay Presidency. Mr. Kodanda Rao accompanied Mr. Sastri when the latter went to Europe and South Africa. While in London he put in a term at the London School of Economics. Since his return to India, he visited the centres of work of the Society in South India, and Mr. Venkataraman accompanied him part of the tour. The latter toured Gujarat and visited the Bhil Seva Mandal and the Sabarmati Ashram. Mr. Shahane accompanied Mr. Joshi to Delhi for the Assembly session and assisted him in his work.

\*Since writing this, Mr. Parulekar has been acquitted of the charge.

( to be continued. )



## THE COMMUNAL AWARD.

The following is the full text of the Premier's Award on the Communal Problem :—

(1) In the statement made by the Prime Minister on December 1 last year, on behalf of His Majesty's Government at the close of the second session of the Round Table Conference which was immediately afterwards endorsed by both the Houses of Parliament, it was made plain that if the communities in India were unable to reach a settlement acceptable to all parties on the communal question which the Conference had failed to solve, His Majesty's Government were determined that India's constitutional advance should not on that account be frustrated and that they would remove this obstacle by devising and applying themselves a provisional scheme.

(2) On March 19 last, His Majesty's Government, having been informed that the continued failure of the communities to reach an agreement was blocking the progress of plans for the framing of the new constitution, stated that they were engaged upon a careful re-examination of the difficult and controversial questions which arise. They are now satisfied that without a decision of at least some aspects of the problems connected with the position of the minorities under the new constitution, no further progress can be made with the framing of the constitution.

### SCOPE OF AWARD.

(3) His Majesty's Government have accordingly decided that they will include provisions to give effect to the scheme set out below in the proposals relating to the Indian Constitution to be laid in due course before Parliament. The scope of this scheme is purposely confined to arrangements to be made for the representation of British Indian communities in the Provincial Legislatures, consideration of representation in the Legislature at the Centre being deferred for reason given in paragraph 20 below. The decision to limit the scope of the scheme implies no failure to realise that the framing of the constitution will necessitate the decision of a number of other problems of great importance to the minorities, but had been taken in the hope that once a pronouncement has been made upon the basic questions of the method and proportions of representations, the communities themselves may find it possible to arrive at a "modus vivendi" on other communal problems which have not as yet received the examination they require.

### ALTERNATIVE AGREEMENT NOT BARRED.

(4) His Majesty's Government wish it to be most clearly understood that they themselves can be no parties to any negotiations which may be initiated with a view to a revision of their decision, and will not be prepared to give consideration to any representation aimed at securing a modification of it which is not supported by all the parties affected. But they are most desirous to close no door to an agreed settlement, should such happily be forthcoming. If, therefore, before the new Government of India Act has passed into law, they are satisfied that the communities who are concerned are mutually agreed upon a practicably alternative scheme, either in respect of any one or more of the Governors' provinces or in respect of the whole of British India, they will be prepared to recommend to Parliament that the alternative should be substituted for provisions now outlined.

(5) Seats in the Legislative Councils in the Governors' Provinces or in the Lower House, if there is an Upper Chamber, will be allocated as shown in paragraph 24 below.

### SEPARATE COMMUNAL ELECTORATES.

(6) Election to the seats allotted to Muhamma-

dan, European and Sikh constituencies will be by voters voting in separate communal electorates covering between them the whole area of a province (apart from any portions which may, in special cases, be excluded from electoral area as "backward.")

Provision will be made in the constitution itself to empower a revision of this electoral arrangement (and other similar arrangements mentioned below) after ten years with the assent of the communities affected, for the ascertainment of which suitable means will be devised.

(7) All qualified electors who are not voters either in a Mahomedan, Sikh, Indian Christian (see paragraph 10), Anglo-Indian (see paragraph 11) or European constituency will be entitled to vote in a general constituency.

(8) Seven seats will be reserved for Mahrattas in certain selected plural member general constituencies in Bombay.

### DEPRESSED CLASSES.

(9) Members of "Depressed Classes" qualified to vote will vote in general constituency.

In view of the fact, that for a considerable period these classes would be unlikely by this means alone to secure any adequate representation in the Legislature, a number of special seats will be assigned to them as shown in paragraph 24 below. These seats will be filled by election from special constituencies in which only members of the "Depressed Classes" electorally qualified will be entitled to vote. Any person voting in such a special constituency will, as stated above, be also entitled to vote in a general constituency. It is intended that these constituencies should be formed in selected areas where the Depressed Classes are most numerous, and that, except in Madras, they should not cover the whole area of the province. In Bengal, it seems possible that in some general constituencies, the majority of voters will belong to the Depressed Classes. Accordingly, pending further investigation, no number has been fixed for members to be returned from the Special Depressed Classes constituencies in that province. It is intended to secure that the Depressed Classes should obtain not less than 10 seats in the Bengal Legislature.

The precise definition in each province of those who (if electorally qualified) will be entitled to vote in the special Depressed Class constituencies has not yet been finally determined. It will be based, as a rule, on the general principles advocated in the Franchise Committee's Report. Modification may, however, be found necessary in some provinces in Northern India where the application of the general criteria of untouchability might result in a definition unsuitable in some respects to special conditions of a province.

His Majesty's Government do not consider these special Depressed Classes constituencies will be required for more than a limited time. They intend that the constitution shall provide that they shall come to an end after twenty years, if they have not previously been abolished under the general powers of electoral revision referred to in paragraph six.

### INDIAN CHRISTIANS.

(10) Election to seats allotted to Indian Christians will be by voters voting in separate communal electorates. It seems almost certain that special Indian Christian constituencies will have to be formed only in one or two selected areas in the province. Indian Christian voters in these areas will not vote in a general constituency. Indian Christian voters outside these areas will vote in a general constitu-

cy. Special arrangements may be needed in Bihar and Orissa, where a considerable proportion of the Indian Christian community belong to the aboriginal tribes.

#### ANGLO-INDIANS.

(11) Election to seats allotted to Anglo-Indians will be by voters voting in separate communal electorates. It is at present intended, subject to investigation of any practical difficulties that may arise, that Anglo-Indian constituencies shall cover the whole area of each province, postal ballot being employed; but no final decision has yet been reached.

#### BACKWARD AREAS.

(12) The method of filling seats assigned for representatives from the backward areas is still under investigation, and the number of seats so assigned should be regarded as provisional, pending final decision as to constitutional arrangements to be made in relation to such areas.

#### WOMEN.

(13) His Majesty's Government attach great importance to securing that the new legislatures should contain at least a small number of women members. They feel, at the outset, that this object could not be achieved without creating a certain number of seats specially allotted to women. They also feel it essential that women members should not be drawn disproportionately from one community. They have been unable to find any system which would avoid this risk, and would be consistent with the rest of the scheme for representation which they have found it necessary to adopt, except that of limiting the electorate for each special women's seat to voters from one community, subject to the exception explained in para 24 below. Special women's seats have accordingly been specifically divided as explained in para 24 below between the various communities. The precise electoral machinery to be employed in these special constituencies is still under consideration.

#### LABOUR.

(14) Seats allotted to "Labour" will be filled from non-communal constituencies. Electoral arrangements have still to be determined, but it is likely that in most provinces, labour constituencies will be partly trade union and partly special constituencies as recommended by the Franchise Committee.

#### SPECIAL CONSTITUENCIES.

(15) Special seats allotted to commerce and industry, mining and planting will be filled by election through Chambers of Commerce and various associations. Details of electoral arrangements for these seats must await further investigation.

(16) Special seats allotted to landholders will be filled by election by special landholders' constituencies.

(17) The method to be employed for election to university seats is still under consideration.

(18) His Majesty's Government have found it impossible, in determining these questions of representation in Provincial Legislatures, to avoid entering into considerable detail. There remains nevertheless the determination of constituencies. They intend that this task should be undertaken in India, as early as possible.

It is possible that in some instances, delimitation of constituencies might be materially improved, by a slight variation from the number of seats now given. His Majesty's Government reserve the right to make such slight variation for such a purpose provided that they would not materially affect the

essential balance between communities. No such variation will, however, be made in the case of Bengal and the Punjab.

#### SECOND CHAMBERS.

(19) The question of the composition of Second Chambers in the provinces has so far received comparatively little attention in constitutional discussions, and requires further consideration before a decision is reached as to which provinces shall have a second chamber or a scheme is drawn up for their composition.

His Majesty's Government consider that the composition of an Upper House in a province should be such as not to disturb in any essential the balance between communities, resulting from the composition of the Lower House.

#### CENTRAL LEGISLATURE.

(20) His Majesty's Government do not propose at present to enter into the question of the size and composition of the Legislature at the Centre, since this involves among other questions, that of representation of Indian States which still needs further discussion. They will, of course, when considering the composition, pay full regard to the claims of all communities for adequate representation therein.

(21) His Majesty's Government have already accepted the principle that Sind should be constituted a separate province, if satisfactory means of financing it can be found. As the financial problems involved still have to be reviewed in connection with other problems of Federal Finance, His Majesty's Government have thought it preferable to include at this stage figures for a legislature for the existing province of Bombay, in addition to schemes for separate legislatures for the Bombay Presidency proper and Sind.

(22) The figures given for Bihar and Orissa relate to the existing province. The question of constituting the separate province of Orissa is still under investigation.

(23) The inclusion in para 24 below of figures relating to the legislature for the central provinces including Berar does not imply that any decision has yet been reached regarding the further constitutional position of Berar.

#### ALLOCATION OF SEATS IN PROVINCES.

(24) The following will be the allocation of seats in the Provincial legislatures (Lower House only.)

Madras:—General seats 134; (including six women); Depressed Classes 18; Representative for backward areas 1; Muhammadans 21; (including one woman); Indian Christians 9 (including one woman); Anglo-Indians 2; Europeans 3; Commerce and Industry, mining and planting 6; Landholders 6; University 1; Labour 6. Total 215.

Bombay—(including Sind):—General seats 97 (including five women); Depressed Classes 10; representative from backward areas 1; Muhammadans 63; (including one woman); Indian Christians 3; Anglo-Indians 2; Europeans 4; Commerce etc. 8; Landholders 3; University 1; Labour 8. Total 200.

Bengal:—General seats 30 (including two women); Depressed Classes blank; Muhammadans 119 (including two women); Indian Christians 2; Anglo-Indians 4 (including one woman); Europeans 11; Commerce etc., 19; Landholders 5; University 2; Labour 3. Total 250.

United Provinces:—General seats 132 (including four women); Depressed Classes 12; Muhammadans 66; (including two women); Indian Christians 2;

Anglo-Indians 1; Europeans 2; Commerce etc., 3; Landholders 6; University 1; Labour 3. Total 223.

Punjab:—General seats 43 (including one woman); Sikhs 32; (including one woman); Muhammadans 86 (including two women); Indian Christians 2; Anglo-Indians 1; Europeans 1; Commerce etc., 1; Landholders 5; University 1; Labour 3. Total 175.

Bihar and Orissa:—General seats 99 (including three women); Depressed Classes 7; Representatives from backward areas 8; Muhammadans 42 (including one woman); Indian Christians 2; Anglo-Indians 1; Europeans 2; Commerce etc., 4; Landholders 5; University 1; Labour 4. Total 175.

Central Provinces (including Berar):—General seats 77 (including three women); Depressed classes 10; representative from backward areas 1; Muhammadans 14; Anglo-Indians 1; Europeans 1; Commerce 2; Landholders 3; University 1; Labour 2. Total 112.

Assam:—General Seats 44 (including one woman); Depressed Classes 4; representatives from backward areas 9; Muhammadans 34; Indian Christians 1; Europeans 1; Commerce etc. 11; Labour 4; total 108.

North-west Frontier Province:—General seats 9; Sikhs 3; Muhammadans 36; Landholders 2; Total 50.

Seats are also allocated for Bombay without Sind and for Sind as follows:—

Bombay Without Sind:—General seats 109 (including five women, Depressed classes 10; representative from backward areas 1; Muhammadans 30 (including one woman); Indian Christians 3; Anglo-Indians 2; Europeans 3; Commerce etc. 7; Landholders 2; University 1; Labour 7, Total 175.

Sind:—General seats 19 (including one woman); Muhammadans 34 (including one woman); Europeans 2; Commerce etc. 2; Landholders 2; Labour 1. Total 60.

#### COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY.

As regards the seats for commerce and industry, mining and planting, it is stated that "the composition of the bodies through which election of these seats will be conducted, though in most cases either predominantly European or predominantly Indian, will not be statutorily fixed. It is accordingly not possible in each province to state with certainty how many Europeans and Indians respectively will be returned. It is, however, expected that initially the numbers will be approximately as follows:—Madras 4 Europeans and 2 Indians; Bombay (including Sind) 5 Europeans and 3 Indians; Bengal 14 Europeans and 5 Indians; United Provinces 2 Europeans and one Indian; Punjab 1 Indian; Bihar and Orissa 2 Europeans and 2 Indians; Central Provinces (including Berar) 1 European and 1 Indian; Assam 8 Europeans and 3 Indians; Bombay (without Sind), 4 Europeans and 3 Indians; Sind 1 European and 1 Indian."

#### RESERVATION OF SEATS.

As regards general seats allocated to Bombay whether inclusive or exclusive of Sind it is stated that seven of them will be reserved for Mahrattas.

As regards allocation of seats for the depressed classes in Bengal, this number, which will not exceed ten, has not yet been fixed. The number of general seats will be 80, less the number of special depressed class seats.

As regards landholders seats in the Punjab it is stated one of these will be zamadars' seat. Four landholders' seats will be filed from special constituencies with joint electorates. It is probable from the distribution of the electorate that the members

returned will be 1 Hindu, 1 Sikh and 2 Muhammadans.

As regards the allocation of, one woman's seat among the general seats in Assam, it is stated that this will be filled from a non-communal constituency at Shillong.

#### MR. SASTRI'S OPINION.

"An adverse criticism of the communal award is easy and would from several aspects be deserved but it ill becomes those who by their failure cast the odious duty on the Government to take up a censorious attitude. Seeing that the door is not closed yet on an agreement of the communities and that in any event the award is subject to alteration at the end of a period, those who value peace must accept the award with as much grace as possible. The big constitutional issues to follow will tax all our wisdom. Let us await that supreme test".

#### MR. H. N. KUNZRU'S OPINION.

"The settlement of the communal question for the continuance of which Government cannot disclaim all responsibility was not an easy task. It can, therefore, be no insuperable objection to Government's Award that it contains features which cannot be defended on the score of democratic principles but it must be judged by the test whether it will hasten communal unity and strengthen the hands of the nationalists among the various communities.

There are unfortunately several features of the Award which cannot stand this test. The Simon Commission treated the Lucknow Pact as a whole and declined to alter it in respect of the Punjab and Bengal only unless communal electorates were given up in these provinces as the Commission were opposed to a majority 'unalterable by any appeal to the electorote'. His Majesty's Government have however done what the Simon Commission regarded as 'unfair'. They have tried to reconcile the demands of nationalism with those of communalism by not giving the Muslims a majority consisting of members elected by territorial constituencies only, but as the result of elections to the landlord's seats. The majority is, I fear, for all practical purposes a statutory communal majority. Had His Majesty's Government just stopped short of conceding this demand an agreed settlement of the communal question which they still desire would have been possible. But their award has, instead of strengthening, definitely weakened the hands of the Muslim nationalists whose efforts to educate their co-religionists with regard to the undesirability of communal electorates have proved more successful than one would have expected last year. The Muslim nationalists were ignored in the selection of delegates to the Round Table Conference, the solution of the communal question being rendered more difficult thereby, and to the misfortune of India, they have been ignored again.

If the shares of the various communities are considered, whether we take into account all the seats or only territorial constituencies, the classes which will form the general electorates who are about 26.7 per cent. of the population will receive only about 27 per cent. of the representation. In other words, the Hindus who are the weakest political party in the Punjab have gone to the wall. A minority has lost even the little that it had. This indefensible result too would have been avoided had Government given the nationalist Muslims the chance which they amply deserved or even conceded to the Muslims the majority of one asked for by Sir Fazl-i-Husain as a member of Punjab Executive Council in 1921.

In Bengal, too, the award will create dissatisfaction among the Hindus, but as owing to the privileged position of Europeans it does not concede a communal majority, the forces of nationalism have not been defeated as in the Punjab. If the Bengal Muslim League reflects the views of Bengal Muslims in general, opinion in favour of non-communal elections should gather strength. The balance of power will be held now and for ever by Europeans unless Indians are patriotic enough to wipe out communalism. In other provinces the seats assigned to commerce and industry have been left as they are. But in Bengal they have been increased from 15 to 19 and at least three of the four additional seats are expected to go to Europeans. What the interests of non-commercial Europeans are, it is difficult to understand, but general European constituencies also have been increased from 5 to 11. The Europeans will continue to enjoy abnormally excessive representation.

Apart from the Punjab and Bengal, the creation of new communal electorates, is to be deeply regretted. It is specially regrettable in the case of women whose representatives before the Lothian Committee were opposed to communal arrangements for their representation. The reservation of seats for women has an obvious bearing on the communal question, but the drawing of women into the communal fold cannot but be regarded as disquieting in the interests of the future.

The present award relates only to the provinces. There are a number of other matters in dispute between the various communities which have yet to be decided. The most important question however which remains to be considered is the representation of the communities in the federal legislature. The present Award will not render the decision of these problems easier. The Hon. Mr. Haig is reported to have said to the journalists that it remained to be decided 'whether by convention there could be any expectation that the Indian States' representatives would include a certain communal proportion.' This is bound to cause grave concern. Are the States to be pressed to make their elections on a communal basis? If they decline to yield, will this be allowed to affect the distribution of seats in British India? The decisions to be taken with regard to the future are, therefore, even more important than those that have been announced. The problem of representation in the federal legislature should not therefore be allowed to hang fire. We should demand that the picture be completed at once. We must see the full scheme before a final judgment can be pronounced. Are we going to get Swaraj, and if so, of what kind?"

#### MR. N. M. JOSHI'S OPINION.

"I consider that the communal award is wrong in principle. I also consider that it favours some communities much more than others. Retention of electorates based upon distinctions of religion, race, and sex is a misfortune. The only principle on which electoral rolls may justifiably be based is that of an economic class. It is not fair also to compel all Muslims, Anglo-Indians, Europeans and Indian Christians either to enter their names on communal registers or to lose their civic rights.

"It is unjust to protect a community both when it is in a minority and when it is in a majority. The communal decision in respect of weightage is not equitable, and in some cases, the representation

given to a minority community is actually reduced when compared with the population of the community in the particular province. The representation given to European commerce and industry in Bengal and Assam has been increased beyond what was recommended by the Central Franchise Committee; whilst similar increase is not given to labour in those two provinces. It is strange also that a general constituency should be sought to be formed of some minority communities in the Punjab, North-West Frontier, Bengal, and Sind provinces, while the majority community in each should have a separate electorate.

"In my judgment, the real and lasting solution of the communal problem would be the adoption of adult suffrage. I feel that the evils of communal electorates can only disappear when the masses in the country are better organised and when they begin to influence the course of political events by their strength. As it is, the masses have nothing to gain by the system of communal electorates.

"Whatever may be the defects of the communal award," I shall not reject it immediately and block the way to further constitutional progress. On account of the new procedure, I have for the present decided not to take part in further constitutional discussions. If the procedure is, however, changed and the Round Table Conference method restored, and if I find that the constitution, including central responsibility, is on the whole acceptable otherwise, I shall not reject the constitution on the ground of the unsatisfactory nature of the communal award. If the constitution is not satisfactory, the question of accepting the communal award does not arise."

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