

# Servant of India

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## Topics of the Week.

### Sacrifice : Not Service.

THE expected has happened. On the first of August the Mahatma and his chosen band of individual civil resisters, thirty-two in all, were arrested at Sabarmati. With the loyalty and devotion of the ideal Hindu wife, reminiscent of the great Indian heroines of the Hindu Epics, Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi unquestioningly follows her husband and shares cheerfully whatever befalls his fate. And so does his Chitragupta, Mahadev Desai, beloved of all. Towering above all in majesty of character and profundity of faith, believing himself inspired by God, stands the Mahatma encasing in his frail, diminished and emaciated body an indomitable will that will essay the impossible and acknowledge no defeat and evoking in the multitude profound admiration, amounting to worship, for his unparalleled sufferings and sacrifices. In sacrificing his beloved Ashram at Sabarmati, he surpassed his own unequalled record of sacrifice. The Mahatma is testing, as it were, his uttermost capacity for sacrifice, not service, for his country.

For in his latest act of civil disobedience he seems to have forfeited the support and sympathy of even his erstwhile followers in the Congress. The decision of the Poona Conference was a personal triumph for him but it did not vindicate his policy. His present isolation seems to be fearfully complete. There is hardly a public worker or paper of any position that approved of his policy and agreed to follow him. Most of his staunchest supporters in the previous campaigns have deserted him on this occasion.

### Repenting at Leisure.

WHEN the Bengal delegate to the Joint Select Committee questioned the Secretary of State regard-

ing the Poona Pact and complained of the injustice done by it to the Hindus of Bengal Sir Samuel Hoare invoked the great name of Rabindranath Tagore as among those who at the time urged the Government to ratify the Pact. Rabi Babu has now come out with a confession that though he did so at the time his mind was then so filled with anxiety for the life of the Mahatma that he did not care to examine the Pact critically. He has since been convinced of the grave injustice of the Pact to the Bengal Hindus and joined in the demand for its revision. However unfortunate, he could understand the British Government's unwillingness to reconsider the Pact. But he was sorely pained that some Indian delegates from provinces other than Bengal seconded Sir Samuel Hoare's refusal.

The Post's charge of indifference against the non-Bengalee leaders is rather undignified and unfair. He knew as well as they that because of the failure of Indians to come to an agreement the British Government had to impose an Award. The Government stated clearly that the Award could be altered only with the consent of the parties concerned and that, as far as they were concerned, their decision was final. Notwithstanding the Mahatma's "fast unto death", the Communal Award would in all probability not have been modified by the Government if the parties concerned, the Harijans and the non-Harijan Hindus, had not agreed to the Poona Pact. The Post knew that prominent Bengal Hindus were invited to the Conference. It was a misfortune that none of the invitees found it possible to attend nor send a substitute. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya took a most prominent part in the deliberations of the Conference and the cause of the Bengal Hindus could not have been neglected by him. Rabi Babu himself along with other leaders implored the Prime Minister to ratify the Pact immediately. No subsequent pact has been reached between the Harijans and the non-Harijans of Bengal to modify the Poona Pact. Is it to be supposed that the British Government would now modify the Communal Award without such a pact being presented to them? Would non-Bengal leaders be justified in making a demand for such modification? Whatever be the merits of the Poona Pact and whatever be the circumstances in which it came to be signed, they were bound in honour to stand by it. It may however be admitted that the Pact does an injustice to the caste Hindus of Bengal. But that is not the only defect of the Pact. We have ourselves criticised it severely; but that does not justify us in going back on it.

The episode will not have been in vain if the public learn that the method of the "fast unto death" is not the best method of solving political problems. The Mahatma may also learn that not all the signatories to the Pact were willing parties to it. If the Post could impress this lesson both on the Mahatma and the Indian politicians, he will have

done a good turn. In view of the threat of the Mahatma to embark on a series of fresh fasts, this service will not be superfluous.

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### C. I. D. out of Popular Control?

UNLESS he is hopelessly misreported, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru appears to be fed up with the Joint Select Committee at whose hands it is apparently futile to expect any substantial improvement in the White Paper proposals. Having regard to the strength of reactionary forces arrayed against India in Great Britain, the utmost we can reasonably look forward to is the translation of these proposals into a parliamentary enactment without any very considerable deterioration. For this there is ground for hope in the manner in which Sir Samuel Hoare conducted himself before the Committee. On the whole he seems to have stood by the White Paper unflinchingly. His interpretation of one of the proposals however is such as will give cause for much disquiet in this country, because it will reduce the transfer to popular control of the most important provincial department, viz. law and order, to a farce. The European Association, being unduly unnerved by the terrorist movement in Bengal, made the amazing demand that the special branch of the C. I. D. which deals with "subversive and terrorist movements" should be placed under the direct supervision of the Governor-General, "a supervision which would operate in the Provinces through the Governor." It was so insistent upon such a provision in the new constitution that it refused to reconcile itself to the transfer of law and order to popular control unless such an arrangement was made.

It will be noted that their demand has reference only to the special branch of the C. I. D.; but pleading practical difficulties in the way of the division of the department into two parts, one dealing with revolutionary activities and the other concerning itself with ordinary criminal work, Sir Samuel Hoare showed how the Governor could take the whole of the C. I. D. under his wings without the change of a comma in the White Paper. In doing so he relied on No. 71 of the Proposals which says:

"If in any case in which, in the opinion of the Governor, a special responsibility is imposed upon him, it appears to him, after considering such advice as has been given to him by his Ministers, that the due discharge of his responsibility so requires, he will have full discretion to act as he thinks fit, but in so acting he will be guided by any directions which may be contained in his Instrument of Instructions."

Under this provision, Sir Samuel Hoare agreed with Lord Salisbury, a Governor can withdraw from the jurisdiction of the responsible Minister not only the special branch but even the whole C. I. D. Thus the European Association has been given a wider safeguard than they demanded.

It does not need profound constitutional or administrative knowledge to perceive that law and order with the C. I. D. removed from it is only the outer shell and not the kernel. Indeed provincial autonomy will lose much of its value in popular eyes if the Governor is to be free arbitrarily to withdraw from popular jurisdiction the whole or every part of the C. I. D. In the way in which he can apparently do under the White Paper as it is. That in fact was the view which Sir A. P. Patro wanted to bring prominently to the notice of the Committee when he questioned the Association witnesses: "Would you, from your experience and knowledge of public opinion in Madras, believe that there would be any Minister who would accept responsibility for law and order in the province without any control over

the C. I. D.?" That no straight answer was returned to this plain question only goes to prove, not that the witnesses could not have done so if they were so minded, but that they found the position taken up by Sir A. P. Patro unanswerable. It only remains to add that though Sir A. P. Patro was confining his attention to his own province he was in fact voicing public opinion in other provinces as well.

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### Europeans and the Services.

IN regard to the problem of what are known as the Security Services the attitude of the European Association is even more reactionary. It goes without saying that it regards the continuance of the European element in these services absolutely necessary and stoutly discountenances any further acceleration in the speed of Indianisation than was proposed by the Lee Commission. As is well-known, the recommendations of this Commission were devised so that even 50 per cent. Indianisation in regard to the Indian Civil Service should be delayed till 1939 and that in respect to the Police Service till ten years later. Whether and if so when, the process of Indianising the other half is to begin or end is a matter upon which the Association preferred to be conveniently silent in their memorandum, though their spokesmen before the Committee were not so reserved in the expression of their opinions. They told Lord Salisbury: "We, in Bengal frankly do not look forward to a time when there will not be a percentage of British officers in the Police. We believe that British officers are essential to the preservation of the discipline and morale of the Police." (Ours italics.) They were even more candid in their reply to Mr. Morgan Jones. They said: "A time may come, possibly, when Europeans may not be recruited to the Services on the present basis, but I find it hard to visualise a time in the reasonable future when there will be no Europeans whatsoever in any of the Services in India." (Ours italics.) In face of this, would it be any serious injustice to the Association if one inferred that the other 50 per cent. of Indianisation it would like to be put off till the Greek Kalends? Seeing how closely Government action follows non-official European opinion, one can form some idea as to what to expect as a result of the inquiry into the Services problem to be instituted five years after the promulgation of the new reforms.

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### Language of the Federation.

THE European Association has found a serious flaw in the White Paper. It is its failure to mention which will be the official language used in the Federation. Sir Samuel Hoare might have considered the point too unimportant to deserve specific mention in his constitutional Proposals. Not so however the unofficial Europeans in India. They desire it to be explicitly laid down in the Constitution Act that "English shall be the official language of the Federation." Nay, more, "The Association also considers that statutory provision should be made for English to be one of the official languages of the Provincial Governments."

All this insistence upon a statutory recognition of English might appear to many as being perfectly unnecessary. For what is the existing state of things? As is well known, it is English and not any of the vernaculars that is largely used in the Indian legislatures, both central and provincial, as the vehicle of expression. And there is really nothing very strange about this. English is understood by the largest number of members of a legislative council and is naturally preferred for purposes of speech-making to the vernaculars which are res-

orted to mostly by non-English knowing legislators. Left to itself this convention which conduces to general convenience will grow if it is left undisturbed. But if the suggestion of the European Association is carried into effect English will have the appearance of being imposed by law on an unwilling people and as such its use, instead of being encouraged will on the contrary be discouraged. But from the attitude adopted by Sir Samuel Hoare towards this question before the Joint Select Committee, the chances of the European Association's recommendation being acted upon seem to be very remote.

#### C. P. Council and White Paper.

THE C. P. Legislative Council in its current session has passed a comprehensive resolution on the White Paper. In fact it is the most exhaustive one passed by any legislature in India so far and begins by condemning the White Paper, in the historic Congress phraseology, as being "inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing." Substantial modifications are demanded with a view to ensuring the willing co-operation of the people in the working of the constitution now being hammered into shape in London. The proposed parliamentary enactment on the subject should, it is suggested, contain an unambiguous promise of Dominion Status for India. We should have thought that what was really necessary was not a mere promise—this was given in 1929—but a definite indication as to how soon the goal would be reached, specially in view of the controversy raised on the point by some die-hard members of the Joint Select Committee to which attention was drawn in these columns last week.

It is a matter for gratification that the resolution, while endorsing the scheme of an Indian Federation, lays emphasis on the arrangement of such terms as would be "honourable and equitable to both British India and Indian States." The implication is obvious. If the speeches delivered in the course of the debate are an index to the public mind in C. P., the view appears to be widely held in the province that the Indian States are doing their best to exploit British India's eagerness for a political advance to their own advantage. Fully conscious of the British Government's unwillingness to introduce any responsibility at the centre unless the States join the projected Federation, they are, it seems to be felt, taking an unfair advantage of the situation in order to secure unduly favourable terms for their accession to Federation—a grievance which the Princes would do well never to lose sight of.

Strong exception is taken in the resolution to the excessive nature of the safeguards, which, far from being required in India's interest, "are demonstrably in the interests of Britain, British trade and commerce in India and the British members of civil and military Services in India." A noteworthy method of reducing the burden of military expenditure is suggested. Since the Indian defence arrangements are not designed exclusively with an eye to India's security but also that of the British Empire as a whole, India's defence expenditure should, it is contended, be shared between the British Government, India and the other members of the British Empire according to agreements to be mutually entered into within three years of the passing of the Constitution Act. We will not be required to wait very long to find out which of the suggestions made in the C. P. Council resolution find themselves acceptable to the Joint Select Committee, for whose benefit the debate was apparently arranged.

#### Rural Reconstruction.

THE recent visit of Sir Frederick Sykes, Governor of Bombay, to the Deccan Agricultural Association was, we suppose, intended to mark the sense of importance which the Government attach to non-official activities designed to improve the condition of the agriculturists. The Association is perhaps the oldest institution in these parts working in that field, having come into existence nearly a quarter of a century ago. After about ten years of activity it seems to have lapsed into a state of suspended animation from which it was retrieved about four years ago. Since then it has been going on with its praiseworthy work of rural reconstruction, thanks mainly to the ceaseless endeavours of the chairman of its executive committee, Mr. Devadhar. Looking to the vastness of the ground to be covered, the Association decided, wisely in our opinion, to concentrate its attention on some village which, though situated at a convenient distance from its headquarters in Poona, should be free from urban influence. Such a village was found in Khed-Shivapur. The work that is being done there under the auspices of the Association has been noticed more than once in these columns, making any further reference to it on this occasion quite superfluous. Suffice it to say that the Association's activities, affecting as they do agriculture, which, in the words of Sir Frederick Sykes, is "in India by far the greatest industry of all," have a nation-building value which cannot be over-estimated. Rural reconstruction has a bright future before it if the new village panchayats with their enlarged functions are properly worked and make wise use of the powers conferred upon them. It is time the public was told precisely how the local Government propose to utilise the grant of Rs. 25,000 earmarked for the development of the panchayat movement in this presidency.

## Articles.

### THE MAHATMA'S APOLOGIA.

IN his long explanatory note to the Aney statement Mahatma Gandhi attempted to vindicate his policy of individual civil disobedience. He made it clear at the very outset that his reasons were not necessarily those of Mr. Aney. Even without this caution, nobody who knew anything of Mr. Aney was likely to read his views in the Mahatma's statement.

He preached therein one more impressive sermon on non-violence. This was somewhat superfluous particularly in view of the encomiums he lavished on the civil resisters, including the Pathans of the Frontier Province, for their non-violence under the most provocative circumstances. The abandonment of mass civil disobedience was not due to outbursts of violence on the part of the civil resisters, but as he himself admitted, to the severity of the Government's Ordinance rule and the incapacity of the Congress to help the victims. Except the terrorists, nobody else will seriously question his thesis that non-violence is the only method of working for Indian Swaraj. But non-violence is not the special monopoly of the Congress. Except the terrorists, all other political organisations assume non-violence without any fuss. That which distinguishes the

Congress under his dictatorship is its policy of civil disobedience. The more important question, therefore, is whether this policy will lead up to Swaraj. The Mahatma claimed that, thanks to it, the country had taken long strides towards independence. The change of policy now advocated was not due to defeat or despair. If that were so, and if civil disobedience has been such a success, where was the occasion for dropping mass civil disobedience and retreating to individual civil disobedience? In his letter to the Bombay Government, the Mahatma admitted that the masses were demoralised. Certainly not due to success in the campaign!

The Mahatma again claimed that the "long strides towards Purna swaraj", which the country took as a result of the "right route taken in 1920", could not have been possible by any other way, and as proof thereof, referred to the mass awakening during the last thirteen years. It will be freely granted that there has been a great and unprecedented mass awakening. But it is questionable if on that account India is nearer swaraj. The only tangible result is the loading of the new Indian constitution with conservative elements and safeguards against the Congress itself. It may be that constitutional agitation might not have brought India nearer swaraj, but it would at least have saved her much unnecessary and fruitless suffering.

It is common ground that a constitution which simply registers the British will cannot be satisfactory to India, and that the British alone cannot work out the salvation of India. That is exactly the reason why Pandit Motilal Nehru, no opponent of the Mahatma, demanded the Round Table Conference by which method India would share with England the task of shaping the future constitution of India. It was ultimately granted and the Mahatma himself attended it in 1931. He did not give up the Conference because the cooperation of India was no longer desired but for wholly other causes. The non-participation of the Congress has only weakened the national Indian element at the Round Table Conference. To that extent the Congress has itself to blame if the new constitution will register more the will of Britain than of India.

Whatever be the ingenious arguments of the Mahatma, it is clear that the bulk of Congressmen were unconvinced by them. It is upto them to salvage the Congress, resuscitate it and make it once again a powerful weapon for the winning of Indian Swaraj by constitutional means.

### INDIAN EMIGRATION FROM SOUTH AFRICA.

WARM congratulations are due to Mr. S. R. Naidoo for the courage he has exhibited in consenting to serve, on behalf of the South African Indian Congress on the Committee appointed by the South African Government to investigate the possibilities of Indian colonisation abroad. His task has not been made easy by the split in the Congress camp on the question of participation in

the Committee's work. Some of the foremost Indian leaders, somewhat idealistically inclined, have opposed it, while the majority of their confrères, no less devoted to the interests of the Indian community, have agreed. Nothing however is lost in co-operating with the Committee: if anything, some good may come out of it. The past experience of the Indian leaders of the Natal Indian Education Commission and the Health Committee which investigated into the sanitary and housing conditions of the Indians in Durban which some of the leaders were at first disposed to boycott but were subsequently persuaded to cooperate with, has shown that, notwithstanding the initial grievances and objections, the Indian community did well to cooperate. Most unpromising committees have yielded welcome results. It may be that the present Committee can be persuaded, if proper evidence be led before it, to advise against external colonisation and indicate the possibilities of internal migration in South Africa. Considering that the Committee is going to meet and that it has on it an Indian public worker of the proved ability and devotion of Mr. Naidoo, it will be the part of wisdom for all Indian leaders to close up their ranks and marshal the best and the most effective evidence before the Committee, and for this purpose invoke the assistance of all European friends of the Indian cause.

The feeling in favour of exodus of Indians is strongest amongst the Europeans in Natal. And that because the number of Indians is larger in Natal than in any other province in the Union both absolutely and comparatively. The Europeans of Natal desire reduction of the number of Indians in Natal and it is a matter of secondary importance to them, whether the exodus is to the other provinces of the Union, or to India or elsewhere. Emigration to India has been proved to be not in the interest of the Natal Indians. As the *Natal Advertiser* acknowledged it, the change is from the "frying pan to the fire." Sentimental considerations however counteract the economic to some extent, and notwithstanding the change for the worse, large numbers of Indians have during the last year returned to India. But sentimental considerations will soon taper off in importance as the number of Indian-born Indians diminishes in South Africa. Thereafter only economic and political considerations will hold the field. They will have to be made particularly attractive if a colonization scheme to, say, British Guiana, is to succeed in such measure as to afford the desired reduction of Indian population in South Africa. While economic and political pressure in South Africa may drive some Indians to leave its inhospitable shores and seek comparative safety in the colony prepared for them, it might and does set their back up and inhibit their emigration. The more the Indian is harassed in South Africa in order to squeeze him out the more he will be inclined to dig himself in, come what may. The analogy which the *Natal Advertiser* pressed into service that there was no question of the loss of birthright when a few decades ago thousands

of British workmen and women left their congested country to seek their fortunes in Canada and Australia is wholly irrelevant. Their assisted emigration was not motivated by the contemptuous feeling that they were "undesirables" in Great Britain, who should be squeezed out in the interest of the other classes in the country. The *Natal Advertiser* attempted to gloss over the sting in the colonisation idea by saying that the participation of the Government of India in it made it innocent. It said:—

The participation of the Government of India has completely changed the nature of the problem. No longer has the local Indian to face and oppose a local and often racially biased agitation to clear him out of South Africa. His community in South Africa to-day is being identified with the much larger problem of the congestion of population in India. The schemes, if any, that will be put before him will be identical with those offered to the hundreds of millions of those of his own race in India. That fact alone should be sufficient to remove any fears of political trickery and to enable him to examine the proposals on their practical merits.

This interpretation is too thin and does not wash. There would have been something in it if the initiative had been taken by the Government of India and if the South African Government had ceased to treat the resident Indian as an "undesirable" in South Africa. There is no getting away from the fact that the colonisation scheme is not being promoted by South Africa out of consideration for the Indian. If it is anxious that the conditions of colonisation should be attractive, it is because it hopes thereby that more Indians will leave South Africa. As long as this avowed aspersion on Indian self-respect stands, the colonisation scheme will not, from the South African Government point of view, be as successful as it may otherwise be. This has been proved in the past when under the first Cape Town Agreement, Indian repatriates were no longer required to sign a document to the effect that they thereby gave up their South African domicile for ever. The partial accommodation to Indian self-respect contributed partly to the subsequent jump in Indian assisted emigration. Similarly, if South Africa will recall its aspersion against Indians as "undesirables," the colonisation scheme will have a better chance.

Is it really necessary for South Africa to continue to stigmatise Indians as "undesirables" to be got rid off? It is insulting to India.

Is it worth while to insult India in this manner? Though as a direct result of this policy, thousands of Indians have left India during the last twenty years and more and the South African Government spent some thousands of pounds on repatriation, the *Natal Advertiser* felt doubtful if the relief afforded was worth the trouble and admitted that the Indian problem was no less acute as when the experiment was started. Will a colonisation scheme prove better? After all, the total Indian population in South Africa does not amount to more than three per cent. of the total population and a tenth of the white population. Over 80 per cent. of them are South African born. There are vast spaces in South Africa itself which the Indian

can colonise if only the provincial barriers are removed and the State gives generous assistance, even such which it is prepared to give to take him to a distant colony. It is significant that the *Natal Mercury*, which is frankly an opponent of the Indian cause, said that "Natal could afford to take a more complacent view of the Indian occupation of land and economic encroachment if the descendants of the original immigrants were free to acquire domicile in any part of South Africa." That seems to be a more helpful solution.

## CURRENCY STABILISATION.

(Contributed.)

THE World Economic Conference has come to an end in very different circumstances from those in which it assembled in London on 12th June. On 10th July, when it was already petering out, Mr. Amery in the House of Commons, quoting lines from Matthew Arnold's "Sohrab and Rustam," compared it to River Oxus when it was lost in swamps and marshes:

"Oxus forgetting the bright speed he had  
In his high mountain cradle in Pamere  
A foil'd circuitous wanderer".

But River Oxus ultimately emerged from the swamps to where —

"... the new bathed stars  
Emerge to shine upon the Arol Sea."

The World Conference too, it is to be hoped, will eventually overcome all the difficulties with which it is now beset, though the prospect does not appear too bright.

Among the questions which engaged the attention of the world's statesmen at the Conference, those that were considered at the Immediate Measures Sub-Commission of the Monetary and Financial Commission have acquired the greatest prominence. At an early stage two conflicting views asserted themselves at this Sub-Commission, and the failure of the Conference so far is supposed to be due to the inability of the exponents of these views to come to an accord on a common policy. One school set store by a sort of provisional stabilization of currencies, and the other by measures to induce an advance of commodity prices. The first was represented by the countries on gold and the second by U. S. A., and it is the fashion to blame the failure of the world nations to agree to take co-ordinated action upon the latter. The gold countries only asked, it is said, for a Currency Truce like the Tariff Truce, agreed to on 5th July by 59 countries, while the Conference lasts, and yet U. S. stood out intransigently, though its President Mr. Roosevelt, in the message sent by him on 16th May to the nations participating in the Disarmament Conference at Geneva, had placed "stabilization of currencies" first and the raising of price levels third among the means to be taken "to establish order in place of the present chaos." Even Mr. Neville Chamberlain censured President Roosevelt for abandoning the policy then announced in favour of an attempt to achieve prosperity for his own country in isolation from other countries. Can U. S. A. really be blamed for pursuing an exclusively national policy

in disregard of the interests of the rest of the world?

Whoever else may do so, British statesmen have no right to point their finger of scorn at President Roosevelt, for the latter has only now inaugurated with great vigour a policy which Great Britain has been following, though hesitantly, for over a year and a half. A lift of commodity prices has been the avowed objective of her policy all this time. She desired other countries also to adopt the same policy, so that there should be a general rise in the level of wholesale prices. But if other countries chose not to do so, even then Great Britain was to bring about an increase in prices within her borders, in the British Empire, and in such other countries as would go off gold and attach their currencies to sterling. This sterling area did in fact cover half the world, but whether large or small, England decided so to manage her currency as to facilitate a higher price level over it. This policy was primarily a self-regarding one, but it was put in force in the belief that a rise in sterling prices would help in bringing about a rise in gold prices in other countries also. As deflation had spread from nation to nation, so would recovery tend to become general though it might start in a limited area. Otherwise the policy would have had no justification at all. When for four days in May Mr. MacDonald visited Mr. Roosevelt in Washington the inflation of prices was decided upon as a common line of action of the British and American Governments. The communiqué issued on the occasion stated the following as matters on which an agreement had been arrived at. "The necessity for an increase in the general level of commodity prices was recognised as primary and fundamental... The central banks should by concerted action provide adequate expansion of credit, and every means should be used to get the credit thus created in circulation... The ultimate re-establishment of equilibrium into the international exchanges should also be contemplated." Thus, as Sir Robert Horne said, "The question that was put in the forefront of that statement was that of rising prices and the paragraph that contained the reference to stabilization only referred to it as a matter which ultimately had to be taken into account." In face of this statement had Mr. Neville Chamberlain any excuse to expect that President Roosevelt, immediately after cutting the dollar loose from gold with the deliberate object of raising prices internally in the United States, would proceed to fix the external value of dollar in relation to gold currencies without knowing what policy would be in operation in the gold countries in regard to prices? What would England herself have done if, say, in October or November, 1931, a proposal had been made to her to fix currency relationships with other countries? Mr. Churchill has correctly answered the question: "If we had been asked to stabilise our currency a few months after going off the gold standard, in the latter part of 1931, we should have rejected the advice." And so did President Roosevelt.

But, it is argued, while England was forced off

the gold standard by external pressure, U. S. A.'s departure from gold was voluntary. So it was in one sense. It is true U. S. A. has a favourable balance of payments and a still more favourable balance of trade; in 1932 she had a surplus of \$131 millions on current account and an export surplus of \$247 millions in commodity trade; foreign-owned short term funds were reduced in last two years from \$2,700 millions to \$900 millions, being reduced "virtually to a working minimum; she has a large stock of gold; she can borrow freely at home in order to meet a budget deficit. In all these respects the position of U. S. A. was quite the reverse of what was in England at the time of the separation of sterling from gold. Yet, as Mr. Reginald McKenna has observed in the *Midland Bank Review*, "the basis for both was identical, in that the pressure of falling commodity prices proved insupportable in both countries. In Great Britain we had been struggling for years, thanks to our misalliance with gold in 1925, to remove an intractable margin between prices at home and abroad; with the fall in world prices the tension was increased; our debtors found it more and more difficult to meet the service of our debts and buy our goods; our customary current account surplus, which acted as a fortification of our position on the gold standard, was extinguished and a deficit took its place; the only way out was a severance of sterling from gold, which occurred when it did for more or less accidental reasons. In America the course of events was different, but the essential facts the same. The fall in commodity prices, along with rigidity of costs, made business of all kinds more and more difficult; in particular, the cost of existing indebtedness, often enlarged by inability to cover current expenses, grew insupportable; it became clear that only by a rise in commodity prices could relief be accorded without wholesale defaults, repudiation, and chaos in creditor-debtor relationships; facing this dilemma, the American Government took the decision which we should ultimately have had to take had not circumstances forced our hand in September 1931. There is then no essential difference between our two experiences." And therefore Great Britain should understand and support the American policy instead of quarrelling with it. If she quarrels now, it is presumably because the Bank of England, who are opposed to it, are making trouble, and Mr. Chamberlain does not quite know on which side of the fence to come down; he is therefore in Mr. Amery's words "running with the Montagu Norman hare and hunting with the Roosevelt hounds".

U. S. A. is trying to reflate to the price level of 1926 and has already travelled two-thirds of the road. The increase in internal prices also affects the goods exported, and to the extent that the prices of goods of export rise, there can be no trading advantage to be derived from exchange depreciation such as what France and other countries in the gold bloc obviously fear. Nor is there any inflation yet in the sense of increase of bank credit, for bank deposits in U. S. A. are now said to be \$10,000 millions less than before

the closure of the banks in March last. Fluctuations in relative values of currencies must of course be stopped, but the ratio of one currency to another depends upon what their respective purchasing prices are. And unless the price policies of various countries are known, it will clearly be impossible to stabilise currencies. If other countries will be clear as to what their price policy will be, stabilization would become easier for U. S. A. But in the meantime a rise in dollar prices would go to help business recovery in other countries as it is already helping in U. S. A. Sir Robert Horne said in the House of Commons: "While gold prices have not risen, the effect of the rise of dollar prices has been considerably to increase sterling prices. We have been obtaining a clear benefit from what has been done in America. So will it be found in other countries too. The action of the American Government will tend everywhere to bring prices of commodities into equilibrium with costs of production and through this means to effect recovery of business activity."

### GERMANY & POLISH "CORRIDOR."

THE attention of the whole world is drawn to the German revisionist propaganda. Herr Hitler wants to take the Polish "Corridor." It is situated along both banks of the river Vistula and includes the Polish coast-line on the Baltic. It lies between 52° 50' and 54° 50' latitude and 17° 10' and 20° 25' longitude, Greenwich meridian.

Pomerania forms one of the 16th administrative districts (Voyevodships) of the Republic of Poland, namely the Voyevodship of Pomorze. Its area is 6,327 sq. miles and its population about 1,083,144.

Pomorze is the region which affords Poland and its 32 million inhabitants the only outlet to the sea, and the only means of direct communication with the countries of Western Europe and America. The total length of the Polish coast-line is 87 miles.

In pre-historic times Pomorze as well as the eastern provinces of present Germany, as far West as the river Elbe, were inhabited by Slavonic peoples. Pomorze became part of Poland in 968, when Mieszko I, who was the first king of Poland, incorporated it into his kingdom.

The first incorporation of Pomorze and Danzig into Poland was accomplished by the treaty of Torun in 1466. Since, then, until the first Partition of Poland in 1772, i.e. for a total of 306 years, the territory formed an integral part of the Polish Kingdom. Before the Great War, Poland was ruled by Russians, Germans and Austrians. Pomorze and Upper Silesia belonged to Germans. After the War, Poland got back Pomorze and Upper Silesia and other territories from Russians and Austrians.

The population of Pomorze has been predominantly Slavonic even in the earliest days of history. Standard German text-books and historical maps testify to this fact. The same is true of later periods.

Mr. Hugh Dalton, former British Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs in "Towards the Peace of Nations" states: "The so-called Corridor, is inhabited by an

indisputable Polish population. On ground of nationality, the case for Poland retaining the Corridor is very strong already, and will grow with each year that passes." Today Pomorze has 89.9% Polish population.

The economic importance of Pomorze is very great. Throughout centuries Pomorze formed Poland's outlet to the sea and the most important channel of her overseas trade. To-day an access to the sea is indispensable to the political and economic independence of the Polish State. The major part of Poland's foreign trade is carried by sea through the new Polish port of Gdynia, and the Free City of Danzig. Without Pomorze, Poland's exports and imports would come under the economic dependence of Germany. Pomorze ranks among the Polish Provinces the most progressive in agriculture and cattle-breeding. It is the centre of the Polish fishing industry. The lumber, sugar beet, and distillery industries of Pomorze constitute an important part in the total industrial production of Poland.

East Prussia's hinterland was not Germany but Russia, and there was trade between them before the War.

Price-fixing agreements in regard to wheat and timber were concluded by Poland for several years with mutual benefit to East Prussia and Poland. In September 1930, these agreements were renounced by Germany for political reasons. The economic conditions of East Prussia can be improved by the Polish-German Commercial Treaty. The former Polish Foreign Minister August Zaleski, stated his view, "In order to allay all doubts on the subject, I can assure you that the Polish Government is ready to conclude with Germany a treaty mutually guaranteeing the territorial integrity of both States."

Germans condemned the Polish proposals and the object of the Germans is to annex the Polish territory.

The traffic between East Prussia and Germany across Pomorze is regulated, in conformity with Articles 89 and 98 of the Versailles Treaty, by the Polish-German Convention signed in Paris on March 21, 1921. Germany has ample means of communication with East Prussia through Pomorze, as well as through other parts of Poland. Six direct railway lines are open to her transit traffic. About 24 trains run daily in both directions and all these trains are listed in the German railway time-tables with the note, "No passport or custom control for transit traffic."

The railway communication across the Polish Corridor functions smoothly. The facilities for communication between Germany and East Prussia demonstrate that the Polish authorities have gone far beyond their duty in order to make the frontier "invisible" for all practical purposes.

Poland is willing to improve her relations with Germany and prepared to continue her good-will. Poland is not expected to give away Pomorze and on this ground the entire Polish nation stands united.

Germany's attack on Pomorze means a great war not only between Germany and Poland, but between

Germany and the whole of Europe. The political relations between Poland and other countries like France, Czechoslovakia, U. S. A., Rumania, Hungary, Austria are very good.

There is duty-war between Poland and Germany. German goods are boycotted in Poland, as Germans do not allow Polish imports.

RAJ BEHARI LAL MATHUR..

Warsaw.

## Our London Letter.

(BY AIR MAIL.)

(From Our Correspondent.)

LONDON, July 22.

### CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

THE news from India of the decisions taken by the Congress leaders gathered together at Poona to consider the present position in connection with the civil disobedience movement and Mr. Gandhi's views thereon, is altogether disappointing. We are led to believe by the telegrams from various sources that have reached here that at the very moment that most of the leaders had come to the conclusion that no useful purpose was being served by continuing the movement as a method of obtaining the fulfilment of Congress policy, Mr. Gandhi's earnest eloquence persuaded the gathering to refrain from calling off civil disobedience and to authorise Mr. Gandhi as the Congress plenipotentiary to approach the Viceroy for an interview in order to explore possibilities of peace, failing which civil disobedience was in some modified form to be resumed after the end of July. The Viceroy's refusal, twice repeated, to receive Mr. Gandhi during the pendency of civil disobedience, and with the prospect of its resumption, was generally foreseen here, and excepting the somewhat narrow circle most friendly to Mr. Gandhi personally, the view is generally held, even in otherwise sympathetic quarters, that Mr. Gandhi's contribution to and responsibility for the present unsatisfactory and dangerous position, are very great, and at least as contributory to the existing feeling of futility and frustration as the Viceroy's reiterated refusal to see Mr. Gandhi. Even the *Daily Herald*, which does not usually err on the side of Government, regards the situation as having been brought about because of the obsession of two elderly gentlemen by considerations of prestige. *The Spectator*, which last week was looking forward to a request by Mr. Gandhi in his personal capacity for an unconditional interview with the Viceroy, which in its view His Excellency would have been well advised to grant, this week points out that Lord Willingdon had virtually no alternative in view of what had taken place at Poona, and of the plenipotentiary character with which Mr. Gandhi had been vested. Naturally friends here who had been most anxious that informal talks should take place between Mr. Gandhi and the Viceroy, felt that Lord Willingdon ought, when Mr. Gandhi approached him with a message, to have welcomed his advance, even though ultimately the Viceroy had been later obliged to express regret that it was impossible to reach an agreement with Mr. Gandhi because of the unacceptable nature of the latter's proposals. He would thereby have put himself in the right. That doubtless was the view held by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar when, realising the uselessness after the Viceroy's first refusal of communicating further on the subject with the Secretary of State for

India, they addressed their letter of appeal for reconsideration of the Viceroy's decision to the Leader of the Opposition on the night of the debate on the India Office estimates then about to open in the House. Their views were supported by Mr. Joshi and some other British Indian delegates, whom Mr. Lansbury had the opportunity of consulting before the debate.

On the other hand, it was not surprising to find Sir Samuel Hoare announcing the Government's entire agreement with the Viceroy's decision or his taking his stand upon the not unnatural presumption that in refusing Mr. Gandhi's request, the Viceroy was fully aware of all that had taken place at the private conference at Poona, and that he was entitled to deal with the whole question in the light of his knowledge of the background in which Mr. Gandhi's request was made. If, therefore, Mr. Robert Bernays made a speech in support of Lord Willingdon's refusal, and of the Secretary of State's announcement that the Cabinet was supporting the Viceroy, he was, however unsympathetic his speech may have sounded in the ears of Indians who felt that contributions to the sorry mess that has been made of the situation have been given by both sides, voicing the general opinion of the House and of the country at what is regarded as, to use the least censorious expression, Mr. Gandhi's unhelpful attitude as contrasted with that of a very important section of his Congress colleagues. In well-informed circles the view is now prevalent that whatever filip may now be given temporarily to the civil disobedience movement by Mr. Gandhi's determination, with a select band of associates willing to continue to sacrifice themselves in a noble cause, to carry on the struggle along the lines marked out by him it will have all the appearance and probably much of the reality of flogging a dead horse. More than this, it is believed that a cleavage of a very far-reaching nature between the idealists and the realists in the Congress is to be looked for in the not distant future, with results not very favourable to Congress unity.

### THE COMMONS DEBATE.

Except for the episode regarding Mr. Gandhi and the Viceroy, concerning which Mr. Lansbury was eloquently indignant carrying with him a considerable section of his following, but probably in their heart not all, the debate last Monday was colourless and somewhat tiring. I have heard Sir Samuel Hoare's speech described as flippant. It was certainly not that; even though judged by highly critical standards it might be described as dealing with superficial appearances than with underlying realities. To some of these such as housing and the conditions of labour critics from the Labour benches very naturally referred, and they did it well and seriously, notably Mr. Charles Brown, the member for Mansfield, who, if he will devote himself to Indian affairs on a larger scale, ought to prove a very valuable debater and support for his Party. In Trade Union circles the view is being increasingly largely held, that the present and prospective conditions of life and labour in India are such as combined with similar conditions in China and Japan to present a very serious threat in the course of the next few years to the industries of the West, where the standards of living are very much higher.

Mr. Hailes's contribution to the debate, too, was very friendly and on this occasion relatively and commendably brief. Mr. Maxton, following in this respect the Leader of the Opposition, naturally dwelt upon the Meerut Trial delay, into which question Sir Samuel Hoare refused to be drawn, in view of its approaching hearing by the Allahabad High Court. I may here refer to the important meeting held in the



House this week, addressed by Mr. D. N. Pritt, K. C., the Chairman of the Howard League for Penal Reform, on the legal aspects of the trial, the Archbishop of York presiding, and the heads of the two Churches and some of the Bishops of the Established Church associated themselves with the proceedings.

The debate was wound up by Mr. Butler, the Under Secretary of State, who devoted the greater part of his first important official speech on India in the House to a survey of what has been done by the Central and the Provincial Governments as a result of the Whitley Commission and otherwise to improve the conditions of life and labour in India with a view to bringing about an increase of prosperity and contentment amongst the masses. One can only say of the debate as a whole that it smacked of unreality because of the inability of members to address themselves to any question of constitutional reform as being outside of the matters before the House, and because, too, of the sittings of the Joint Select Committee. Even Mr. Churchill, who made a characteristic speech in which he giped at the Secretary of State for accepting the recommendations of himself and his friends for the better conduct of the administration, whilst rejecting their advice regarding constitutional progress (which nevertheless was regarded as essential and necessary) discovered that the occasion did not lend itself to the effective exercise of his peculiar powers of discussion. The Government, therefore, easily got away with its vote.

#### THE JOINT SELECT COMMITTEE.

During the past fortnight almost to the exclusion of every other consideration, the Joint Committee as a whole has devoted itself to the vigorous examination of the Secretary of State for India who had voluntarily elected to offer himself as a witness with the assistance of Sir Malcolm Hailey, Sir Findland Stewart, the permanent Under Secretary, and latterly Sir John Kerr as an expert on the franchise proposals. Lest I forget I may here interpolate that the Indian women's delegation, having submitted a reasoned memorandum, has refused to give its oral evidence before one of the sub-committees appointed for the purpose of hearing detailed sectional evidence on the ground that the subject-matter of its representations affecting at least forty-five per cent. of the population of India, was vast and important enough to necessitate their evidence being taken by the Committee as a whole and not relegated to a subordinate body. The result has proved embarrassing both for the Committee and for the women's delegation, the prestige of both of whom is at stake. Unfortunately as the Committee is rising on the 3rd August, after taking the evidence of the Mahasabha and one or two other similar organisations and is not resuming for another two months it is possible that if the women insist upon being heard by the committee as a whole they will be required to stay over until later in the year. At any rate sub-committee C which was convened for Wednesday to hear their evidence, was obliged to abandon its sitting.

Reverting to the Secretary of State, there can be no doubt, to judge from the reception that he had this week at the dinner given in his honour by the thirty members of the Indian Central Legislature and also yesterday at the At Home to the Gaekwar who made an admirable speech in support of Indian Federation, Sir Samuel Hoare has emerged from his ordeal which is to continue next week, having made friends with British Members and Indian delegates alike by his frankness and straightforwardness and by his resolute adhesion to what is, on the whole, looked at from his point of view, and having regard to the nature of the opposition in his own party, a

liberal interpretation of the White Paper proposals. He is entitled to claim justification for taking the unprecedented risk of submitting himself, in his capacity as Secretary of State, to the most varied and intensive cross-examination from all quarters of the Chamber.

There emerges so far from his evidence that the Cabinet, though they may not be prepared to say so in so many words, regard Dominion Status as the natural end of the present constitutional proposals, which they regard as transitional and as heading naturally to a larger growth in the direction desired by Indian nationalists; that the constitution should incorporate constituent powers for the new Indian Legislature within certain defined limits, and enabling within those limits the Federal Legislature to make the necessary changes; and that the difference in time for operation between provincial autonomy and federal central responsibility should be as short as possible; that the transitional changes, for the period intervening between the two should be relatively small; that every possible endeavour should be made to overcome the difficulties and obstacles at present standing in the way of the establishment of Federation; and that the two main factors of uncertainty which it is the Government's desire to clear up without undue delay are interconnected questions of the accession of the required minimum of States to the Federation and the financial considerations enshrouding alike provincial autonomy and federal central responsibility. It is to the discussions this week on these points which have been very elaborately considered, both in question and answer, that I would refer your readers for their detailed consideration.

It is the general feeling among members and delegates alike that, apart altogether from questions of natural differences and points of view, Sir Samuel Hoare has received less than justice from sections of the British and the Indian Press, based upon disconnected, garbled, or distorted answers torn from their context, and conveying a meaning totally at variance with the legitimate interpretation of the proceedings as a whole. These daily reports of the proceedings of the Committee and of the Sub-Committees are therefore of the highest value and are entitled to careful perusal as a whole. Incidentally it is interesting to note that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's vehement protests against any attempt being made to whittle down the pledges or their implication for Dominion Status would result in his disinteresting himself entirely from the present constitutional proposals.

### Miscellaneous.

#### SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY, POONA.

##### REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1932-33.

(Continued from our issue of July 20, 1933.)

##### ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

In the last week of June, the Secretary of State for India announced his intention to abandon the third session of the R. T. C. and, instead, call together a few experts and specialists to private consultations in London and then to appoint a Joint Select Committee of Parliament to examine the proposals of the Government. This led to a revolt on the part of the Constitutionals, and Mr. Joshi, along with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and others, resigned his place on the Consultative Committee in protest. The Constitutionals declined to take part in the further discussion of proposals for cons-

titutional reform, a policy to which the members of the Society who were members of the R. T. C., Messrs. Sastri and Joshi, as well as the Society as a body, fully subscribed.

Soon after, several important meetings of the leaders of the Constitutionalists were held at the Servants of India Society, Poona, to further consider the position created by Sir Samuel Hoare's sabotage of the Conference method. The meetings were attended among others by Mr. Sastri, Mr. M. R. Jaykar, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, and Sir Cowsaji Jehangir (Jr.). As a result, a manifesto was issued early in August over the signatures of over a hundred leading men from all parts of India, stating that "in the circumstances we are clearly of opinion that the best interests of the country require that those of our countrymen who may be invited to assist in the further stages of constitution-making should withhold co-operation unless and until the former method is restored."

Subsequently, the Secretary of State revised his decision and partially restored the Conference method and convened the third session of the R. T. C. To it Mr. Joshi was invited, but not Mr. Sastri, though both of them were members of the first two sessions of the Conference.

#### THE COMMUNAL DECISION.

On the 17th of August Government published the Communal Decision. From the national point of view, the Decision was a great disappointment, though not unexpected. While thoroughly disapproving of it, the general policy of the Society has been to accept it under the circumstances, for the reason that Indians themselves, notwithstanding the most earnest efforts made by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in the first instance and by Mahatma Gandhi thereafter, could not arrive at an agreement between themselves and it was left to His Majesty's Government to impose a decision.

#### THE POONA PACT.

Not long after the publication of the Decision, Mahatma Gandhi startled the world by his resolve to "fast unto death" unless the Decision, in so far as it affected the Depressed Classes, since named by him "Harijans," was amended so as to eliminate separate electorates for them. As the Government, in the Decision, had stated that if the parties concerned came to an agreement on any modification, they would accept it, conferences of Harijan and Caste Hindu leaders were held in Bombay and in Poona to arrive at an agreement satisfactory to the Mahatma. Messrs. Devadhar, Kunzru, Thakkar and Bakhale took part in the discussions right up to the termination of the fast. Ultimately, a system of primary elections for the Harijans, to be followed by joint elections for both sections of the Hindus, was evolved. It obtained the approval of the Mahatma and the Government, and the former, who had commenced his fast on the 20th Sept., broke it on the 26th.

Anticipating that the numbers of the Depressed Classes in India would be a matter of dispute, because of the variety of definitions and estimates adopted by different authorities at different times, Messrs. Thakkar and Bakhale promptly prepared an exhaustive and comparative statement of the relevant figures and the representations proposed by various authoritative bodies and made it available to the members of the Conference. Both these members of the Society, who had specialised knowledge of the subject—Mr. Thakkar, besides being the President and organiser of the Bhil Seva Mandal, had served on the Bombay Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes Committee, and Mr. Bakhale had very recently

finished his work as a member of the Lothian Committee on Indian franchise appointed by the British Government as a sequel to the second R. T. C.—placed their services ungrudgingly at the disposal of the Committee and materially helped to achieve agreement. The Poona Pact was signed in Poona by Messrs. Devadhar, Kunzru, Thakkar and Bakhale from the Society and the subsequent ratification of it in Bombay was signed by others.

#### CAMPAIGN AGAINST UNTOUCHABILITY.

One of the most important consequences of the Poona Pact was the India-wide campaign for the removal of untouchability and for the uplift of the Harijans. Mr. A. V. Thakkar was appointed the Gen. Secretary of the Servants of the Untouchables Society, with headquarters in Delhi. For six and half months from October last he toured all the Provinces of India to study the extent and intensity of the problem of untouchability. The organisation has 22 provincial branches and 178 district centres. Several members of the Society have been appointed to important executive offices of the organization. Mr. Devadhar is the President of the Maharashtra Branch, and Mr. Kunzru of the U. P. Branch; Mr. Haradatta Sharma is the Joint Secretary of the Punjab Branch, Mr. Venkatasubbaiya Secretary of the Madras City Branch, and Mr. Negi of the U. P. Branch. They are giving so much of their time to this work that with some it has become their chief activity. The first meeting of the Executive Board of the S. U. Society was held at the S. I. S. Headquarters in Poona on the 3rd and 4th December, 1933. The constitution of the Society, drafted principally by Messrs. Thakkar and Kunzru, in consultation with the President of that Society, Mr. G. D. Birla, was adopted. Messrs. Sahu and Sivasubramanyam also did much active work in this direction.

Mr. Sastri, along with Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, issued a weighty manifesto in October last pleading for the removal of untouchability. In November the Mahatma himself secured permission of the Government to carry on from within the Yeravda Jail propaganda against untouchability. He decided to issue statements, daily for some time and occasionally thereafter, to the press on the subject, in which, with all the earnestness and zeal that he alone can put forth, he carried on incessant propaganda on his own unique lines. He requisitioned the services of the Society for securing extensive publicity to his statements. Mr. Kodand Rao and Mr. Vaze between them readily undertook the work which lasted more than two months. When the Mahatma decided to start the weekly English journal, *Harijan*, the Society gave him all facilities for its publication, short of accepting editorial responsibility.

#### UNITY CONFERENCE.

Another repercussion of the Poona Pact and the consequent modification of the Communal Decision, was the desire entertained in certain influential quarters that another effort should be made to bring about a communal settlement between Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and other minorities in India. Accordingly, a Unity Conference was convened at Allahabad by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Mr. Kunzru took a prominent part in it and Mr. Dube also participated in it. The Conference was useful, though it did not quite succeed.

#### THE WHITE PAPER.

The speech of the Secretary of State at the conclusion of the third session of the R. T. C. indicated pretty clearly the intentions of the British Government regarding Indian constitutional reform, which, of course, were very unsatisfactory. The worst fears were more than justified when the White Paper was

published in March last. Messrs. Sastri, Kunzru and Joshi and the periodicals of the Society vigorously criticised the scheme and indicated the modifications necessary to satisfy even moderate public opinion in India. Messrs. Sastri, Kunzru, Joshi, Patwardhan, Bakhale, Ambekar, Dube, Sharma and Kodanda Rao participated in the last session of the Liberal Federation held in Calcutta in April last, and Mr. Sastri in particular contributed a most weighty and convincing criticism of the White Paper proposals.

#### JOINT SELECT COMMITTEE.

Mr. Joshi was invited to form part of the Indian Delegation which was to collaborate with the Parliamentary section of the Joint Select Committee appointed to consider the proposals of the British Government contained in the White Paper.

#### LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Mr. Joshi continued to be a member of the Legislative Assembly and took part in several debates, drawing special attention to the needs of labour. He ventilated the grievances of third class passengers and of railway employees, advocated the release of political prisoners and served on Select Committees on the Workmen's Compensation Bill and the Land Acquisition Act Amendment Bill.

#### BOMBAY LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

Mr. Bakhale continued to serve on the Bombay Legislative Council as a nominated member to represent labour interests. He opposed the Cotton contracts Bill, by which Government intended to control the cotton market for political reasons, and the Bombay Special Powers Bill, which was meant to give legislative form to arbitrary powers assumed by the Government under the Ordinances; he severely criticised the extravagant claims of the All-India Services in respect of salaries and allowances; demanded greater facilities for technical education for textile workers in Bombay; and drew attention to some of the recommendations of the Whitley Commission on Indian Labour in respect of public health, and ventilated the grievances of the working classes regarding the registration and recognition of trade unions. He introduced a bill to raise the upper age limit for compulsory education from 11 to 12, but his motion was negatived. He introduced two other bills to secure labour representation in the Karachi Port Trust and to control rents in Bombay City. He tried to secure elected representation for labour in the Karachi Municipality. He criticised the White Paper in the Bombay Legislative Council from the point of view of labour interests.

#### LIBERAL ORGANIZATIONS.

Messrs. Sastri, Kunzru, Sharma and Sahu continued to be members of the Executive Committee of the National Liberal Federation. Messrs. Kunzru and Dube were members of the Council of the U. P. Liberal Association and Messrs. Joshi and Bakhale of the Western India National Liberal Association, while Mr. Venkatasubbaiah was one of the Secretaries of the Madras Liberal League. Mr. Sastri was the President of the Deccan Sabha, Poona, and Mr. D. V. Ambekar was the working Secretary. He was elected to it for the fourteenth time in succession, and was largely responsible for the administrative work of the Deccan Sabha. He gave a large part of his time to the collection of funds for the Gokhale Hall in Poona. Messrs. Patwardhan, Vaze, Limaye and S. G. Gokhale were members of the Council of the Deccan Sabha and took full share in the work of that organisation, of which Mr. Gokhale was elected a Secretary last year.

#### PERIODICALS.

The Society continued to publish the "Servant of India", the English weekly, and the "Dnyan Prakash",

the Marathi Daily, from Poona and the "Hitavada", the English bi-weekly, from Nagpur. Mr. Kodanda Rao, and in his absence, Mr. Vaze, were in editorial charge of the "Servant of India", while Messrs. Vaze and Ambekar gave most of their time to the conduct of the paper. Mr. Limaye was the editor of the "Dnyan Prakash" and was assisted by Mr. B. M. Ambekar and Mr. S. G. Gokhale. Mr. V. S. Venkataraman, who was an employee of the Society, was editor of the "Hitavada", but recently he took leave preparatory to retirement from the paper in order to promote a new daily in Nagpur. Mr. Dravid, the Senior Member at Nagpur, assumed editorial charge of the "Hitavada" from the middle of April 1933.

#### INDIAN STATES.

The Society in general, and Messrs. Vaze, Patwardhan and Thakkar in particular, continued to take keen interest in the amelioration of the condition of the subjects of Indian States. Mr. Vaze maintained a vigorous campaign in the columns of the "Servant of India" and the "Samsthani Swarajya" to the effect that Federation was worthwhile only if the Indian States were assimilated to the Indian Provinces as units of the Federation, that the representation of the States in the federal legislature should be by election by the subjects of the States and not by nomination by their autocratic Princes, and that fundamental rights should be extended to the States' subjects. He contested the view that central responsibility for British India was constitutionally impossible without Federation. Mr. Patwardhan advocated the same views in the "Samsthani Swarajya", of which he continued to be in charge. In April 1933 he presided over the Conference of the Punjab States' Subjects at Delhi and successfully represented their views before the last session of the Liberal Federation. He continued to be one of the Secretaries of the Dakshini Samsthan Hitavardhak Sabha and officiated as the Joint Secretary of the All-India States' Subjects' Conference.

Mr. Patwardhan was a member of the Phaltan and Aundh States' Legislative Councils, and President of the former.

#### INDIANS ABROAD.

The Society, and the "Servant of India" in particular, kept up vigilant interest in the fortunes of Indians abroad. Mr. Sastri cabled to South Africa deprecating the resolution of the South African Indian Congress to boycott the Faetham Commission and to offer passive resistance to the administration of the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Act. Mr. Kodanda Rao delivered two lectures on Indians Abroad in January last in Bangalore and repeated them in Mysore under the auspices of the Mysore University Extension Scheme.

#### ORISSA PROVINCE.

Mr. Sahu continued to take active part in the agitation for the constitution of the new province of Orissa, which proved successful. The question of the boundaries of the new province is yet a bone of contention between different interests.

#### LABOUR.

Several members of the Society gave their time and energy to the cause of labour. As stated above, Mr. Joshi represented labour interests in the Consultative Committee, the third session of the R. T. C. and the Indian Delegation to the Joint Select Committee and the Legislative Assembly and Mr. Bakhale in the Bombay Legislative Council.

Mr. Bakhale was the General Secretary of the Indian Trades Union Federation, which held its first session last year at Madras. Four trade unions were newly affiliated to the Federation, bringing its total strength to 40 unions and about

78,500 members. He kept the Federation in continuous touch with the Unions, as well as with the British Trades Union Congress and the International Federation of Trade Unions. The last was, through Mr. Joshi's and his efforts, persuaded to continue its financial assistance to the Indian Federation.

Messrs. Joshi and Bakhale attended the Trade Union Unity Conference in Madras in July last and the latter was a member of the sub-committee appointed to explore the basis of unity between the two national trade union organisations in India. This unity was finally achieved in April last in Calcutta and Mr. Bakhale took steps to inaugurate the united body in May 1933.

Mr. Bakhale was re-elected General Secretary of the Bombay Textile Labour Union and the President of the Bombay Port Trust Railwaymen's Union. By his representation, he was able to secure better water supply facilities to the members of the latter Union.

Mr. Joshi was appointed Chairman and Mr. Bakhale Secretary of the Committee formed in Bombay to arrange for the defence in appeal of the Communists who were convicted in the Meerut trial.

(To be continued.)

## Correspondence.

### DICTATORSHIP.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—There are some people in the country who think that the present degenerated state of India's politics, specially that of the Congress can be bettered if Mr. Gandhi is made the sole dictator of the country. This view is the outcome of three factors, firstly, the religious instinct of the people, secondly, the dynamic personality of Mr. Gandhi himself, and thirdly, the contemporary dictatorial regimes in Italy, Germany, Turkey, etc. And among these three factors, the most decisive is the last one, for it puts before the eyes of every practical Indian the simple and concrete results of the dictatorial experiments in some of the advanced countries, and it appeals to him so much as to have it repeated in his own country. But the advisers and promoters of this scheme do not realise that the social, religious, economic and political condition of those countries is far different from that of India.

We should remember that whether a nation reflects her real self in the form of a dictator or of a democracy, it is necessary that it must be preceded by a spiritual unity, for it is that 'oneness' which helps a nation to see its image in the form of a State. But India has not attained that unity up to this time and therefore any scheme of dictatorship at this

stage will retard its inner growth, for dictators always mould the material in their hand in their own form. This absence of unity is so telling that it is harmful not only to the harmony of the country but also to the personality of the dictator. It was only recently when Mr. Gandhi went to the 2nd R. T. C. as the spokesman of India's masses that his position was challenged not only by Moslems and Anglo-Indians, but also by Hindus. And he failed to pose then as the dictator of India, as the Congress seemed to depute him. All this was due to the absence of real unity in the country, and it was for the same reason that Mr. Churchill said: "India is an abstraction... India is no more a political personality than Europe. India is a geographical term. It is no more a united nation than the Equator." So before we talk of either democracy under reforms, or of dictatorship under Mr. Gandhi, we should harness all the physical and psychical forces in the country to create that spiritual unity which will find its expression in a united concrete India and not "an abstraction".

If we overlook this basic defect, and suppose for the sake of further discussion that there is unity in the country, and so we must have a dictatorial experiment, we are at once faced with another insurmountable obstacle and that is the mystic character of the proposed dictator himself, i. e. of Mr. Gandhi. All his speeches, statements, writings and actions show that he is better to be a religious hero than to be a political guide. His utility for the role of a dictator is set in high relief when we compare his character with that of other dictators as Stalin, Kamal Pasha, Mussolini or Hitler. All of them are men of practical commonsense without any mystic touches. They believe in the world and its ways. Their world is quite different from that of Mr. Gandhi who is deeply religious, mystic and sentimental. His philosophy of life will rather emasculate the manhood of India than regenerate and invigorate it. His very nature befits him to play the role of a religious hero like Chaitanya or Sultan Husain Shah of Jaunpur than of a Hitler or of a Kautilya. When Mr. V. J. Patel and Mr. Subhash Bose said, "Mr. Gandhi as a political leader has failed", they uttered a profound truth which is further attested by his recent Poona move.

The Poona episode ought to be a great lesson to the country as well as to the preachers of dictatorship, for it shows how the Congress world, being ruled for some time by a few dictators, has ultimately lost all courage, determination and conscience; and the qualities which once marked the general body of the Congress, have become the property of the few who are now driving the Congress members as a dumb flock of sheep. The Congress experiment shows that dictatorship in the country will cause its political suicide, for it will slowly kill the spirit of individual liberty and the freedom of conscience among the masses; and they will never be able to develop in themselves that political conscience and a real sense of values which are most vital for the reflection of the soul of a nation in the form of a State. If India wants Swaraj to develop its real personality, then it is time that all cries for dictatorship should be given up. We should try to follow the political formula of Englishmen. "Leave the people alone; a free action, a clear stage, and they will do the rest for themselves". Yours, etc.

H. S. LAL.

Simla, July 25.