

# The Servant of India

Editor: S. G. VAZE.

Office: SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY, POONA.

VOL. XVII, No. 43. } POONA—THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1934. { INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6.  
FOREIGN SUBSN. 15s.

## CONTENTS.

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	505
ARTICLES:—	
The Congress Session. ... ..	507
Evasion Right Through. By A. V. Patvardhan. ...	508
An Open Letter to the Rt. Hon. George Lansbury, M. P. By P. G. Kanekar. ... ..	509
OUR LONDON LETTER ... ..	511
REVIEW:—	
Muslim Rule in India. By M. V. Subrahmanyam ...	512
SHORT NOTICES. ... ..	513
MISCELLANEA:—	
National Congress Resolutions ... ..	513
Anti-Communal Award Conference Resolutions. ...	514
Socialists' Conference Resolutions. ... ..	514
S. I. S. Report for 1933-34. ... ..	515
BOOKS RECEIVED. ... ..	516

## Topics of the Week.

### Princely vs. Official Bloc.

A QUESTION which agitates political circles in British India is: will the Princely bloc in the federal legislature be better or worse than the existing official bloc? All sorts of opinion are to be found on this question. Some say that the Princes' nominees will be quite as good as the popularly elected representatives of British India; some others say that they will be a shade worse but not very much worse, and anyhow they will be infinitely better than the official bloc; and still others say that they will be quite as bad as the official bloc. But now we have the President of the Congress who says they will be distinctly worse.

IN his opening speech Babu Rajendra Prasad said:

It is sought to replace the bloc of officials and non-officials nominated by the Government by nominees of Indian States, joining the Federation. The nominated officials and non-officials of British India cannot be said to be amenable to popular opinion, but they have certainly a wider outlook and are more in contact with public opinion than any nominee of a State could be. They also feel a sense of responsibility even though it is to the British Government and not to the people of India. Will the State nominees have any information about or acquaintance with events happening in British India, from which the States have been in a way kept segregated? The only effect of the replacement of the nominated bloc by States' nominees will be a tightening of the British control coupled with traditions of a more autocratic rule and greater disregard of popular wishes than we are accustomed to in British India and which these nominees will bring with themselves.

But apart from its bearing the character of a nominated bloc it will also be a larger bloc numerically. Under the Montagu Reforms out of 145 members of the Assembly 40 or 27.5 per cent. are nominated, if we exclude the member for Berar who, for practical purposes, is an elected member; under the White Paper proposals out of a house of 375 no less than 125 or 33.3 per cent. are nominated by the States—an increase in the nominated element of 6 per cent.

Thus, on account of the Princes' nominees being of a worse quality and of a larger quantity, "the White Paper Federal Assembly", Babu Rajendra Prasad's conclusion is, "will be a less progressive and more autocratically inclined body than the present Assembly."

\* \* \*

THIS would mean that Babu Rajendra Prasad thinks that India will be worse off on account of federation, an opinion in regard to which, it is clear, he differs fundamentally from Mahatma Gandhi. For the Mahatma never opposed nomination by the Princes at the Round Table Conference, his opposition being reserved, like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's, for nomination in British India, obviously because, in the view of the Mahatma and Sir Tej, nomination in the States is not practically very harmful, though theoretically open to objection. Rajen Babu can make out even a stronger case if he compares the Federal Assembly with the Assembly proposed in the Government of India's despatch on the Simon Commission instead of with the existing Assembly. If federation were not thought of, the present Assembly would be replaced by an Assembly somewhat on the lines recommended in the Irwin Despatch, and it is with this Assembly that the Assembly proposed in the White Paper should be compared. The Assembly of the Irwin Despatch has a much smaller nominated element, and therefore, obviously, Babu Rajendra Prasad would consider it to be a great deal superior to the White Paper Assembly. But even if the comparison is with the existing position, the Congress President has no manner of doubt that the White Paper reforms will "take the country in some respects in the opposite direction (i. e. the direction opposite to Dominion Status) and leave it in a position constitutionally worse than that now occupied under the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms."

\* \* \*

### Mr. Ramanand Chatterjee and the Award.

THE organisers of the conference to protest against the Communal Award, the first session of which was successfully held last week in Bombay with Babu Ramanand Chatterjee in the chair, need not apologise to the public for bringing this new body into existence. So long as the Award remains unimproved, there is work out for the new organisation in voicing forcefully public hostility to the Award. The defeat of Pandit Malaviya's amendment moved in the open session of the Congress

seeking to commit that body to an attitude of definite opposition to the Award is likely to be represented as approval by the general public of the Congress attitude of neutrality to it. That is however far from being the case, as the very fact of the organisation of this Conference eloquently testifies and those in touch with public opinion outside the disciplined ranks of Congressmen can endorse.

HOWEVER much one may dislike the Award, it is doubtful if one would be right in censuring Government, as Mr. Chatterjee seemed to do in his presidential address, either for having intervened at all or for having done so in a hurry. Observers of contemporary events need not be told that Government wanted nothing more keenly than a solution of the communal problem by Indians themselves and they intervened only when such a solution was despaired of. Nor can they be convicted of the charge of unduly hurried intervention. As a matter of fact, they put off taking upon themselves the responsibility of finding a solution for the communal problem till they could do so no longer. It was when the Muslim members of the R. T. C. threatened to hold up all constitutional discussion till the communal problem was got out of the way that the Prime Minister undertook the responsibility of framing a decision. The actual decision may be equally repugnant both to us and to Mr. Chatterjee; but that does not alter the awkward reality of the situation that intervention was in a way forced on the Prime Minister because of the failure of the Indian representatives to present him with an agreed solution.

BE that as it may, Mr. Chatterjee's criticism of the Congress attitude of indifference towards the Award is doubtless fully deserved. If thereby the Congress hoped to improve the election prospects of its Muslim adherents, viz. the Nationalist Muslims, that hope is likely to suffer a rude shock. Apart from the fact that the number of national-minded Muslims is very small, they cannot, Mr. Chatterjee, is afraid, hope to win many seats in the Assembly, opposed as they are by the almost entire Muslim community organised under the joint banner of the All-India Muslim League and the All-India Muslim Conference. Mahatma Gandhi threatened to starve himself to death in order to prevent separate electorates being conceded to the depressed classes, but has no qualms of conscience in giving up the principle of joint election in the case of Muslims. And all this for what? Mr. Chatterjee's answer: "For saving or securing the (nominal?) adherence to the Congress of a small number of Muslims" will generally be found to accord with facts. The gain is manifestly too insignificant to justify the abandonment of the principle of common nationality by the Congress under the Mahatma's guidance.

#### Control of Money-Lending in Madras.

A FEATURE of the Money-Lenders Bill recently passed into law by the Madras Legislative Council which will be the subject of general criticism is its failure to lay down maximum rates of interest. This is an essential part of all legislation designed to regulate money-lending and should in the ordinary course have been incorporated in the Madras legislation. But really no blame attaches to the local Government for this omission. As a matter of fact the bill as originally framed by them had prescribed 18 per cent. in the case of secured and 24 per cent. in the case of unsecured debts as the maximum rates of interest. The local Government were however asked

by the Central Government to score out this provision from their scheme of controlling money-lending in that they were themselves planning legislation to that end on an all-India basis. This was in August last.

THE Government of India have since changed their mind and come to the conclusion that, in view of the diversity of local conditions in different provinces, the problem had better be tackled by provincial Governments themselves. It is strange that the Central Government should have displayed so much indecision even at this late stage, seeing that in Bengal, to mention one instance, more than a year has elapsed since the passage of a law which had fixed these maxima. After having allowed action on these lines in one province, how could they decently prevent it elsewhere? But this is what they did in the present case and needlessly postponed much needed relief to the hard-pressed borrower.

THEIR latest decision has thrown on the Madras Government the obligation of securing the insertion in their Money-Lenders law of the deleted clause—an obligation to discharge which the local Government intend shortly to introduce amending legislation. What lines should the proposed legislation follow? Should they, as in the original measure, fix 18 and 24 per cent. as the maximum rates for secured and unsecured debts respectively? Or should they, as in Bengal, draw the line at 12½ and 25 per cent. respectively with half-yearly rests? They may, we suppose, derive enlightenment also from similar legislation pending consideration by the Punjab legislature. There the select committee has by a majority altered the maximum rates of interest from 12 to 8 per cent. and from 24 to 18¾ per cent. in the case of secured and unsecured debts respectively. Public opinion in Madras is at present being consulted on the subject, and it is to be hoped that the local Government will take steps fully to keep it in touch with relevant developments in other provinces.

#### Compulsory Education for girls in U. P.

Indications are not wanting that the problem of compulsory education for girls is soon going to be seriously tackled in U. P. It would appear that it was recently referred for consideration to a Committee upon whose recommendations the local Government's decisions are just announced. The most important of the Committee's recommendations was that the experiment of introducing compulsory education for girls in rural areas should no longer be postponed. There can be no two opinions as to the wisdom and farsightedness underlying this recommendation. If proper care is taken of the education of the future mothers of the nation, it is obvious that the education of the nation as a whole will take care of itself. This aspect of the matter must have been forcibly present to the mind of the Committee when it made bold to suggest the introduction of compulsion in regard to female education in rural parts in a province where purdah still holds strong sway.

If the Committee is to be praised for making itself responsible for this progressive suggestion, the U. P. Government too deserves no less praise for their acceptance of the recommendation. No doubt their acceptance is hedged round by obvious financial limitations. This is generally used as a very convenient cloak for bureaucratic inaction. But we earnestly hope that the reservation is not intended in that sense in the present case, but that every endeavour will be made to push on the spread of compulsory education for

girls as much as possible. The recommendations in favour of saving the girls from the inconvenience of walking long distances for the purpose of attending school and the entertainment of as many women teachers as possible as additions to the existing teaching staff are steps in the right direction and should go far to ensure the success of the scheme.

\* \* \*

#### Executive Officers in Punjab Municipalities.

THOUGH legislation authorising the appointment of executive officers to municipalities in the Punjab was passed in 1931, it took nearly two years to make the law effective. Thus 1932-33 was the first year in which some experience could be gleaned of its working. Those who remember the fierce controversy that attended the legislation in its passage through the legislature will not feel surprised at learning that the effectuation of the measure was in some cases accompanied by disagreeable incidents. The appointments were generally looked on with suspicion and encountered considerable hostility at the hands of the municipal bodies. The Government review on the working of municipalities in 1932-33 mentions a case in which the opposition to the executive officer's appointment was carried to such lengths that the Government were compelled to order the removal of the President and two other members. The action, though seemingly needlessly drastic, is stated to have served its purpose, not only in the municipality immediately concerned but had a steadying effect on other municipalities as well. To opponents of Government interference in municipal administration the incidents cannot but be distasteful. Its very success is perhaps its justification in the present case. Apart from this, it is to be hoped that resort was had to this extreme step only after other remedies had been tried and found unavailing.

\* \* \*

IF the appointments themselves led to such unpleasant consequences in some cases, the results that flowed from them must be said to be gratifying. The executive officers were intended to remedy municipal inefficiency generally and to check the tendency on the part of municipal councillors to interfere in matters of routine administration. If the Government review is to be believed, this they seem to have succeeded in doing in most cases. Their advent is reported to have led to better discipline in the municipal staff and to the prevention of leakages in the collection of municipal dues. As a consequence, municipal receipts from taxation have as a rule gone up but in one case the success achieved by the executive officer must be said to be phenomenal. The municipality concerned was in a bankrupt condition before his appointment, but as a result of his close attention its finances were before long placed on a sound footing. In face of these incontrovertible facts, the success of the legislation can hardly be said to be in doubt.

## Articles.

### THE CONGRESS SESSION.

IT is difficult to assess the value of the work done by the Congress in its Bombay session. The most important part of it consists in Mahatma Gandhi's retirement, but before retiring he has left his own impress upon the Congress activities, and there is no question that in all crucial matters his

advice will be taken and acted upon. His absence from the Congress will therefore make little practical difference to the Congress policy. He wanted the constitution amended in certain particulars, and although later, finding that the modifications suggested by him did not approve themselves to the judgment of his followers, he had announced his intention not to propose them to the Congress, the Working Committee on its own responsibility made the same proposals with only such alterations as Gandhiji approved of, and got them accepted for the most part by the Congress. Nor was the Mahatma a disinterested observer of these proceedings. When a dilatory motion in connexion with a change in the Congress creed was passed by the Subjects Committee against the advice of the Working Committee, Mahatma Gandhi thought it necessary to show that, although he was quitting the Congress, he was not indifferent to the fate of the constitutional amendments that he had recommended in his previous statements, and he took the matter into his own hands lest the Subjects Committee might deal with his other suggestions as it had dealt with the first article of the constitution. If he had not taken a personal interest in these amendments and used his personal influence, there is no question that the Subjects Committee would have laid its rude hands on them. But he was able to get round the Committee by demonstrating that he was in dead earnest on the whole question. He even urged the Subjects Committee to reconsider its decision on the alteration of the creed, though his pleading on this score was unsuccessful. Similarly, in respect to the resolutions before the Congress, the Mahatma never assumed the attitude of detachment which one would have expected from a man who was giving up his leadership. He had himself to combat the Socialist group, which is daily growing more powerful and which counts in its ranks some of the most earnest souls to be found on the Congress platform. Nor could he leave to other hands the drafting of the resolution on the Indian States, a question which evidently, according to him, demands more diplomatic skill than devotion to principle or courage in action. It is therefore obvious that the retiring leader is going to exercise his leadership; only he will do so, not from within the Congress, but from without.

On the constitutional amendments themselves, some of them will no doubt tend to make the Congress a compact and business-like body, but this does not by itself account for the feverish anxiety that the Mahatma shewed in securing Congress approval for them without the least possible delay. Congressmen themselves are at a loss to know the true inwardness of these changes. Varying explanations are offered, and none of them may be true. One of the commentators envisages resumption of the fight with Government within the next six months, by which time he thinks the Parliamentary wing of the Congress will discover its utter helplessness. A call to direct action will then go forth again, and the amended constitution will at such a time be found a potent instrument for carrying on the campaign. Under the existing constitution it was found that Government could take

the Congress unawares, but by altering it, the Congress had thrown up its defences and it would now be in a position to meet any possible attack on the part of the Congress. We do not pretend to know what the loopholes are in the present constitution and how they are going to be closed in the new. Another commentator puts just the contrary interpretation upon it. According to him, the present constitution is suited to war times, but Congressmen have now come upon peace, and if the constitution were left unaltered they would suffer demoralisation. Appropriate changes must therefore be effected in the constitution so as to make it a good peace instrument. Here again we do not claim to know in what respects the constitution now in force is defective and how the amended constitution will serve Congress purposes better.

One thing is perfectly clear. The Congress is fast losing ground among advanced politicians. When Mahatma Gandhi took charge of it, it was the spear-head of Indian agitation because it was a mere radical body than any other. Now it has definitely moved to the right, or other bodies are further to the left. On every political question that is a matter of controversy, the Congress is put on the defensive, and it is a very weak defence that it can put up. On the communal award question its position is particularly weak from the logical point of view. If the White Paper is to be rejected on the ground that it is British-made, there is all the greater reason for the rejection

of the communal award, for in the manufacture of the White Paper constitution Indians had at least some hand, but in the making of the communal decision they had none. Yet the Congress rejects the White Paper and shrinks from rejecting the communal award. Anyhow a party which rejects both the White Paper and the communal award appears to the general public more radical and therefore more worthy of their confidence than a party which rejects only one of them. The Congress politicians have been saying: "Every vote given to a non-Congressman is a vote for Government." The Nationalist Party can far more truly say: "Every vote given to a Congress candidate is a vote for Government," and some Nationalists have been saying it too! On the question of the States, the Congress under the Mahatma's advice has been following a policy dictated so obviously by considerations of expediency that even Congressmen, and prominent Congressmen too, are chafing at it. On the issue of socialism also the Congress position is exceedingly doubtful. It cannot openly challenge it, nor can it openly repudiate it. And while Socialists produce arguments Congressmen have nothing but vehemence of language to oppose them. The worst of it is that each of these questions the Congress tries to solve by side-stepping it. The Congress cannot do this for long without thoroughly discrediting itself, even if the Mahatma stays in.

## EVASION RIGHT THROUGH.

**M**AHATMA GANDHI submitted the following draft of a resolution on the Indian States to the Subjects Committee of the Congress:—

"As numerous resolutions have been received from various groups for adoption by the Congress urging it to define its policy in regard to Indian States, it is hereby resolved as follows:—

The Congress adheres to its policy of non-interference in the internal administration of the various States.

The Congress, however, regards the whole of geographical India as an indivisible whole, notwithstanding the fact that it is cut up into parts governed under different systems and, therefore, expresses its regret over the tendency of some Princes to regard as foreigners Indians from parts of India other than their own and repeats its appeal made at the previous sessions of the Congress to establish responsible government within their jurisdiction and recognise the necessity of guaranteeing the civic and political liberty of the people living in their territories.

This Congress assures the people residing in the different States of full sympathy with their just aspirations for fuller self-expression."

The first point to be noticed in this draft is that it deals only with a fraction of the question that has been raised and that has to be met. I will refer to the omission presently, but first let us see what the draft does contain. He reiterates his conviction that the Congress must pursue a policy of non-interference in Indian States' affairs, and the reason for this policy, be it noted, is not merely one of expediency and limited resources available to the Congress, but one of legal and constitutional difficulty. He made clear the position as he sees it in his letter to Mr. Kelkar. "The States," he said then and holds to it

now, "are independent entities under the British law. That part of India which is described as British has no more power to shape the policy of the States than it has (say) that of Afghanistan or Ceylon... India of the States is undoubtedly an integral part of geographical India. But that carries us no further than where we stand today. Portuguese and French India are also an integral part of geographical India, but we are powerless to shape the course of events there." In other words, the Indian States are in the eye of law as much beyond our jurisdiction as Afghanistan or Ceylon and Portuguese or French India. They are foreign territory, in which British India has no right to interfere. This position too is wrong, since the Indian States are under British paramountcy, while Afghanistan and Portuguese or French India are not. But assuming, for argument's sake, that British India cannot interfere in the States' affairs, it does not follow that the Congress cannot. For the Congress is not a purely British Indian organisation, but takes in the States as well as British India. The Congress cannot therefore treat the States as foreign territory, even if British India does. They are as much its territory as British India. If it were not so, why does the Congress admit the States' people within its fold? It does not admit Afghans or citizens in Portuguese or French India. Again, why did the Calcutta Congress of 1928, in revising its constitution deliberately strike out the clause which it had contained before, prohibiting the Congress from interfering in the internal administration of the States?

All this has been said before a number of times, but when Mahatma Gandhi only repeats his point of view his critics too have no alternative but to repeat their criticism of it. If he were to say: "It is certainly open to the Congress to interfere in States' affairs; indeed it is its duty to do so. But this is not the time when the Congress can usefully interfere. Its hands are already full in fighting with the British Indian Government. It cannot take up the question of the States without rendering itself weak in the task that it has already taken in hand, but the States will have its attention next," the position would be intelligible, though not wholly acceptable. But he does not say so. He trots out reasons based upon law, which, according to him, forbid Congress interference in States' affairs even if useful interference be possible in the existing circumstances. In answer to arguments based upon expediency, the States' people would say: "We realise that the Congress cannot give much effective assistance. We don't look for it either. We want, first, a formal recognition of the theory that the States are as much its concern as British India, and, secondly, such practical help as the Congress can see its way to give. We do not want the Congress to overstrain its resources by any means. But we will not have the Congress speak of 'interference in States' affairs.' States' affairs are the Congress's own affairs to quite the same extent as British Indian affairs. How will it do if we were to speak of the Congress 'interfering in British Indian affairs?' The Congress has extended its domain by including in its membership the States' people along with British Indians. It is no longer open to it to adopt the phraseology of British India. It will be wholly inappropriate."

To a gathering of the States' people on the last day of the Congress Mahatma Gandhi complained that the Travancore Darbar had misinterpreted his letter to Mr. Kelkar. But the Travancore Darbar has drawn the only possible inference from it. If the Congress is to plead inability, on constitutional grounds, to interfere in the States' affairs, cannot the States for the same reason prevent their people from interfering in British India or participating in the movement of the Congress, which, on the Mahatma's own hypothesis, is a British Indian body? The inconsistency of Mahatma's position was clearly shown up in journals like the *Tribune*, but the Mahatma does not believe that there can be anything valuable in any newspaper which even he may profit by reading. The draft resolution finds fault with rulers like His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner for passing the

Foreigners' Act preventing the entry of British Indians into his State. But the resolution fully justifies the Maharaja's action, for it shows that, legally, British Indians are foreigners and will remain foreigners even under federation, and that the Maharaja has the constitutional right to put down any attempt at interference in his State's affairs. All that the Congress can do is to appeal to the Maharaja that although he has the right he should refrain from exercising it. But the Maharaja might well reply that he was only doing by statute what the Congress itself was doing by resolution. If the Congress stopped British Indian non-interference, the Act would remain inoperative, but it should be on the statute book so that it could be made use of if the Congress found itself unable to put its resolution into effect. The Princes and the Congress wished to pursue the same policy; why then should the Congress protest against the States? To this the Congress has no answer to make.

But what about the States' people's position in the federation? The Mahatma's draft resolution is absolutely silent about it. The States' people are making certain demands in connexion with the federal constitution and urging the Congress not to accept it unless these demands are satisfied. Election of the States' representatives in the federal legislature and insertion of a declaration of rights in the federal constitution for the States' people are among these demands. On both Mahatma Gandhi's position was deplorably weak at the Round Table Conference. He gave a blank cheque to the Princes on these matters. Mr. Kelkar, in his letter, asked him a pointed question, whether elective representation and protection of fundamental rights, for which he pleaded but did not press, "are, in your opinion, merely desirable features of a federation or essential conditions thereof." But he did not choose to answer the question and he even does not refer to it in his draft resolution. The States' people have also been asking whether the constituent assembly, which is to draft the future constitution, will have admitted to it the States' people's representatives as well as British Indian representatives and whether a federal constitution will be accepted only if it is acceptable to both of them. This is a simple question and should have been answered at once. It was put to Mahatma Gandhi as early as June, but he has been evading the issue ever since. Why cannot he say, either that the States' people will be admitted or will not be admitted? All other Congressmen, who are not in Gandhi's immediate entourage, say at once: "The States' people will of course be admitted," but not he!

A. V. PATVARDHAN.

## AN OPEN LETTER

TO THE RT. HON'BLE GEORGE LANSBURY, M. P.

SIR,—A very heavy responsibility rests upon the Labour Party in respect to the White Paper proposals. I have no doubt that the Party as a whole takes a far more liberal view of the question of Indian reform than the Conservative Party or the Nationalist Government, and that it will be found,

when the Report of the Joint Select Committee on the White Paper is published, that the Labour Party's representatives have done their best to widen the scope of self-government contemplated in the Government's scheme. Even so, it is possible, and indeed inevitable, that the Labour view of Indian reform

will differ in material respects from that of the Indians themselves. And, what is more important, in all such matters, I am convinced, the Labour Party will be prepared to abandon its own view in favour of the Indian view when it is clearly expressed. For it stands for the principle of self-determination of all subject peoples, and you, Sir, in explicit terms, have accepted this principle for India. In the Party Conference at Southport, it is true, the demand for an express recognition of India's right to self-determination was negated, and Mr. Henderson instead promised in general terms to consult all sections of Indian opinion. However, I am still inclined to the belief that the Labour Party will in fact be guided, if not entirely, at least largely, by Indian opinion, whatever the Party itself may think about the question.

If I am right in this estimate of the Labour Party's intentions, there is one thing which it must do immediately: it must ask, when the Joint Select Committee's Report comes under discussion in Parliament, that, in order to ascertain the view of the Indian people on the Government of India Bill, the official members of the Legislative Assembly should refrain from voting on the resolution which the representatives of the Congress intend to table early next year on this subject, and that if this view is hostile to the Government scheme the Bill should be dropped, thus giving an opportunity to the people in India to make known, through a constituent assembly or in any other way, what is the kind of constitution that they want. Indian opinion cannot be discovered unless the vote in the Assembly is confined to non-official members. For, if the officials are allowed to vote—and they are bound to vote in favour of the Government scheme if they vote at all—a resolution hostile to the scheme has no chance, since the number of official members is so large and the vested interests have such a long pull. If, in spite of official members remaining neutral, the Assembly vote is favourable to the Bill, it may be open to doubt, on account of the defective constitution of the Assembly, whether Indian opinion really favours it or not. But if the vote is adverse, notwithstanding the limited franchise that is in force and the disproportionate voting power that special interests enjoy, it will be clear beyond question that Indian opinion is wholly opposed to the Bill. For this reason it is of the first importance that, when the question will come up before the Assembly, the official members shall abstain from voting, and my first suggestion is that you will kindly put forward this demand in the observations that you will make on behalf of the Labour Party.

The second suggestion that I would venture to make is that you should also ask that if Indian opinion, thus ascertained, expresses itself clearly against the proposed constitution, the British Government ought to declare forthwith that it will drop the Bill. Surely, the first step in giving effect to the principle of self-determination is not to impose upon India a constitution which the country has pronounced itself against. In the elections that are about to be held the one issue placed before the electorate is that of the

White Paper. The Congress candidates are fighting the elections on the platform of the rejection of the White Paper, and if the Congress members, with the help of the members of other parties, obtain a majority of non-official votes for a rejection motion then it may be taken to be proved conclusively that India does not want the White Paper constitution. Possibly the conservative-minded members of the Labour Party may think it an unwise proceeding on the part of the Congress and other Indian political parties to pass such a motion in the Assembly even at the cost of the whole reform question being held up. They may feel that the constituent assembly planned by the Congress will not be able to hammer out an agreed constitution, and that anyhow there will be little chance of such a constitution being adopted by His Majesty's Government. They would therefore prefer Indians to act on the principle that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. I feel certain in my mind that this cannot represent your own opinion; but you must ask the timorous souls in your Party to take Indian leaders at their word. They know what the consequence of a rejection motion will be; and if with this full knowledge they pass it, the Labour Party at any rate must allow them to go in what it may consider to be a wrong way. If such a motion is passed, it cannot be by the votes of Congress members alone. It is impossible that the Congress will be able to capture a majority of seats in the Assembly. Other progressive parties will also have to vote with the Congress in order that a motion of rejection or non-acceptance of the White Paper may be carried in the Assembly. If then all the advanced groups join in saying that "India does not want the White Paper" and say it even at the risk of going without any constitutional advance possibly for a number of years, the Labour Party must not sit in judgment over them and say: "Indian politicians are immature; let us do, not what they ask for but what we think would be in India's interest." Even the most backward members of the Labour Party, I am sure, have a more robust faith in self-determination than this would indicate. Such members would perhaps find some difficulty, as the Southport Conference showed, in committing the Party to the acceptance of the constitution that may later be drafted by a constituent assembly in India in lieu of the White Paper constitution, but that is for the future. All I am anxious to point out just now is that if responsible Indian opinion, rightly or wrongly, refuses to accept the White Paper, the Labour Party too must insist, whatever its own opinion, that the White Paper scheme shall not be forced upon India against her wishes. The Labour Party should take note, too, that no propaganda in favour of acceptance of the White Paper has yet been set on foot in India, although the rejection propaganda is going on apace, thereby bringing very much nearer than before the contingency of the whole question of reforms being laid aside. Furthermore, the diehard section is making much headway in the Conservative Party in England and threatening seriously to kill the White Paper stone-dead, and yet there is no sign in India of any im-

portant leader from any group lifting his little finger to save the White Paper.

In the end I would like to add one more word. If what I have suggested above is done, a beginning would be made in applying the principle of self-determination to British India. But the Labour Party might also turn its attention to the Indian States. For the constitution proposed for India is a federal constitution embracing the States as well as British India in its ambit. The people of British India have at least been consulted to some extent before formulating the White Paper proposals, though it turns out that the proposals are wholly unsatisfactory to them. But the people in the Indian States have not had a look in at all. All the negotiations have been conducted so far by His Majesty's Government and the British Indian leaders with the Princes. It may be that, as the States' Governments are now constituted, the Princes are the proper spokesmen of the States with whom alone His Majesty's Government can carry on diplomatic conversations. On this very ground the Labour Government, which was in power when the first Round Table Conference met, felt precluded from inviting representatives of the States' people to the Conference. This may be technically a sound view. But is the Labour Party's duty finished when it asks that British Indian opinion, as it has finally shaped itself, shall be ascertained, when the question affects not only British Indians but also the States' people? The Labour Government may have been unable to take official note of the existence of the States' people, but I should think that it is the inescapable duty of the Labour Party to make sure, before it gives its consent to the federal scheme, that it is acceptable to the voiceless people in the States also. So far as this opinion has made itself heard—and it has made itself heard mostly on British Indian soil, a discussion of the constitutional proposals being forbidden in the Indian States (vide Mr. A. V. Patvardhan's article in the last issue of this journal headed "Out-Hitlering Hitler")—it is far more antagonistic to the scheme than in British India. I hope, therefore, that you and other champions of liberty will take up the cause of these people also and ask in Parliament that steps be taken in the States to ascertain public opinion there, and proof at least of the negative variety be adduced to show that the people in the States do not totally repudiate the scheme. Pray allow me to say, Sir, that the Labour Party will have completely turned its back upon the principle of self-determination unless at the next opportunity that will offer to it in Parliament it asks that no constitution shall be imposed upon India against the wishes of the peoples in British India and the Indian States.—Yours truly,

P. G. KANEKAR.

---

## Our London Letter.

---

(BY AIR MAIL.)

(From Our Correspondent.)

LONDON, 19th October.

### THE AFTERMATH OF BRISTOL.

THE further inquiries that I have been able to make in well-informed quarters regarding the hostile vote that Sir Henry Page-Croft and his friends were able to secure, at the Bristol Conference, rather

goes to confirm the impression that I had gathered, and communicated to you, that it ought not to be taken at its face value. There is no doubt, of course, that diehard propaganda, especially in the southern constituencies, has been continuous and, to some extent, effective. This is not to be wondered at, in view of the fact that many otherwise unemployed Indian civilians, who have been in retirement for some years, and were familiar with the older conditions in India, exercise a not inconsiderable influence in those constituencies, and, as I stated last week, the fact that the Conference was held in the South of England made some difference in the proportionate representation of the Conservative associations represented at the Conference. Obviously more southern delegates could be gathered together at Bristol than from the rest of the country, especially from the North, which has been hard hit by the depression, and where the Tory working man is no inconsiderable a factor in the electorate.

It ought also to be remembered that when large groups of people are together, and especially if they are ill-informed, as from the Indian point of view it is to be presumed that a Tory audience is, they are very readily susceptible to destructive suggestions and depreciative slogans. Two ideas were associated in Sir Henry Page-Croft's motion and speech: one that there should be no disunity in the Party in the face of the Socialist menace, and the other that the Conference was being prevented from discussing matters of the gravest importance to the country which were being freely discussed outside the Conference. When an audience suffers from a compound complex of fear and resentment, it is not so difficult to work up a comparatively large hostile vote.

Sir Henry Page-Croft's elation at his unexpected success at Bristol appears to have developed in him a new form of mild megalomania. He and his merry men, he claims, in a recent speech, have dealt a doughty first blow for the destruction of the menace hanging over the great Imperial tradition, for which all good Tories ought to be standing in an attitude of protection, and he is hoping, or he affects to hope, that he and his friends, like the knights of the Round Table of old, will be able to save the distressed damsel of Imperialism from the peril in which, no doubt unwittingly, Mr. Baldwin and his bold bad colleagues, under the seductions of a Socialist programme and Prime Minister, have led her. In the meanwhile, he is pursuing a persistent propaganda in constituencies, for which some of his close associates sit in Parliament. Unfortunately one of his letters, urging active and energetic propaganda for the destruction of the enemy and the security of the Empire, went badly astray. There are two Members of Parliament of the name of Clifton Brown, one is a Brigadier-General, who sits for the Newbury division of Berkshire, the other is a Colonel who sits for a northern division. Unfortunately for Sir Henry Page-Croft they differ strongly on Indian policy, though they are brothers. Also that family discord should reveal itself in public! The letter addressed to the Brigadier-General was received, to the latter's disgust, by the Colonel, who so strongly resented Sir Henry's suggestions and recommendations that he promptly protested to the Member for Bournemouth and published the letter and his reply in the *Times*. This paper has since reproduced a great deal of correspondence from Chairmen of Tory Associations, strongly supporting the Colonel's protest, and expressing the view that Sir Henry Page-Croft's activities in anticipation of the publication of the Report of the Joint Select Committee are both misguided and mischievous, and that they are calculated to do great harm to the Conservative Party. All these protests, however, are likely to leave Sir Henry who confesses himself to be un-

ashamed, quite unmoved, and the India Defence League propagandists will continue to wage their merry fight in serene disregard of the very interest that they affect to be out to protect.

I do not think that too much need be read into Mr. Neville Chamberlain's statement the other day that it was absurd to carry on this raging tearing propaganda against the White Paper, since it was not the White Paper proposals that the Party and the country would have to consider in the near future, but the Report of the Joint Select Committee which, after all, might be found to contain wide variations from the Round Table proposals. That, of course, as a statement of fact is quite true, though I have very good reason to doubt whether in truth the Report when published will be found to contain much more in the way of deviation from the earlier proposals than has already been indicated from time to time in this correspondence. Nothing that I have more recently been able to gather goes to show that one's worst fears have not already been discounted by intelligent forecast. What Mr. Chamberlain probably had in mind was the absurdity of barking up the wrong tree, especially when the nature of the occupant of the right tree was yet unknown.

#### THE TIME-TABLE.

The London Press is at last beginning to take an intelligent interest in the date of publication of the Joint Select Committee's Report and the general consensus is, as indicated by me some time ago, that it will be somewhere between the 20th and 27th November, unless there is a further hitch. In fact, the Report is all but ready for the printer, minor corrections and adjustments alone having to be made. I believe, however, that, in accordance with the strict Parliamentary etiquette, express authority must be obtained for simultaneous publication in India and here, and one of the earliest duties of the Government at the opening of the autumn session, on Tuesday week, when Parliament reassembles, will be to obtain the sanction of Parliament for such simultaneous publication. I daresay that if their attention were drawn to it the Government, which is like an innocent child in these matters, would see to it that the date of publication is postponed until after the Assembly Elections. No doubt the actual date selected is a mere coincidence. By the time the Report is out, however, the autumn session will have been completed and a new session begun. Some days will be required to enable the public to digest what promises to be a very voluminous Report (it is said to be substantially larger than that of the Simon Commission) and the necessary Tory Party Conference to enable Mr. Baldwin to take counsel with his followers will have to be held. The Government still hope to stage a debate in both Houses of Parliament before the Christmas adjournment.

The publication of the Report has, however, been so long delayed that there is bound to be some readjustment of the Government's Parliamentary programme. It seems fairly clear now that it will be very difficult, if not impossible, to introduce a Bill this side of Christmas, even though the draft must be already well advanced, if not virtually complete. The question will be how soon the Bill can be passed. It is already suggested that it is unlikely to get through the Commons before the late summer, and that the House of Lords may insist upon carrying it over into the autumn session of next year. Upon the assumption that it passes virtually unchanged, the operation of the Act would be postponed to well into 1936. There is, however, the possibility that the whole matter may be speeded up, in view of what are believed to be the concessions made to Conserva-

tive opinion in the Report, and also of the fact that the Government may wish to take advantage of the undesirability felt by most Parties in the House to have a highly contentious measure discussed in a spirit of acute controversy at a time when the country will be desiring to celebrate with goodwill the King's Silver Jubilee, for which arrangements are already well advanced. Although many Conservatives are known to be very hostile to large concessions in India, and would like to agree to the diehard programme of the Simon Report minus a great deal, and with safeguards, a combination of firmness and diplomacy, as well as a general spirit of loyalty, may induce them to accept their leader's advice instead of jettisoning him.

This reminds me of a clever cartoon by Low, who canvasses the possibilities and programmes of rival candidates for the leadership of the Tory Party. The first of these is, significantly, Mr. Winston Churchill. In another cartoon Mr. Low, taking advantage of the episode of the present Motor Show, displays a stall where the new 1935 model "India Policy," described as the car of the century, is intended for exhibition. Mr. Baldwin is shown assuring an intending purchaser that the actual car is not here yet, but as he can see the accessories are now arriving, the accessories being brought in by diehards, including especially Sir Henry Page-Croft and Mr. Churchill, who are putting up all kinds of danger-signals, warnings and traffic obstacles and stops.

## Review.

### MUSLIM RULE IN INDIA.

**MUGHAL EMPIRE IN INDIA, 1526-1761.**  
PART I. By S. R. SHARMA. (Karnatak Printing Press, Bombay 2.) 1934. 22cm. 352p. Rs. 4.

DURING recent years great progress has been made in antiquarian and numismatic researches into the history of the Mughal Empire in India and, thanks to scholars like Jadunath Sircar, Quanango and Beni Prasad, a large literature has grown on the subject. But only professors and research students will take the trouble of going through the works of Sir H. M. Elliot or Professor Dawson or Sircar or Beni Prasad. It has long been felt that if the mass of material accumulated in recent years is compressed and placed in the hands of B. A. students in a readable form, it will revolutionise to a great extent their ideas of men and events in the Mughal period. Professor Sharma's book supplies this long-felt want. Professor Sharma, the learned author of the book under review, has written not a cram book containing some points useful for examination purposes, but a book which combines the advantages of a text-book and source-book.

Professor Sharma's treatment is original. Before dealing with the reign of each king, he gives a complete list of the authorities classifying them into primary and secondary. The list will enable the students to know where information of special kind may be sought. The author does not narrate the history of the Mughal Empire himself. He lets the authorities, both contemporary and modern, to speak on the events. But to prevent the students from losing their way in a mass of historical evidence, the learned author has arranged the information to suit examination requirements. The author freely quotes from modern writers in giving estimates of kings like Sher Shah and Akbar. Throughout the book the learned author emphasises that a proper estimate of a Mughal monarch must be made on 16th



century standards and not on 20th century standards. He compares the policy and achievements of the Mughal monarchs with those of their contemporaries in Europe and points out that they were certainly greater statesmen than their Western contemporaries. He rightly points out that "A true historical spirit ought to view things in their proper historical perspective, before judging men and nations too severely. In trying to represent the past of a country, sympathetic insight into the peculiar genius and traditions of the people is an indispensable virtue, the lack of which often results in the distortion of the true import of facts, if not of the facts themselves."

The book under review, being the First Part, brings the history of the Mughal Empire to the death of Akbar. This book and the Second Part when completed will certainly be found useful by the History Honours students of the Madras University, taking Mughal India as one of their special periods.

Professor Sharma has used the most recent as well as contemporary authorities in compiling his graphic and interesting chapters on the early Mughals. His own scholarship and experience have enabled him to give life and meaning to events and characters which in less skilful hands would have lost their significance. No further proof of the excellence of the book is required than this, that the author has been able to obtain an appreciative foreword from such a distinguished scholar as the Rev. Fr. Heras.

We have no hesitation in saying that this is an interesting and valuable book on the early Mughals, and we look forward to the publication of the Second Part with great interest.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

#### SHORT NOTICES.

**MY IMPRESSIONS OF JAPAN.** By LALLUBHAI SAMALDAS. (Taraporevala.) 1933. 20cm. 158p. Rs. 2.

THIS is a charming book divided into eleven parts. The first nine deal with the advance of Japan in varied walks of life; and the last two represent the gradual and interesting transition of the author from the attitude of a delighted tourist to that of a politician with a grievance.

The chapters on Education and Industries are full of valuable information. We are told that school buildings in Japan are in general manifestly superior to the houses in their neighbourhood. The percentage of literacy is 99.23 of the total population. How did Japan achieve this educational miracle? How is she able to compete with murderous success in foreign markets? How can she scale the walls of protection without causing a single ripple of labour unrest at home? Such important questions are satisfactorily answered by the author whose remarks are based on careful observation of a number of educational institutions and five of the biggest factories in Japan.

The chapter on National Characteristics is worth reading, because it dispels the common misunderstanding of Japanese character. For instance, a striking virtue that is practised on a national scale in Japan, is cleanliness. Everything is kept scrupulously clean. At the entrance to all hospitals, schools, dormitories, or restaurants, visitors have to take off their shoes at the gates and put on clean slippers which are kept ready for them. The author has not a few revelations to make with regard to several other characteristics of the Japanese.

The chapter on Religion tells us that Japan has nothing of the other-worldliness that has done so much harm in India.

The author has really enjoyed his trip to Japan. What makes the book a success is the sense of enjoyment, with which the book compels the reader's attention from page to page. One longs to see the land of health and beauty which is Japan—after reading this book.

M. D. S.

**ECONOMICS OF GUT-MAKING IN THE PUNJAB.** By FARZAND ALI SHAH and R. A. FOSTER. (The Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab.) 1934. 25cm. 86p. As. 8.

THIS is a survey of the gut-making industry in and about Sialkot. The history of this new industry and the process of making the two kinds—'rouda' and 'patha'—of guts are given in detail. This industry whose annual production amounted to five lakhs of rupees, about half of which was exported to foreign countries in 1929, suffered by the economic depression. It has also to face keen competition of European rivals whose temporary absence in the market gave the Indian industry a great impetus. The exporting traders are not organised, and their unbusinesslike methods often subject them to great loss. In the City of Sialkot there are 17 factories employing 154 workers and 110 families carry on the industry in the 20 villages roundabout Sialkot. The gut-makers, both independent, and those under middlemen, as well as those in factories work under conditions not very satisfactory and steps need to be urgently taken to improve them. Their processes of production are very crude and the vast scope for research work in this field is being duly emphasised by the author. The industry, though a small one, has a great scope for improvement in many ways. The methods of packing and washing intestines should be improved. The workers should be taught the properties of the chemicals they use, and their proportions. Facilities for research work, together with proper training on scientific lines should appear to be the crying need of the industry. The detailed study of the family budgets, their diet, their indebtedness are very useful to attest the value of this industry. The attempt, already made, to organise these independent workers into co-operative society, though unsuccessful, should not stand in the way of organising a new society to finance, market, and organise this trade.

N. S. S.

### Miscellaneous.

#### NATIONAL CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS.

The 48th session of the Indian National Congress concluded in Bombay after passing a number of resolutions. Some of the more important ones are reproduced below:

##### ENDORSEMENT RESOLUTION.

THIS Congress endorses the resolutions passed by the Working Committee and the All-India Congress Committee at their meetings held in May 1934 and thereafter, especially the resolutions regarding the Parliamentary Board and its policy and programme, the constructive programme, the status of Indian settlers overseas, condolence resolutions, and the resolution on Swadeshi.

##### THE ALL-INDIA VILLAGE INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION.

Whereas organisations claiming to advance Swadeshi have sprung up all over the country with and without the assistance of Congressmen and whereas much confusion has arisen in the public mind as

to the true nature of Swadeshi and whereas the aim of the Congress has been from its inception progressive identification with the masses and whereas village re-organisation and reconstruction is one of items in the constructive programme of the Congress and whereas such reconstruction necessarily implies revival and encouragement of dead or dying village industries besides the central industry of hand-spinning and whereas this work, like the re-organisation of hand-spinning, is possible only through concentrated and special effort unaffected by and independent of the political activities of the Congress, Sri J. C. Kumarappa is hereby authorised to form, under the advice and guidance of Gandhiji, an association called the All-India Village Industries Association as part of the activities of the Congress. The said Association shall work for the revival and encouragement of the said industries and for the moral and physical advancement of the villages, and shall have power to frame its own constitution, to raise funds and to perform such acts as may be necessary for the fulfilment of its objects.

#### EXHIBITIONS AND DEMONSTRATIONS.

Inasmuch as it is desirable to free the Reception Committee from the distraction and expenses attendant upon the organisation of exhibitions and spectacular demonstrations that take place at the annual sessions of the Congress, and as these make it impossible for smaller places to invite the Congress, the Reception Committees shall henceforth be relieved of the task of organising exhibitions and spectacular demonstrations. But as exhibitions and spectacular demonstrations are a necessary part of the annual national gathering, the duty of organising these is hereby entrusted to the All-India Spinners' Association and the All-India Village Industries Association, which bodies shall organise these functions so as to combine instruction with entertainment of the general public especially of the villagers, with the sole view to illustrate and popularise the activities of the two Associations and generally to demonstrate the potentiality of village life.

#### CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY BOARD.

The following resolution was passed by the Congress Parliamentary Board on 11th September last at Wardha:—

"Resolved that inasmuch as this Board was constituted as an emergency measure, it is desirable that its life should be limited to one year and that thereafter it should be placed on the elective basis for the period and on the term as may appear desirable. This should be forwarded to the Working Committee as a recommendation of the Board."

This Congress accepts the said recommendation and resolves that the existing Parliamentary Board shall be dissolved on 1st May 1935 and a new Board of 25 should be elected by the A. I. C. C. on or before the aforesaid date.

The elected Board shall have the power to co-opt not more than five members.

There shall be a fresh election of the Parliamentary Board at every annual session of the Congress with the same power of co-option.

The elected Board shall possess the same powers as are possessed by the existing Board.

#### ANTI-COMMUNAL AWARD CONFERENCE.

*The following resolutions were passed by the Anti-Communal Award Conference held in Bombay last week with Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, Editor, Modern Review, in the chair:*

"1. (a) Whereas the Communal Decision given by His Majesty's Government is anti-national and

undemocratic, and follows no principle, divides the body politic into separate and conflicting groups to ensure the indefinite continuance of foreign domination, renders impossible the growth of national unity, militates against the very foundation of responsible government, discriminates against or favours citizens on the ground of their religions, gives undue and excessive representation to some communities at the expense of others, and reduces the numerical majority of the Hindus to a statutory minority: this Conference strongly protests against the said decision and declares it to be wholly unacceptable.

(b) This Conference deplores the attitude of the Working Committee of the Congress which may be regarded as a virtual acquiescence in that decision and is a regrettable departure from the principle of nationalism which has hitherto been the proudest claim of the Congress in the support of the nation. This Conference earnestly appeals to the Congress to take a national stand on this question and to reverse the decision of the Working Committee by a rejection of the Communal Decision.

2. This Conference is of opinion that the minorities problem in India can best be solved in accordance with the principles underlying the system of protection of minorities inaugurated by the League of Nations, which system, according to the declaration of the Chairman of the League Council, has now become part of public law of Europe and of the world.

3. This Conference is of the opinion that no form of representation in the Legislature will be acceptable to it unless it is based on non-communal or common roll and uniform franchise irrespective of race, sex, caste and creed, provided that, in the introduction of the same common roll, no community should be made to make a sacrifice.

4. This Conference is of the opinion that, in order to secure the rejection of the Communal Decision and to substitute it by a just and national solution, it is necessary to carry on a continuous agitation against it and resolves that with that object in view a League here be started, the membership of which should be open to every Indian who is opposed to the said decision irrespective of his political association with any other body by paying four annas and this Conference hereby appoints a Committee for the said purpose consisting of Sir G. B. Pradhan, Mr. M. S. Aney, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Dr. Radhakumud Mukerjee, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, Mr. J. C. Gupta, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Pandit Vijayashankar, Mr. L. R. Tairsee, and Raja Narendra Nath, with powers to co-opt.

5. This Conference appeals to the Assembly voters in the country to support the Nationalist candidates who are pledged to oppose the Communal Decision and the White Paper inside and outside the Legislature.

#### SOCIALIST CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS.

*The Congress Socialists' Conference was held in Bombay last week when a number of resolutions were passed by it. A few of these are given below:*

##### CONGRESS AND COMMUNAL PROBLEM.

"THIS Conference is of opinion that all attempts made so far to solve the communal problem including those made by the Congress and the position taken up by the Congress Working Committee on this question have been on the wholly false basis of recognition of rights belonging to religious groups and is, therefore, of opinion that the problem can effectively be liquidated only by the struggle for the economic emancipation of the masses.

**PROBLEM OF INDIAN STATES.**

"Inasmuch as the Indian States constitute a principal political and military support to British Imperialism and a source of feudal backwardness and reaction, this Conference declares that the abolition of the rule of Indian Princes can alone assure complete independence for the whole of India, and invites the people of the Indian States to fight side by side with the people of British India in the struggle for independence.

**REPRESSION IN INDIAN STATES.**

"The Conference condemns the action of the Travancore, Baroda, Rewa and other Indian States, which have taken repressive measures against Congress, Labour or the States' people's organisations and movements."

**CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.**

"While the constitution for India should be framed by a national constituent assembly, the latter

could not meet as the result of a compromise with Britain, but must rise as a consequence of a victorious capture of 'power' by the Indian masses.

"The constituent assembly should be elected by committees of deputies from the organisations of workers and peasants and other exploited classes, and that an agitation for such assembly be immediately started.

**INDIA AND NEXT WAR.**

This Conference considers that in view of the international situation and the danger of the sudden outbreak of a war in which the British Empire may be involved, it is necessary for the Congress to declare its opposition to the participation of India in any war in which the British Government may be involved and to undertake forthwith the preparation of the entire Indian nation to resist actively the utilisation of Indian men, money and resources for the purposes of a war, and to utilise such a crisis for securing Swaraj."

**SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY.****REPORT FOR 1933-34.**

(Continued from our last issue.)

**Public Health.**

Mr. Venkataraman was the Secretary of the Madras Sanitary Welfare League, which has published surveys of the slums in Madras. The surveys were fruitful inasmuch as the Madras Corporation appointed a committee to inquire into the housing conditions in Madras. Mr. Venkataraman drafted the replies to the questionnaire issued by the Committee and tendered oral evidence on the subject. He arranged occasional picnics for the children of the slums, thanks to the co-operation of the International Fellowship.

Mr. Venkataraman was elected Hon. Secretary and Treasurer of the National Health Association of Southern India. The Association arranged for almost daily lectures on health subjects illustrated by magic lantern and cinema shows in different parts of Madras. Mr. Venkataraman took his full share in the lecturing programme. The Association arranged a health exhibition during the Park Fair in Christmas last in Madras.

Mr. Venkatasubbaiya was the Treasurer of the Madras Sanitary Welfare League and submitted written evidence on the housing problem before the Housing Committee of the Madras Corporation. Mr. Suryanarayana Rao organised during the year the Coimbatore Welfare Association with a sub-committee for slum surveys and mapped out a scheme for such a survey.

As has already been stated, public health propaganda and the training of public health visitors was one of the principal activities of the Poona Seva Sadan Society under the charge of Mr. Devadhar.

**The Seva Samiti, Allahabad.**

Mr. Kunzru was the General Secretary of the Seva Samiti, Allahabad, which has many branches affiliated to it in the U. P. and the Punjab. Among its many activities may be mentioned Naik reform, the maintenance of a high school, a hospital, several dispensaries, night schools and a public library.

**Scouting.**

As usual, Mr. Sri Ram Bajpai gave the best part of his time till January last to scouting under the auspices of the Seva Samiti Boy Scouts' Association, Allahabad, of which he was the Chief Organising Commissioner. He frequently toured in scouting centres in the United Provinces and other provinces,

addressed public meetings on scouting, reviewed scout troops, started new associations and revived drooping ones. He was the Camp Director of the Nirmal Vana at Scout Training Camp Sitlakhet (Almora Dt.) from the 20th May to the 30th June, last year.

It was unfortunate that there should have arisen a controversy between the Seva Samiti Boy Scouts' Association and the Baden-Powell Boy Scouts' Association, the latter led by Mr. Justice Young. It is unnecessary to go into the merits of the controversy here since, happily, it has ended.

Mr. Sahu was a director of the Patna Provincial Co-operative Bank and the Cuttack Central Co-operative Bank. Co-operative work formed an important part of the work of Messrs. Sivaswami, Suryanarayana Rao, Dube and Nayanar. Mr. Sivaswami supervised the working of several co-operative societies in his area and organised the Karur Co-operative Conference in November last. He organised a co-operative society for the Harijan mat-weavers. Mr. Nayanar was a Director of the Calicut Co-operative Union and delivered a series of lantern lectures on co-operation. Mr. Dube was elected a member of the Working Committee of the Lucknow District Co-operative Bank.

**Swadeshi.**

Mr. Kunzru was the President of the U. P. Swadeshi League and undertook much propaganda on its behalf. Mr. K. P. Kaul was the General Secretary of the Lucknow Swadeshi League during the earlier months of the year. On account of differences which led to an unfortunate public controversy, he had to sever his connection with the League. Mr. Dube was the Secretary of the Lucknow Swadeshi Exhibition. He also had to sever his connection with the League for the same reason. Mr. Bajpai combined swadeshi with his scout propaganda. Mr. Nayanar succeeded Mr. Suryanarayana Rao as a Joint Secretary of the "Malabar Buy Indian League."

**Temperance.**

Mr. Dube made it a special feature of his work to organise agitation for temperance reform in the U. P. He reorganised the U. P. Temperance Association with headquarters at Lucknow, of which he was the Secretary, celebrated a Temperance Week

at Lucknow in October, 1933, and undertook lecture-tours in over a dozen towns in the U. P. for propaganda and the organisation of branches of the Association. He was a member of the Lucknow City Excise Licensing Board. Mr. Kaul was a member of the Executive Committee of the U. P. Temperance Association.

Prohibition propaganda formed an important part of the Harijan campaign participated in by members of the Society to which reference has already been made.

#### Relief Work.

In August last heavy floods did much havoc in Orissa. Mr. Sahu immediately set about organising relief with the assistance of Rs. 1,000 which the Society advanced to him for the work, pending the formation of a relief committee. When the Orissa Flood Relief Committee was formed, with Mr. Sahu as one of its Secretaries, he worked under the auspices of the Committee. The work had not been completed by the end of the year. In October last heavy floods damaged large areas in the C. P. A. Relief Committee was organised in Nagpur and Mr. Shahane was an active member of its executive committee.

In December last a severe cyclone inflicted considerable damage in Shiyali taluq in the Tanjore district of the Madras Presidency. Mr. Sivasubramanyam was deputed to make a preliminary survey and, on receipt of his report, the Society undertook relief work. Mr. Venkatasubbaiya visited the area personally. The actual distribution of relief was entrusted to Mr. Venkataraman, assisted by Mr. Sivasubramanyam. In this case no unofficial committee was formed, the Society directly undertaking the work. It contributed Rs. 3,000 from the funds at its disposal and hoped to get Rs. 2,000 from the South Indian Flood Relief Committee, Bombay.

In January last, one of the most severe and devastating earthquakes the world has ever known occurred in Bihar and did extensive damage to life and property. The Society took a hand in the work of immediate relief. Besides other urgent relief, over fifty bag-fuls of clothes were distributed to the needy. The principal and permanent feature of the relief work was the colony called Gokhale Puri, designed by Mr. Sri Ram Bajpai. It is a compact and self-contained colony of twelve semi-permanent family cottages, with due provision for common services, such as a primary school, a dispensary, guest house, gymnasium, library and a hall for meetings, etc. The cottages were named after certain towns which contributed funds, and the colony as a whole after the Founder of the Society, Mr. Gokhale. The Colony was opened by Mahatma Gandhi on April 23, 1934. The design of the Colony has met with warm approbation of Government and the people and has been extensively adopted.

Mr. Bajpai was desired by the Marwari Relief Society of Calcutta to direct its activities. He devoted almost the whole of his time to its work during the first two months of his stay at Muzaffarpore. He framed its policy and organised its work and brought about co-ordination between it and several other agencies which were giving relief in Muzaffarpore. The earthquake has altered the drainage of the severely affected parts, the full consequences of which will be known only after the next monsoon. With a view to be prepared for the danger from floods in unexpected directions, Mr. Bajpai was engaged,

at the request of the leading men of Muzaffarpore in training a band of volunteers to cope with all emergencies during the rainy season.

In connection with the Society's relief operations, Mr. Devadhar visited Patna, Sitamarhi and Muzaffarpore. Mr. Kunzru toured in a large part of the earthquake area and issued a statement with regard to its needs and the conditions prevailing there. He went to Muzaffarpore several times and generally supervised the work there.

In view of the immensity of the calamity and the damage done by it, relief funds were opened by the Viceroy and Babu Rajendra Prasad. Committees were formed in many towns in India to raise contributions locally for the Relief Funds. Messrs. Patvardhan, Limaye, Bakhale, Venkataraman, Kaul, Negi, Chitalia, Dube and Nayanar, were members of the executives of such committees in their places. The last two were Secretaries of their respective committees.

Due to famine conditions and the extreme helplessness of the Bhils in Gujerat, Mr. Thakkar organised relief for them from March to August, 1933. The funds collected amounted to Rs. 57,000 and between 30,000 to 35,000 thousand people were afforded relief through the workers of the Bhil Seva Mandal, of which Mr. Thakkar is the President. In October last Mr. Thakkar visited the flood-stricken area of Rohtak and issued an appeal for funds for relief.

Mr. Suryanarayana Rao continued to be the Secretary of the Moplah Aid Committee and the Malabar District Relief Committee in Calicut till he was transferred to Coimbatore, when Mr. Nayanar stepped into his shoes. The Moplah Aid Committee investigated during the year the conditions of 200 Moplah prisoners released from the Andamans and spent Rs. 1,000 in helping the deserving persons among them to settle down, and further found employment for them.

( To be continued. )

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE LABOUR MOVEMENT AND LABOUR LEGISLATION IN CHINA. By LIM TUNG-HAL. (China United Press, Shanghai.) 1933. 24cm. 252p. \$6.
- ECONOMIC OUTLOOK IN FEDERAL INDIA. By C. N. VAKIL. (University of Delhi.) 1933. 24cm. 80p.
- FASCISM AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION. By R. PALMEDUTE. (International Publishers, New York.) 1934. 20cm. 296p. \$2.25.
- ADAM'S ANCESTORS. By L. S. B. LEAKEY. (Methuen.) 1934. 20cm. 244p. 7/6.
- NAOMI MITCHISON'S VIENNA DIARY. (Gollancz.) 1934. 20cm. 287p. 5/-
- INDIA ANALYSED. Vol. III; Economic Issues. Ed. by FRED A. M. BEDI and B. P. L. BEDI. (Gollancz.) 1934. 20cm. 222p. 5/-
- INDIAN FINANCE YEAR BOOK, 1934. Ed. by P. R. SRINIVAS. (Editor, British Indian Street, Calcutta.) 1934. 26cm. 276p. Rs. 5.
- LIFE AND SPEECHES OF SIR VITHALDAS THACKERSEY. By HIRALAL LALLUBHAI KAJI. (Taraporevala.) 1934. 25cm. 565p. Rs. 4.
- DANGER ZONE. By E. KEBLE CHATTERTON. (Rish & Cowan.) 1934. 25cm. 437p. 18/-.
- TIBETAN TREK. By RONALD KAULBACK. (Hodder & Stoughton.) 1934. 25cm. 300p. 12/6.