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Topics of the Week.

Rigid Neutrality.

THE Indian National Congress follows towards the States' people a policy similar to that which the United States is following towards Abyssinia, with this difference that while the United States is not willing even to betray any sympathy with the Ethiopians the Indian Congress does not mind expressing its moral sympathy with the States' people. But, so far as action is concerned, it is nil both on the part of the Indian Congress and the United States. It can at least be said that the negative policy of the U. S. helps Abyssinia in actual practice; the Congress inactivity, however, does not help the States' people in any way. And the more important thing to remember is that, if the Indian Congress is inactive in the cause of the States' people, it is not only because its hands are full in British India, but also because it considers that it has no jurisdiction in the Indian States.

THE anomalous situation that is here revealed, of the Congress having a membership in the States but confining its activities, not only from considerations purely of political expediency but of constitutional propriety, to British India, naturally provokes adverse comment. *United India and the Indian States*, e. g., says:

The Indian National Congress has its recruits from British as well as Indian India while its professed field of work is confined to British India. Large numbers of subjects of Indian States—particularly from Travancore and Cochin—went to gaol in the days of the civil disobedience movement. Subjects of Indian States as members of the Congress vote on questions which affect only British India. Surely if British Indians have no concern in the internal affairs of the States the converse is also true,

that subjects of Indian States have no concern in the internal affairs of British India and therefore have no legitimate place in the Indian National Congress.

The Congress authorities, however, are quite willing to stretch a constitutional point where it is a question of others giving them help; they become very punctilious where it is a question of their giving help to others.

* * *

The Tribune's Reasoning.

THIS policy of strict non-interference in the internal affairs of the States has the approval of the *Tribune*. It says:

The Congress would be neither serving the people of the States nor serving itself and the people of the Indian Provinces if it followed a policy of direct and active intervention in the affairs of the States at this stage. Such a policy would throw the Princes even more actively and decisively into the arms of the British Government than now and would not only cement that alliance between the Princes and British Imperialism, of which some of the speakers (at the A.I.C.C. meeting) bitterly complained, but materially strengthen it. It would certainly make it more difficult for the people of the Indian Provinces to win their political freedom; and in so far as that freedom is an essential condition of their ability to render effective help to the States, it would be injurious to the States' people themselves.

* * *

THIS, of course, is the usual argument, but we are surprised to see such a perspicacious thinker and critic as the *Tribune* writer using it. If we are not to press the Princes hard for fear that they will join the British Government in resisting India's struggle for freedom, must we not equally refrain from pressing all the other vested interests in British India hard for the same reason? Cannot one argue on the same footing: "Don't harass the zemindars too much; it may be that they are not meting out proper treatment to the peasants. But the peasants must suffer while we are engaged in winning self-government from the Britishers with the help of the zemindars. On the arrival of self-government all will be happy including the peasants, but till that day arrives the peasants must be long-suffering." Or, "The labourers' conditions are notoriously bad, but what is the sense in kicking up a row against the employers just now when we see, or ought to see, that if swaraj ever comes it will come when the industrialists are ranged on our side and not against us? Let all our precious schemes in the workers' interests be put in cold storage for a while—till swaraj is obtained." And this holds true for all interests from A to Z. Is there anything peculiar in the States that makes it particularly dangerous to work against the vested interests of the Princes but not so dangerous to work against the vested interests of landlords, or commercial magnates, or higher castes? If the *Tribune's* reasoning is valid,

we must not take up any problem of internal reform while the fight with the external foe is being carried on.

WE would refer to one aspect of this question which we believe will particularly appeal to the *Tribune*. Does it realise that the Congress uses in regard to the communal question the very same argument that the *Tribune* uses in regard to the States? The Congress says: "It is true that the Government for its own purposes favours the Moslems at the expense of the Hindus. But it would be a grave blunder to quarrel with the Moslems for that reason. That would only help throw them more and more into the arms of the Britishers and make them confirmed enemies of national progress. Let us therefore be friendly with the Moslems in spite of the injustice done to the Hindus in the communal award; let us not actively fight the communal award." Does the *Tribune* accept this argument? Does it not say in reply: "We cannot submit to injustice for the reason that if we did so those to whom more than justice was done would turn against the national movement. We must base all our movements on the principle of justice, and if in the process of carrying on these movements one group joins another on the side of injustice we must fight them all together. There is no help. There cannot be any temporising on such an issue." We would like the *Tribune* to tell us how it finds it logical to condemn the Congress policy on the Hindu-Mahomedan question and to support it on the States question. For our part we think that if it accepts the Congress policy on the States there is no halting place for it but the policy of consistent compromise advocated by Mr. Jayakar, but denounced by it with the utmost vehemence.

No Place in a Constituent Assembly?

IT is to be observed that the *Tribune* has no word of criticism to offer to the Congress for rejecting the amendment asking for a declaration that when a constituent assembly is formed the States' people would be admitted to it on equal terms with British Indians, or that, in the event of a constituent assembly not being convened, the Congress would refuse to support any constitution to which the States' people take exception. We believe that the *Tribune* at one time thought the demand for such a declaration worthy of its support. We should like to know whether it is still of the same opinion. We do not suppose it can bring up any objections on the ground of political expediency to the Congress accepting this amendment as it has brought in the case of amendments calling for Congress interference in the States' affairs. We would like to have a word of assurance on this score.

The Punjab Cr. L. Amendment Bill.

AFTER Bombay, the Punjab. The Punjab Criminal Law Amendment Bill giving more or less the same powers as the Special Powers Bill of Bombay to the executive of arrest, search, internment or externment is being considered in the Punjab Council. The same arguments were employed by the Finance Member of the Punjab as by the Home Member of Bombay. Civil disobedience has been liquidated, but it may raise its head again. Terrorists are not very active, but the present comparative lull in their activities is itself due to the Act of 1932—not to the active operation of the Act so much as to its passive existence. In regard to communism the Punjab is at a slight disadvantage, in so far as justification of repression goes, as compared to Bombay, where we are told communists are making great havoc, but the Punjab has the advantage of more acute commu-

nal disturbances. Anyhow the Punjab Government is not without its excuse for a coercive measure such as that which has just passed the Bombay Legislative Council.

AS in Bombay, so in the Punjab, many members of the Council who supported the repressive measure three years ago under the stress of the civil disobedience movement vigorously opposed it now. But the Government had still a comfortable majority for the second reading of the Bill. The life of the Act is limited to five years, and, as in Bombay, it is paraded as a great concession. But, as we have said before, this is not a concession at all. If the legislature is strong enough it can pass a Repeal Bill—though the Governor will veto it. If the legislature is weak enough, even a temporary measure can be continued permanently.

Assam for the Assamese.

A CONFERENCE was held at Sibsagar on the 22nd instant with the battle-cry of Assam for the Assamese. The conference was called the "Assam All-Parties Conference," but in fact several groups stayed away from it—like the Congress, the Labour Association and the Ryots Sabha. The president, Mr. M. Tayyebulla, made a vigorous speech asking first for the separation of Sylhet from the Province and then for the protection of the Assamese people from economic exploitation by the influx of foreigners taking place in the province in large numbers.

THE first resolution that was adopted by the Conference demanded that the district of Sylhet with the exception of Jaintia Pargananas and the tea areas be separated from the Province of Assam. There is no doubt that there is a widespread desire in the Province to be rid of the predominance of Bengalees in Sylhet. A resolution voicing this desire was moved in the Assam Legislative Council in 1932 but was after a debate withdrawn. The chief grievance is that a disproportionately large portion of the posts in Government departments goes to Sylhetis, and that the higher posts as in the Secretariat and the offices of the heads of departments are monopolised by Bengalees.

WHILE this grievance must be redressed by the rapid promotion of higher education among the Assamese, the advisability of separation is doubtful. Sylhet has a population of 27 lakhs, and the rest of Assam, with six districts in the Assam Valley a population of 47 lakhs. Thus if the Province were to be dismembered it would lose 30 per cent. of its people; it would also lose an area of 6,000 sq. miles and the question would be whether it would then retain its status of an independent Province. In previous correspondence the question was raised, and indications are that it would have then to be linked up to other Provinces.

Proposed Commerce College in Poona.

WE understand that the Maharashtra Education Society of Poona has applied to the University to start a College of Commerce in Poona. The Society has recently completed 60 years of its existence and is perhaps the first educational institution in Poona. On the 2nd March last it celebrated its diamond jubilee when the intention of starting a College of Commerce was announced. Considering that there is only one College of Commerce—the Sydenham College of Bombay—in the whole of Bombay Presidency an addition of another Commerce College will be regarded as a welcome activity on the part of its organisers. While the number of B. As. increased from 780 in 1916 to 1494 in 1930 and B. Scs. from 55 to 933, the number of B. Coms. has increased from

50 to only 153 during the same period and even now the number appearing for the B. Com. scarcely exceeds 200. This clearly leaves room for an additional Commerce College in the Presidency. The Sydenham College of Commerce has to refuse admission to many students every year. The starting of a proposed College of Commerce in Poona therefore would be helpful in relieving the pressure on the existing institution. At the same time it would be a convenience to those that cannot afford to face the expensive life at Bombay and would incidentally supply the only missing link in the University education of Poona. Looking to the increased and varied commercial activities in Poona in recent years, it can safely be regarded as a proper place for such an institution. We wish all success to the M. E. Society in their efforts to supply a real want in the educational field.

Articles

UNIFORM OPPOSITION ?

IN an article reproduced on another page the *Tribune* expresses its dissatisfaction with the policy which Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru in his recent tour urged nationalist parties to adopt *vis a vis* the new constitution. A number of politicians have already declared that their policy polarises round co-operation, that they would recommend compromise with the Government and with the vested interests, thus relieving the Governor or the Governor-General of the necessity of invoking his reserve powers. Mr. Kunzru deemed it necessary to dissociate himself and the Liberal Party from this policy. Holding the opinion about the constitution that the Liberal Party does, Mr. Kunzru explained that the policy of the Liberal Party and other progressive parties, whose opinion of the new constitution is substantially the same as that of the Liberal Party, should polarise round opposition, that they should not compromise with the head of Government or with the vested interests in order to facilitate the smooth working of the constitution but should offer opposition whenever opposition was necessary without regard to whether it would result in the enforcement of safeguards.

The *Tribune*, however, would like the Liberal Party to go further. It is not enough for our contemporary that the Party should keep on the straight path, even if by doing so a constitutional crisis is produced; it would like the Party to go about deliberately trying to produce such crises. Now the difference between these two policies in actual practice would not be so great as it appears from such a bald statement. If one believes, as the Liberal Party does, that no important reform can be accomplished without coming into collision with the vested interests and therefore with the safeguards, one really says all that is necessary when a declaration is made that deadlocks and crises will not be avoided; for one will be coming up against a crisis almost at every step. But is it necessary and would it be right to declare that one would offer opposition indiscriminately to every measure that is on the tapis ?

The occasions when the progressive parties and the vested interests will both support a measure will be few, but we should think that it would be the part of wisdom to make exceptions in favour of these occasions. Let us take, for example, the measures for the uplift of Harijans which a contributor in this issue urges all political parties to sponsor in the Legislatures. If a member of any of the parties is in the Cabinet, should he or should he not initiate such measures? If he is in the Opposition should he or should he not support them? In this matter it is possible that the Governor too may take the same view as the advanced parties and may allow the measures to go through. Are these parties to take up a hostile attitude because they are committed to continuous and undiscriminating obstruction? We quite grant that when once a loophole for the support of measures which the Government desire is left some individuals are apt to forget their duty of opposition even when opposition is clearly called for. This danger is real and serious; it must be guarded against by efficient party organisation. But it would be a mistake, in our opinion, to frame the policy in terms of unqualified opposition merely because the occasions when any other course than that of flat opposition can be taken will be rare.

The Swaraj party, in fact, tied itself to the obstruction policy without reserve, but had to extricate itself from it by departing from the policy. It supported several Government measures because it thought that that would be in the national interests. Is it of any advantage to lay down the policy in cast-iron phrases and then whittle away its meaning in practice? On the contrary, we think it would be both wiser and more straightforward to anticipate the exceptions that would become necessary and to provide for them beforehand. We believe that the *Tribune* itself recognizes that exceptions in favour of constructive measures are necessary. But if they are, what is the formula that it would use to include them? If it has any better formula than the one in which Mr. Kunzru expressed the same ideas we are sure he would be glad to consider it. But, after all, it is a matter of phrasing, not of a substantially different policy.

What we would like the members of the progressive parties in the Legislatures to do is constantly to propose large measures tending to the relief of the common man and challenge the vested interests and the Governor together to reject them. If the *Tribune* considers this to be the deliberate creation of deadlocks, we are all in favour of it. We certainly do not want our legislators to hold such measures back merely because it would lead to deadlocks. We would like the legislators not to fight shy of deadlocks; we would even like them to welcome deadlocks when they arise. For we wish to stiffen the spirit of opposition in the country. We cannot do anything else with the convictions that we hold about the merits of the constitution. With all this, however, we cannot support a policy of uniform and blind opposition, and we cannot think that the *Tribune* wants us to do so either.

SIR SAMUEL HOARE

IN THE LEAGUE AND AT THE INDIA OFFICE.

SIR SAMUEL HOARE has extorted the admiration of the world by his speech to the League Assembly on the Italo-Abyssinian crisis; and many Indian publicists are wondering how a man who showed himself to have ideas of such a large mould in international affairs could be so reactionary on the Indian question. As a matter of fact we find a close resemblance between his attitude towards Abyssinia and his attitude towards India.

On the India Bill he set his face like a flint against the Tory die-hards who would not give self-government to India in any degree or shape. He recognised the force of many of their objections to any large measure of self-government and set himself assiduously, by imposing an endless series of safeguards, to allay their fears. He promised, by subjecting self-government to these safeguards, to produce very nearly the same result as the die-hards desired to produce by a flat denial of self-government. When the die-hards still remained intransigent he decided to give them no quarter. He proceeded on his pre-determined course of preparing a measure which looked like one of self-government but which in fact tightened still more the fetters on India's feet. He did his best to persuade the die-hards that his and their ultimate aim was identical, and that if he chose a different method it was only because, in his judgment, it was more likely to lead Britain to the goal they had both in view without serious friction. The die-hards were still intractable and then he opposed them tooth and nail and carried the measure through.

In the Ethiopian dispute he has shown the same qualities. He admits in full Italy's claim to imperialist expansionism. He is prepared to go very far towards meeting this claim. He says to Mussolini: "Great Britain agreed more than forty years ago to let Italy have her way in Abyssinia. Great Britain agrees even now that Italy should have her way in that country. There is only one thing I have to urge. With the rise of the League of Nations a new technique of colonial expansion has come into vogue. We cannot as before just go and seize a country. The League Covenant forbids it. But to honour the Covenant is not to go without the opportunities of colonial exploitation. I will see to it that your opportunities for this are in no way diminished because in formal documents you cannot call Ethiopia your colony. Your dealings with that country will in reality be just as if it formed part of your Empire. Be reasonable and give up your plan of open subjugation. Do show some respect for the League machinery. I assure you that it will do you no harm; on the contrary you will find that it is a paying proposition in the long run."

He pleaded with Mussolini as he pleaded with Churchill. The pleading went on for a long time. While Mussolini was busy pouring troops and arms into the Italian colonies of north-east Africa, Sir Samuel Hoare was begging Mussolini to appear to

bend to the League so that he might have the prey more firmly under his paw. But Mussolini proved as impervious to reason and as blind to practical realities as Churchill. Then he turned against Mussolini as he turned against Churchill. He cannot bear to see anyone discard decorum. Due forms must be observed. When once a covenant is entered into we must seek the attainment of our object within the terms of the covenant. And the League Covenant particularly is so elastic that Sir Samuel Hoare thinks that there is no excuse for any one to break it. Why not swear by Abyssinia's territorial integrity and political independence when by exercising the admitted rights of economic exploitation one can have real, though perhaps indirect, political dominance over the country? Mussolini very foolishly refused to disguise his intention and that was, in Sir Samuel Hoare's opinion, an unforgivable sin. Sir Samuel made up his mind to try out all the potentialities of League sanctions against the law-breaker who would not even allow himself to be bribed.

His League policy is the same as his India policy. In India he yielded enough not to endanger British domination in any essential respect. He parted with some little power but took care to part with it to those who could be counted upon to support Britain in all circumstances. The profits of British investors and the control over the Indian army were kept sacred from profane hands. There was not even a semblance of the transfer of power in these matters. But in other matters he pretended to give much power by establishing what corresponds in Africa to indirect rule, which the great Negro leader, du Bois, describes in the current number of *Foreign Affairs* as "the method of supporting in power such native rulers as pursue policies favourable to the ruling whites." Mr. du Bois says: "This method preserves native customs, but stifles reform and keeps education at a minimum. It brings peace, but usually peace without progress." Sir Samuel Hoare supported federation because he saw that thereby the centre of political gravity in India would shift from the turbulent intelligentsia to a securely chained autocracy. He used all his persuasive powers to convince Churchill that, instead of accelerating popular reform, it would arrest it—and arrest it permanently so far as human ingenuity could secure the result, since the autocracy of the Indian Princes in the federation could not be changed except with their own consent. But, so far as he was concerned, he intended to bring about by his reforms the same result as the die-hards had at heart.

So was it in Abyssinia. He stuck fast to the old treaties which divided up Abyssinia among the European Powers. Abyssinia had never agreed to the treaties. That was a matter of no consequence to Sir Samuel. These treaties were incompatible with the spirit of the League Covenant and must, therefore, under an article of the Covenant, be abro-

gated. This too Sir Samuel was prepared to disregard. To him all treaties are sacrosanct, and particularly those which promise accessions of territory to European Powers. He very magnanimously promised, on behalf of Britain, not to filch Italy of her share of Ethiopian exploitation. He got France also to make a similar promise. If only Mussolini would hold his frankly acquisitive hand, he was assured by Sir Samuel that he would get all he desired. The former treaties or agreements or conventions merely hold out to Italy the hope of "an exclusive economic interest" in that part of Abyssinia that really matters. If Mussolini would promise an outward observance of the League Covenant, Britain would make it her concern that this hope is realised, that the promised cession of the right to economic exploitation joined as it always must be to administrative control would be made effective. Ethiopia would in effect be like Eritrea or Libya. In the list of Italy's colonial possessions Ethiopia could not be entered it is true, but that is all the difference that there will be between these colonies and Ethiopia. Is it right, in the name of common sense, to wage a war merely for the pleasure of being able to describe one's possession by the title one fancies? Is not Italy fighting for a shadow when she has the substance in her hands? Mussolini is fighting for a shadow as

Churchill was fighting for a shadow, and Sir Samuel can have no patience with those who show such an utter lack of a sense of realities. These he must fight politically or militarily, but his League policy differs in no fundamental respect from his India policy.

But why then does the world extol him? Only because it takes a surface view of things. That is always the world's way. It sees that Sir Samuel Hoare opposes the die-hards and thinks that Sir Samuel is a very liberal-minded statesman. It fails to grasp the fact that his ultimate aim is the same as that of the die-hards and that only his strategy is different. But the really liberal-minded statesmen oppose the basis of the whole policy. The Labour Party saw through Sir Samuel's India game; they have seen through his Abyssinia game too. This Party opposed the India Bill consistently right up to the third reading; they also make some radical suggestions in the Ethiopian affair, like that of handing over all colonies to be administered under the League's mandate. But such politicians are regarded as doctrinaire, and those who insist upon satisfying all the ambitions of the aggressor and quarrel with him only with regard to the method of satisfaction receive praise as practical statesmen! That is the way of the world!

HOW TO KEEP HIM WITHIN THE HINDU FOLD.

SOME PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS.

DR. AMBEDKAR'S declaration that though he has been born a Hindu through no fault of his, he is not prepared to die a Hindu, has thrown a veritable bomb-shell into the Hindu community. That it is a cry of anguish wrung from a noble soul, sick unto death as a result of the age-long degradation of the untouchables—a degradation which shows no signs of abatement in spite of the magnificent efforts of two generations of social reformers and the whirl-wind campaign led by Mahatma Gandhi—is recognised on all hands. The purity of Dr. Ambedkar's motives has been generously acknowledged everywhere and yet the response, that the declaration has called forth seems to me to be wholly inadequate to the prime needs of the desperate situation.

The Mahatma has taken the earliest opportunity to assure Dr. Ambedkar that untouchability is on its last legs, and that Dr. Ambedkar's resolve to leave the Hindu fold is a hasty move on his part. With due deference to the Mahatma's sincerity and the transparent honesty of his belief in the success of his great campaign, I am bound to say that his assertion is a preposterous exaggeration of the realities of the situation, and may lead his followers into an utterly wrong perspective of the problem.

Several impatient preachers and propagandists of other creeds have made haste to invite Dr. Ambedkar and his followers to join their faiths and one has gone out of his way to offer the hand of his

daughter to Dr. Ambedkar's son in marriage as a proof of his sincerity.

Others have deeply deplored his resolve and have proceeded to warn him that his conversion may mean the loss of his valuable leadership to his community. Some have further pointed out to him that untouchability does find a place in other religions and that his change of creed may mean little more than a change of oppressors.

In some cases these suggestions have come forth from quarters never particularly known for their sympathy towards the depressed classes, and they have been rightly interpreted as but adding insult to injury. In a few cases they emanate from unimpeachable sources like the SERVANT OF INDIA. These and the earnest representations of some Hindu leaders like Mr. Pradhan to Dr. Ambedkar not to precipitate matters have called forth from the doctor the welcome promise that he would give the Hindus a chance before he takes the irrevocable step.

Dr. Ambedkar's resolve seems to me to bear a family likeness to Mahatma Gandhi's fast unto death, with only this difference that he gives us a few weeks, instead of days, to put things right and we must offer our heartfelt thanks to him for the respite.

The Hindu Maha Sabha is holding its next annual session at Poona some time in December next. All well-wishers of the Hindu community must utilise this great opportunity to find out the final solution of this problem. It must be done without

that desperate haste that spoiled the good effects of the Poona Pact, which has become an eyesore to men like Dr. Tagore and his friends from Bengal.

Everywhere, however, I see signs of inertia and a policy of drift, and these may result in an irreparable tragedy if we do not bear in mind the desperate earnestness of the Harijan leader—an earnestness comparable to that of Gandhiji himself at the time of his fast unto death.

A way out has been indicated by Dr. Kurtkoti of Nasik, who is prepared to help the foundation of a new sect by Dr. Ambedkar. I am afraid, however, that Dr. Ambedkar is not quite fitted to play the role of a Dayanand or a Ram Mohun Roy. Another drawback is that this new sect may mean little more than the addition of one more creed and one more caste to the bewildering mosaic of Hindu society without any abatement of the curse of untouchability and all its evil consequences. Misled by the reactions to Dr. Ambedkar's speech at Yeola, Dr. Kurtkoti seems to have failed to diagnose the real nature of the malady. In his deprecating comments upon the temple-entry campaign Dr. Ambedkar has already made it plain that he cares more for the social and economic interests of his followers than for their religious cravings. His demand for an effective share of the political power is with a view to use that lever in the manner of an Indian Parnell, to bring about a general uplift of the Harijans. The right line of approach to the solution of the problem should lay greater stress on the more mundane needs, leaving religious equality to come in its own time by the slower methods of persuasion.

Let me make a closer analysis of the Harijan problem. That the community has secured a lot of sympathy and good-will from an ever-growing number of their countrymen is admitted, but that should not obscure from our view the fact that this is not as true of the villages as of the larger centres of population. There is also a larger number of private agencies working for their uplift, but the work of these taken together has not done more than touch the fringe of the problem, and will require years and years of unflagging zeal from a numerous band of devoted workers. Gandhiji's campaign has undoubtedly been a great advance upon the work during the preceding generations of the various Depressed Classes Missions. Its feverish energy has not been maintained and cannot be maintained. It has been followed by a tremendous backwash. What is required is that these occasional 'drives' should be supplemented by the steady support of the legislatures and the constant pressure of the administrative machinery of the Government with its assured financial backing. The times are propitious for such an effort if in the coming elections for the provincial legislatures the uplift of the Harijans is made a major issue without making it an election cry of one party as against that of another. The Hindu Maha Sabha would do well to pass at its coming session in Poona, a resolution that the Sabha as such would not enter the election arena,

but would urge upon all its friends and followers to support only those candidates whose record of service to the Harijan cause is greater and more consistent than that of their rivals, and whose support will, unstintedly and unconditionally, be at the back of the new provincial Governments in their efforts to better the lot of the Harijans. This would incidentally enable the Hindu Maha Sabha to maintain its broad-based national character and prevent its degeneration to the level of the communal organisation like the Muslim League. Mr. A. V. Thakkar, the General Secretary of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, should be asked to lend the support of his India-wide organisation for another whirl-wind campaign for the good cause.

If this is done it will go far to secure the powerful support of the new provincial Governments and legislatures and finance would be secured without any great effort. But this by itself is not enough and that is exactly where I should like to come out with my particular remedy.

It is no less than the reorganisation and re-orientation of the administrative machinery with a view to prevent the petering out of the legislature's good-will and the misdirection and wastage of the administrative and financial efforts of the new Governments. The petty officials in whose hands lies the actual working of the details of any policies, in the villages and the outlying parts of the towns where the Harijans mainly live, still retain in their administrative methods a touch of the pre-British period. Many of them are hereditary and almost the whole lot is devoid of culture and the sense of duty that is its normal accompaniment. This view-point is mainly traditional and thus bound to affect adversely the interests of the Harijans, especially as the indifference of the 'Sawarna' officers in charge give them full control of the administration so far as Harijans are concerned.

Then again the new provincial Governments are more likely to be formed out of temporary combinations of small communal and other groups with their shaky majorities and their shifting time-serving policies, their intrigues and their manoeuvrings.

The whole atmosphere is thus too vitiated to deal fairly and adequately with the great national question of the uplift of the Harijans. The best way out is to concentrate the control of the administrative machinery so far as it affects the main problems of their uplift—sanitation, education, cottage industries and the like—in the hands of a single official who is fully trusted by the Harijans themselves. He should be assisted by an administrative advisory committee composed of the representatives of private agencies like the Depressed Classes Missions, the Harijan legislators of the Local Councils and Assemblies, and expert officers of the departments concerned. This officer should be vested with a great deal of discretionary power subject only to the general control of the ministry in matters of economy and efficiency. Such an arrangement will easily secure the support of the provincial Governors, for they will be instruct-

ed by their 'Instruments of Instructions' to regard the Harijan as one of their special responsibilities.

There is a further need to establish an all-India body, similarly constituted, to co-ordinate the efforts of the various provincial Governments. To this body should be submitted annually reports from the special officers and accompanied by the observations of the provincial Governments concerned. This central commission working on the lines of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, should have the right to examine specific grievances and recommend disciplinary action if necessary and should also have the privilege to note the drawbacks in the legislation and make suggestions for their removal.

In my opinion, only some such reorganisation and reorientation of the administrative machinery will provide the necessary guarantee for a sustained effort. Only such a guarantee will entitle us to advise Dr. Ambedkar and his followers to hold back.

The effort necessary will be great and the sacrifice heavy, but it is worthy of the great cause. Among the Hindu Maha Sabha leaders are men like Messrs. Chintamani, Malaviya, Ramananda Chatterji, B. V. Jadhav, ex-M. L. A., and others belonging to various political parties. For once they should lay aside their party loyalties and make a united effort to solve this problem from a national as opposed to a party point of view.

R. H. KELKAR.

Reviews.

AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS.

THE AGRICULTURAL SITUATION IN 1932-33.

(International Institute of Agriculture, Rome.)
1934. 24cm. 580p. 25 Lire.

THIS book is an annual publication by the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome. In addition to a commentary on the market conditions with regard to various crops and other products, and other usual features, a few chapters have been added on Planned Economy in general and Economic Planning in Agriculture in particular. Free trade having gradually given place to protection of various degrees, the question of planned economy has become a vital issue of practical politics. The situation in 1932-33 was that the old competitive order was in the stage of breaking up and nothing definite had yet appeared to take its place. Attempts towards a definite system have been observable in Russia, the United States, Italy and Germany; but everywhere the progress has been more empirical than otherwise. The effects of planned economy are many. International economic relations are restricted, the competitive organisation of the world market is destroyed, production ceases to be governed by relative costs and returns, the aggregate national income is reduced, and standards of life tend to be lowered.

1932-33 was the fourth year of agricultural depression. While other industries could meet depression by reducing output and controlling sales, the same procedure could not be applied to agriculture. The only thing that could be done was to try

and raise the level of prices. This meant the removal of outside competition, by improving the machinery of agricultural marketing, and by attempts to control production. This trend in the evolution of planned economy has been particularly observable in the United States. Internal efforts have been combined with international agreements where necessary, as co-ordination of national and international policies is absolutely necessary if the present standards have at least to be maintained.

There have been many international gatherings and agreements during the year, all for deliberating on co-operation in getting out of the economic depression. Although agriculture has not been directly made a subject at all these, yet the measures agreed upon are bound to have a beneficial influence on this industry. The activities of Governments and private bodies to improve the condition of agriculture in various countries form interesting reading. The volume is, on the whole, a very interesting record of matters agricultural, and will prove of great use to students of agricultural economics.

G. S. KURPAD.

CO-OPERATIVE MARKETING.

CO-OPERATIVE MARKETING OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE IN SOUTH INDIA.

By T. ADINARAYANA CHETTY. (The Provincial Co-operative Bank, Ltd., Madras.) 1935. 20cm. 82p.

THIS is an opportune publication, when prices of agricultural produce tend to rise from the low levels they have reached. In periods of falling prices efforts to organise co-operative selling have not succeeded, but they are bound to succeed just now. The author has seen all the co-operative marketing organisations in the presidency and has surveyed all the crops. Cotton, groundnut and paddy have been his special studies; but he has also bestowed some thought on other produce and perishables. The sale organisations are not too many in the presidency and of them many are dormant. Having first-hand knowledge of one such society, the reviewer doubts if the author had been allowed to study all the societies at close quarters. The reviewer's society is now managed by an executive officer, in the place of the directorate, and his ways are anything but co-operative. Two flourishing societies of Bombay, one at Gadag and the other at Hubli, are closely studied by the author. The chapter on the problems of marketing and his suggestions are really very useful. The difficulty with some of these seems to be that they have no efficient staff, with sufficient business acumen. The services of subordinate co-operative and agricultural officials, though useful, do not add to the business efficiency of these societies. The remarkable success of the Gadag Society might be directly due to the ability of its manager who is decently paid. The sale societies, if they should successfully compete with private merchants, should have an efficient and contented staff. A directorate of agriculturists assisted by co-operative officers can do anything but profitable selling. The passive directors or the over-zealous executive officers lead things into a muddle and then blink. When the cultivator finds that selling through a co-operative organisation is profitable to him, he will surely avail himself of its services. Vague assurances and dismal failures have so far driven him away. As to financing, more of it should be done through primary societies. Even now some of the big village societies can lend three to five thousands to an individual. Instead of direct lending by the sale societies with vast jurisdictions, the village societies might be made to lend money

then and there in small doses as and when required, the last dose being given after the harvest. The village society might make it a condition that the produce of the borrower should be sold through the sale society. The trading society, after the sale of produce, might deduct the dues to the village society and pay the balance to the seller of the produce. Thus a close link will be formed between the village society and the sale society, and this will lead to the successful working of both. This will also minimise the risk of the trading society and it will be free to concentrate its activities on sale. These sale societies should also do joint purchase on behalf of the members of the rural societies. The vagaries of the dealers in plantains and other perishable produce are so vexatious, and producers should organise co-operative selling of these even if they are to lose something in the beginning.

The author is an experienced co-operator and his earnest study of the problem is a valuable contribution on the subject.

N. S. S.

SHORT NOTICE.

MUGHAL EMPIRE IN INDIA (1526-1761), PART III. By S. R. SHARMA. (Karnatak Printing Press, Bombay No. 2.) 1935. 21cm. 689-886p. Rs. 2.

THIS is the concluding volume of Prof. Sharma's *Mughal Empire* and we are glad that its excellence is on a par with its preceding volumes. The first

134 pages of the book contain an excellent account of the "degraded wretches that 'polluted the throne' of Akbar," and the tragedy of the disintegration of the Mughal Empire. The chapter is rightly entitled "Nightfall of the Empire," and the best portion of this chapter is that which deals with the careers of the Sayyid brothers and Nizam-ul-mulk.

In the last chapter the learned author reviews the achievements and the failures of the Mughal Empire. The most interesting sections of this chapter, from the point of view of students, are those dealing with the legacy and the lessons of the empire.

We congratulate Prof. Sharma on his excellent volumes on the Mughal Empire. We had the privilege of reviewing all the three volumes, and the first volume, when placed in our hands, gave us the promise of a splendid future. We are happy to say that we were more than justified by our loud praise of his first volume, for the succeeding volumes have been equally good. Students ought to feel grateful to Prof. Sharma for the skilful way in which he has arranged all the available authorities under proper headings and provided them with an authoritative and detailed knowledge of the Mughal period.

As a book which combines the merits of the source-book and the text-book, Prof. Sharma's 'Mughal Empire' is par excellence and we have no hesitation in saying that it is a book which no B. A. or post-graduate student should be without.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

THE DEPRESSED CLASSES MISSION, MANGALORE. REPORT OF WORK FOR THE YEAR 1934-35.

IN presenting the report of the year, the Mission cannot help emphasising the fact that while there has been a quickening of the social conscience of the community towards the Depressed Classes, there has not been a corresponding increase in active sympathy and support to institutions working for their uplift. It is a curious psychological phenomenon which baffles the workers in the cause. However, it is earnestly hoped that not only the community will realise its duty towards the Depressed Classes and come forward to support in a greater degree efforts made to promote their uplift but also the Depressed Classes themselves. As the Negroes in America, they will feel that the work is as much their own as that of other classes and come forward to shoulder some responsibility for the maintenance of work designed to promote their progress. We are passing through a transitional stage when the Depressed Classes themselves are more conscious of their rights than duties and responsibilities, and it is the part of wisdom to realise this fact and not to be unduly harsh towards them and refuse to help them. This is best done if other classes exercise some imagination, sympathy and forbearance, bearing in mind the fact that the future of India will depend on the extent of the progress of the Depressed and other backward classes and that it behoves all to do everything possible to help their progress in spite of exasperating circumstances. Actuated by this high purpose, the Mission has continued to carry on the work started so far back as 1897 by the late Rai Saheb K. Ranga Rau (Swami Ishwarananda), a pioneer in the cause, in the hope that just and adequate appreciation is bound to come in good time and the Mission will be enabled to increase its activities and thus contribute, in however small a measure, to the future progress of India.

EDUCATION.

Of the various institutions maintained by the Mission, what may be called the Central School, which has done much for the spread of education among the Depressed Classes, requires special mention. Moreover, it is this institution which has been a 'burden' on the slender finances of the Mission, but a burden which the Mission feels should be cheerfully borne. The strength of the Court Hill Higher Elementary School rose from 150 to 157 and of these 30 were girl pupils. It is noticed that there is greater anxiety on the part of parents to educate the girls. The number of non-Adi-Dravida children representing all communities rose from 28 to 43. From this it should not be deduced that the strength of the Adi-Dravida children went down. On the other hand, every effort was made and that successfully, to get the Adi-Dravida children in the two Junior Schools under the Mission. As usual, admissions to the Boarding Houses had to be restricted. If the Mission is enabled to admit more children into the Boarding Houses the number of children in higher classes would have been much more. Still it may here be said that the strength is increasing in higher classes and that the strength in lower classes was at one time so low that the Mission had to consider seriously the question of closing down lower classes. Out of 11 pupils in the VIII Standard 5 joined the IV Form, 2 were admitted as apprentices in a printing press and 2 were employed as teachers. The school continued to make efforts to improve the quality of teaching and promote handicrafts.

The number of scholarship-holders was only 13 as against 17 during the previous year. This is due to the new rule restricting scholarships to pupils who have to pay school fees. The efforts of the Mission to get this rule removed or modified were of no avail.

The fact that scholarships are meant not only to pay fees but also to enable pupils to purchase books, dress, etc., is not taken into account. The argument that funds are placed at the disposal of the Collectors to make grants for the purchase of books, dress, etc., to pupils who do not pay school fees but who would have but for the new rule received scholarships, is not convincing as the amounts so placed are small and hardly enough to meet the legitimate demands of deserving pupils.

Instruction in carpentry as a part of Manual Training was continued. In view of the increasing numbers, insufficient accommodation and inadequate equipment, the Mission has again addressed the Government to permit the Mission to open the weaving section. The Commissioner of Labour has kindly promised to consider the request favourably. The Inspector of Industrial Schools did not view with favour the proposal to open a half-time Industrial School on the ground that half-time instruction in such subjects as Carpentry could not be recognised. The Mission feels the objections of the Inspector of Industrial Schools can be met and necessary arrangements can be made to start a half-time Industrial School and give an "industrial" bias to the education received by the pupils.

Clay and cardboard modelling, book-binding and gardening received attention. Fret-work was also introduced during the year. Now that the Collector of South Kanara has reserved portions of the Court Hill for the use of the Mission which will be made available if and when building plans mature, it is hoped greater facilities for gardening will be available.

Free mid-day meal continued to be the special feature of the Court Hill School. Sitting accommodation is limited and the children have to be divided into batches during the meal hour.

The Literary Association met regularly and talks and lectures were as usual arranged under its auspices. The Reading Room continued to receive journals and papers through the kindness of the Editor of the *Navayuga*. The Iswarananda Literary Association celebrated its anniversary presided over by Mr. P. L. Punanohatayya, when a variety entertainment was also got up. Prizes were also awarded for various competitions. Magic lantern shows were arranged under the auspices of the Association. Some excursions were arranged during the year of which one to Ullal attended by the Hon. Secretary deserves special mention. The excursion party entertained the villagers with scout stunts and a short drama. It is hoped this new feature in the activities of the school will receive greater attention during next year. Shri Krishna Jayanthi was, as usual, celebrated with the kind assistance of Mr. Ramachandra Aiyar. Birth and death anniversaries of patrons and distinguished persons were celebrated.

The Scout troop continued to function more efficiently, as the teacher Mr. Giriya who was trained as Scout Master took charge of the Troop. Need for training some more young men as Scout Masters and organisation of Cub Packs and Rover Troops is keenly felt.

The Attavar and Dorebail Junior Schools continued to work satisfactorily, closing the year with a strength of 60 and 52 respectively, of whom 19 and 21 were girl pupils. To enable the Adi-Dravida young men who have completed higher elementary education to secure admission into the Training School and to provide individual attention in the I Standard the staff had to be increased.

The Pandshwar Adult Education centre did not attract a larger number of admissions. Our efforts to attract young men of the locality were not of much

avail. But the Mission persisted in its task by organising bhajans, magic lantern shows and popular lectures. The question of shifting the centre to some other place is under consideration. Some of the pupils of the centre were taken to the Shri Krishna Cinema to witness some educational films.

The Koraga Boarding School, Puttur, near Udipl, was also maintained during the year. Insufficient accommodation and the inability of the Mission to admit more boarding pupils prevented increase in strength. As mentioned in previous reports, the building begun long ago yet remains unfinished for want of funds. To continue or not to continue this work of uplift of the Koraga community is the problem facing the Mission. Unless there is better appreciation on the part of the public and greater support is forthcoming, the existence of this institution is in peril. Is it too much to reiterate our appeal for help made more than once and beg for assistance for this important item of work of the Mission? It is prayed our cry will not be in vain. It may interest the public to know that in the Central School at Mangalore there are 3 Koraga boys and 2 Koraga girls reading in the higher standards. It is the result of persistent efforts of the Mission, on which the Mission has every reason to feel gratified.

As in previous years, the medical inspection in the institutions under the Mission was carried out by Dr. H. V. Adeppa and the defects noticed have been rectified.

Mr. T. Krishnan, B.A., has undergone training in the Teachers' College, Saldapet and has sat for the L. T. examination. Mr. J. Mahalinga was selected for the Sub-Inspector's training. One boy is reading in the Intermediate class and another is in the VI Form. There were 3 and 4 pupils in V and IV Forms respectively. The boy undergoing training in carpentry in the Industrial School, Calicut, will be completing his course and the one in the School of Arts will be completing his fourth year. 4 more boys were admitted as apprentices in the Saraswathi Printing Works.

BOARDING HOUSES.

In the first half of the year the strength in all the three Boarding Houses of the Mission was 94, but in the second half it came down to 83. Even then the Mission was maintaining on an average 88 children while the grant received was for 48 children including 8 individual boarding grants kindly sanctioned by the Commissioner of Labour. All the sections of the depressed classes are represented and the objection once put forward by certain sections is no longer urged. They have begun to appreciate their homogeneity as one class. Owing to greater appreciation of the value of education and the facilities the Boarding Houses afford, the demand for admission was great. There was a time in the history of the Mission when actual canvassing had to be done to secure pupils to the Boarding Houses. Times have changed; the parents of children have begun to appreciate keenly the benefits of education, thanks to the work of the Labour Department also; the need for canvassing is past and even the Koragas have begun to value education as a means of social and economic uplift. The necessity of providing more accommodation to house the increasing number of boarders is urgent. The Girls' Boarding House is still located in the Mission House of the local Brahmo Samaj. Somehow our need seems to have attracted the kind attention of a generous lady who has kindly donated Rs. 3,000 for building a Boys' Boarding House and a Girls' Home. But the donation is available to meet the Mission's contribution towards the cost of construction. Unless the Government are pleased to sanction the buildings and give

at least half grant, our building schemes will be held up as one of the conditions imposed by the donor is that the amount is meant only to bear the Mission's contribution towards the cost of construction. It is hoped the Government will be pleased to consider our schemes favourably and enable the Mission to utilise the donation.

Some changes were made in the diet of the Boarding Houses and the results as disclosed by medical examination are satisfactory. The incidence of sickness and deficiency diseases has been considerably reduced.

COLONIES.

While the Mission has always recognised that the development of Colonies and promotion of community life among the colonists are important items of work requiring special attention, it has not been possible to do much in that direction for want of funds. But all the same most of the plots have been allotted and families have been settled. The few that remain unoccupied, except in Puttur and Mangalore Koraga Colonies and some in Derebail, have been reserved for the common purpose of the colonies. Settlement of some more Koraga families is possible if funds are forthcoming to build huts for them. At least in Puttur Koraga Colony this work is urgent as the extended period before which the conditions of alienation have to be fulfilled will soon be over. Unless the Government are pleased to grant further extension of time the lands have to be surrendered. Apart from this consideration, the main purpose of colonisation, especially in the case of a community like the Koragas as a means of uplift, has to be fulfilled. Ownership of land to live upon, cultivate and enjoy the fruits of his labour with a house which he can call his own, have for ages been an incentive to progress. The Koraga community badly need this encouragement. Weekly bhajans, occasional meetings and gatherings were held in Derebails and Bijjai Colonies. Unless workers are forthcoming to go and settle down in these colonies and funds are made available to maintain them and the activities which may be started by them, the Mission will not be in a position to do more than maintain the status quo.

INDUSTRIAL SECTION.

The Carpentry Workshop was working during the year. As the Mission is not in a position to pay adequate wages during the period of training, apprentices are not forthcoming. Perhaps with the opening of a half-time Industrial School to which reference has already been made, it is hoped boys who have completed their higher elementary education, but do not possess aptitude for higher education, may be induced to undergo industrial training in carpentry and weaving.

With the kind assistance given by the Harijan Sevak Sangh, evening classes in tailoring were opened during the year. The boys are trained in batches. Girls also are taught sewing. Our thanks are due to the Sangh for their help.

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

The Society's activities were enlarged by bringing in the Mari Holeyas who once formed part of the Municipal Scavengers' Society. But the Society is now asked to refund the assets of the liquidated Scavengers' Society handed over to it by an order of the Deputy Registrar of Co-operative Societies as another Society for the new set of scavengers has been organised. If the Society is compelled to do so, it would greatly curtail its present activities.

FINANCE.

The audited statement of accounts will show that while the receipts were Rs. 10,623-11-3, the

expenditure was Rs. 10,954-7-3, leaving a deficit of Rs. 325-12-0. This with the past deficits increases the liability of the Mission to Rs. 5,186-9-2. Not only funds are necessary to wipe off the liabilities but also for recurring expenses. Various factors to which reference has already been made in the last reports contribute to the present financial position of the Mission. If increased help is not forthcoming, the only course left open is to cut down the activities of the Mission at least to avoid recurring deficits.

THE HARIJAN PROBLEM.

By A. V. THAKKAR.

THE problem of Harijans is now before the public—before the towns people and the rural people, before the Government and before the thinking public who talk in terms of the nation. Mahatma Gandhi's sincere efforts in not allowing them to be separated from the rest of the Hindus and the new attitude of Government of being no longer indifferent to their welfare as before have made it a problem of great importance. As a result of the Poona Pact arrived at in 1932, the number of seats reserved for them in the Provincial Councils was increased from 70 to 151, and in the Federal Assembly from the present number of one nominated seat to 19 elected seats. This will give them a great lift in the national councils, and their importance cannot now be belittled, much less can they be relegated to oblivion as before.

But apart from the political side, the question has to be looked at from the social side. Apart from voting for Council elections, which may come once in three or five years, it has to be considered from the human side, from the point of daily contact in the whole countryside of the so-called untouchables with the rest of our huge masses. It is a question concerning the change of mentality of crores of our villagers, who have considered it a part of their religion to shun and almost taboo five crores of these unfortunate people without any logic. Effacement of physical untouchability has been comparatively an easy matter in towns and cities, but a tough matter in rural parts which contain 90 per cent. of our people. Even supposing that the physical touch of Harijans comes to be tolerated in rural areas in course of time, it is the change in the superiority complex of caste Hindus and other people affected by contact with Hindus that needs to be brought about as early as possible.

If once the truth is brought home to the Hindu mind that a Harijan can be and is as clean, intelligent and useful to national interests as any one else, if once the unpleasant truth is admitted by Hindus in general that we have erred and also sinned in the past in maltreating, it may be unconsciously, our own brethren, the way to reconciliation to a complete amalgamation of Harijans with the Hindu society, as much as the caste system can allow it, will not be a long one. But some people are yet loath to admit that our past conduct has been bad. They are not able to get rid of the idea that the Harijans are separate from the rest of the Hindu community. Though Bengal Hindus have the largest proportion—44 per cent. of Harijans or scheduled castes—of all provinces in India, they are yet smarting under the Poona Pact and the reservation of 30 seats for Harijans out of 80 Hindu seats. They yet believe that these 30 seats are taken away from them and given to some other race of people not their own. They refuse to believe that these seats are given to a section of their own community, who can easily be merged

among themselves by kind and tactful handling. This mentality needs a rapid and complete change.

The Harijan Sevak Sangh has now been in existence for nearly three years past. It has its branches established in all provinces and in almost all districts and in some sub-districts also. A large number of whole-time workers are engaged in doing ameliorative and other work of a silent kind. The work is divided in several directions—educational, social, economic, hygienic. But the Sangh's outstanding work is educational, as it believes that the future workers among the Harijans must come from among themselves, and that can be done by extensive as well as intensive education. The workers of the Sangh drive and encourage a large number of Harijan children into common primary schools. Besides a large number of scholarships—by hundreds—is given to them for secondary and technical education. About 120 students are supported in colleges by regular monthly scholarships varying from Rs. 10 to Rs. 30. It is the ambition of the Sangh to create a large number of lawyers, doctors, engineers, mechanics, tailors, carpenters from among them, who will elevate in future people who are their own kith and kin much sooner than any other agency can. No doubt it is the bounden duty, nay some compensation for their criminal neglect in the past, of the so-called high-caste Hindus to continue to do their share of the work for Harijans both by voluntary efforts and by State aid.

One of the ways in which the Sangh is trying to serve Harijans is by providing them with additional sources of water supply, especially in rural parts. The Sangh, not resting satisfied with the efforts made to throw open to Harijans all public wells the use of which is denied to them at present, is raising a special fund to construct wells for them especially in dry tracts. And this year a fund of about a lakh of rupees is being collected for that purpose alone.

Let us hope that the collective effort of all Hindus and others and also the State will remove this stigma of untouchability and the thousand disabilities imposed as a consequence thereof and thus uplift not less than five crores of people of our own country, of our own religion, our own kith and kin.—*The Social Service Quarterly.*

CO-OPERATION—WITH A DIFFERENCE.

IN its latest issue the SERVANT OF INDIA, while admitting that in the speeches made by him during his recent extensive tour Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru did plead for "a co-operative spirit" contends that "the co-operation he desiderated is not with the Governor or Governor-General, as is being preached in certain influential quarters, but among the progressive schools of thought of Indian politicians." It is gratifying to learn on the authority of this accredited organ of the Liberal Party that the President of the Liberal Federation does not believe in co-operation in the same sense in which Mr. Jayakar and several others believe in it. But before we congratulate ourselves on the assurance it is necessary to know for what exact purpose Pandit Kunzru wishes his party to co-operate with other progressive parties in the country. This is what our contemporary says on the subject: "He is not obsessed by the thought, as some others are, of making the constitution a success in the sense that no difficult situation will arise for the Government and no occasion will be given for invoking the overriding powers of the Governor or the Governor-General. On the contrary he would like the nationalists in the Legislature to

go straight ahead with their programme, not creating constitutional crises of set purpose it is true, but not minding them either if, in the process of giving effect to their programme, constitutional crises are created. Above all he would have all parties show to the Government by their conduct that they are in no mood to submit tamely to settled facts".

That this policy presents an apparent contrast to the policy of those who have been advocating "a pact with the Governor for the purpose of preventing a wrecking of the constitution" is perfectly true, but only a moment's serious thought will show, first, that this is a very different policy to that which the Congress has been advocating, and which the Liberals themselves advocated not long ago, and secondly that the advocates of this policy will, in actual practice, have to do exactly what they professedly wish not to do and will either have to create constitutional crises of set purpose, or to make "pacts with the Governor to prevent a wrecking of the constitution." It is impossible for the nationalist parties to go straight ahead with their programme without compelling the Governor or the Governor-General, as the case may be, to make use of his special powers and responsibilities and the latter also to exercise his ordinary powers under the new Government of India Act. Take one of the most important items in the national programme, the speedy Indianisation of the forces of defence and the reduction of military expenditure. Is it possible for the nationalist party, whether in the Legislature or in the Cabinet, to take a single step forward in the direction of carrying out this item without bringing itself into immediate conflict with the Governor-General? It is no use deceiving ourselves. The new constitution has been made so completely self-government-proof that no Indian who wishes his country to become self-governing can adopt any attitude towards it except that of uncompromising opposition. Only those who deliberately shut their eyes to the realities of the case can fail to see that it is not possible for them to make any headway towards the objective of self-government by following a policy of "not creating constitutional crises of set purpose, but not minding them either." The party of self-government *have* to create constitutional deadlocks of set purpose; otherwise they will make themselves willing tools in the hands of those whose one aim has been to perpetuate the British Parliament's paramountcy in Indian affairs.

We are entirely in favour of the several progressive parties in India, all in fact, who believe in self-government, not as a far-off divine event to which Indian humanity is to move with a snail's pace, but as an objective to be realised within the shortest possible time, working together both in the Legislature and in the country. As a matter of fact, no newspaper in the country has, during the last fifteen years, been more earnest, more passionate and more tireless in its advocacy of co-operation among all progressive Indians for the attainment of India's constitutional independence than ourselves. But in order that such co-operation may be real as well as effective, two things are clearly essential. All the co-operating parties must have a clear idea of what they want, and there must also be a fair measure of agreement among them as to the methods by which the desired object is to be gained. Our contemporary rightly says that while there can be no co-operation between the progressive section of the Liberal Party and the advocates of the 'Pact with the Governor' policy, "co-operation with the Congress in an advanced programme should be possible and would certainly be desirable". But the Congress frankly believes that a new and acceptable constitution can only be

built on the ashes of the new constitution, not following a policy of tinkering with regard to it. It is prepared to co-operate in the fullest practicable measure with other progressive parties opposed to the Government for the attainment of the common objective, but it will not sacrifice the objective in order to make co-operation with them possible. As regards methods, there is far greater room for mutual accommodation than in respect of the objective, but here, too, there must be more agreement than disagreement among the parties in order that concerted action may be possible. Now that the Congress no longer stands committed to a policy of civil disobedience and has, in fact, definitely abandoned that policy, at least for the time being, substantial agreement among the parties has undoubtedly become easier. But if the Congress has taken a step backward, the other parties must similarly take a step forward. Having talked so long and so earnestly of the effectiveness of constitutional methods for the attainment of constitutional

freedom, it is not open to them, now that the time for action has come, to shrink from the employment of the only constitutional method that can be effective in this case—the creation of constitutional deadlocks. If the Liberals mean business and wish the country to take them seriously they must go back to the policy enunciated by them at the last session of the Liberal Federation, when even such a man as Sir C. Setalvad said that if the White Paper constitution was enforced "there would be irresistible temptation to work it with the object of forcing the pace and creating situations which would make the working of the constitution very difficult and thus forcing the hand of England to reconsider the whole matter at a very early date." For the Liberal Party to go back upon this excellent declaration of policy made by them only nine months ago would be to wreck the chances of co-operation between them and the Congress and thus make the attainment of the common goal far more difficult than it would otherwise be.—*The Tribune.*

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