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THE PASSING OF ANOTHER VETERAN

THE LATE MR. AMOD BAYAT

A GLOOM was cast over the Indian community throughout Natal when the sad news of the death of Mr. Amod Bayat, at the age of 78, at his residence in Maritzburg at the early hour of 5.30 on Wednesday morning was communicated through telephone. The funeral, which took place at the City Mahomedan Cemetery at 4 p.m., was attended by a large number of Indians representing every section of the community. People from distant parts of Natal were seen present at the funeral to pay their last respects to the deceased.

The late Mr. Bayat had lost his normal condition of health for the last three or four years. He was practically bed-ridden and if at times he was able to be out of his bed he was hardly ever able to be out of his bedroom. On certain occasions his condition was so very bad that those who were closely connected with him wished that he would be relieved of his burden of life rather than have to undergo such terrible suffering. While those whom he has left behind him and the community in general have sustained a great loss by the death of Mr. Bayat, it is a consolation to feel that to the deceased himself it has been a relief.

MAGNANIMOUS

One of the highest qualities of Mr. Bayat was the magnanimity of his heart. His firm in Maritzburg is now nearly fifty years old and up to this moment his home and his kitchen have been open to every Indian without distinction of caste or creed. He was also very religiously minded. Whilst he was taking an active part in his business affairs he never missed a single prayer even though he may be overburdened with work. When at times he had reason to be irritated either with his employes or the members of his family and had consequently uttered a harsh word or had hurt in any way the feelings of anyone, he would immediately absent

himself and the only place he would be found would be the mosque where he would be sitting for hours in deep meditation. The reputable firm of Mr. Amod Bayat in Maritzburg is sufficient evidence of the deceased's success in business.

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

In the political field too the part played by Mr. Bayat was worthy of note.

In the early days when Mahatma Gandhi was in South Africa Mr. Bayat had occasion to work with him. Mahatma Gandhi had put Mr. Bayat to the test and was not found wanting. One of Mr. Bayat's good qualities was that he had not a wavering mind. Once convinced of a path being correct he would not swerve from it, no matter how strong the opposition may be. In 1906 Mr. Bayat accompanied Mahatma Gandhi when a deputation was sent to England in connection with the treatment of British Indians in the Transvaal. For some years Mr. Bayat was the president of the Maritzburg branch of the Natal Indian Congress and was later made the president of the Natal Indian Congress. In that capacity Mr. Bayat accompanied the South African delegation that went to India in connection with the Class Areas Bill introduced

by Union Government and which had to be withdrawn as a result of strong agitation against it in India.

Thus the late Mr. Bayat has spent a useful and active life almost to the end of his days and may Providence grant his noble soul the peace that he has well deserved.

The late Mr. Bayat leaves behind him a widow and a married daughter and an eighteen year old son and his brother Mr. Ismail Bayat. The community's heartfelt sympathy goes out to them in their sad bereavement.



Notes and News

THE political correspondent of the *Rand Daily Mail* sends the following message from Capetown:—The round table conference between India and South Africa will take place in Capetown about the end of September. It is more than probable that the Capetown Agreement will be ended and that the Indian Agent will be withdrawn. In Government circles the opinion is strongly held that, as the large majority of the Indians in South Africa are born here they should be treated as Union nationals.

The *Rand Daily Mail* correspondent, we think, is misinformed with regard to the time of the sitting of the Round Table Conference. We have official information that the venue of the Conference will be Capetown and it will meet about the first week in December.

The above correspondent further states:—

Very few Indian immigrants are now coming forward for repatriation. Under the old scheme of £25 per head, which was for a period of 13 years, we repatriated 11,472 men, 5,035 women and 6,618 children, a total of 23,125. After the Capetown Agreement, under which the Union paid the passage money and a bonus over a period of five months, we repatriated 1,677 in 1928, and for the full year 3,489; in 1929 we repatriated 1,328, and in 1930 the number was only 1,012. The Indians in Natal have started an agitation against their repatriation and the scheme is now about dead. Very few of the repatriated Indians have returned to the Union.

We have not known of any agitation on the part of Indians in Natal against repatriation, and if there has been any the results must have been very poor, for hardly any have ever come to light. That very few of the repatriated Indians have returned to the Union must be a matter of great consolation to Government. If the opinion held in Government circles that "as the large majority of the Indians are born here they should be treated as Union nationals," is at all sincere, it augurs well for the future of the Indian community. We have argued all these years that since the door has been barred against further immigration the resident Indian population should, in fairness, be treated as nationals of this country in the real sense of the term and allowed to enjoy all the rights attached. If Government would only have been pleased to do that instead of adopting a hostile attitude by introducing measures after measures to render it more and more difficult for them to exist in this country, the Indian question would have long been settled and friendly relations would have been established between India and South Africa, which unfortunately does not exist at the present time. Would that better counsel prevailed upon the Union Government even at this eleventh hour in the interests of India as well as South Africa.

From a Reuters message from Bombay we learn that Mahatma Gandhi has addressed a letter to the Viceroy (Lord Willingdon), stating that he will attend the resumed Round-Table Conference in London, even if the communal question is not settled in the meantime; but that he will only explain the Congress position, and will not participate in the proceedings.

Sir K. V. Reddi, Agent of the Government of India in South Africa, is due to arrive in Durban from Capetown on Sunday, the 7th instant at 10 a.m. by train.

THE LATE AMOD BAYAT

IN the history of the Indian community in Natal the name of the late Amod Bayat stands with that of Dawood Mahomed and Parsee Rustonjee. He was one of the earliest to hail from the Bombay Presidency and started business in his young age on a very small scale in the City of Maritzburg where now is seen standing for nearly half a century the large and reputable firm of Amod Bayat. The late Amod Bayat grew in fame not only owing to his success in business but he had other qualities in him to bring him that mark. If one has to have literary ability to be called educated and, indeed, that is the interpretation given to education in modern times, then he did not possess that. He could not boast of being a B.A. or an M.A. of the Oxford or the Cambridge University, neither could he boast of possessing the "gift of the gab" which is also one of the qualifications of education in these days. But he had something in him which one still notices in those who are nearing the completion of their term of life but fails to find in the younger generation, however much their parents may have suffered to give them what is called "proper schooling." Instances are not wanting, even in this country of how men who have had "proper schooling" have utterly failed in life. Yes, it was that something which we find lacking in our so-called educated younger generation which was possessed by the late Amod Bayat and made him a successful man. That was practical wisdom and common sense. Notwithstanding his illiteracy, therefore, we have no hesitation in describing him as a man of head and heart. That he was a man of heart all those who have known him must confess without any doubt whatsoever. He was a man of charitable disposition and religiously minded. His home was, as it were, a free boarding and lodging house for Indians. The mosque was his abode of peace whenever he was worried or had had a harsh word with any of his associates. Being of a charitable disposition he was naturally public spirited and his share in public life too was, therefore, not mean. Twice he went overseas

with delegations to represent the cause of Indians in South Africa and as the president of the Natal Indian Congress in recent years, when the Congress had to work against strong opposition, the late Amod Bayat did not only occupy the presidential chair but gave a large share even in spade work. In his old age and delicate health he went out collecting funds for the Congress with other workers, at any time of the day or night, unconcerned about the weather conditions. Needless to say he commanded the respect of all Indians without distinction of caste or creed and his labour of love always met with the success it deserved. The memory of old Amod Bayat will remain fresh in the minds of Indians in this country for many years to come. May his soul rest in eternal peace. Our heartfelt sympathy goes out to the bereaved family.

CONCERNING CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

KARMA : All that total of a soul

Which is thy things it did, the thoughts it had,
The "Self" it wove—with woof of viewless time,

Crossed on the warp invisible of acts—
The outcome of him on the Universe

It makes its habitation as the worm spins silk

Aud dwells therein.

The Light of Asia.

JUST as the personality-man is no other than a bundle of attributes or characteristics embodied in form—expressing thoughts and act—"the outcome of him on the Universe," so the conventions and institutions of a community are no more or less than a formal expression, an embodiment, of its past (including sometimes its present) ideals and thought-emotions. The civilisation, as its conventions and institutions are termed, of any given aggregation of individuals, of any community, that is, constitutes a sort of institutional photograph of its mass-character, or perhaps more aptly, an edifice that architecturally portrays its wants, ambitions and aims.

All such institutions are forms endued with the life of their human creators. Their continued existence depends upon their continued preservation, upon the constant renewal of that same life-energy. Like idols, whose power is but the power with

which their worshippers have endowed them, human institutions decay and finally disappear when the vitality that alone sustained them is withdrawn or denied.

Change in the character of the form follows change in the character of the force informing it. "As a man thinks, so he becomes." Institutional changes in mass-consciousness, whereby alone institutional reform becomes possible, have invariably been due to the influence of one or two whose individual consciousness has first undergone the necessary change. The normal man is in the main a creature of habit and heredity, with but little real individuality. Indeed, the average human is virtually no better than a fractional-unit of a group consciousness within which he lives, moves and has his being. The relatively dormant individuality of him is mostly occupied in reacting to impressions from without, i.e. displays but scant initiative.

He is swayed by his environal habits and appetites; is gregarious and stereotyped.

Yet differentiation, does proceed, albeit normally very slowly, within the group-mass, and at intervals there arises a "Daniel who dares to stand alone." Such an one will have evolved real individuality. Such an one by "turning the consciousness inwards" will have awakened to at least some understanding of the true nature of his being, will have caught a glimpse of the Light without which the shadows could not be. Thenceforth, for him, the outer world of artificial man-created structure loses its erstwhile "reality." Detached and with the eye of discernment he is able impartially to appraise the environing conventions and institutions at their true worth. He sees them as they actually are, at once a fact and a fiction, a creation born of delusion, a house of bondage within the narrow walls of which its builders are themselves immured, their lives cribbed, cabined and confined. If he would help mankind he sets himself to reform.

The Reformer is he who, by refraining the quality or character of his own life, reforms, or reconstitutes, his personality, i.e. his outer being or self.

The Reformer is he who perceiving his essential one-ness with "others," who inspired with devotion to Truth (The Real) and love and compassion for all, pours his own transmuted life—his Will, Thought and Feeling—into the common Reservoir,

By so doing, he influences an alteration in the mass-consciousness and induces an improvement in the corresponding forms that reflect or express it. The intensity of the sacrifice determines the measure of the help given.

The Reformer is he, whose life being ruled from within, refuses to pay tribute to the false orthodoxies sanctified by custom and habit, declines to bow the knee to gods he knows to be false despite their enforced recognition, and who cheerfully accepts the inevitable penalty of his disobedience.

Civil Disobedience is no other than the conscientious refusal to worship false gods applied to civil institutions which the conscience finds are immoral and opposed to Truth.

Civil Disobedience may not improperly be styled "vairagya," since it is a practical form of detachment from what is unworthy to persist.

As the mists of delusion are dissipated by the sunshine of enlightenment, as the destruction of the prison-house sets free the erstwhile prisoner, so without worshippers false gods disappear into their void, the temples that sheltered them fall into decay, their priests acolytes and temple hangers-on are dispersed and forced into honest and useful callings.

The Satyagrahi, then, is the true Sacrificer, giving himself for all, enduring for all; living his life in the light of Truth, inspiring mankind to find the way of Happiness, Liberation and Peace.

"No Right To Call Herself A Nation"

Mr. Ramsbottom On South Africa

Speaking on "The Union and some Political Problems" at the Y.W.O.A. recently, Mr. W. H. Ramsbottom said South Africa since its recognition as an international unit was said to have achieved nationhood, but he submitted that South Africa had no right to call herself a nation, which he defined as a number of people working together for a common purpose. South Africa was divided into three main groups—English-speaking South Africans, Dutch-speaking South Africans and Bantus.

The Dutch-speaking section, who were largely rural, were conservative and considered economic irritation to be due to the English. The latter, used to economic disturbances, were inclined to be intolerant, while the Bantus were subjected and exploited by the Europeans.

The first step to achieve nationality was to stop the friction between the English and Dutch-speaking

South Africans. Similarities, not differences had to be considered.

"There is enough work for all if we do not worry about which language it is done in," said Mr. Ramsbottom.

The fusion of the two white races did not make a nation, he said.

There were 5,000,000 Bantus to be given places as citizens before complete nationality could be realised. The Bantu was no longer a barbarian. He had been reached by the missionary and tax-gatherer, and it was fortunate that they were only gradually becoming conscious of their miserable conditions. Fear was the chief cause of friction between black and white. The Bantus had no political representation, and they were unable to make use of the Industrial Conciliation Act.

"It is the democratic trade unionism who is grinding the faces of the poor," said Mr. Ramsbottom, "and until we resolve our internal differences we can never hope to become a great nation."—*The Rand Daily Mail*.

"The Weapon Of The Strong"

Mahatma Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—

Mr. Peddie's murder and the making of the murderer of Mrs Curtis a hero at the Sikh League meeting bring out in clear light the tragic fact that the cult of violence has still many votaries. The extolling of murderers is being overdone. If we are to sing the praises of every murderer because the murderer has a political motive behind it, we should proceed from praising the deed to the deed itself. The praising of Sajjansingh as a hero raises a doubt in my mind about the wisdom of my having been the author of the Congress resolution about Bhagatsingh. My motive was plain enough. The deed was condemned. The spirit of bravery and sacrifice was praised. The hope behind was that we would thereby be able to distinguish between the deed and the motive, and ultimately learn to detest deeds such as political murders, no matter how high the motive might be. But the effect of the Congress resolution has been perhaps quite the contrary. It seems to have given a passport for extolling murder itself. I repeat my deliberate opinion that whatever may be true of other countries, in India at least political murder can only harm the country. This is much more true whilst an experiment on the largest scale yet known to the world is being made to win liberty through strictly peaceful methods. He who runs can see that the experiment has proved its merit beyond all expectation, and is almost on the point of succeeding. I make bold to say that had the experiment not been interrupted by political murders and the violence in thought and less often in speech and still less often in action of civil resisters, India would by this time have been free.

Non-violence is the weapon not of the weak but of the strong. Non-violence means forgiving an injury and not retaliating. Forgiveness is an ornament of the strong, says a Sanskrit proverb. Yudhishtira gave an exhibition of this quality when he, even though provoked beyond measure by Nirata not only forgave him but took extraordinary measures to protect him against the wrath of his brother Arjuna who would but for those precautions have killed him for insulting and injuring the great king Yudhishtira.

Non-violence is not a mechanical performance. It is the finest quality of the heart and comes by

training. When it comes, it seems, because it is natural, and the possessor wonders that it should have cost any trouble at all in its attainment. What can be more natural than to return blow for the blow, says the beast in us. What can be natural or more human than that we should return a blow with forgiveness, says the man in us. He who gave the blow was ignorant and forgot himself. Why should the injured person betray ignorance and forget himself? Are the many wives who suffer the brutalities of their brutal husbands more than human because they forgive their husbands? They would of course do better if they would not add pampering to their forgiveness and would withdraw co-operation from their husbands for the latter's own sakes.

But let me not go into deeper waters. Those who profess non-violence should realise their strength and be non-violent in thought, word and deed. Let those who still doubt the efficacy of the non-violent method and are not sure of that of the violent method ponder the following :

1. India's millions have no tradition of the violent method.
2. They, the villagers, have never been known to have combined on any large scale to use the violent method.
3. They have no definite idea as yet of political freedom in terms of India as one country.
4. Whereas in Europe the people have gained their freedom by the violent method, the people were more or less trained in the use of arms.
5. They, the people of Europe, gained their freedom by being able to use greater violence than the enthroned authority.
6. It is at least doubtful if they, not excluding the English, have got real freedom. The masses there still feel that they are being ground down by the moneyed classes who have the reins of government in their hands. Look at their varied problems ever increasing in perplexity.
7. In India on the other hand we know that it is through the non-violent method alone that the phenomenal mass consciousness including the awakening of women has come into being.
8. We know as a proved fact that where the people erred and became violent, they lost ground, became demoralised and were cowed down.

If I were to give more thought to the past twelve months I could elaborate the list. But as it is, it is perhaps enough for my purpose.

To those who have settled convictions in favour of the violent method, I say : 'You will give me the same credit that you claim for yourselves for love of the country. If so, you should accept my testimony that by mixing your method with mine you protract the agony. The belief which I know some of you hold that an occasional murder of an official helps the cause, is wholly unfounded. On the contrary I know that every murder has hampered me in my pursuit. I know that you are as anxious as I am, you will probably say you are more anxious than I am, for the release of all political prisoners. You must admit that the terrorist method can only retard their discharge. Constituted as this Government is, all governments are, they will not discharge political offenders convicted of violence when political violence takes place. All things considered, therefore, you will do well to listen to my advice and request and suspend your activities whilst the nation is giving a trial to my experiment.'

Muslim Nationalist Conference

BY "A NATIONALIST"

It is a happy sign of the times that the nationalist Muslims who have been growing in numbers and who count among them the bulk of the intelligentsia of the community should gather together in conference under the presidentship of that old veteran leader Sir Ali Imam. That conference met at Lucknow on the March 18 amidst scenes of great enthusiasm and was attended by over a thousand delegates from different parts of the country.

It was apparently a counterblast to the Delhi Muslim Conference and an answer to Moulana Shankat Ali's challenge. The *raison d'être* for the gathering of leading Muslims at a special Conference was given in a statement issued by Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Secretary of the Muslim Nationalist Party.

The All-Parties Muslim Conference, which met at Delhi recently does not represent the views of the majority of the Mussalmans. It was mainly composed of the members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures who owe their present position in public life not to any service to the community or country, but to the exploitation of communal prejudices and the religious antagonism of the illiterate and uninformed Muslim voters. They know that the replacement of the present system of election by joint electorates would mean the end of the political life of most of them and therefore in the constitution of the All-Parties Muslim Conference they have found a sound platform for their propaganda.

Welcome Address

Moulana Kuthuddin Abdul Wali of Feringhi Mahal, Chairman of the Reception Committee, after expressing regret at the loss sustained by the country by the passing away of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Moulana Mahomed Ali explained how the situation has changed since the Gandhi-Irwin pact and the cessation of civil disobedience.

Mr. Gandhi, the accredited leader of the Congress, was trying his best to a just the Muslim claims, but there were certain Muslim leaders who, apparently with a view to impede communal settlement, were insisting on separate electorates which admittedly were detrimental to the growth of the Indian nation.

We are virtually at war with our fellow countrymen. If any group or community wants to come to terms with us, we should not reject their offer. Do you think we can afford to fight both our own countrymen and the Government as well? I should think not. Why then, should we not make peace with the party that is extending the hand of friendship?

"We want to organise the Muslims," he continued, and he asked "is it necessary for that purpose to be perpetually at war with your fellow-countrymen?"

Sir Ali Imam's Address

Sir Ali Imam in his presidential address recalled the Morley-Minto days when the supporters of the joint electorate scheme could be numbered in one's fingers. He himself belonged to that school of political thought which laid great stress on separate electorates and was, in fact, a member of the Deputation that waited on Lord Minto in 1905, but in the interval between 1905 and 1909, he had time to carefully study the question, and he had definitely come to the conclusion that separate electorate was not only a negation of Indian Nationalism, but also positively harmful to the Moslems themselves.

The president went on to observe that the Muslim

advance to the principle of joint electorate during the last two decades has been stupendous. The result has been a rapid advance in nationalist spirit among the Muslims.

"I venture to prophesy", said Sir Ali Imam, that this movement among Indian Moslems will rather force which no power on earth can thwart. There is no need to despair. Time and tide are with us.

Proceeding, Sir Ali Imam said one had only to take note of the sufferings and trials of Moslem nationalists in the last two years, to know the contribution that Moslems had made in the recent struggle for freedom. It was impossible that their sacrifices would go in vain.

If I was asked why I have such abiding faith in Indian Nationalism, my answer is that, without that, India's freedom is an impossibility. Separate electorate connotes the negation of nationalism. Political problems are but a reflex of social forces. If you erect an iron wall between community and community in their politics, you destroy the social fabric. Day-to-day life will become unsupportable, if you insist on building political barriers. Nationalism can never evolve from division and dissensions. Consider the implications of separatist clauses in the Constitution. The plea is Moslems are numerically inferior, deficient in education and economically backward. The argument is then developed, and it is asserted that they would never succeed in the polls in the face of the powerful Hindu opposition. It is taken for granted that every Hindu is a potential enemy of the Moslems. I do not believe in these generalities but should they be assumed true, what are the logical inferences? They are, firstly, that the Moslem is too weak to look after himself, secondly, the Hindu as an enemy is relentless and, finally, the necessity for protective clauses in the Constitution. I do not believe that such protective clauses will afford any protection, unless they had some sanction behind them. If a Moslem cannot protect himself and a Hindu will not protect him, then the sanction must rest in a third party. Is not that a negation of nationalism? Does it not show that the separatist notion is based upon support which cannot be found in this country, and this tantamounts to perpetuation of tutelage? Is it surprising then that the Nationalist Moslem who cherishes the idea of freedom, seems to subscribe to the embodying of a separatist clause in the Constitution?

Sir Ali Imam next referred to the nationalist awakening in the Frontier and wound up with an appeal for communal unity and peace.

The Conference then met in Committee and discussed the resolutions to be adopted at the open session. Four resolutions were finally adopted.

Resolutions

The first resolution which was put from the chair at the open session referred to the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Moulana Mahomed Ali.

The second resolution which was carried unanimously ran as follows:—

This Conference, while congratulating the nation on the splendid sacrifices it made in the recent struggle for freedom, notes with gratification the fact that the part played by the Moslem community, in particular Moslems of the Frontier Province, was quite in keeping with its tradition, in as much as over 12,000 Moslems went to jail and a large number of them lost their life and limb and suffered in other ways, thus vindicating the honour of their co-religionists who are determined not to lag behind any other community in the fight for national freedom.

Dr. M. H. Farrouqui next moved that the conference regretted that the Local Governments in various provinces had not fully honoured the terms of the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement, as was evident from the continued detention of many satyagrahi prisoners, including Moulvi Habibur Rahman of Ludhiana, Hafiz Ali Bahadur, Khan Abdul Hamid and Mahomed Siddique of Bombay, Hafiz Mahomed Sami, Peer Mahomed Munis and Sheik Adalat Hussain of Behar, and hoped that they would forthwith be released.

It was seconded by Mr. S. A. Brelvi and passed without opposition.

The last resolution occasioned a prolonged debate. It ran as follows:—

The Conference while strongly condemning communal riots which occurred in Benares, Agra and Cawnpore and other places, causing enormous loss of innocent life and property and direliction of duty on the part of officials on these occasions, particularly at Cawnpore, offers its heartfelt sympathies to the families of those who fell victims to the communal frenzy, and pays tribute to the rare patriotic sacrifice of Mr. Ganesh Shankar Vidyaishi. This Conference appeals to all communities not to be influenced by the wicked propaganda carried on by certain interested individuals and, in the face of this grave provocation, to preserve peace and thus refuse to play into the hands of the enemies of the country's freedom.

Mr. Malick Barkat Ali, moving the resolution, bitterly criticised the provocative speeches which were being made by certain communal leaders, in connection with these tragic incidents and were thus attempting to rekindle the dying fire.

Certain amendments calling on the members of the two communities to abstain from mutual re-primations and urging withdrawal of all cases arising out of communal rioting were also passed after some discussion in which Mr. Yakub Hasan of Madras and Moulvi Shahid of Allahabad took part.

There was a prolonged debate in the Subjects Committee over the draft resolution regarding the measure and method of representation in the federal and Provincial Legislation.

The resolution as it emerged from the Subjects Committee ran as follows:—

Having secured general agreement in regard to the following matters which affect the interests of the nation at large,

(1) That there shall be a provision of fundamental rights in the Constitution guaranteeing to all citizens protection of their culture, language, script, education, profession and practice of religion, religious endowments and economic interests.

(2) That fundamental rights and personal laws shall be effectively protected by specific provisions to be embodied in the constitution.

(3) That the future Constitution of the country shall be Federal, and residuary powers shall vest in federating units;

(4) That all appointments, shall be made by Public Services Commission according to the minimum standard of efficiency without, at the same time, depriving any community of its fair share in the services and that in case of lower grades no monopoly shall be permitted;

(5) That Sind shall be constituted into a separate province and,

(6) That the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan shall have exactly the same form of Government and administration as the other provinces in British India.

The Nationalist Muslim party strongly holds that the settlement of the outstanding questions relating to the measure and method of representation in the Federal and Provincial Legislatures should be based on the following principles:

- (a) Universal adult franchise,
- (b) Joint electorates,
- (c) Reservation of seats in the Federal and Provincial Legislatures on population basis for minorities of less than 30 per cent. with right to contest additional seats.

Having regard, however, to the present unfortunate position of the country, particularly propaganda carried on by a body of Mussalmans as well as the attitude of certain sections of other communities and with a desire to secure a speedy settlement and create a peaceful atmosphere in the country, the Nationalist Muslim Conference is prepared to negotiate for settlement of the outstanding questions on the basis of Joint electorates and adult franchise.

Dr. Ansari, in moving the resolution, made an eloquent speech denouncing the action of those communalists who are at the bottom of all the misunderstanding and trouble.

An atmosphere is being created in which the central problem of Indian political life—an understanding and readiness to co-operate between the two great sister communities of India—is daily becoming more difficult to solve. I appeal to you, gentlemen, to strain every nerve to see that these mischievous designs are readily thwarted.

And he warned his co-religionists of the danger of persisting in a campaign of separatism. Such a policy he said, would ultimately prove suicidal to the best interests of the community.

I wish to tell the Muslim community through you that apart from wider national considerations, the insistence on separate electorates would prove suicidal to the continuance of the Mussalmans in this country as political and cultural force of any significance.

Mr. Sherwani, who seconded the motion, said that the separate electorates scheme was being utilised by interested parties for their own benefit. He cited an instance of five Muslim members being returned to the Assembly in 1926 in spite of the fact that they knew not how to write either Urdu or English.

Mr. Meharali (Bombay) moved an amendment urging omission of the clause relating to the reservation of seats for minorities on a population basis. He thought that the reservation clause was added to placate Communalists and added that the Communalist was a walking plague; there was no place for him in the modern world.

Mr. Hasrat Mohani, was specially allowed to speak, on the amendment, which however was opposed by Choudhury Khaliqueesaman and others and eventually rejected.

The resolution, as recommended by the Subjects Committee, was carried without any opposition.
—*Indian Review.*

Russia's Five Year Plan

"G. R." writes as follows in the *Rand Daily Mail*:—
More and more is being heard of the Russian Five-Year Plan. We are told that it is doing a great deal of harm to trade and that it is a kind of economic warfare which is being waged by the Soviet Union against the rest of the world. But, apart from the fact the Plan has been put into operation in Russia, and that in some way it affects the rest of the world, most of us have but a hazy idea of what it is.

There are several ways in which the Soviet Union differs from the ordinary State conducted on the capitalistic system. The most important differences are naturally economic.

First of all, in Russia the nationalisation of practically all businesses has been effected. This means that all financial, commercial and industrial undertakings are owned by the State, which is able to do what it pleases with them.

Secondly, all foreign trade is monopolised by the State, which is able to regulate the amount of all goods exported from or imported into Russia.

Because of these facts the State has great power and is able to concentrate this power wherever it is most needed.

Now as to the Plan itself. The whole scheme is based on a system of forecasting and budgeting which is altogether novel when operated upon such a tremendous scale. The Russians have created a body known as the State Planning Commission, which, working in conjunction with all the economic organisations, such as the banks and co-operatives, draws up figures which form a sort of budget of the financial, commercial and industrial activities of the country. These are called "control figures," and set out the tasks which each part of the national economy must perform. As G. T. Grinko, a member of the State Planning Commission, writes:—"They calculate by scientific methods the probable size of the agricultural products' crops that are to be expected from the next harvest; they put definite tasks to the State and co-operative organisations with regard to the collection of grain and agricultural raw materials; they contain careful and binding plans for the extension of the areas under cultivation and for increasing their productivity, for supplying agriculture with machinery, mineral fertiliser, etc.; they determine the policy with regard to the level of agricultural and industrial prices for State and co-operative organisations; they fix the amount of exports and imports and the minimum balance of trade and international settlements; they estimate the income and expenditure of the State budget, the possible limits of currency issue, the income from State industry as a whole, from transportation and from the banks; they lay down the policy with regard to the course and rates of foreign exchange; and finally fix the amount of capital to be invested in industry, transportation and agriculture, in housing and public construction. In a word, the control figures lay down a general economic plan for this huge country, with its population of 150 million people, for a year in advance."

The control figures are published annually, in the same way as the statistics appearing in our "Union Year Book," and they form a basis upon which the various economic sections of the Soviet Republics are to work. They are very widely read and discussed, and the nation as a whole is expected to improve upon the estimates if possible.

The object of the Five Year Plan is to change Russia from a backward country into a progressive

industrial nation. The real backbone of the scheme is the establishment of huge electricity supply stations at various strategic points throughout the country, in order to supply the power necessary for rapid and complete development. Industry is also to be fostered by the erection of factories for the manufacture of all kinds of goods; at first chiefly those goods which are the most necessary for the proposed development, such as motor cars, tractors, machinery and other such articles. The industrialisation of agriculture is also included in the plan. The peasants no longer farm individually but collectively, the State supplying them with all the necessary seed and equipment, and demanding practically all the result of their labours.

Russia is not at present in a position to supply all the articles which are needed for the erection of her factories, and is consequently compelled to obtain them from other countries, such as Great Britain, the United States and Germany. Payment for such goods must naturally be made either in the country of origin or in some such international financial centre as London. In order to obtain funds in these countries it is necessary for Russia to export goods and to sell them in foreign lands. As this is the only method by which she can obtain the money which is of vital importance to the success of the Five Year Plan, she gets rid of her exports at any price at which she can sell them. This accounts for the flood of Russian goods at present being dumped on the markets of the world, and for the low prices at which these goods are being sold.

As the Five Year Plan is only half completed, we may expect a good deal more of this dumping, with ever more serious effects on the commercial and industrial stability of the nations affected.

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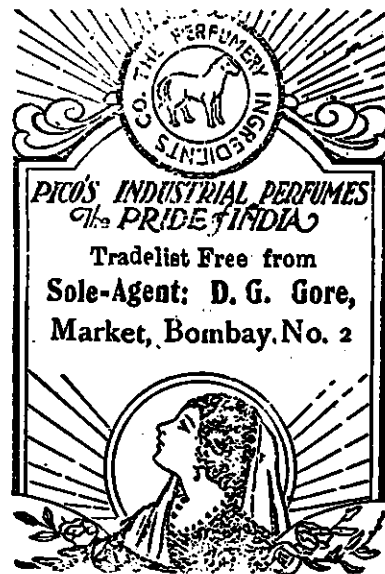
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