

The Servant of India

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OFFICE : SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S HOME, POONA 4.

VOL. XVI, No. 31. }

POONA—THURSDAY, AUGUST 10, 1933.

{ INDIAN SUBSN. Ra. 6
FOREIGN 15s.

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Topics of the Week.

The Pity of It.

MAHATMA GANDHI and Mr. Mahadev Desai were released on the morning of the 4th inst. and, immediately after, served with an order restricting their movements. Which, of course, they promptly disobeyed. They were re-arrested and put up for trial, under the Ordinance Act. The Magistrate held his court in the Prison itself and before the day was out sentenced them to one year's imprisonment. On the last occasion the Government arrested the Mahatma under the century-old regulation which had no popular sanction, and treated him as a State prisoner. On this occasion, they naturally preferred to act under an Act which they could pretend had public support as it was passed by the Bombay Legislative Council as recently as last year.

Mrs. Gandhi in Ahmedabad, Mrs. Perin Captain in Bombay and Mr. C. Rajagopalachari in Madras, each with a batch of comrades lesser in eminence but not lesser in loyalty to the Mahatma, have chosen to walk the deserted and painful path of suffering traversed by the Mahatma.

In all these cases Government followed the same policy of arrest, release on restrictive conditions, re-arrest, trial and sentence, under the Public Safety Acts passed by the legislatures. Government have been saved the moral odium of having to act on the arbitrary powers they inherited from the autocratic days of old. They were able to claim the support of public opinion in India for their arrests. This would have been impossible if Congressmen had not boycotted the Councils and, instead, had filled them with nationalists. The Congress boycott of the Councils has only made it easy for the Government to perpetrate repression; it has not embarrassed them.

That this is criminal folly has been realised by a growing section of Congressmen who are at the moment taking soundings in various centres in India: Calcutta, Madras, Allahabad, Bombay and Poona. It is earnestly to be hoped that these efforts to return to constitutionalism and to the Councils will succeed. There is a great need for the exploration of a common focus to which all constitutionalists can rally.

Sir Frederick Sykes on the Situation.

THE current session of the Bombay Legislative Council which commenced on Monday last was opened by Sir Frederick Sykes, the Governor, in a speech in which there is hardly anything which is particularly striking. As expected, it contains a justification of the recent action taken by Government against Mahatma Gandhi and in fact a justification of what is commonly known as the dual policy of reform and repression. How little this policy is in accord with public opinion cannot be unknown to the head of this presidency and he could not have expected his earnest defence of it on the present occasion to secure for it any new adherents. He expressed the hope that the anti-Gandhi measures would be generally welcomed as they "helped to clear the field for constructive work." We are afraid the hope will remain largely unfulfilled. For whatever one may think of Mahatma Gandhi's campaign of civil disobedience, at no time to our knowledge did he discourage or obstruct constructive work, so that the deprivation of his freedom was not required for its promotion. But any criticism of the actions of Government in the political field has been found, by recent experience, to be more or less in the nature of flogging a dead horse and we had better leave it at that.

Turning to matters of more practical interest, the news that the provincial budget promises to be balanced in the current year will give wide-spread relief. New scales of salaries for provincial and subordinate services have been framed and are expected to reduce the administrative cost by Rs. 34 lakhs with a resultant saving of Rs. 7 lakhs on pensions. It was also announced that out of the cut of 20 per cent. in the educational grants to local bodies 6 per cent. had been restored at the instance of the Minister of Education, to whom they have every reason to be grateful. The Governor promised to furnish the legislative council with a statement of the action taken on the recommendations of the Re-organisation Committee. That would no doubt be welcomed whenever it comes. In the meantime he would have relieved public suspense by making known the Government's final decision with regard to the Deccan College. Is it decided once and for all to close it down or is some non-official agency coming forward to keep it going?

The Governor's interest in the problem of rural uplift is well known and there is enough in his present utterance which affords ground for the hope that before he leaves these shores at the end of the year he will have done something which will go to improve the conditions of village life. A scheme to this end is apparently under preparation and will, we hope, be published for expression of public opinion thereon before it is finally accepted by Government. Sir Frederick Sykes wishes to enlist public support for it by holding divisional durbars and by other means. Everybody will wish him God-speed in this arduous task.

* * *

End of the Meerut Case.

THE Allahabad High Court has with commendable promptitude disposed of the Meerut case which had been dragging on its weary length for four years and a half. At the time of writing, the full text of the High Court judgment is not before us, it being under final revision and apparently taking some little time for publication. But the sentences are fully known. Nine of the accused have been acquitted and the outrageously heavy sentences inflicted by the District Judge, in the case of the others, have been considerably reduced, the maximum being three years' transportation. The Judges who heard the case no doubt take a serious view of the offence committed by the accused; but in inflicting such comparatively light sentences they have not omitted to give due weight to the fact that the accused have suffered confinement for four years and a half. This is as it should be. At the same time nobody can charge the High Court with treating the accused too leniently, seeing that no violent crime seems to have been brought home to any of them. That some of them were professed worshippers at the shrine of communism is undeniable; but the whole question is what they did in practice to put their doctrines into effect.

Law's delays are proverbial in India; but that has reference not so much to the criminal administration of justice as to the civil. In fact the delay in the conduct of this criminal case might strike any unprejudiced observer as being scandalous, even after making allowance for the obstructive attitude of some of the accused in the course of trial in the lower court. The High Court seems to have passed strong strictures on the dilatory character of the proceedings in the Court both of the committing magistrate and the District Judge and the fact that the latter needed as much as five months to write his judgment has come in for strong criticism at its hands. All this speaks well for the sense of duty on the part of the High Court; but what amends do the Government propose to make to those who have been found to be innocent? It was the not very well considered action of the Government that has been the cause of all the inconvenience and worry which they had to undergo during all these four years and a half, not to speak of the monetary loss they had to suffer with consequent hardship to their dependents. If the evidence against them was doubtful, which the Government should have no difficulty in knowing from all their inside knowledge, it is a question why they failed to withdraw their prosecution against them. Their action will strike many as savouring of vindictiveness and argues a very imperfect appreciation on their part of the well recognised judicial principle about the benefit of all reasonable doubt going to the accused. Among people in England the protracted nature of the case seems to have created something of a sensation, in view of the fact that there have been two changes of the Government there since the case was instituted. Cannot something be done to expedite the administration of justice in India?

Burma

THE Secretary of State for India has submitted to the Joint Select Committee a scheme of constitutional reform for Burma, in case the Committee recommended the separation of Burma from India. He wished that the question of separation should be considered when the Committee resumed its deliberation after the recess and that delegates from Burma should be invited to the discussion along with the Indian delegates. Sir Samuel Hoare stresses the fact that the Burma Legislative Council rejected federation on the conditions since embodied in the White Paper and separation on the conditions outlined by the Prime Minister, which, he pointed out, offered to Burma the same amount of self-government as the White Paper offered to India. There was, therefore, no clear expression of opinion from the Burma Council on the question of separation or federation.

The real significance of the action of the Burma Council is that it is not satisfied with the quantum of self-government which Burma has been offered either within or without the federation. Separation or federation is of secondary importance to Burma compared to her wish to get a much larger amount of self-government than is contained either in the White Paper or in the Prime Minister's speech, which amount to the same thing in the end. In this respect Burma is at one with India inasmuch as both are dissatisfied intensely with the quantum of power proposed to be transferred to them and wish it much enlarged.

Dyarchy will continue in Burma. All the powers proposed to be reserved to the Governor General and his executive councillors in India will be vested in the Governor and his three executive councillors in Burma. Finance will not be a wholly transferred subject. Burma will be saddled with a second chamber, consisting of half the members elected by the lower chamber and the other half nominated by the Governor. A more reactionary measure is hard to imagine. If further evidence was needed to prove that the Princes in the Indian federation are to be allowed to nominate their representatives in the federal chambers of India in order merely to substitute the official block with an equally or perhaps more conservative and subservient block it is provided in the constitution of Burma. A Federation with Princes being unavailable in Burma, the more frank step has been taken of nominating half the upper chamber by the Governor. It is useless to pretend hereafter that it was because of their sovereignty that the Princes could not be told how to secure the representation of their States in the Indian federal chambers. The essential consideration is that the grip of the British Government over India and Burma should not be relaxed in the least; if anything strengthened. This desideratum could be cloaked under the pretext of federation and sovereignty of the Princes in the case of India; it was unavailable in Burma.

In the name of "no racial discrimination," the proposed constitution prohibits Burma from discriminating against any British subject domiciled in the United Kingdom but not India! Burma is free to discriminate against Indians, but not against Britishers. It is impossible to conceive of a more blatant instance of Pecksniffian hypocrisy. It is an open invitation and incitement to Burma to discriminate against Indians. If the immigration of Indians is objectionable to Burmese, so is the exploitation of Burma by British capitalists. If Burma is to be free to shut out the one, she ought to be free to shut out the other too. The Hoare constitution is meant to make Burma safe for the British and unsafe for the Indians; and unsatisfactory to Burma.

Commercial Discrimination.

AS is well known, the White Paper contains safeguards for the prevention of commercial discrimination. The Union of Britain and India, composed largely of retired Anglo-Indian administrators of more recent Indian experience, and with a fresher outlook with regard to India than the type represented by Sir Reginald Craddock, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Lord Lloyd and others is credited with, in their memorandum submitted to the Joint Select Committee, were able to "look for a further development in the close working together of British and Indian commercial interests, which will reduce the likelihood of the safeguards being challenged." The statement was amplified in the following manner by its spokesman, Sir Alfred Watson, ex-editor of the *Statesman*. Said he:

"I should say there has been an enormous development of common commercial interests in Bengal, Bombay, and elsewhere. I am glad to say that we find that British firms are taking an increasing proportion of Indian Directors upon their directorates. We find also in Calcutta that large firms — I am speaking of the outstanding firms — are taking into their service young Indians whom they intend to train not for subordinate positions but for high positions in the firms. As a further indication, I should say that 70 per cent. at the least of the share-holding in the jute mills of Calcutta, which are under European management, is Indian. That is true, in a somewhat less degree, of the great tea interests. I do not conceive it possible in the future that Indian Legislators are going to discriminate against British trade when that trade is largely owned by Indians."

In these circumstances, why have the safeguards at all? On this point the Union's attitude is somewhat self-contradictory. Even though it foresees that the safeguards will very likely fall into desuetude, it regards them as "desirable," because the outcry against them "will be very small indeed." The Coastal Traffic Bill introduced in the Assembly by Mr. S. N. Haji a few years ago was stigmatised by European commercial interests as an attempt at commercial discrimination; and in recent constitutional discussions too it has been freely used as an excuse for insisting on commercial safeguards. Sir Alfred Watson went out of his way to explain his attitude towards this Bill. His remarks are noteworthy.

"I am bound to say, speaking as an European, that the Indians have a case for a large share in their coastal shipping; and although I opposed the Bill very strongly because it savoured of expropriation, I recognise that Indian Company after Indian Company which endeavoured to develop a coastal service has been financially shattered by the heavy combination of the British interests. I think those British interests have to realise in the future that they must be prepared for a real partnership and must admit Indians to a share — at least a share in their coastal trade."

Broadcasting in Madras.

THE non-official resolution recommending the early establishment of a broadcasting service in the Madras presidency was, at the instance of the Finance Member, amended to the effect that Government should investigate the possibility of establishing such service. This is most disappointing. One would think that it was no longer a case for investigation of possibilities as of taking steps to establish the service. Provincial Governments, controlled by Finance Members of the reserved side of dyarchy, have always shrunk from every step which tended to spread education among the masses and invented no end of difficulties and excuses, which, if they had the

will, they would have made short work of. The Madras Government had full six months' time to look into the matter, for a similar resolution was brought forward in January last; but they were then not ready with a scheme. With a commendable public spirit, the Madras Corporation organised a service. Among voluntary bodies, the Y. M. C. A., if we mistake not, have been pioneers in this respect. The Madras Government, however, did not want, and rightly, the haphazard growth of small systems. But they take no steps to organise a unified system for the whole province. They are playing the dog in the manger. But the most objectionable part of the Finance Member's speech was his proposal to obtain the services of an expert from England to make a preliminary survey. There are in India, and particularly in Bombay, enough experts, and Indians at that, competent to advise the Madras Government on the subject and it is quite unnecessary to import on high and impossible salaries experts from England. From the tenor of the Finance Member's speech, it looks as if Madras will not have the service but will have an expert instead!

* * *

Karachi Municipal Bill.

THE Communal Award of the British Government has set the fashion which is being faithfully followed in lesser quarters. The Karachi Municipal Bill as amended by the Select Committee intensifies communal divisions for civic purposes. Mr. Jamshed N. R. Mehta, who has set a record of eleven years of continuous occupancy of the Mayoralty of the Karachi Municipality and who has won the universal respect of the people of every community and of the Government alike, was so disappointed with the extension of the communal cleavage in the new Bill that he resigned his Mayoralty in disgust and protest. His resignation admirably served its purpose. And it was well that Mr. Mehta was persuaded to be re-elected. For if his services in the past have been unequalled, the need for him at the helm in the future is even greater. His personal influence will assuage the acerbities of extended communalism that, unhappily, will, we fear, be the fate of the Karachi Municipality.

The Municipal Council passed two resolutions on the 3rd inst. The first opposed separate representation for Harijans and Mahrattas, and it was carried by an overwhelming majority, a few Muslims opposing it. The other re-affirmed faith in joint electorates as against separate ones, and it was passed by a majority of 21 to 12 votes. The majority included 4 Muslims, while the minority consisted of Muslims and Christians. However sensible these resolutions be, the prospect of their being heeded to by the Bombay Legislative Council and the Bombay Government, constituted as they are, is very remote. Nevertheless, we hope all nationally-minded members of the Council will take due note of the wishes of the Karachi Municipality and strive their best to secure recognition for them in the Karachi Municipal Bill.

* * *

Linguistic Provinces.

THE Madras Legislative Council debated last week a non-official resolution urging the formation of an Andhra Province. Amendments were moved urging the formation of Karnataka and Kerala provinces, as well. There is much that can be said in favour of such proposals, provided each new province is financially self-sufficient and large enough to admit of efficient and economic administration. They may come in time. But the agitation for the constitution of such provinces at the very moment

when larger constitutional questions are under discussion is unfortunate. The difficulties and complications of the present constitutional problem are trying enough in all conscience. It is no service to add to them. It would be more prudent to concentrate our efforts for the present on securing the transfer to Delhi of the maximum of power from Whitehall and on making the new constitution amenable without undue difficulty to amendments. When the new constitution is in working order and the new Government firmly in the saddle, it will be time enough to raise the question of carving out linguistic provinces. As this reform is not likely to adversely affect the interests of Great Britain or of the Princes, there is no reason to suppose that they will put obstacles in the way. As a matter of fact, the larger the number of provinces, the larger the number of governorships and other higher administrative posts, a good proportion of which will for a long time to come go to the lot of Englishmen. England stands to gain by the creation of new provinces. The Princes are not likely to stand in the way of such provinces being constituted as long as they are self-supporting.

But the anxiety for the immediate creation of linguistic provinces as part and parcel of the constitution now under the anvil means either that their promoters have greater faith in the British than in their own Government to be or that they fear that the new constitution will be so static and inelastic that it will be practically impossible to amend it even in the innocent direction of a constitution of new provinces and that, therefore, now is the only chance of introducing all desirable changes.

* * *

No Dropping the Pilot.

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU lands in Bombay today, fresh from his labours as a delegate to the Joint Select Committee. To him naturally falls the high task of rallying the constitutionalists to a common purpose. If Mahatma Gandhi has been the most outstanding personality in the field of direct action, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has been the most outstanding personality in the field of constructive constitutionalism. Ever since the inauguration of the Nehru Committee he played an unequalled role in the study and discussion of the Indian constitution and in the various stages of its evolution. No one is better fitted to rally the constitutionalists than Sir Tej Bahadur, who commands more than any other the confidence of all sections of the Indian community as well as of the Government and the Britishers.

He expressed himself disappointed with the results of the deliberations of the Joint Select Committee. It is a feeling which is universally shared, though it must be specially poignant to him because of the more intimate part he played in them. He is reported to have stated in disgust that he had done with constitution-making and that he would revert to his status of a provincial lawyer. That would be a calamity—even like the non-co-operation of the Congress. This is not the time when the country can afford to 'drop the pilot.'

* * *

Indian Education in Fiji.

THE educational report of Fiji for 1932 affords an excellent illustration of how the much-vaunted principle of British trusteeship for the welfare of the natives works in practice. The Europeans in the colony number about 8,500, Fijians slightly over 100,000 and Indians 79,000. But, proportionately speaking, the educational expenditure is the highest, not on the natives, as may be naturally expected, but on the Europeans, who are supposed to have made

themselves responsible for the welfare of their down-trodden fellow-beings. The net Government expenditure on education works out at a little over 11s. per head in the case of the European population, 3½ s. in the case of the Fijians and 2¼ s. in that of our countrymen. These figures constitute an eloquent commentary on the scrupulous discharge of the British responsibility for the uplift of the natives.

So far as Indian education is concerned, last year witnessed an increase of one in the number of Government schools which stands at 7 and that of assisted ones by 4—from 37 to 41. 16 additional unassisted schools also catered for the educational requirements of the community. But the number of Indian children reading in all these 64 schools of the three varieties, not all of which however could, according to the Inspector, be regarded as efficient or satisfactory, did not exceed 4,700; 3,600 being boys and very nearly 1,100 being girls, which represents about one-third of the total number of school-age Indian children. These figures relate only to primary education; but the number of Indian students in the higher grades of education is too small to make any considerable difference in them or to affect to an appreciable degree the extent of literacy indicated by them. Approved Indian pupils, we are told, may enrol in the secondary department of the Natabua Indian School where the average roll was 21 last year. It is a puzzle to us why the admission to the secondary grade should be dependent upon the students securing previous approval. We should also have liked to know which is the approving authority. As for higher education, the question, so far as Fiji is concerned, does not arise, there being no universities and no colleges. The idea is that those who are keen upon university education should proceed to New Zealand or Australia for the purpose.

The Education Rating Ordinance, whose life was extended during the year to the end of 1933, authorises the levy of an education rate in two municipalities, the proceeds of which are not expected to amount to more than half the estimated cost of the Government schools less the amount received by way of fees and sale of books. A similar Ordinance passed three years ago applicable, we suppose, to other areas has not yet been made operative, because it is feared that the revenue expected as a result of its being enforced would be altogether inadequate for the additional liabilities that would consequently devolve on the Government.

Articles.

THE COST OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

THE Secretary of State for India has presented to the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform a memorandum by Sir Malcolm Hailey on the financial implications of (1) provincial autonomy and (2) Federation. This memorandum together with the Secretary of State's statement thereon forms an extremely important document. The detailed implications of this document will be completely brought out during the Secretary of State's examination on the subject by the Joint Committee which is still to take place. In the meanwhile, however, the salient features of the situation as presented by Sir Malcolm Hailey may well be examined here. The memorandum is divided into three parts. The first two parts deal with the

financial implications of provincial autonomy and Federation respectively. The third part puts into the form of figures the results of the White Paper proposals. This is specially welcome as it had been difficult to estimate the intent and possible effect of these proposals without authoritative data of this type being furnished. The figures throughout the memorandum are official figures and the India Office and the Government of India take full responsibility for them.

Sir Malcolm Hailey in approaching the problem has done well to base himself not on the financial results of some supposed normal times, but on the actual conditions as reflected in the central and the provincial budgets for the current year. No doubt this has the effect of, perhaps, painting an unduly black picture, but has the compensating advantage of being nearest to the realities of the situation. And from the point of view of immediately bringing the new Constitution into being this latter aspect has necessarily to be emphasised. In discussing the implications of provincial autonomy Sir M. Hailey puts forward three clear objectives: (1) to provide the Centre with secure means of meeting normal demands together with a small reserve; (2) to secure to the Provinces at least the amounts that are now available to them, to meet deficits in certain provinces and to provide for the creation of new provinces; and (3) to provide that the main benefits of future improvements in Central Finance will accrue to the Provinces. With regard to Central finances Sir M. Hailey points out that with considerable retrenchment in the Defence Services and emergency cut in salaries accompanied by heavy surcharges on Income-Tax and Customs Duties the budget just balances itself at present. That though with economic recovery it may be expected that certain receipts, e. g. under Railways, may increase considerably, this has to be offset by the necessity for the restoration of the emergency cut and the abolition of the surcharges. The conclusion is, therefore, reached that the Centre could not at present afford to part with any of the sources available to it and the process of economic recovery must proceed far before the Centre could find any surplus sums for the use of Provincial Governments. It is also pointed out that, barring the excise duty on matches, which will yield an annual revenue of Rs. 2½ crores, no immediately reliable sources of revenue can be detected in any other direction. In connection with the present allocation of revenues to the Provinces the conclusion is reached that it is difficult to adjudge between the conflicting claims of various Provincial Governments and that in any case the narrow range of finance available leaves no alternative to proceeding on conditions as they exist at present. This leaves as the only basis of looking at future arrangements the proposition that the position of no Province should be worsened under the new arrangements. The only problems, therefore, that can be and have to be immediately tackled in the domain of Provincial Finance are those of meeting the huge deficits of certain Provinces, notably Bengal, and of providing for the

creation of new Provinces. The difficulties of framing principles on which to base the help given to the present deficit provinces are discussed, but it is pointed out that the main difficulty is solved by treating as a special case the export duty on jute, and it is recognised that in the case of the new provinces the method of direct subventions is the best. Lastly are considered in this part the provision of the means, especially in the way of allocation from Central revenues, for the future development of Provinces. The conclusion reached in this connection is that, "on the whole, perhaps the most hopeful line will be found in the distribution in the first instance of the income-tax, proceeding on an agreed basis which will recognise the incidence and the derivation of the tax, while contemplating that at a later stage we may proceed to the distribution of some indirect head of revenue, such as salt." The conclusion of this section, therefore, is that for a proper balancing at the Centre itself it should be possible to restore pay-outs and to be able to collect by taxes at the unsurcharged rates the present total yields of those taxes. And that to provide for the creation of the new provinces and the separation of Burma a further improvement in the Central position to the extent of Rs. 6 to 8 crores is necessary.

In Section II it is pointed out at the outset that the creation of the Federation as such will not itself involve any change in the expenditure budgets of the Centre or the Provinces, and that in the present circumstance, the most important considerations in this regard are the principles pre-conditioning Federation. The various problems of "tributes," of "privileges and immunities" and of the indirect contributions by the subjects of the States to the customs revenue are briefly discussed and the general conclusions arrived at by previous committees and the discussions at the Round Table Conferences summarised. The amounts, however, involved in these items are not very considerable and the main financial problem of the Federation is the attainment of conditions on which the States will be willing to enter and which will not at the same time militate against the future development of the Provinces. The States, it is said, desire an assurance of the solvency of the Federation before they enter it. The special costs of the new Federal machinery as such would not be considerable, the total additional cost of the Federal Legislature and the Federal Court being calculated at between Rs. ½ crore to Rs. ¾ crore. The extinction of tribute, etc. will not add largely to this figure. But if, as outlined in Part I, considerable improvement is necessary in Central finances before permitting the functioning of autonomous Provinces, it is contended that the States will probably press that this improvement together with the small additional improvement to cover special Federal charges should take place before considering that the Centre has arrived at a state of "solvency." It is further pointed out that the future Central income being all Federal, the States may also scrutinise with some care the programme of the future alienation of Central revenues in favour of

the Provinces and the authority that is to determine when such alienation shall take place. The States in this way may be hesitant about entering into a Federation before considerable financial recovery has taken place. The Provinces on the other hand point out that while the new Federal authority will take credit for a considerable revenue such as from Income-tax derived purely from the Provinces, the States will not ordinarily be contributing anything towards it. This contention has been partially met by most of the States agreeing to assume the burden of a "corporation" tax. It is agreed, however, that the financial benefits of this "corporation" tax are not likely to be considerable and its chief importance lies in the concession of a principle.

Part III, as pointed out above, discusses the statistical implications of the White Paper proposals. The cost of a new and enlarged constitutional machinery is put at roughly one crore of rupees. The alienation of a 50 p. c. of the Income-tax will mean a cost of Rs. 5½ crores and the settlement of the States' excess contributions Rs. 1 crore. Loss of profit in currency management, etc. as a result of their diversion for the purpose of the establishment of the reserves of the Reserve Bank is estimated at Rs. 1 crore and the cost of the separation of Burma to the Indian Central revenue at Rs. 3 crores.

Sir Samuel Hoare's statement on this memorandum contains a useful summary analysis of the formidable figures presented by Sir Malcolm Hailey. He points out that these deficits are due mainly to the separation of Burma, to the creation of new provinces and to putting a stop to the permanent deficits in Bengal and Assam. The creation of the Reserve Bank will also entail a temporary addition to the deficit but the only actual fresh expenditure will be about the size of Rs. 1½ crores for the setting up of a new constitutional machinery, etc. in the Provinces and at the Centre. Sir Samuel, therefore, emphasises the point that the greater part of these Rs. 6 to 8 crores is needed anyhow, whether constitutional changes are made or not. In this connection we would merely remark that though the covering of the present deficits and the cost of the Reserve Bank cannot be debited to constitutional reform this is not so in the case of the creation of Sind and Orissa and the separation of Burma. The cost of these latter is together nearly Rs. 4 crores and this must be reckoned as a part of the cost of the new constitution. Sir S. Hoare's second conclusion is that if the state of the world does not get better not only will it make any change almost impossible but would make also the existing system of Indian finances almost equally impossible. We have no intention of commenting at any length at this stage on Sir M. Hailey's memorandum but would lay special emphasis on this latter conclusion of Sir S. Hoare. Quite apart from constitutional changes the Indian financial situation is bad and has been bad enough in the majority of the Provinces for the last decade. That position is not likely to improve until fundamental adjustments

with regard to salary scales and to administrative machinery are undertaken. But it is exactly these adjustments that the safeguards in connection with services and the special reservations regarding their recruitment provided for in the White Paper make difficult. Whether the Federation is indefinitely postponed because of this financial bug-bear or whether it comes to be established in spite of it, its real progress will depend on how far it is able to meet these fundamental difficulties of the Indian financial situation.

GDYNIA—NEW CENTRE OF WORLD COMMERCE.

AMONG the changes in the structure and organisation which has taken place on European soil during post-war days, the inauguration of an entirely new seaport of world-wide importance, located on the coast of the Baltic Sea, now the City and Port of Gdynia, commands attention.

In the year 1913, on the very place where today Gdynia stands, a poor little fisherman's village of 300 souls existed. Even in 1922, when the erection of the Port was decided upon, the settlement of Gdynia counted no more than 2,500 inhabitants, while the environments of the town consisted of sand-dunes and barren land. Today the picture has completely changed. Instead of the old and insignificant settlements of fishermen that used to stand upon the same ground, new blocks of houses, the last word in modern architecture, make Gdynia an up-to-date port. The population of Gdynia has multiplied exactly a hundredfold since 1913, and boasts of 30,000 inhabitants. Where not long ago sand-dunes and bare coast met the eye, hangars and rows of steamers, into which merchandise is loaded for export, can now be seen.

According to the Status of January 1933, the development of the Port of Gdynia and the technical enlargements are very great. The Port of Gdynia at present permits the simultaneous loading of 50 steamers. The harbour boasts of a net of regular steamship connections, being served by 24 regular ocean-lines, connecting Gdynia with all important ports of Western and Northern Europe, North and South America, the Mediterranean, as well as the ports of North Africa and India. Excellent rail road connections link Gdynia with all important centres of the hinterland.

For the purpose of simplifying traffic directed through the Port of Gdynia, a special system of port tariffs, as well as maritime preference duties has been inaugurated.

From the first moment of Poland's independence keen attention was paid to oversea routes. Oversea trade is one of the most important factors of Polish economic life. With the growth of goods traffic by sea route, Polish economic life was faced with quite new problems. It became evident to all that the Port of Danzig, the only sea-port existing within the customs area of Poland, did not meet the needs of the Polish oversea trade, both from the point of view of its technical inefficiency, and from the point

of view of the possibility of a successful solution of all Poland's economical problems. It was necessary, then, to possess its own port and to have its own commercial organization for oversea trade, as well as a merchant fleet.

Danzig feels Gdynia as a rival, fearing that in time to come Gdynia will deprive Danzig of all the Polish trade. Poland now needs Danzig much less than eight years ago when she had no Gdynia.

With the development of the port itself, the various lines of commerce, banking concerns have erected their branch establishments there. It possesses at present six consulates, and many post office stations. The telephonic and radio telegraphic connection comprises the whole of the European Continent as well as the Trans-Oceanic countries. The development of the harbour in such a short time is indeed marvellous. Gdynia now commands a leading position as a transit and commercial centre for the countries of the Baltic Sea. It has many natural advantages due to the soft, sandy soil. The harbour itself is excellently protected from the waves of the open sea, by the peninsula of Hell. Even the largest ships find the harbour easily accessible even in the severest winters. The harbour Gdynia deserves to be considered as one of the least expensive of the Baltic Sea and the North Sea. The import and the export figures show the steady increase and the development of the port of Danzig, technically suitable for modern requirements.

On 29th June 1933 was celebrated the Sea Holiday in the whole of Poland, especially in Gdynia. The object of the Holiday is to show that Poland needs the sea and would not give away the Corridor to Germany at any cost. The whole Polish nation stands united and would not lose the Corridor and the Sea. Germany wants to take the Corridor. Any attack on the Corridor would mean a war between the European countries. Poland is now strong enough to face the war, but in no mood to give away Polish territory.

RAJ BEHARI LAL MATHUR.

Warsaw.

Our London Letter.

(BY AIR MAIL.)

(From Our Correspondent.)

LONDON, July 29.

THE JOINT SELECT COMMITTEE.

WITHIN the last few days three distinguished members of the Indian delegation have returned to India with no intention of returning. Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, who is criticised in Committee circles for the interview that he gave before his departure, has been followed by Sir O. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, who went on Wednesday via Geneva and Rome, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who was seen off by a large party of private friends as he left by the P. & O. special on Thursday, and Sir Prabhaskar Pattani, who with Lady Pattani, flew to Paris yesterday for a short health cure prior to proceeding to India.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has from the very commencement, and even before leaving India, made it clear in both official and non-official quarters, that he could not remain in London beyond July, and when he left then that he would not be returning here for any Conferences or Committees connected with the reforms, as he intended to devote himself to private and professional activities for some time to come. It will be a little difficult to contemplate the reform proceedings with Sir Tej Bahadur out of the picture, for whether his colleagues agreed or disagreed with him on one point or another, whether of principle or procedure, they have looked up to him with undisguised admiration for his enormous ability and his fine mastery of constitutional theory and practice. He has been one of the few significant personalities during the last few years that have delivered the message of India to British statesmen and to the British people, and just as his rooms at Dorchester Hotel had on previous occasions become the resort of the most distinguished, the not-so-distinguished and the still-less-distinguished of all parties, both British and Indian, so too on this occasion, having transferred his allegiance to Grosvenor House, he met and entertained there all the world of any importance in this business of constitution-making. Before leaving for India this week he presented to the Secretary of State and to the Chairman of the Committee a closely reasoned memorandum of upwards of two-hundred and fifty typewritten pages in which he analyses critically the White Paper proposals and puts forward his considered suggestions for such improvements, alterations and amendments as may make the proposals reasonably satisfactory to Indian opinion. I am informed that Mr. Jayakar, Mr. Joshi and Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar have written to Sir Tej Bahadur generally supporting the views expressed by him in his memorandum, subject to short supplementary memoranda by themselves upon a few subsidiary matters. I am aware that when he attended the Committee for the last time on Tuesday afternoon, he received the thanks and expressions of appreciation of members of the Committee and of the Indian delegation on all sides. He has jocularly declared that he has left Mr. Jayakar his hitherto inseparable political twin, as his residuary legatee in the Committee and it is to be hoped that Mr. Jayakar will not find his duties too onerous. He may be confidently trusted, should he decide to stay over for the autumn stages of the Joint Select Committee, to put in full time on behalf of India.

FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

At the opening of yesterday's sitting, when Sir Samuel Hoare gave evidence for the last time before the vacation, Lord Linlithgow, presiding, dealt with the question of the proceedings at the resumption of the Committee's work in the autumn. He extended a cordial invitation to the remaining Indian delegates to participate therein and continue to give their assistance to the Committee in elucidating the problem submitted to it for report. It is believed that the Committee will resume its sittings after rising on the 3rd August, in the first week of October, and with a view to ensuring that the Indian delegation without any strict time-table to work with, would not fold its tents like the Arabs and silently steal away one by one. Lord Linlithgow intimated that after hearing the views of the Indian members he would endeavour to formulate a programme that would enable them to know the latest date at which they might be free to make their arrangements to return to India.

The Secretary of State's evidence, which is only partially concluded, and which must be continued in the autumn under the remaining fourteen out of seventeen heads to be dealt with by him, has had the

effect of cutting out almost all other evidence, so far as the main Committee is concerned, though a good deal of evidence has been recorded by some of the sub-committees. Incidentally I may state here that the dispute between the Indian Women's delegation and the Committee as to whether their evidence should be taken before the main Committee and a Sub-Committee has now been resolved by a sort of compromise, under which the Indian women delegates will give their detailed evidence before Sub-Committee C, prior to the adjournment, and their evidence on principles before the Committee itself early in October, if between now and the adjournment it is found impossible by the Committee, with its present obligations next week, to hear them.

SIR SAMUEL HOARE.

Every one of the high encomiums, passed upon the Secretary of State from all quarters of the Committee and the Indian delegation at the beginning of yesterday's proceedings, was warmly received, well-deserved and greatly appreciated by the distinguished recipient of them. For days in succession the Secretary of State, with his distinguished official assistance, has submitted himself in circumstances sometimes of the greatest difficulty and embarrassment, to the most searching cross-examination from friends and opponents alike upon the official proposals now before the Committee, counter-proposals that have from time to time been put forward from various directions, and the general policy of his Department, in a manner unique in the history of any office, and at once frank, open, sincere, sympathetic, and helpful. There is no doubt that Sir Samuel Hoare's stock has risen very high in the esteem of all his colleagues, and it was particularly graceful on the part of Lord Salisbury, whose questions and general attitude must at times have tried the temper and the patience of the distinguished witness very greatly, to lead the chorus of appreciation of the service rendered to the Committee and the delegation by Sir Samuel Hoare's ability and general attitude. Upwards of two thousand questions, many of them vague and indeterminate, and often of a highly complicated character, or very controversial in their tendency, have been answered by him with an admirable freedom and imperturbability that has been the envy of many members of the joint gathering whose tempers have been sorely tried by views and implications of a very unwelcome character. No one has expressed warmer appreciation of Sir Samuel's honesty and courage in standing by the White Paper proposals than Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru himself, and it is interesting to note that at the last sitting that he attended on Tuesday, he put the following important question and secured the following important admission from Sir Samuel: 7886. "Sir Samuel, I am reading to you a statement of Lord Irwin when he went back from England to India, and I wish to know from you whether His Majesty's Government even now accept that? This is what Lord Irwin said: 'I am authorised on behalf of His Majesty's Government to state clearly that in their judgment it is implicit in the declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status?'" "I should say certainly so, subject to the declarations that accompanied it at the time." It is of the utmost importance that such an admission should have been placed so unequivocally upon record in the Committee's proceedings.

HOUSE OF LORDS AND LORD LLOYD.

Only three Peers participated in Wednesday's proceedings in the House of Lords when Lord Reading interpellated the Government upon Lord Lloyd's assertion at Shrewsbury on the very day that the Secretary of State had made his statement in the

House of Commons of improved administration of law and order in India, not excepting the terrorists, that the Government were deliberately concealing from the public the widespread developments throughout India of terrorism and communism, with the object of diverting attention from the dangers implicit in their White Paper policy. Lord Reading's characterisation of Lord Lloyd's activities was terse and vigorous, and Lord Irwin had no difficulty whatever after giving Lord Lloyd an opportunity of explaining himself to the House in blowing sky-high the whole fabric of Lord Lloyd's damaging allegations. Lord Lloyd himself, who has since for a second time declined membership of the Select Committee in the vacant place of Lord Burnham, which has been now occupied by another reactionary the Earl of Midleton, was quite impenitent and repeated his accusations with venom, but so far as the House was concerned unconvincingly, and in his reply Lord Reading had little difficulty in exposing the hollowness of Lord Lloyd's attack and putting it in its proper perspective.

IN THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Three matters of considerable interest have been dealt with this week by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. But I propose to refer here only to one of them. This arises out of criminal jurisdiction of the Patna High Court. For the second time in quick succession there has been a successful appeal to the Privy Council by accused persons whose appeals from their conviction and sentences by the Trial Court have been confirmed by the High Court. In the appeal in which judgment was delivered by Their Lordships, one Rasbeharilal and others had been tried by the Sessions Judge at Patna, sitting with a Jury of seven, and been found guilty of murder and rioting by a majority of six to one. All but one of these appellant were sentenced to death and he was sentenced to transportation for life. Four of the death sentences were subsequently commuted by the Governor of Bihar and Orissa to transportation for life. A year ago the Patna High Court had confirmed the decision of the Sessions Judge, notwithstanding that affidavits had been filed at a late stage of the appeal proceedings to the effect that one at least of the Jurors did not understand English in which language the address of Counsel, the Judge's Charge and much of the evidence had been given. The Patna High Court had rejected these affidavits upon various grounds, one of which was that the objection to the Juror was made too late in the proceedings. Had the matter rested there these unfortunate men, whose death sentences had not been commuted, would have long since been executed.

The matter, however, did not remain there. The relatives of one of the accused were able to raise a small sum sufficient to enable an application to be made by Solicitors and Counsel in England to the Privy Council for special leave to appeal against the judgment of the Patna High Court. A petition was accordingly lodged, in which among other things it was alleged that the Juror in question was ignorant of English. The Judicial Committee thereupon adopted the very unusual procedure, before hearing the petition, of ordering an enquiry by the High Court as to the truth of the allegation, and the matter thereupon went back to Patna for report. The High Court, having taken evidence, reported to the Privy Council that not only was this Juror ignorant of English, but that the knowledge of two other Jurors in the same trial was very limited. Notwithstanding this, the High Court stated that independently of these facts it had itself gone into the evidence against the accused and was of the opinion that no injustice had been done to them and they were properly convicted and sentenced. When the report

came back to the Privy Council their Lordships had no hesitation in granting special leave to appeal, and the appeal was argued with considerable skill by Mr. D. N. Pritt, K. C., and Mr. C. Sidney Smith, formerly Crown Prosecutor of Madras, against the Crown. It was clear from these proceedings that the Board, consisting of Lord Atkin, Lord Thankertone and Sir George Lowndes, would have no hesitation in allowing the appeal, and judgment was reserved until yesterday in order to consider the manner in which their Lordships would deal with the appeal and the appropriate order to be made thereon. They have now delivered judgment upholding the objection that there had been a mis-trial. They thought it desirable that any discretion as to any consequential Order should be exercised by the High Court and they advised that the appeal should be allowed, that the dismissal of the appeals by the High Court should be reversed, and that the convictions and sentences should be set aside, leaving the representatives of the Crown in India to take such steps in the matter of a re-trial as might be open to them there.

Reviews.

COLLABORATION BETWEEN EMPLOYERS & EMPLOYED.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN. BY J. H. RICHARDSON. (I. L. O.) 1933. 25cm. 272p. 3/6.

THIS publication is the outcome of a resolution adopted in 1928 by the International Labour Conference asking the General Body to follow with due attention the progress of the spirit of collaboration between employers and employed and to report on the subject from time to time. The practice of industrial relations in Great Britain has been succinctly described. The first chapter gives a general survey of the economic and social background of Great Britain and shows how the small area of that country has facilitated the formation of national organisations of workers and employers. In the next chapter, considerable space is devoted to a description of the development, the structure and the policy of the British Trade Union Movement since its very inception. Similarly, the author in chapter III gives a survey of the existing employers' organisations. The more important part of the book is contained in chapters IV and V which describe the various methods of negotiation between Trade Unions and employers' organisations. Chapter V on Works Councils describes the history of the organisation of Works Councils and shows how in Great Britain the structure of these Councils differs from the one to be usually met with in continental Europe. The following remarks of the author are extremely important to the Indian Trade Unionists, who are faced with the problem of settling their attitude regarding Works Councils:—

"There has been little support for Works Councils either by the Trade Unions or the employer's organisations. In the engineering industry, railway transportation and in one or two industries in which Joint Industrial Councils have been set up, the Trade Unions have been parties to agreements by which Works Councils have been established. Their usual attitude, however, has been one of watchful and even of suspicious neutrality, while sometimes they have shown definite hostility. The apathy shown has been due to the belief that under the present system of industrial control, Works Councils can exercise little power and that they often deal only with insignificant matters. Few Works

Councils have been formed as a result of Trade Union initiative. Where, however, the management of a firm has proposed the setting up of a Works Council, the Trade Unions have frequently, though not always, refrained from opposition, and they have sometimes given their support when they have been satisfied that no attempt would be made to undermine the Trade Union position."

It may be stated that in Great Britain no legislation regulating Works Councils exists and whatever machinery exists is based on voluntary agreements, because the British Trade Union Movement is opposed to compulsory arbitration. Herein lies the trouble. The present machinery of the Wages Board brought into existence as a result of voluntary agreement between the Railway Companies and the Trade Unions and recognised in the British Railway Act is proposed to be scrapped by the employers because the Boards came into existence as a result of voluntary agreement only and not statutory enactment. The book contains a summary of different types of Works Councils that have been set up in several large undertakings in Great Britain. The chapter on industrial welfare and labour management contains a comprehensive study of different types of voluntary welfare and labour research work in Great Britain.

On the whole, Professor Richardson's Report is a valuable document for all students interested in a study of the industrial relations in Great Britain. This volume is a precursor to similar monographs about other countries and the International Labour Office deserves to be congratulated on having undertaken a systematic study of industrial relations in various countries.

V. V. GIRI.

MONETARY PLANNING.

PLANNED MONEY. By BASIL P. BLACKETT. (Oxford University Press.) 1932. 20cm. 174p. 5/-

THE complacent attitude adopted by most laymen towards the monetary system is being shaken. The repeated fluctuations in prices witnessed during the last few years have brought to many a realisation of the essentially irrational character of the so-called automatic gold standard. To base our monetary policy on the available supply of gold and to maintain the stability of exchange rates by ensuring convertibility of internal currency into that metal summed up, till recently, all the wisdom of monetary authorities. That the adoption of this course entailed an artificial and unwarranted disturbance of the internal price level was not sufficiently recognised and important national interests were sacrificed to the fetish of exchange stability. It is a welcome sign of the times that experienced treasury officials like Sir Basil Blackett are coming to see the merits of the other side, namely, of a constant price level.

In Sir Basil's opinion the nineteenth century conception of an automatic and self-adjusting economic system is out of accord with the twentieth century conditions. Conscious, deliberate and forward planning must now be adopted as the economic policy of modern states. In the field of monetary planning the key position is to be held by a stable internal price level. The currency authority by operating on the volume of its notes, which of course are to be inconvertible, will be expected to hold the general index number of prices between a five per cent limit on either side of the basic price level. Any repercussions that such a policy might have on foreign exchange and external trade have to be put up with as a necessary and lesser evil.

Sir Basil recognises that a planned money policy would be impossible without the adoption of planning in other economic and political fields. The whole course of production, exchange and distribution will have to be regulated if not controlled so as to avoid the violent fluctuations in costs and in purchasing power which inevitably produce a disturbance of the price level. The present governmental bodies are held to be unsuited for the exercise of such vital and detailed control. It is suggested, therefore, that the several industries and other departments of economic life should be formed into functional bodies which will enjoy considerable powers of self-government under the general supervision of the state. Freedom as at present understood will indeed suffer, but the essential benefit of freedom, namely, to ensure opportunities for the fullest development of individual qualities, will be secured by promoting more stable conditions. Like freedom, competition will have to play a more enlightened role in the new order. Unless a higher motive than immediate self-interest guides the policies of the suggested functional organisations they will fail to secure beneficent conditions of progress.

Apart from his general thesis that the desirable monetary policy for the future is an inconvertible currency and a stable price level, Sir Basil Blackett has special recommendations to make for adoption by the countries of the British Empire and by such other countries like Denmark and Argentina which are dependent on U. K. for a large portion of their foreign trade. These countries, it is suggested, should form a monetary alliance under the leadership of the British sterling. *Sterlingaria* is the name Sir Basil gives to these associated nations. Members of this group will be expected to maintain a fixed ratio between their internal currencies and the sterling. The stabilisation of sterling prices will, in Sir Basil's opinion, induce a stability in their prices as well. And in any case the difficulty of maintaining stability in terms of sterling will be less than that at present experienced in the effort to maintain a stable exchange rate on a gold basis. Such a consolidation of the nations of the Empire will, Sir Basil hopes, serve as a good corrective to narrow nationalism and will even facilitate later understanding with other countries.

Sir Basil's book is addressed to non-economists, and it serves a very admirable purpose in explaining to them the irrationality of the so-called automatic system. Popular prejudice is always an insuperable obstacle in the way of sound currency policy and if the book under review succeeds in overcoming the ignorance of laymen and politicians it will justify itself in full measure. As the author is neither a historian nor an economist it will be unfair to take him at his word on every detail. There are, however, a few important points of wrong perspective or mistaken emphasis which must be noticed even by a superficial reviewer. In saying that the nineteenth century believed in a self-regulating system and that the twentieth is realising that belief to be a myth Sir Basil can at best be referring to British thought on these subjects. Many writers and politicians on the European continent and in India never believed in the existence either of a self-regulating system or of the beneficent results of complete economic freedom and unchecked competition. It provokes very sad thoughts about the futility of wisdom divorced from power when we realise that more than two generations ago Kanade and Dadabhoy carried on a forlorn struggle against the *laissez faire* policy of the then members of the Government of India.

That British thought is at present more obviously nationalistic than at any time during the last century is to be seen in the author's insistence that

planning at the present stage can neither be individual nor international, but it must be national. But when Sir Basil like many others of his countrymen tries to make out that an Imperial outlook is a corrective of narrow nationalism it is difficult to follow him. The feeling of nationalism is very strong in many parts of the Empire and they have formed most helpful contacts among countries that are outside the Empire. Moreover an economic consolidation of the British Empire, granting that such an achievement were possible, would produce most unfavourable reactions on its relations with the rest of the world. International rivalry and discord, instead of cooperation and harmony, will be promoted by any such step. The sooner the British officials and statesmen realise the hollowness of the conception that the Empire is well suited to be an economic unit, the better will it be for such nations as India, which have seen no cause to concur in that belief. The members of the proposed *Sterlingaria* will tend to be under the economic domination of Great Britain. Whether this is a price which they will be prepared to pay even for the uncertain advantage of price stability is a question which will be differently answered in different parts of the Empire. As Sir Basil Blackett himself admits, the conduct of British financial authorities in the past has not been sufficiently indicative of their realisation of the full responsibilities of leadership. In particular as the countries in the *Sterlingaria* are to maintain a fixed rate of exchange with sterling it is open to doubt how far their own price levels will be amenable to their unhampered control.

Sir Basil's book can well be described as an able exposition of the case for monetary planning on imperial lines. In view of the fact that immediately after the collapse of the World Economic Conference the delegates of Empire countries have subscribed to a memorandum expressing their readiness to carry the Ottawa spirit into the field of monetary policies a special significance attaches to the book. Every careful student of monetary problems in general, and of the currency policy of the Government of India in particular, should make it a point to go through Sir Basil Blackett's book.

D. G. KARVE.

Miscellaneous.

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY, POONA.

REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1932-33.

(Continued from our issue of August 3, 1933.)

Mr. Parulekar continued to be the Assistant Secretary of the Bombay Textile Labour Union and the General Secretary of the Dharavi Tannery and Leather Worker's Union, the latter of which, however, was not much in evidence as many of the tanneries were closed down and the workers thrown out of employment and their earnings reduced to as low as Rs. 9 per mensem. He tried to get the Factory Act extended to the tanneries and thereby to afford some protection to the workers. He was elected Assistant Secretary of the Indian Trades Union Federation and was in sole charge of the work during the illness of Mr. Bakhale. He was in editorial charge of the "Trade Union Record" and was besides the General Secretary of the newly started Indian Institute of Sociology. He was elected Treasurer of the Bombay Seamen's Union. He organised a study circle for the working classes in Kamatipura and arranged for classes in labour, economics and published an Urdu

pamphlet, "Why is there Poverty in the World?" A great part of his time was taken up in defending the rights of workers during strikes and lock-outs. The Kuria Mills had locked out some 800 workers and instituted cases against Mr. Parulekar and some others, who were, however, acquitted. He conducted a strike of the workers of the Sassoon Alliance Silk Mill, who were threatened with a cut in their wages of 10 per cent. Thanks to the rapid and effective organisation of the workers, the threatened cut was dropped. Later on in September last the management decided to work the Mill for only fifteen days per month. And this led to a strike, which is still on. Mr. Parulekar was engaged in negotiations, and in raising funds for the upkeep of the strikers, and in successfully instituting legal proceedings for the recovery of arrears due to the workers.

Mr. Suryanarayana Rao gave part of his time to promote labour unions in Malabar. To two Unions existing at the commencement of the year he added two more, one of tile workers in Feroke and the other of handloom weavers in Cannanore. He started a cooperative store for the employees of a tile factory at Feroke.

Mr. Venkataraman was the Treasurer of the Madras Labour Union and took part in the negotiations with the management of Messrs. Binny and Co., which resulted in the recognition of the Union by the Company. Mr. Dube was the President of the Lucknow Postal Union, and Joint Secretary of the U. P. Postal Union and a member of the Industrial Committee of the U. P. Christian Council. Mr. Ambekar was connected with the Poona Postmen and the Lower Grade Staff Unions.

EDUCATION.

Mr. Devadhar was the chairman of the Aryan Education Society in Bombay, besides directing the various educational activities of the Poona Seva Sadan Society. Mr. Kunzru was a member of the Executive Council of the Allahabad University, and the Council of the Banares University. The Depressed Classes Mission in Mangalore and the Devadhar Malabar Reconstruction Trust, which are under the charge of Mr. Suryanarayan Rao, are largely educational in their work. The Trust maintained four Higher Elementary Schools, of which one was mainly for Harijan children, and a Night School. The Higher Elementary School at Tanur provided vocational training in weaving and in agriculture. Recognition and aid from Government for five years was secured during the year for this school. The Trust completed the experiment of a scheme of adult education sanctioned by Government for three years. The results were not up to expectations, but the Education Department were desirous that the experiment should be continued and even extended.

Mr. Dube was a member of the Board of the Christian Higher Education in U. P., which controls secondary and higher grade institutions in U. P. He advocated the Indianisation of the control of these institutions and the acceptance of the Conscience Clause. Besides he addressed the students assembled at the Sat Tal Ashram and of several schools and colleges in the U. P.

LIBRARIES.

The Transfer to the Society of the Gokhale Memorial Library, Nagpur, was completed during the year. The building has been improved at a cost of Rs. 2,515 and books worth Rs. 325 have been added during the year.

The Society maintains at its headquarters at Poona and its Branches at Madras, Bombay and Allahabad and in Cuttuck libraries, which though primarily meant for the use of the members of the

Society, have been made available to the public under certain conditions. The Central Library at Poona contained over 13,816 books and reports, exclusive of periodicals, some of which are very old and rare. The Library formed the mainstay of the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, which also contributed books worth Rs. 418 to the Library. The Society spent Rs. 2,100 on the maintenance of the Library during the year. Books are added to partly by purchase and partly by the transfer to the Library of the books received by the "Servant of India" for review, which, thanks to the generous consent of the reviewers, are returned after being reviewed. The Library is both a reading and lending one and the number of readers and borrowers registered is 65 many of whom are post-graduate students of local Colleges.

The Central Library continues to be a depository library of the League of Nations and the International Labour Office publications and contains a fairly full set of them. The Society's thanks are due to the League and the I. L. O. for this much appreciated gift.

Mr. Kaul was in charge of the Ganga Prasad Varma Memorial Library in Lucknow.

THE POONA SEVA SADAN SOCIETY.

Mr. Devadhar, notwithstanding his multifarious other activities, continued to devote the greater part of his time to the furtherance of the work of the Seva Sadan, the wide range of activities of which have been maintained unimpaired: vocational and general education of women, adult education, training in medicine, public health, nursing, teaching, etc. A new and commodious building is under construction as a rest house for the Seva Sadan nurses employed in the Sassoon Hospital. The past commitments and the growing financial and other obligations of the Society made heavy calls on the energies of Mr. Devadhar, with the result that his health was very indifferent during the year.

THE BHIL SEVA MANDAL.

Until the inauguration of the September fast of the Mahatma over the untouchability question and the subsequent inauguration of the Servants of the Untouchables Society, Mr. Thakkar devoted the greater part of his time to the Bhil Seva Mandal which completed ten years of existence in September last. A new phase of the work was the opening of private elementary schools in Bhil villages by Bhil boys who had completed their education in the schools of the Mandal. These schools were given grants in aid by the Mandal.

DEVADHAR MALABAR RECONSTRUCTION TRUST.

Mr. Suryanarayana Rao, assisted by Mr. V. B. Nayanar, who has since been admitted as a probationer of the Society, was in charge of the work in Calicut, Tanur, Tirur, and Gopalapuram in Malabar. The educational work has already been referred to in a previous paragraph. It is the policy of the Trust to bring together the upper caste Hindu, the Harijan and the Moplah in common work. The Trust conducts two Weavers' Cooperative Societies, which, however, have not been quite successful. Their chief difficulty is the marketing of their products. The Co-operative Department of the Madras Government has been approached for assistance in this respect.

At Gopalapuram the Trust maintains a colony of Harijans. A dozen families have been settled on a piece of land, which is self-contained for its civic needs. It maintains a Higher Elementary School as well as a hostel, the Gray Hostel with 22 boarders.

The teachers who belong to the "higher" castes live among the Harijans. A grant of Rs. 2,500 has

been secured from the Labour Department for the construction of a well for the supply of water here.

DEPRESSED CLASSES MISSION, MANGALORE.

Apart from the propaganda work referred to in an earlier paragraph and which received its chief initiative and spur from Mahatma Gandhi, the Society has been carrying on, for many years now, institutional work for the uplift of the Harijans. The Depressed Classes Mission in Mangalore and Udipi was under the charge of Mr. Suryanarayan Rao. On account of the economic depression and the policy of retrenchment adopted by the Government, the income of the Mission showed a deficit of over Rs. 1,500, which rendered it necessary to effect savings in the expenses of the Mission. The activities of the Mission were, on the whole, maintained intact. The Mission maintained three boarding houses with 79 pupils, one higher elementary school, and two elementary schools. The carpentry section was maintained and orders canvassed for it. Arrangements were being made to start a weaving department. Adult education classes, magic lantern lectures, and scouting formed some of the features of the work.

JALGAON CRIMINAL TRIBES SETTLEMENT.

The Society accepted the invitation of the Government to take over the Criminal Tribes Settlement at Jalgaon on the usual grant-in-aid system. Mr. K. G. Sharangpani has been selected for the purpose. He spent a considerable amount of time during the year in making a comparative study of criminal tribes and wrote a series of articles on the subject in the "Servant of India" which were subsequently brought together in pamphlet form. They were also translated into Marathi and brought out as a pamphlet.

Besides study, Mr. Sharangpani underwent practical training under the Backward Classes Officer. He visited most of the settlements under Government and private control in the presidency, and acquainted himself with their work. He attended the conference on "Delinquency" at Dharwar, and later undertook a study of the subject.

The resolution of the Government approving of the transfer to the Society of the Jalgaon Settlement was issued on the 15th May, 1933, and Mr. Sharangpani will take over charge in the beginning of July next.

Mr. Thakkar was a co-opted member of the Backward Classes Board appointed by the Bombay Government and took part in the discussions regarding the aboriginal tribes. Mr. Bakhale was elected to the Board by the Bombay Legislative Council and assisted the Board in its work of awarding scholarships to the boys and girls, providing boarding houses for them and securing representation for the backward communities on local boards, and in the services and in extending to them the common civic amenities. He submitted to the Board a bill to provide equal rights to them along with the other communities in respect of common wells and *dharmashalas*.

Mr. Suryanarayana Rao conducted a residential school for Koragas, a backward community in South Kanara. Failing a Hindu, a Christian was appointed as teacher in that school.

BHAGINI SEVA MANDIR.

Mr. K. J. Chitalia devoted himself to the work of the Bhagini Seva Sangh and particularly to its Harijan Seva branch, along with Srimati Suraj Ben. The building belonging to the Sangh, which, as stated in last year's report, was in Government custody, will be handed back to the Sangh in June 1933.

The work of looking after the sweepers in Ville-Parle and supplying as far as possible their material and moral needs formed the principal work of the Sangh. An intensive study of the conditions under which the sweepers lived was made and published in the "Servant of India," and was supplied to Mahatma Gandhi who commented on it in his eighth statement issued from the Yeravda Jail in November last. A day school for boys and a night school for men were started in October last with six *Bhangi* boys in the hostel maintained for them, and a cr ch  with six babies. The Municipality was successfully persuaded to provide water, lighting and housing for them.

Mr. Chitalia was appointed Secretary of the Bombay Suburban District Board of the Servants of the Untouchables Society. He formed local committees at several places which undertook educational and sanitary work among the Harijans.

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION.

Mr. Devadhar was the Chairman of the Deccan Agricultural Association and a member of the Advisory Board of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, both of which are deeply concerned with rural uplift. He visited the Y. M. C. A. Rural Uplift Centres at Marthandam and Ramanadhapuram to study practical uplift work; participated in the third Rural Uplift Conference at Kirloskarwadi; lectured at the Pandharpur Agricultural and Cattle Show; visited the sugarcane experimental stations at Manjari and Hadapsar; and supervised the rural work undertaken by the Poona Seva Sadan at Khed-Shivapur.

Mr. L. N. Sahu continued his rural reconstruction work in Chowdwar. Among the items of work may be mentioned free distribution of medicine, teaching of the three R's, agricultural experiments and propaganda, specially sugarcane cultivation and a leprosy clinic.

Mr. Sivaswamy, assisted by Mr. Sivasubramanyam for the most part of the year, was engaged in rural work in the Trichinopoly district with headquarters at Mayanoor. The activities covered fifty villages and were carried on by members of twelve Youth Leagues under the direction of Mr. Sivaswamy. Literacy classes, reading of newspapers, *bhajans*, temperance and other propaganda by magic lantern lectures as well as conferences of villages, both for definite and general purposes, were some of the means adopted. Seventy-five village gatherings were held during the year, at thirty of which magic lantern lectures were given. Three special conferences were held of workers and sympathisers, which were largely and influentially attended. Weekly meetings were held at Nerur for the benefit of the Harijans near that place. Twelve tracts, a handbook of lessons for adult schools, and two leaflets of songs were issued during the year. Two others on "superstitions" and on "food" were under preparation.

(To be continued.)

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- LENINISM, Vol. II. By JOSEPH STALIN. (Allen and Unwin.) 1933. 22cm. 468p. 12/6.
 THINGS I HAVE SEEN. By CHARLES OMAN. (Methuen, London.) 1933. 21cm. 290p. 8/6.
 THE PRESS AND THE ORGANISATION OF SOCIETY. By NORMAN ANGELL. (The Minority Press, Cambridge.) 1933. 20cm. 78p. 3/6.