

# The Servant of India

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## CONTENTS.

|   | Page |
|---|------|
| TOPICS OF THE WEEK ... ..                                     | 431  |
| ARTICLES :—   |      |
| The South African Situation. By C. F. Andrews. ...            | 433  |
| Rejection : How will Government react to it? ...              | 424  |
| Wanted A Plain Answer. By A. V. Patvardhan. ...               | 426  |
| OUR LONDON LETTER ... ..                                      | 427  |
| REVIEWS :—  |      |
| Prisons. By Lalji Pendse. ... ..                              | 428  |
| India Through Missionary Eyes.<br>By K. Venugopal Rao. ... .. | 429  |
| MISCELLANEA :—  |      |
| Congress and India's Goal. ... ..                             | 430  |
| Hindu Mahasabha Election Manifesto. ... ..                    | 430  |
| S. I. S. Report for 1933-34. ... ..                           | 431  |
| BOOKS RECEIVED. ... ..  | 432  |

## Topics of the Week.

### No Compromise Possible.

IT has been found impossible, at the meeting of the Congress Working Committee held last week-end in Wardha, to arrive at an understanding between the Congress and the Nationalist Party. On the main question at issue, each party held strongly to its original position, the Congress maintaining that its members must not cast their votes in favour of the rejection of the communal award, and the Nationalist Party maintaining that its members must do so. Thus it became necessary that each party should maintain its separate existence and put forward its own candidates to win as many seats as possible. Then a sort of family arrangement was attempted, the Congress not running a candidate in a constituency where the Nationalist Party appeared too strong, and where the Congress, if it took the field, would be defeated, and similarly the Nationalist Party not running a candidate in a Congress stronghold. This involved an estimate of the polling strength of each party in the various constituencies, and it was hardly to be expected that the Congress would take at its face value the numerical strength of a newly formed rival party. Thus the Working Committee broke up without even taking the edge off the bitterness of the dispute that has arisen within the bosom of the Congress. All that the Congress is going to do is that it will not contest the election of Pandit Malaviya, Mr. Aney and Mr. S. C. Bose. This is no great concession after all, for the Congress would surely sustain a heavy defeat if it put up rival candidates in the constituencies where these Nationalist leaders would offer themselves as candidates.

### Democratic Swaraj Party.

IF no pact could be reached at Wardha between the Congress and the Nationalist Party, the one that was entered into between the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee and the Democratic Swaraj Party has been maintained unbroken at Ahmednagar. Quite a storm had been raging round this pact for some days before the Maharashtra Congress Committee met on the 9th inst., and it appeared as if the pact was within an ace of being torn up. The voting at the meeting too was very close, just half a dozen votes turning the scale in favour of the continuance of the pact. This is really a great achievement for the Congress party, for if the pact had come to an end Mr. Kelkar would have openly joined the Nationalist party and would have robbed the Congress of some valuable seats in the Assembly. The Democratic Swaraj Party differs from the Congress on some fundamentals, and, what is more, it declines to take orders from the Congress in those matters, although the Working Committee has passed a distinct resolution to this effect. In spite of this resolution the Democratic Swaraj Party is going to take its own independent line of action on the communal award; only there will be no open rupture in the Assembly between the Congress and this Party as the latter will have no representatives in the Assembly, it having agreed not to contest any seats in the Deccan. It is still widely believed, however, that the pact, founded on such divergences of views, cannot but have a very precarious tenure.

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### Army Bill.

DEFENCE problems loomed large in last week's proceedings of the Council of State. The Army Bill, which had successfully run the gauntlet of the Assembly, occupied the Council's attention and was passed by it. As in the Assembly, the demand for equality of status for the products of the military college at Dehra Dun with the British officers was forcefully voiced in the Upper House. There was of course no chance of the demand securing the support of the majority of the Elder Statesmen when even the more popular chamber had failed to support it. But the fact that its echoes were heard in the Council is a measure of the strength of public feeling on the point. The debate on the Bill ran on lines with which its earlier discussion in the Assembly has sufficiently familiarised the public. A point of contrast was presented by the rulings given by the Presidents of the two Houses on the admissibility of the amendment seeking to secure such equality by law. While the President of the Assembly found the amendment to be perfectly in order, Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy took the contrary view and ruled it out. Now that the Bill has been finally passed, a discussion of the rights and wrongs of the two rulings would be in the nature of flogging a dead horse.

ANOTHER notable point of contrast in connection with the debates in the two Houses may be mentioned. The Army Secretary was at pains to induce the lower House to pass the Bill in an unamended form by making it believe that the status of the two kinds of officers hardly presented any difference. The Commander-in-Chief on the other hand made no attempt in the Council of State to coat the bitter pill of unequal status with sugar. He informed his hearers point-blank that there never was any idea of conferring absolute equality of status on the officer trained in India. This was impossible and had never been contemplated. Whether the Government took up this position under the dictation of the War Office or whether they did so of their own free will, which is what Sir Philip Chetwode wants the world to believe, is, from the popular point of view, a matter of comparatively minor importance. What will, however, be painfully noted all over the country is that the new type of Indian officer would enjoy an inferior status to his British brother. How we wish Government realised the full extent to which they have estranged public opinion, even of the most moderate variety by their callous disregard of public feeling in such an important matter!

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#### Viceroy's Commissions.

NOBODY who has even a nodding acquaintance with the problem of army Indianisation need be told that if the process of replacing British officers by Indian officers turned out by the Indian Sandhurst were to be accompanied by a similar one in regard to the Viceroy's Commissioned officers, complete Indianisation might have to wait till the Greek Kalends. And yet this is what the Government are apparently bent upon persisting with. Whether this is done of set purpose or out of a genuine anxiety to organise the Indian army on a basis more suited to Indian conditions, as is officially claimed, it is unnecessary for our present purpose to inquire. The fact cannot however be gainsaid that if the very limited output of the Indian Sandhurst is to replace both the British officers holding the King's Commissions and the Indian ones holding the Viceroy's Commissions complete Indianisation may be indefinitely postponed.

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PUBLIC anxiety on this point was faithfully voiced in the Council of State when on a recent date Mr. Sapru moved a resolution asking for the non-abolition of the Viceroy's Commissions. It need hardly be pointed out that the demand proceeds not so much from a love of the Viceroy's commissions as from a desire to allow the replacement of British by Indian officers to continue without being delayed by this added complication. For if both the processes were to go on simultaneously, the number to be replaced would be not only 3000 odd British officers, but 4426 Indian ones holding the Viceroy's Commissions. Is it not more important, from the Indian standpoint, to push on with real Indianisation with greater expedition than would be possible under present arrangements?

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WE had expected that the Commander-in-Chief would be able to produce some really cogent arguments in support of the present policy, but his speech was as needlessly provocative as it was barren of argument designed to prove the soundness of the Government policy. He may be said to have poured invective on the devoted heads of popular representatives by describing them as arm-chair politicians and as people who knew nothing of military affairs. Whether this is so or not, Sir Philip Chetwode need not have so far forgotten himself as to ignore the fact that the business of the people's representa-

tives is to give faithful expression to public opinion and to examine Government policies and measures from the popular point of view. How then could they be blamed for doing what is their obvious duty? The Commander-in-Chief did subsequently try to make an *amende honorable* to the aggrieved party; but the way he let himself go shows that he tried to make up by mere sound and fury for what he lacked in strength of argument.

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#### Inexcusable.

THE U. P. Legislative Council was to meet last week but its session has been postponed till November. This adjournment was not of its seeking; it was forced on it by the dilatoriness of the Government of India. If the session had been held, the Council was expected to give its consideration mainly to four Government bills having for their aim the relief of the agriculturist. In view of the abnormal fall in the prices of agricultural produce it is unnecessary to expatiate on the urgency or the desirability of such action. The local Government's appreciation of the seriousness of the agrarian situation is apparent from the promptitude with which these pieces of legislation were framed by them. But the Central Government has taken so long to make up their mind about them that there was nothing for it but to postpone the session of the U. P. Legislature, pending receipt of the Central Government's sanction. It is not as if the local Government is attempting to hustle the authorities at Simla into sanctioning these measures in a hurry; for some of these bills have been lying with the latter for as long as nine months!

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NOR is this the first occasion when the Council found itself in this predicament in its well-meant efforts to grapple with the agrarian situation. The Encumbered Estates Bill which it would ordinarily have considered in June last could not be then proceeded with for a like reason. The time-killing process resorted to by them in a matter which can hardly brook any delay is highly blameworthy and will, we doubt not, evoke grave public dissatisfaction. The least that can be expected of a government supposed to be responsible for the well-being of millions is not to put unnecessary obstacles in the way of measures designed for their economic betterment, especially in the present very difficult times, if indeed they cannot actively encourage them. Cannot something be done to make the Government of India see the need of moving more expeditiously in the matter?

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#### Remedy Against Unemployment.

IT is a truism that the problem of unemployment among the educated is pregnant with politically dangerous possibilities unless steps are taken betimes to meet it. Evidence of a realisation, though belated, on the part of Government of their responsibility in the matter is furnished by the action recently taken to that end in the different provinces. The trouble is aggravated by the growing tendency among educated youths to betake themselves to urban life—a tendency all the more deplorable in the case of young men belonging to the agricultural classes. Measures are urgently called for which would put a curb on this increasing urbanisation and at the same time provide employment to young Indians in their villages by keeping them on land.

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THIS is what will be attempted at the Fyzabad centre in U. P. where educated youths belonging to the agricultural classes will be given practical training in farming. This will give a practical demon-

tration to them as to how to farm the land on right lines so as to make it yield a decent living. One hundred acres of good land with irrigation facilities have been set apart for the trial of the experiment and will be distributed among ten settlers who will undergo training for a period of three years.

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IN order to test the relative advantages of collective as opposed to individual farming, both systems will be tried at the centre, 50 acres being assigned to five settlers individually and the balance jointly to five others. The group farmers will be expected to pool their income and share the profits equally. It is hoped that their three years' stay at the Fyzabad centre will fit the youths for the profession of agriculture which they can thereafter follow on their own responsibility. Results of this experiment will be anxiously watched all over the country.

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#### Indian Education in Kenya.

THE beginning of Indian education in Kenya dates back to the year 1906 when the first Indian school was opened in Nairobi by the railway administration. The Government appeared on the scene five years later when the first Government school for the benefit of Indian children came into being. It is satisfactory to learn from the Kenya Education report for 1933 that the difficulty is not the lack of Indian pupils but want of adequate financial provision from public funds for Indian education.

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THE number of primary schools maintained by Government remained unaltered, viz. 13, while the number of pupils in them went up from 1,469 to 2,536. The number of pupils in private schools showed an increase from 2,713 to 3,298, which together with the number in Government institutions gives a total of about 5,800. With an Indian and Goan population of 37,000 in Kenya, this means that almost the whole of the Indian school-age population is already at school.

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A NOTEWORTHY feature of the year, from the standpoint of girls' education, was the completion of building for the girls' school at Mombassa, which was opened early this year by Lady Cunliff-Lister. Because the girls' school at Nairobi was not attracting many pupils, the possibility of its being closed down with a view to saving between £400 and £500 seems to have been considered during the year. But this had a remarkable effect on attendance which increased very rapidly and its continuance may now be said to have been ensured.

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IT is interesting to compare the expenditure on European and Indian education. While the expenditure on European education which comprised a little more than 1,200 children, amounted to £42,400, that on Indian education comprising 5,800 children came to less than this amount. The net tuition cost per pupil was also correspondingly higher in the case of European children than in that of Indian ones, being respectively 471 and 155 shillings, while that in the case of African children was 185 shillings.

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## Articles

### THE SOUTH AFRICAN SITUATION.

WHILE the Agent-General's Report on "South Africa and the Indian Situation" gives cause for thankfulness in certain directions, there are some facts brought to notice (especially in the Transvaal) which must inevitably cause grave concern about the future.

The Land Tenure Act, affecting the Transvaal, is now on the Statute Book. The right to hold property in his own name is practically non-existent in the case of an Indian on the Rand. Though different Cape Town Agreements have held out hopes that Indians who conformed to Western standards of living should be treated in a civilised manner, this uncivilised treatment of Indians, as if they were aliens and undesirables, still continues. There is no basal security in a modern State, until a man can call his house his own. There is no safety when a man may be turned out at a moment's notice from the shop in which he has invested all his property.

It is true that after the Feetham Commission has published its Report, certain 'exempted areas' may be marked out where house property may be secured: but this comes dangerously near to segregation, and I have much sympathy with those Indians in the Transvaal who view these new 'exempted areas' with some suspicion.

It is a thousand pities that the changes in the Agency of the Government of India are so sweeping just at this critical moment. Only the Assistant Secretary, Mr. J. S. Ricketts, who has done most faithful work from the very first, will be still in residence and in possession of all the salient facts when the Feetham Report is put into operation. Something should be done, if possible, to avoid this break in the Agency: for in South Africa, it is the accumulation of experience that counts, and with a well-disposed Administration, much can be done to avoid a harsh interpretation of the law.

All that I have written holds good also concerning the Licensing Ordinance in the Transvaal. This is one of the evil legacies which had been left behind, before the new 'Fusion' of General Smuts and General Hertzog in one Party took place. The new Ordinance is quite contrary to the spirit of the Cape Town Agreements: for it places the Indian trader at the mercy of his trade rivals who have votes on the Municipal Council, while he has none. The appeal to the Supreme Court has been taken away. Herein lies the extreme danger.

The Supreme Court in South Africa is rightly famous for its strict impartiality. Nowhere else in the world, I would make bold to say, has there been a sense of responsibility higher than in South Africa in this direction. Though an appeal is a very costly process, Indians could rely on justice. But the withdrawal of this appeal to the Supreme Court has brought the giving or withholding of licenses into

local politics. Thus the fundamental trading right, by which a man is entitled to receive a license if certain conditions are fulfilled, has been rendered insecure.

Strangely enough, this very Court which I have been praising so highly seems just lately to have given a very unfortunate judgment, which may cause endless mischief, if it remains uncanceled. A respectable Indian gentleman, who claimed the right of being served at the public counter in the Post and Telegraph Office along with Europeans, brought a test case. He claimed that the division of the counter into European and Non-European compartments was illegal. But the judgment was given against him. It was decided by the Supreme Court that if 'equal treatment' were given to Europeans and Non-Europeans at *separate* counters the law of the land was upheld.

This decision is almost certain to have unfortunate repercussions in every direction in a country so eager to keep up racial barriers as South Africa.

There is some reason for serving separately primitive Africans, who do not know a word of English and have to be treated with kindly patience in order to meet their wants, interpretation being often necessary. Something may be said for a separate counter in these cases. But that Indians, who have adopted every Western standard, should be served at a separate counter is iniquitous. It is only the present sympathetic attitude of the Administration, which prevents such an obnoxious ruling as this late judgment from being put into ruthless practice. The only appeal against the decision lies with the Privy Council, but that form of appeal is not a popular one in South Africa just at present owing to the insistence on complete national independence.

Even these disabilities, however, are not so wide-reaching in their harmful effects as the White Labour Policy which now dominates the whole of South Africa. But that subject is far too important for a brief reference at the end of an article. It must be left over for another occasion.

C. F. ANDREWS.

## REJECTION.

### HOW WILL GOVERNMENT REACT TO IT ?

WHAT will be the effect on Government's future programme of the Congress party successfully carrying a rejection motion in the next Assembly? When the rejection policy was first announced, British-owned papers in India, and the *Statesman* and the *Times of India* in particular, lost no time in declaring that if the Assembly rejected the White Paper, under the pressure of the Congress, the British Government would be compelled to drop its proposals. Those who are against rejection on the sole ground that it would be infructuous were not however much impressed by this declaration. They thought that this was only a ruse on the part of these papers to stampede the Assembly into an acceptance of the scheme. There are doubtless some, even among those who greet the White Paper proposals with hot denunciation, who are prepared, when it comes either to acceptance or rejection, to give the proposals a tepid acquiescence, thinking that the White Paper, however bad, is better than the maintenance of *status quo*. Anglo-Indian papers, it was said, counted upon influencing such men to vote for acceptance or against rejection by holding out a sort of threat that Government's answer to rejection would certainly be to withdraw the White Paper scheme and sit with folded hands. What is the real position, then, of Government? Will they proceed with their India Bill even if Indians, through their accredited organ of the Legislative Assembly, declared in advance that they did not want the Bill, or will Government hold their hands and allow the people to formulate the kind of Bill they do want? Both those who look upon rejection with favour and those who look upon it with disfavour must know just what course Government will follow in the event of a rejection motion being adopted by the Assembly.

A contributor in the *Manchester Guardian* gives it as his considered opinion that the British people should plump for withdrawal, and it seems quite possible that his argument will appeal to those to whom it is addressed. The writer is by no means unfriendly to the White Paper scheme; on the contrary, he thinks that "in its general outlines the White Paper scheme is the best and perhaps the only practicable scheme to meet the needs of the situation in India"; that "the scheme is sound in itself—the best compromise between a host of conflicting forces and considerations"; and that, therefore, "there is certainly a case for forcing through the scheme in spite of the legislature's objections." Notwithstanding such a favourable opinion of the scheme, however, or perhaps because of this favourable opinion, he is clear that the only wise course for Government to follow is to withdraw the Bill if India rejects it, and so to declare in advance. His reasoning is without a flaw. If Indian politicians know or think that the British Government will force the scheme through Parliament whether it is accepted or rejected in India, they will, from fear of unpopularity, vote for the motion of rejection even if they are really opposed to it. They must be told beforehand, therefore, that they will be incurring a tremendous responsibility by casting their votes in favour of such a motion. They must know that they will be regarded as the real cause of having to go without the constitutional advance represented by the White Paper, even though the advance be inadequate in their eyes, and thus of throwing the country into a state of chaos and disorder. If Government wish to sort out the sheep from the goats among Indian politicians, they cannot do it better than by making a declaration in unambiguous terms beforehand that they will abide by the Assembly's decision; that if the Assembly turns

down the rejection motion they will proceed with the Bill, but that if it adopts the motion they will give up the Bill. Government should thus put, the writer suggests, a straight question to the Indian reformer: Does he really want them, in so far as they are concerned, to write the word *Finis* in connexion with Indian reforms?

The writer in the *Guardian* puts forward another argument which is equally cogent. He says: What can be the earthly good of the British Parliament, assuming that it has the moral right to do so even after the hostile attitude of the Indian Parliament is left in no doubt, passing the India Bill and the British Government forcing it upon the Indian people? There will no doubt be an Act on the statute book, but will it be worked? It is true that even the Congress, as remarked by Mr. Kodanda Rao in his speech at Friends' House the other day, does not mean by rejection any more than non-acceptance; that it certainly does not mean boycott. Perhaps it is also true that at the present moment it does not contemplate obstruction either. But is it to be supposed, the writer observes, that if a party records its opinion in solemn fashion that it does not want a certain constitution passed, and if in spite of this the constitution is imposed upon the party, it will settle down to work the constitution for what it is worth? It would be going against human nature to make any such supposition. Even if the Congress has not obstruction in mind now, it will have it very soon if it is asked to sit down under a constitution against which it has sworn to wage war. To do so is to invite non-cooperation and sabotage. This point the *Guardian* correspondent has put very well, in the following words:

"If we say to India, 'We know best what is good for you. Whatever you do or say you will have to swallow the White Paper draught,' then she may commit herself and her children to an unreasoning and perhaps desperate resistance. If we say, 'If you really won't have the White Paper and would prefer a Constituent Assembly, very well—we don't recommend it, but we'll try it, then she is likely to reflect calmly on the disadvantages of the new programme."

In order, therefore, to detach those who see something useful in the new constitution, though it appears disappointingly small to them, and in order even to make the Congress, pledged as it seems to be to rejection, to think twice, thrice and half a dozen times of the long-range effects of its policy, Government ought to leave the final decision on the question whether the India Bill should be proceeded with or dropped entirely to the vote of the Assembly, and make this position known before the Assembly meets and even before the elections are held. This is the advice of the writer in the *Guardian*, and no one can doubt that there is much tactical virtue in it.

Only one more point needs emphasising in this connexion. The line of action recommended by the *Guardian* contributor cannot be given full effect unless the Government of India orders its officials, when the Congress party brings up the rejection motion in the Assembly, to abstain from voting and leave the Assembly decision to be taken exclusively

by the vote of non-officials. What the Government of India will do on such a motion is very much in doubt. It ought, by rights, to remain neutral if it desires to let the real popular wishes to express themselves. When the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were under discussion—and they were debated in every Council—Government members invariably abstained from voting and took the vote only of non-official members. If the Government of India on this occasion departs from this excellent and correct practice, then it will easily obtain a handsome majority in the Assembly, and non-official opinion will have no chance. Those who wish to save the White Paper constitution will, in these circumstances, not come into the open and vote with rejectionists, feeling certain that even without their assistance the constitution is secure. If Government's object is to give voice to those sections of opinion, now mute, which are no doubt dissatisfied with the White Paper scheme but think it madness to carry their discontent to the point of rejection, Government must, in addition to declaring that the Assembly vote will decide whether the Bill is to be put on the statute book or not, also declare that the Assembly vote will be determined only by the votes that the non-official members will cast. This point will not strike the British public because the British Parliament has no votes at the service of the bureaucracy, and that is the only reason why it is not mentioned in the *Guardian* article, but it is all-important in India, where the legislature is dominated by the bureaucracy, and we make no doubt that the writer in the *Guardian* will entirely approve of it.

Let it once be known that India will have the Hoare constitution only if Indian public opinion asks for it, and many who are now uniting their voices with the Congress in a declamatory disapproval of the constitution will make themselves propagandists in its behalf. Why is it that there is no propaganda whatever at present in favour of the White Paper in India? It is not because there are none outside the ranks of the Moslems, the Europeans and the Princes—the classes which the correspondent of the *Guardian* mentions—but because these sections feel that even if they remain discreetly silent and, to go further, even if they join the Congress in cursing the scheme, it will still become the Constitution Act and be put in force. It is to their interest to make it appear as if the constitution was imposed upon the country and imposed upon themselves against their own wishes. They do not want to lose caste with the progressive politicians unnecessarily, but remove the screen behind which they are concealing themselves and they will buzz. Now they see only defects in the constitution; then they will immediately begin to see many great virtues in it. They will say to their compatriots: "We dislike the scheme as much as you. We have done our best to get it amended. Now, however, there is no chance at all of its being improved even in the slightest particulars. If anything, it will be whittled away. The question now is whether we should have this or go without. And when the question presents itself in this form—and remember

that we are now in the last crucial and decisive stage—we must swallow our chagrin and in the national interest take the kind of reforms that alone now seem possible. After all, the White Paper has its good points too. When we were bargaining naturally we did not mention them, but now that the bargain is to be struck, do not let us allow ourselves to be slaves to the words we used when the deal was yet to be arranged. Let us accept as good businessmen the terms that are offered. It is not on the whole a bad bargain either." If Government offer to be guided by public opinion they would be giving tongues to such persons, and such persons are not quite so few as

one may think. Only they have lost their power of speech; it is to India's interest as well as to England's that it be restored to them.

For thus alone shall we know what the real feeling is about the White Paper, and one need not be accused of maudlin sentiment if one seems to stand out for some kind of self-determination. This principle after all has a very practical aspect which will be best appreciated by hard-headed politicians. The White Paper constitution will not serve if public feeling is not behind it; if public feeling is behind the White Paper, it must be forced into the open.

## WANTED A PLAIN ANSWER.

I AM painfully surprised to find that the very simple questions that I asked of the leaders of the Congress in regard to the position of the Indian States' people in the Constituent Assembly have yet received no reply from those who are in a position to speak for the Congress. My questions are very simple:

1. Will the representatives of the States' people find a place in the Constituent Assembly in the same way as those of the British Indian people or not?

2. Will they enjoy the same rights and perform the same functions as their counterparts in British India, or will an inferior status be assigned to them?

3. That is to say, will the representatives of the States' people be the sole spokesmen of the States, as the representatives of the British Indian people will be the sole spokesmen of British India, in drafting the future constitution of India, and will an all-India federation be accepted, only if the spokesmen on both sides agree as to the terms and conditions of federation, or is it the intention of the Congress to impose upon the States' people a constitution which the British Indian people think good for them?

4. Assuming that the spokesmen of the two halves of India agree to a federal union of a certain type, then will the people in both of them make a united effort to get the Governments in both accept the constitution formulated by the Constituent Assembly, or will the British Indian people concern themselves only with the British Indian Government, leaving the States' people to tackle the States' Governments?

5. If it be decided that in obtaining the consent of the States' Governments the British Indian people shall take no active part, in obedience to the principle of non-interference, will they impose upon themselves a self-denying ordinance and refuse all help from the States' people in obtaining the consent of the British Indian Government, or will the Congress pursue a policy of non-interference by British Indians in the Indian States and of interference by the States' people in British India?

To such questions it should be easy to give answers straightaway, and I have no doubt that, before the publication of the Gandhi-Kelkar correspondence, ninety-nine Congress leaders out of a hundred would have said, without a moment's hesitation and without any mental reservation, that the Congress position is represented by the answer suggested in the first part of the above questions in each case. It could not possibly be otherwise.

Mahatma Gandhi's reply to Mr. Kelkar, however, has aroused serious misgivings in the minds of some Congressmen, whose one aim in the whole of their public life is to harmonise loyalty to principle with loyalty to the Mahatma. To such politicians I wish to show that, happily, in this matter, loyalty to principle is not disloyalty to the Mahatma, if the Mahatma's position is correctly understood. This position was explained by the Mahatma himself immediately after the conclusion of the Gandhi-Irwin pact on March 5, 1931. The first point he emphasised in the statement that he issued on this occasion, concerning the Indian States is that the Congress cannot confine its activities solely to British India and it cannot disown the States' people. Let me quote his very words: "The Congress represents or endeavours to represent the whole of the people of India which recognises no distinction between those who reside in British India or in Indian States." If there are any, therefore, in the Congress ranks who think that, in Mahatma Gandhi's opinion, the British Indian people have no legal or moral right to intervene in the States' affairs, the sentence quoted above should be enough to disabuse their minds of this notion. The Congress, in fact, according to the Mahatma's own words, cannot recognise any distinction between British India and Indian India. It represents both of them in an equal measure, and it cannot carry on its constitutional fight in British India alone, leaving the States' people to shift for themselves, without laying itself open to the charge that the Congress is a sectional and not a national body. For fear of the Congress being considered a communal organisation, Mahatma Gandhi does not even oppose the communal award, to which he is on principle opposed, merely because a section of the community is in favour of it. Is it possible then to conceive that a man

whose sole addiction is to Truth, but who can yet so far depart from principle as to refrain from opposition even to a wrong decision, in order merely to maintain, obviously and demonstrably, the national character of the Congress, will, by restricting the Congress fight for freedom to British India, ever agree to render the Congress, equally obviously and demonstrably, a sectional organisation? No. I think the Mahatma is equally solicitous of achieving the political liberation of British Indians and the Indian States' people, and the *Purna Swaraj* as contemplated by the Congress creed means to him complete political freedom for both parts of India, for winning which the people in both must make a conjoint effort.

From this it follows that Mahatma Gandhi cannot possibly exclude the States' people from the Constituent Assembly designed for the purpose of implementing the principle of self-determination and fill it with British Indians alone. When the very object of setting up the Assembly is to ascertain what kind of constitution the people want, how can the Congress consult merely British Indian people and take the opinion of the States from their rulers? Self-determination for British Indians and other-determination for the States' people? This is an impossible position for Mahatma Gandhi to take up. Congress leaders need have no misgivings on this question. The misgivings that they do entertain arise, I know, from the fact that at the Round Table Conference, Mahatma Gandhi spoke of the States' people's election and fundamental rights as if those were matters which the rulers might concede or withhold as they pleased. But the States' people would insist upon them as essential conditions of federation, and because the rulers would never agree to them, federation itself would be off. Congress leaders seem to think that the Mahatma wants federation at all costs and would sacrifice the States' people, if this is necessary in order to bring about some sort of federation. This also is quite a baseless conjecture, judging of his attitude from his statement referred to above. In this statement he said: "Undiluted autocracy, however benevolent it may be, and an almost undiluted democracy are an incompatible mixture, bound to result in an explosion." This shows that he wants a federation but federation on proper terms. The proper terms, according to him, are not only that the States should adopt democratic practices in federal matters, but that they should be democratic even in internal affairs. Here he goes very far—in fact farther than some States' people do. He warned the rulers in plain terms in this statement when he said that it was necessary for the rulers "not to take up an uncompromising attitude and impatiently refuse to listen to an appeal from or on behalf of the would-be partner. If they refused any such appeal they would make the position of the Congress untenable and even most awkward."

By their obduracy the rulers have already rendered the Congress position utterly impossible. The National Congress will be driven, if the Princes

maintain their present attitude of callous disregard to the minimum demands of their subjects, as they are certain to do, to put the federal plan on one side and concern itself with constitutional reconstruction of British India alone, taking up the question of reform in the Indian States as a separate issue later on. Otherwise the Congress will be claiming the right to self-determination in British India and surrendering it in the Indian States, if the Constituent Assembly were to consist only of British Indians and not of the States' people as well. This would be not only a "most awkward" position for the Congress to be in but a position wholly opposed to its basic principles. Yet, on account of the somewhat compromising utterances of Mahatma Gandhi at the Round Table Conference, it has become necessary for the Congress to make its position crystal clear, and I would beg the Congress leaders, therefore, to take a strong line on this question in order to save the reputation of the Congress and not cave in under the belief that the Mahatma desires to purchase federation at any price.

A. V. PATVARDHAN.

## Our London Letter.

(BY AIR MAIL.)

(From Our Correspondent.)

LONDON, August 30.

### THE VICEROY'S FAREWELL TO THE LEGISLATURE.

IN making his final address to the Indian Legislature, the roles were somewhat reversed. The mythological story is that it is the dying swan that sings a farewell song, presumably to the edification of those that survive. It is not the Viceroy that has come to the end of his period of office, but the Legislature, or at least the Assembly that has reached the end of its tether, and that should have done the singing. Taking things, however, as they are, Lord Willingdon's was both a notable and a human performance. He might quite easily have delivered an allocution considerably more distant from realities and more formal in tone. He chose, on the contrary, to deal at least with some of the realities, and in so far as he could strike the personal note he appears to have done so. It was expected here, and doubtless, too, in India, that he would emphasise the very clear change of policy adopted by the Congress. Naturally, too, he was expected to make it clear that he attributed this change, in part at any rate, to the precautions taken by the Government, with the assistance of the legislatures. It is all to the good, however, that the Viceroy emphasised the important part in securing this change of attitude to be attributed to the growth of opinion both outside and within Congress circles. One of these days, when passions are less easily aroused and the time has come for quiet and objective assessment and analysis, some one may write a debit and a credit account of the Civil Disobedience movement. It is to be hoped, however, that no merely academic attitude will be adopted by the critic-to-be, since so much of the content, the method and the consequences of Civil Disobedience are in the realm of psychology rather than in that of law and statesmanship. And yet it requires the statesman's mind in the last resort to examine the history of the movement if exaggeration on one side or the other is to be avoided.

Another matter which it is noted here the Viceroy was at pains to underline was the general feeling of goodwill towards India prevalent in this country, and the desirability that in India there should be such recognition of this fact as to render it less difficult, if not actually positively easier, for British and Indians in India to collaborate more closely and in a greater spirit of attempting to achieve a common purpose for the welfare of India. In view at least of one side of the history of events during the last few years in India, one ought not to be surprised if a certain hesitation is shown on the Indian side in accepting Lord Willingdon's statement regarding the general benevolence of British attitude. The repressive period in India, coupled with diehard activity in this country, must naturally make very large sections of the Indian public suspicious of the intentions of the British people. If the positions were reversed the British themselves would be equally suspicious of Indian intentions, however genuinely benevolent they might in fact be. Nevertheless Lord Willingdon's estimate is substantially correct. The British people have peculiar ways of expressing themselves. They are so thoroughly satisfied that their motives are right, even where under the warnings of experts and pseudo-experts they express themselves cautiously, and in terms of many apparently elaborate safeguards, they do not frankly understand why, and accordingly strongly resent, their motives and intentions being called into question. Where a political and economic association is of such long standing as that subsisting between Britain and India, and where those relations, whilst, in many respects benefitting India, also in many other respects are to the advantage of Britain, it is not to be wondered that natural British caution seems to be allied with a strong disinclination on the part of the British people to surrender those material advantages, so many and varied, to which they have been for a century and a half accustomed. And yet, even admitting this in part and recognising that a people so ignorant of present-day Indian conditions as the British can be easily stampeded for the time being into wrong directions by designing people eager to maintain long-held privileges and a musty prestige, that does not tell the whole of the tale, or indeed anything like it. The British are very proud of the history of their rule in India, so far at least as they are aware of it. They recognise that that history is not entirely without blemish, but they feel on the whole that they have made a better job of their duties and responsibilities than any other country would have done had it been similarly placed. That, too, I believe was the judgment of an impartial observer like Dr. Pierre Ceresole. This natural pride, of course, is no justification for refusing to India, within a reasonable and limited period, the general and effective control of her own affairs, and on the whole it may be accepted that the average Britisher, unless he is misled by tendentious speaking and writings, has every sympathy with India's natural ambitions and aspirations. It would, therefore, be a mistake not to believe that in their rough and ready and often reserved way the British people are definitely friendly to India. To think of Britain as "the enemy" would not only be wrong judgment and bad policy, it would be very deeply resented here and it might very easily lead to exactly the opposite result in Indo-British relations from that which the most ardent Indian patriot, armed with common-sense and a spirit of sacrifice, would desire.

Finally, there was a noticeable absence in the Viceroy's appeal for collaboration of that other appeal made on more than one historic occasion by his predecessor and never more needed than now, for inter-communal fellowship and for a truly national outlook

in India itself. I have on more than one occasion expressed the view, and its repetition is, I hope, still not stale, that the Constitution in store for India is likely to be more or less exactly proportioned to her weakness rather than to her strength, and that that weakness has been engendered by internal discord and by the lack of mutual collaboration more than by any other single factor. At least, so it looks from the perspective of six thousand miles.

#### OF INTEREST TO INDIA.

It looks as though another attempt will be made at the annual Tory Conference next month, by the diehards, to bring up for discussion the question of India. Whilst technically the Conference will be free, if it so chooses, to deal with the matter, I imagine that Sir Henry Page-Croft, who will propose a motion, will have comparatively little support, particularly because the Conference will be without the advantage of having the Joint Select Committee's Report before it. In well-informed circles here, it is not considered probable that the report will be available to the British and Indian publics much before the middle of November. Presumably by that time the Assembly election campaign will be over, and the new Assembly will have the task of dealing with the Report.

Mirabai has been touring this week in Northern England and has been addressing a number of meetings. In addition she has contributed an interesting article to *Empire News* on the details of the Mahatma's daily life, and the part that she has been privileged to contribute in enabling him to carry on with the minimum of discomfort. She is expected back here presently, and will then undertake a further short tour before she leaves for the Continent. She is due to sail for India from Venice on the 12th October, after spending a few days in France and Switzerland. Meanwhile her method of life here has been marked by the greatest austerity and with as little difference as circumstances permit from the conditions to which she is daily accustomed in India.

## Reviews.

### ✓ PRISONS.

**PRISONS AND A CHANGING CIVILISATION :**  
By W. B. CURRY. (John Lane.) 1934. 20cm.  
129p. 2/6.

THE book comes from the pen of an ex-medical officer of English Prisons. He has to his credit profound knowledge and intimate experience of the working of prisons for over thirty-five years. This fact alone should be enough to impel one to treat this work with consideration.

The book is divided into seven chapters of which the first is introductory, the second and third trace the history of the various evolutionary stages through which prisons i.e. Crime and Punishment, have gone so far. In the next chapters is examined the claim of prison as a social agency expected to achieve certain aims. The last presents the conclusions at which the author has arrived as a result of his study.

The scope of the book, however, is very limited. For the book the author makes no higher claim than of an inquiry into the changing forms of the prison system within the framework of the given law, though he has no illusions of the character of law. Says he, "The dominating class interest at any particular time is the main influence on the penal system" and yet he does not concern himself with the task of examining this claim and seems grudgingly to concede "the



"right of domination" to class interest. Therefore, the legislation dictated by it is to him like the inviolable gospel.

The aim with which the discussion is undertaken is, according to the author, "to trace the history of the prisons in this country and in certain other countries and to show how the social and economic conditions existing at any particular time and in any particular place inevitably produce the prison system of that time and place, just as they inevitably occasion every other phenomenon." The present discussion would have therefore been more logical and thorough had the author attempted an inquiry into how prison as an institution is a product of class rule and what should be an alternative form of penology of which prisons are only part.

Prison today is a place where offenders, according to the given law, are sent down for punishment. Punishment "is the intentional infliction, or attempted infliction of pain, loss, or some other form of suffering." The author rightly challenges this conception and strongly pleads in favour of transformation of offenders. For this purpose he examines prison from three points of view: as retributive, as deterrent and as reformatory. The whole of this discussion is very interesting and instructive, and brings the reader to the conclusion that purely retributive punishment is a very wasteful practice; for the larger percentage of crime is due to economic factors and the notion that the offender is a subject of demoniacal passion is obsolete. The aim of the prison should be treatment rather than punishment. Imprisonment has no doubt some deterrent effect, but in many cases this effect is not great and that no increase in the severity of prison conditions would increase it. It must never be forgotten that for the vast majority of persons economic security is non-existent. Towards the success of the last part the author has made a number of suggestions with regard to the change in treatment. These are forcible enough to arrest the attention of every student of criminology. He pleads for drastic curtailment of the present powers of courts; insists on abolishing short sentences, say up to three months; holds that the case of every individual offender should be diagnosed psychologically; suggests provision of employment on release for offenders; affirms that much crime is due to the present penal system and passionately pleads for prison being regarded as a place of moral regeneration and as one on the same plane as any other hospital.

The author is alive to the fact that such efforts are bound to be incomplete. The criterion of their efficacy is the transformation of offenders into useful citizens. On this point the author asserts that "in attempting to fit a man for a better form of life than that which he has been leading it is essential that the new mode of life should present itself better to him." Here is the limitation of and a contradiction in the penal system.

The question is: Can the present law dictated by the domination of class interest which has made "economic security for the vast majority of persons non-existent" bring about such a miracle? We have it from the author that "the penal system always lags behind enlightened public opinion, for law invariably tends to be conservative." In other words, the present law determined by certain dominating interests cannot widen its social basis; i. e. its framework can neither accommodate the ever-increasing productive forces, nor can it readjust them to production relations. Therefore, whatever piecemeal reform is introduced, crime will not decrease but, on the contrary, will continue to be more complicated and varied. Economic conditions existing at any

particular time will have their effect on the production of crime and determination of society's reaction to crime. In plain English, it would mean that so long as the property relations continue to be what they are, "the new mode of life" which the author suggests to give to a criminal, cannot, "present itself better to him." Thus, decidedly the question becomes sociological and not purely penal as the author has chosen to restrict it and therefore, though valuable and interesting, the present work is admittedly incomplete.

LALJI PENDSE.

## INDIA THROUGH MISSIONARY EYES.

THE LAND AND LIFE OF INDIA. BY MARGARET READ. (Edinburgh House Press.) 1934 20cm. 144p. 2/-.

THE intelligence that inspires missionary publications is ever the same though the nominal authorship be different. Like the salesman on duty, the missionary administers a severe warning to mankind to beware of false imitations of Jehova and Christ. This patented Gospel of Christ as Margaret Read, the author of the book under review, advertises it, has a special use for India as an influence making for sanitary living. Leaving this new-found attraction of Christianity to capture the hearts of Indians, Margaret Read proceeds to take a bird's eye-view of India overflowing with bitterness and strife yet struggling feebly to be born anew. In a sense the villages of India look as if they stand out of this picture. The villagers are busy creating wealth in their own crude and superstitious way, all which is somehow taken out of their mouths without their knowing it and their insincere benefactors "talk and talk. We work and work and no one listens to us."

"What should be done to appease Sitala Devi the small-pox Goddess?" is a question typical of dangerous ignorance of the villager, which the Government does little to eradicate. Margaret Read tells us that "to all village people religion is part of daily life," which sad fact is responsible for more and more of the political and bodily ills we suffer from.

In the cities, the religious instinct of the people is a shade more blood-thirsty, though apparently they are cultured enough to entertain exaggerated notions of India's past. "Our people had a war office and a census department before Julius Caesar discovered them." In real life, "dagger" looks are exchanged and the Muslim cries "the curse of the Prophet be on the dogs of Hindus who defile our mosques with profane music," the Hindu repaying in a similar coin.

Then there is the caste system which sits like an incubus on all the people, the educated as well as the uneducated, sucking all the healthy life-blood out of them.

"What is caste?" asks the bewildered Margaret Read and the only competent person to give her convincing answers is Mr. Gandhi who is the greatest supporter of that institution after Manu. Anyway "the diversity of races, languages, castes, religious communities indicate that the task of making them all into one United Nation is a colossal one." On this unhealthy foundation, nation-builders are hard at work raising an edifice of Swaraj. It so happens however that instead of co-operative activity, there is more suicidal work being done in the name of religion and religious interests. The only silver lining that is visible in a horizon rent and torn by fierce passions, is the Servants of India Society, which is not a reforming group within Hinduism itself as Margaret Read believes. Founded by

Gokhale than whom a nobler and a more single-hearted patriot is yet to be born, this great institution, which is free from religious bias of any kind, is ceaselessly helping to remove all the impediments that hamper our progress to self-government.

Margaret Read's sense of perception of Indian life is reliable and worth sincere appreciation.

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

## Miscellaneous.

### CONGRESS AND INDIA'S GOAL.

*At its recent meeting held at Wardha, the Working Committee of the Congress adopted the following resolution on India's goal. The resolution runs:*

“**M**ISGIVINGS have arisen in the minds of some Congressmen and others that the Congress goal of Poorna Swaraj or complete Independence is being imperceptibly watered down.

The Working Committee desires, therefore, to state that no Congressmen, much less any Congress organisation, can do so without being liable to the charge of indiscipline. Congressmen and Congress organisations have to shape their course so as to accelerate the pace towards the goal by keeping Poorna Swaraj before one's eyes as well as the means for its attainment, which must be strictly non-violent and truthful. To this end Congressmen are expected to give effect to the resolutions and instructions that may, from time to time, be issued by the A.I.C.C., or the Working Committee.

Poorna Swaraj includes unfettered national control, among other things, over the army, other defence forces, external affairs, fiscal and commercial matters and financial and economic policy.

A free India should have freedom to make its choice between voluntary partnership with the British and complete separation.

Whilst the Congress will not repudiate just obligations, it must adhere to the resolution to have an impartial scrutiny of the obligations to be undertaken by a free India.

The Congress has repeatedly declared from its inception that the British Empire, as it is constituted to-day, is designed predominantly, if not purely, to subserve British interests at the cost of India, and, therefore, whilst it will gladly cultivate friendship with the British, it must strain every nerve to end the present unnatural and humiliating connection. But the Congress has also equally repeatedly declared that this political freedom must remain unattainable, without attaining moral or internal freedom by carrying out the internal and constructive comprehensive programme laid down from time to time by the Working Committee.

The Congress is nothing, if it does not progressively represent and serve the masses. Such service is impossible without following the constructive programme of the Congress with meticulous care and devotion.”

### HINDU MAHASABHA MANIFESTO.

*The following election manifesto has been issued by the Hindu Mahasabha:*

**T**HE HINDU MAHASABHA has, throughout and consistently, taken up a position which is strictly national on the communal issue. It believes that no form of national responsible self-

government, which India is struggling to achieve and which England is pledged to accord her, is compatible with separate communal electorates or representation in the Legislature and administration, which function for the general good and secular well-being of the country as a whole. It is prepared to sacrifice and expects other communities to sacrifice, communal considerations to build up such responsible government which can be worked by a ministry or persons belonging to the same political party, but not necessarily to the same creed, so that agreement on public questions, economic, social and political, should be the basis of communal confidence and co-operation.

The Hindu Mahasabha, however, noted with the deepest concern and regret that the British Government in giving their decision of 17th August, 1932, called the Communal Award, set at naught the above principles and further, completely overlooked the Lucknow Pact, which was an agreed solution between the different communities, and the Simon Commission's recommendations on the Indian problem, because they were fair, impartial and honest and also the decisions of the League of Nations on the question of safeguarding of minorities. Naturally, since the day of that decision the Hindu Mahasabha has persistently opposed this Award, and it is determined to carry on the fight till it has achieved its object. In the opinion of the Hindu Mahasabha all the forces which are anti-national and hostile to the growth of national self-government in this country are concentrated in this formula and therefore all the nationalists have got only one duty, and that is to fight against this.

There are a number of organizations which are going to take part in the struggle for the forthcoming elections, such as the Congress Parliamentary Board, the Nationalist Party, the Democratic Swaraj Party (in the Maharashtra) and the Justice Party (in Madras). The Hindu Mahasabha would most willingly co-operate in the matter of elections with any organization that would take a stand on opposition to and the rejection of the Communal Award. As for instance, Dr. Moonje, who has been adopted as a candidate by the Nationalist Party, would surely be a candidate on behalf of the Hindu Mahasabha as well, which would do everything to help him in his success. The Hindu Mahasabha shall even go so far as not to oppose such candidates of the Congress Parliamentary Board as would get permission from the Board to fight and vote against the Communal Award.

The position of the Hindu Mahasabha which was laid down in very clear language on March 23, 1931, under the presidentship of Babu Ramanand Chatterjee, is embodied in the following propositions:

1. There should not be any separate communal electorates, that is, grouping of voters by religion in community constituencies.
2. There should be one common electoral roll consisting of voters of all communities and creeds as citizens and nationals of the same State.
3. There should not be any reservation of seats for any religious community as such in the legislature.
4. There should not be any weightage given to any community, as it can be done only at the expense of another.
5. The franchise should be uniform for all communities in the same province.
6. The franchise should be uniform all over India for the Central or Federal Legislature.
7. There should be statutory safeguards for the protection of minorities in regard to their language

religion and racial laws and customs as framed by the League of Nations on the proposals of its original members including India and His Majesty's Government and is now enforced in many a State, of reconstructed Europe including Turkey.

8. There should be no question of the protection of majorities in any form.

9. There should not be any alteration of existing boundaries of provinces without expert examination of linguistic, administrative, financial, strategic and other considerations involved by a

Boundaries Commission to be specially appointed for the purpose.

10. In the proposed Federation, residuary powers should rest with the Central Federal Government for the unity and well-being of India as a whole.

11. Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Indian nationals in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as for instance, admission to public employments, functions and honours, or the exercise of professions and industries.

## SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY.

REPORT FOR 1933-34.

(Continued from our issue of August 16, 1934.)

### Labour.

Among Members who gave the whole or part of their time to the Labour cause may be mentioned Messrs. Joshi, Bakhale, and S. V. Parulekar in Bombay, R. Suryanarayana Rao and V. R. Nayanar in Malabar, Mr. S. R. Venkataraman in Madras and Mr. Dube in the U. P. The work of Messrs. Joshi and Bakhale in the Legislatures and that of Mr. Joshi on the Joint Select Committee in London has been already referred to. In June 1933, while in London, Mr. Joshi went to Geneva to attend the meeting of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office. He also attended an informal meeting of the overseas members of the Governing Body. He continued to be the President of the Bombay Textile Labour Union, the Ambernath Labour Union, the Dharavi Tannery and Leather Workers' Union and the National Union of Seamen in Bombay, and was connected with the National Trades Union Federation and the All-India Railwaymen's Federation. He attended the meeting in Calcutta of the Indian Trades Union Federation, and the joint meeting between it and the National Trades Union Federation to bring about unity between the two organisations. In December last he attended the annual meeting of the National Trades Union Federation in Bombay.

In the work of trade union unity Mr. Joshi was assisted by Mr. Bakhale, who was appointed General Secretary of the new united body, the National Trades Union Federation. Since then the strength of the Federation has risen from 40 affiliated unions with a membership of 78,000 to 50 unions with a membership of 1,36,700. The Federation has been affiliated to the Second International and it arranged to hold the first Asiatic Labour Congress in Colombo in May, 1934. Mr. Bakhale drafted the Memorandum which was submitted to the Joint Select Committee on behalf of the N. T. U. Federation. He was re-elected General Secretary of the Bombay Textile Labour Union and President of the Bombay Port Trust Railwaymen's Union. With regard to the textile industry in Bombay he had three interviews with the Governor of Bombay, in which he urged an enquiry into the wage-cuts and other labour conditions. As stated above an enquiry has since been ordered.

Mr. Bakhale presided over the annual conference of the Bombay Presidency Postmen and Lower Grade Staff Union Conference at Hubli and the Postal and R. M. S. Association at Poona.

For a good many months in the year Mr. S. V. Parulekar was engaged in controlling and directing the strike of workers in certain mills in Bombay. The strike in the Sassoon Alliance Silk Mill collapsed in July last after an unequal struggle for ten months. The workers rejoined the mill, but as their wages for a certain period were not paid, a suit for

compensation for wrongful dismissal was instituted subsequently and the Bombay High Court delivered a favourable judgment in October last. But it was a Pyrrhic victory, as the workers failed to take advantage of it for fear of victimisation. There was then another strike of employees in the Colaba Land Mills, which lasted three weeks. It also failed to achieve its purpose. Mr. Parulekar addressed meetings of the workers of both the Mills almost every day during the period of the strikes.

He was Assistant Secretary of the Bombay Textile Labour Union, and General Secretary of the Dharavi Tannery and Leather Workers' Union and on behalf of the Unions he assisted in the preparation of memoranda expressing their views on the Payment of Wages Bill, the Trades Disputes Bill and other legislative measures. He was elected Treasurer of the National Seamen's Union of India and as such attended the office of the Union daily. He visited the seamen in their chawls to talk to them and to establish personal contact with them. He found that the living conditions of the seamen were among the worst. There was chronic unemployment among them. Mr. Parulekar made an attempt to organise a union of tailors, but was not successful.

He organised a working class study circle in Kamathipura which made gratifying progress during the year. He was in editorial charge of the *Trade Union Record*, published on behalf of the National Trades Union Federation. He wrote articles in the press on "Trade Depression in the Textile Industry". He was elected General Secretary of the Indian Institute of Sociology and arranged for a course of lectures by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta on the "Reserve Bank" and delivered an address himself on "Dialectic Materialism in Modern Philosophy."

Mr. Venkataraman was Treasurer of the Madras Labour Union and as such drafted the memoranda of the Union on the Madras Moneylenders Bill and the Trades Disputes Bill and gave oral evidence before the Select Committee on the Moneylenders Bill. Messrs. Suryanarayana Rao and Nayanar were in charge of three trade unions of tile workers at Feroke. The Handloom-Workers' Union at Cannanore did not function properly. Mr. Suryanarayana Rao prepared, on behalf of the Unions, two memoranda on the Trades Disputes and Payments of Wages Bills and on the bill to amend the Indian Factories Act. At the instance of the workers, he intervened in a strike in the Sitaram Mills in Trichur in the Cochin State and helped to bring about a settlement, the terms of which, however, the employers failed to keep. Mr. Nayanar was the Vice-President of the Unions and addressed several meetings in the interest of the members. The Co-operative Stores started last year in the Standard Tile Factory rendered useful service to its members and yielded a

profit of Rs. 200 by the sale of rice alone. Mr. Sivawami was attempting to organise agricultural labour. Mr. Ambekar was the Vice-President of the Poona District Postmen and Lower Grade Staff Union. Mr. Dube was President of the Lucknow Postal Union and a member of the Committee of the U. P. Christian Council on Labour and Industrial Matters.

#### The Poona Seva Sadan Society.

As the Honorary Organiser and General Secretary of the Poona Seva Sadan Society and its several branches, Mr. Devadhar continued to manage them with undiminished interest, notwithstanding his serious and prolonged illness and frequent and long absences from Poona on other duty. The Poona Seva Sadan Society maintained its usual activities in the sphere of women's education, primary, secondary, adult, as well as vocational, for instance, sewing, printing, weaving and tailoring. It also continued to maintain classes for the training of women teachers. It continued to provide hostel accommodation and other facilities for women students studying medicine, nursing and public health. The new block of buildings in Poona for the Indian nurses is nearing completion. Mr. Devadhar gave much time and attention to the publication of an album of pictures illustrating the work of the Poona Seva Sadan Society.

#### The Devadhar Malabar Reconstruction Trust.

Though for reasons of health Mr. Suryanarayana Rao was forced to change his headquarters to Coimbatore, he was assisted by Mr. V. R. Nayanar in respect of the work of the Devadhar Malabar Reconstruction Trust. The Trust has its headquarters at Calicut while its centres of work are scattered all over Malabar. The Trust continued to maintain four Higher Elementary Schools, of which one was mainly for Harijans and another a Night School for adults. The Higher Elementary School at Tanur provided vocational training in weaving and agriculture. The School at Tanur is situated on a farm for the maintenance of which Government give a small grant. As improved methods are employed in the vocational section in weaving, the members of the Weavers' Societies conducted by the Trust have been induced to adopt these improved methods. As a result of representations made to Government, they sanctioned a grant of Rs. 400 per annum to start a Sales Depot at Calicut for promoting the sale of goods manufactured by the Societies. The Depot was opened on November 4, the International Co-operators' Day. So far the sales have not been bad.

Adult education formed the chief part of the Trust's activities. The centres at Feroke, Kundotti, Malappuram and Kottakal worked fairly well. The reading rooms and libraries started in these places prevented lapses into illiteracy. Magic lantern shows and general lectures helped to spread knowledge on different topics. The Night Classes held in each centre did a great deal in imparting education in the three R's and in general helped in creating a cultural atmosphere. In fact these centres have aimed not only at the teaching of the three R's, but also at the promotion of the three C's—Character, Culture and Citizenship.

The Gopalapuram Colony with its Higher Elementary School, where also vocational instruction in weaving and agriculture has been introduced, and the Gray Hostel, where 22 boarders were in residence, continued to do good work. During the year the well, for which an estimate of Rs. 2,500 was san-

ctioned by Government, was completed, thus satisfying a pressing need of the Colony. The question of settling more families and developing the Colony in other directions was under consideration. As a first step a Co-operative Society has been organised and registered for the Colony. Proposals to start such colonies in other parts of the district were formulated.

#### Depressed Classes Mission, Mangalore.

Mr. Suryanarayana Rao continued to be in charge of the Depressed Classes Mission, Mangalore, which is the only organised effort in the district started years ago by the late Rao Bahadur Ranga Rao for the uplift of the Depressed Classes. The Mission's activities are mainly educational and are carried on by means of schools and boarding houses. The Mission maintained the Higher Elementary School at Mangalore with a carpentry section for vocational training attached to it. In addition two feeder schools up to the III Standard were maintained in the suburbs of Mangalore. The Koraga Boarding School at Puthur near Udipi, situated in a colony meant mainly for the Koragas who are an aboriginal tribe, continued to work fairly satisfactorily. The Adult Education centre at Pundeohum in Mangalore also did good work in spreading education among the Mari-holeys, a community whose main occupation is scavenging. Besides the Koraga Boarding School at Puthur, the Mission maintained two Boarding Houses attached to the Central School and of these one was mainly for the Adi-Dravida girls. Scouting has been introduced and magic lantern lectures are delivered frequently in the Adi-Dravida colonies. The Mission itself has seven colonies of which two are for the Koragas at Puthur and Mangalore. The work of the Mission is of a varied character calculated to promote the moral and material progress of the Adi-Dravidas.

#### Anti-Untouchability Campaign.

Several members of the Society engaged themselves in the anti-untouchability campaign inaugurated by Mahatma Gandbi. Mr. A. V. Thakkar devoted himself wholly and solely to that work as Hon. General Secretary of the All-India Harijan Sevak Sangh whose jurisdiction extends all over India including the Indian States. Mr. Thakkar held a meeting of the Board at the Servants of India Society in Poona in June last. Besides attending to the office work at Delhi, Mr. Thakkar undertook extensive tours through the length and breadth of India in connection with Harijan propaganda and the collection of funds for the purpose. When the Mahatma set out on his Harijan tour Mr. Thakkar was frequently on duty with him.

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- QUTBSHAHI OF GOLCONDA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. Ed. By VASUDEV C. BENDRE. (Secretary, Bharat Itihasa Mandal, Poona.) 1934. 22cm. 158+203p. Rs. 4.
- PEOPLE'S CHARTER OR THE TERMS OF PROSPERITY AND FREEDOM WITHIN A COMMUNITY. By A. H. MACKMURDO. (Williams & Norgate.) 1933. 20cm. 270p. 6/—