

Servant of India

Editor : S. G. VAZE.

Office : SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY, POONA.

VOL. XVII, NO. 37. } POONA—THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1934. { INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6.
FOREIGN SUBSN. 15s.

CONTENTS.

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	433
ARTICLES :—	
Mahatma's Leadership.	435
Commander-in-Chief's Outburst.	436
Congratulations! By A. V. Patvardhan.	439
OUR LONDON LETTER	440
REVIEWS :—	
Money in the Melting Pot.	
By Prof. B. P. Adarkar.	441
Archaeology in Kashmir.	
By Prof. T. G. P. Spear.	442
Indian Fiscal Policy.	
B. V. Narayanswamy.	442
SHORT NOTICE.	443
MISCELLANEOUS :—	
S. I. S. Report for 1933-34.	443

Topics of the Week.

A Watered Down Version.

THE Working Committee of the Congress denies that the Congress goal of Complete Independence "is being imperceptibly watered down." It is quite right too; the goal is not being imperceptibly watered down, but quite perceptibly and palpably.

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU and some others fought with the Mahatma, who had held tenaciously to Dominion Status in the past, and got him to agree at last to Independence. "We must," they said, "not only have the power to walk out of the British Empire if we so choose, but we must also decide here and now actually to walk out of it. Not merely the right to sever the British connexion, which perhaps Dominion Status gives, but the severance itself—that is what the Congress ought to stand for."

THE Mahatma yielded for the time being. He accepted Independence, but only to get round it by interpreting it to mean precisely what Dominion Status means—right of secession. At the R. T. C. too the Mahatma pleaded merely for the right of secession, and not for actual secession. He asked for Dominion Status but gave it the name of Independence.

THIS is undoubtedly a feat on the part of the Mahatma. He has got away with it merely because Pandit Jawaharlal has not yet had a good opportunity

of reprimanding him for pretending to have changed over from Dominion Status to Independence and yet going on with Dominion Status as before. But the Pandit came very near doing so in the correspondence that was exchanged between him and the Mahatma at Parnakuti last year. Had he been present at Wardha when the "misgivings" that had arisen about the weakening of the Congress on this matter were sought to be allayed, we fear that he would have given the Mahatma and his co-adjutants a rather bad time.

THE Working Committee now declares that "A Free India should have freedom to make its choice between voluntary partnership with the British and complete separation." On this the *Tribune* comments as follows: "Need we say that this is exactly what Dominion Status means, and has meant ever since the Statute of Westminster formally recognised the right of the Dominions to sever their connexion with the British Commonwealth? The concluding words of this declaration finally efface the distinction, in the domain of the ideal, between the Congress and the rest of progressive political India." Even before the Statute of Westminster Dominion Status implied the right of secession, and if the Congress did not want actual severance but merely the constitutional right to sever the British connexion, the controversy about Independence need never have been raised.

GENERAL HERTZOG too in South Africa, like the Mahatma, finds it to his interest similarly to depreciate the meaning of Independence, for it is only in that way that he can hold on to the catchword on which at one time he staked the future of his party. He has now agreed to Dominion Status, but only calls it Independence. His Majesty's Government too has taken no exception to the Union of South Africa being called an Independent State. The objection taken by the *Civil and Military Gazette* to Independence on the ground that it is "an indubitably seditious aim" thus sounds ludicrous. The only objection that can be taken to this interpretation of Independence is that it shows too elastic conscience in those who resort to it.

Adding to Insult to Injury.

OWING apparently to his comparative newness to his post the Home Member to the Government of India seems to have brought a hornet's nest about his ears. In the last session of the Assembly he gave expression to his conviction that Mr. Sarat C. Bose, a state prisoner under Bengal Regulation III, had been "deeply involved in the terrorist movement"—a statement which Mr. Bose hotly contests. Obviously Sir Henry Craik was off his guard when he made the statement; else it is impossible to

account for its downrightness. It may perhaps be that he has in his possession information to which a non-official has no access. If that should be the case, one cannot satisfactorily account for the fact of action having been taken against Mr. Bose under an age-long and obsolete law in preference to the more recent legislation specially aimed at terrorists. If Mr. Bose's complicity in the terrorist movement is as much beyond doubt as the Home Member wants the world to believe, why did the Government fight shy of placing the facts of his case privately before a tribunal of judicial officers, as is their wont in such cases?

* * *

REGULATION III of 1818 gives power to the Government to detain persons whom they may consider dangerous in prison for an unspecified period. In what way was Mr. Bose considered dangerous? Whether as a non-co-operator and civil resister or as a terrorist? If the latter, it stands to reason that the new anti-terrorist legislation should be set in motion against him. If the latter, which really appears to be the case from the circumstances attendant upon his arrest—he was locked up soon after the commencement of the civil disobedience campaign in 1932—he deserves to be restored to liberty like other Congress prisoners. Instead of that, to detain him in prison and to make serious charges against him without his being given a fair opportunity of rebutting them is most unmanly and adding insult to injury.

* * *

IN any case Mr. Bose's demand appears both fair and reasonable. He asks for nothing more than a regular trial on certain specified charges and is prepared to abide by its result, whatever it be. What he demands is not even a public trial, but even one held in camera will satisfy him. There is nothing in this from which a Government sure of its ground need shrink. If they have as strong a case against Mr. Bose as Sir Henry Craik's words indicate, they have nothing to lose, but everything to gain, by the acceptance of Mr. Bose's challenge. Failure on their part so to act would only deepen the public suspicion that the Government case against him is too shaky to stand the light of day.

* * *

Army Indianisation.

IT is a welcome innovation which the Government of India have initiated by their publication of a report on the activities of the Army during the previous year. The technical part of the publication can have but little interest for the common man, his interest centring principally in the extent of Indianisation achieved so far. It is seen from a press summary of the report that in the units earmarked for Indianisation, the number of Indian officers holding King's commissions was 112. 20 more were undergoing training in British units and were expected to join their regiments this year and 11 next year. This would be the last batch of Indian army officers to be trained at the British Sandhurst, as the Indian Government has in a fit of quixotic generosity decided to forego its claim to vacancies so far set apart for Indian cadets in that College. It will be seen that the Indian Army would thus have three kinds of officers: (1) British and (2) Indian officers holding the King's commissions and trained in England and (3) Indian officers trained at Dehra Dun and granted the Governor-General's commission. As is well known, the class known as the Viceroy's commissioned officer has, despite Indian protests, been definitively marked out for complete extinction.

* * *

ON the completion of their training in the Indian Military College, Indian cadets going to the cavalry and infantry would be attached for a year to a British infantry unit for purposes of practical training, while cadets going to other arms will receive their post-graduate training in an artillery school for four months and will thereafter be attached for twelve months to an Artillery regiment. It may be mentioned that 77 cadets were admitted during the period of the report to the Indian Sandhurst. Out of the 291 young men that offered themselves as candidates, the number that was really suited to a military career was, according to this report, very small. But the increasing attraction for Indian youths of a military career as indicated by this number is doubtless to be welcomed. The rejection of the unsuitable candidates obviously involves their parents and guardians in needless expense and trouble; but it may be hoped that the hardship would, as information about the qualifications expected in a candidate for entry into the military college permeates everywhere, tend to disappear.

* * *

IT is of interest to note that nearly one half or 147, to be exact, of the 291 candidates were Hindus. Moslems numbered 71, Sikhs 42, Parsis 4, Christians 10, and Anglo-Indians and Europeans 15. So far as the provinces go, the largest number, viz. 130, came from the Punjab, U. P. coming next with 41. Bombay had 20 to its credit, while N.-W. F. P. had 14, the balance being contributed by the remaining provinces and some States, among which Hyderabad, Patiala, Kashmir, Mysore and Gwalior figure prominently.

* * *

Mr. Bakhale's Bill.

THE principle of granting equality of rights with other communities to the depressed classes in the matter of access to schools, watering places, rest houses, hospitals, etc. maintained wholly or partly out of public funds had been accepted by the Bombay Government a dozen years ago. But it is still very far from being translated into action. This is not to imply any backsliding on Government's part. They have in fact repeatedly reminded local bodies of their duty to secure to these unfortunate people the right to be treated as human beings by their fellow-citizens and have even gone to the length of threatening the stoppage of Government grant in case of wanton disregard of this elementary duty. And if soberly-worded reminders could work the miracle, the Harijans should have secured their rights long ago. But thanks to the public prejudice against the untouchables, this has not yet come about nor does it promise to do so in the near future, unless more efficacious means of effectuating this equality of treatment between the depressed classes and other communities were to be tried.

* * *

MR. R. R. BAKHALE thought of one such; and brought it before the Bombay Legislative Council in the form of a bill. It is the common experience that if the untouchables make any serious attempt to assert their right to the enjoyment of these public utilities, all sorts of means are used in some cases to make their life a burden to them. Mr. Bakhale merely sought to make such obstruction a penal offence. Though his object was so modest it was too much to expect that the Bombay legislature as at present constituted would be progressive enough to pass his Bill. It is known to be such a reactionary legislature that the passage of Mr. Bakhale's bill by it would indeed have been a surprise.

* * *

WHILE nobody can be said to be unprepared for the bill encountering opposition from representatives of orthodoxy and obscurantism, the way the Government came down against it must have been a revelation to many. The ignorance and illiteracy prevailing in rural parts might perhaps be supposed to justify to some slight extent the resistance Mr. Bakhale's bill met with from some unofficial members, but Government had no excuse whatever to oppose it. Framed as it was, there was no question of any interference by them in religious matters. All that Mr. Bakhale had in mind was to make their own policy in regard to the social and economic uplift of the depressed classes really effective. Far from welcoming such an attempt, they went and nullified it!

IF the drafting of the bill was in any way found unsatisfactory by them, it could easily have been improved in the Select Committee. But to try to prevent the Bill from reaching that stage, as the Government did, is to raise serious doubts in the public mind as to whether all the expressions of generous sentiments in regard to the depressed classes, which were freely indulged in by the official spokesman, were seriously meant. Officialdom did not fail to bring out the usual trump card of a lurid picture of hundreds of lives lost and countless heads broken by any attempted enforcement of the proposed measure. But the argument can only deceive the unwary. An Act similar to Mr. Bakhale's Bill has been in existence in C. P. for nearly a year but is not known to have led to any of the fearful consequences which Bombay officialdom expected to follow the passage of Mr. Bakhale's bill. All we can say is that if the Government had at all a case against the Bill it was not properly marshalled.

India and the League.

KEEN dissatisfaction was expressed in the last session of the Assembly at the manner in which India's claims to appointments in the League of Nations Secretariat were systematically disregarded. So far as contribution towards the League's expenses goes, India stands sixth in the list, her yearly contribution being 56 out of 1,013 units distributed between 57 member states. In other words, her share of the League's expenditure amounts to 5.5 per cent. of the total; and yet out of the 700 odd appointments of clerks and secretaries in the League office, only six permanent and three temporary ones have fallen to her lot! The unfairness to this country involved in this arrangement is too potent to need special comment.

CAN nothing be done to set right the injustice? It was stated that appointments in the League Secretariat are usually made for periods of 7, 21, or 28 years and those in the I. L. O. for terms of 21 or 28 years with an age-limit of 60. The result is that unless the present incumbents retire or die, vacancies are not frequent and even were the Government of India so minded, any effective action on their part to get the anomaly redressed is difficult. Indian dissatisfaction with the present arrangements has repeatedly been voiced by the Indian delegates to the League Assembly; but, in the circumstances explained above without effect.

ATTENTION was also drawn to another of India's legitimate complaints against the League. Though India contributes much more than her fair share of the League's expenses, she is not fortunate enough to secure a permanent seat on the League Council. This

consists of 15 members, of whom 5 are permanent, these being Germany, United Kingdom, France, Italy and Japan. The withdrawal of Japan from the League presents a welcome opportunity to our Government to press India's claims to a permanent seat on the Council. It is to be hoped the opportunity will not be allowed to let slip and that everything possible will be done to bring to the notice of the League authorities the strength of Indian feeling on the point.

A Sensible Judicial Decision.

IN co-operation with the High Court the Bombay Government were desirous of making an example of three barristers and two pleaders who had participated in the civil disobedience movement. For this purpose they sought to invoke the disciplinary powers of the High Court; but actually they caught a Tartar in the Court. The point for decision by the Court was whether the lawyers concerned, because of their part in the civil disobedience movement, were guilty of misconduct meriting the displeasure of the High Court. Did the term cover the actions of lawyers outside their professional sphere? If a lawyer was found guilty of improper conduct in the practice of his profession, the High Court would undoubtedly be within its rights in calling him to order. But did its jurisdiction also extend to his extra-professional actions? The Bombay High Court took a sensible view of its relationship with members of the legal profession when it decided the question in the negative.

IF it had upheld the local Government's contention and punished the lawyers charged with misconduct, it would have helped to perpetrate the anomaly of subjecting practitioners of law to double punishment. In case some of them find it necessary in the pursuit of their political opinions, to break some law or the other, they have to suffer the usual punishment that may be meted out by the trying court. In this respect, both lawyers and private citizens stand on the same level. The local Government wanted lawyers guilty of lawless acts, outside their professional sphere, to undergo additional penalties to be inflicted by the High Court, to which the private citizen is not subject. Once the latter pays for his contravention of the law of the land by suffering the punishment that is pronounced by the court he is supposed to be quits with justice. The Bombay Government however wanted justice to exact a heavier toll from lawyers. This would have been unfair in all conscience and, we are glad, has been ruled out by the decision of the High Court. It sounds very well to say that "those who live by the law should keep the law." But as the High Court aptly put it, "the obligation of obedience to the law is neither greater nor less in the case of lawyers than of other citizens." That is a commonsense view of the matter upon taking which the High Court deserves congratulations of every right-thinking person.

Articles

MAHATMA'S LEADERSHIP.

OUTWARD conformity is all that Mahatma Gandhi gets from Congressmen at present; what he requires of them is an inward faith in his principles and programme. He is no longer content to go on as now, Congressmen mechanically adopting his policy in spite of their fundamentally

divergent opinions on it. It only breeds hypocrisy in the average Congressman and subjects loyal Congressmen to a terrible oppression, from which it is now the Mahatma's purpose to release them.

With this object he will place before the next Congress a series of propositions covering all the important points of difference of view and ask it either to give them its overwhelming but reasoned and sincere support or entirely to reject them, so that he may, as he is inclined to do, retire from the Congress and work out his programme single-handed. If he finds that the nation rises behind him like one man with full faith in his doctrines, he will continue to be its leader and then exact from it a strict obedience to his programme but if the nation is divided or gives but a grudging or lip consent to the programme he will sever his connexion with the Congress, awaiting the time when there will be established between him and others a real community of views.

There is no doubt whatever that a wide gulf separates the Mahatma from the Congress at large if inner convictions are taken into account and not merely protestations at Congress sessions. This is a patent fact which everyone else had observed long before Mahatma Gandhi. The Congress has gone on ever since 1921 proclaiming its faith in his principles but never really believing in them. Mahatma Gandhi too might have discovered it earlier, but he did not. But now that the knowledge has burst upon him, he wants to put matters right. He adjures Congressmen not to follow him like slaves but to use their intelligence and judgment in voting freely on the proposals that he is going to submit to them. It would be well if Congressmen were true to themselves and took a line of their own, as he is inviting them to do, even if it meant foregoing Gandhiji's leadership, but what chance is there of this happening?

The Mahatma now intends to put before them even stiffer propositions than before. They believe in non-violence only as a policy dictated by expediency in the present circumstances and not as an eternal principle. With this knowledge however he wishes to insert in the Congress creed the words "truthful and non-violent." If taking from them a pledge to adopt only "legitimate and peaceful means" did not answer the purpose, how is he going to make them

superlatively truthful and non-violent by introducing these words in the creed? If, as he knows, Congressmen do not believe in hand-spinning, how is he going to make them believe in it by establishing a hand-spun yarn franchise? If they evade the general Congress instructions about the exclusive use of khaddar, how can he induce in them a living faith in khaddar, by confining the voting at Congress elections to those who have been wearing khaddar habitually for the past six months? Does it not occur to him that the only result of stiffening the tests of Congress orthodoxy will be to produce hypocrisy and make-believe on an even larger scale than at present and to drive out honest people who are above temporising?

There is no question that he wishes to know the real Congress mind on his propositions, but in telling them in advance that he will abandon the Congress if his policy be rejected, he is placing the most effectual impediment in the way of a faithful expression of the Congress mind. What happened when he went on a fast unto death on the Harijan question will be repeated now. Indians made it their immediate concern at the time somehow to save Gandhiji's life, and if this could be done only by agreeing to a certain pact to which they were in fact opposed, they were willing to put their convictions on one side and give their individual consent to it. Even men like Rabindranath Tagore are known to have voted for the pact under duress. Similar coercive influences will bring themselves to bear upon the Congress if Gandhiji says to it: "Vote for me, or I go out." He no doubt insists that all who vote for him shall vote sincerely, but if the Congress is to lose him altogether unless it puts itself behind him, it will assuredly make a pretence of believing in his principles and retaining his leadership. The Mahatma will then discover, all of a sudden after a few years, that the Congress only wants him but not his principles. He will then perhaps lay down still stricter tests and again obtain a majority for the moment. But if he wants from the Congress a genuine, unforced and unreserved assent to his *credo*, the only course for him is, hard as it is to say so, to act upon his present knowledge and impulse, which is unerring. Otherwise he will get only what he is getting now—outward conformity.

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF'S OUTBURST.

THE appointment of Indians to the higher ranks in the Army of their own country has been a bitter pill for the British governing classes to swallow. Their urgent need for India's help in the Great War compelled them to open slightly the door which guarded their monopoly, but ever since their power was re-established they have been trying with might and main to prevent further encroachments on their privileges. Indians, on the other hand, with uncommon unanimity are equally determined in their efforts to push the door wide open. This struggle between the defenders and assailants of the existing regime of privilege has created a feeling of resentment

among the beneficiaries of the prevailing system which has sometimes disturbed the mental balance even of the highest military authorities. We had an instance of this in 1922. Irritated by the insistent demand for the rapid Indianisation of the Army, Lord Rawlinson, addressing the Assembly on the 7th March, 1922, went so far as to say that he doubted whether it would "ever be possible, either in the Army or the Civil Services to completely eliminate the British element, either in the one or in the other" and that he was certain that in any case it would be "at least several generations before any such development can take place." These remarks, it was

understood at the time, were taken strong exception to not merely by the Assembly, but also by the Indian members of the Government of India, and Lord Rawlinson was asked to make amends for his unauthorised statement. The following day the discussion on the budget in the Council of State provided him with an opportunity for withdrawing what he had said the previous day, but his attitude was an indication of the bitter opposition of the holders of power to the further advance of Indians.

The spleenetic and arrogant outburst of Sir Philip Chetwode in the Council of State on the 5th September, which is without a parallel at least in the recent history of Indian legislative bodies, over a resolution, whose acceptance would have had an important bearing on the pace of Indianisation, is another illustration of the same mentality. He apologised for his haughty imperialism the next day, but the bitter resentment aroused by it will not be easily allayed. It was the arm-chair politicians, sneered at by Sir Philip Chetwode for their irresponsibility in daring to criticise the military authorities for their tardiness in Indianising the Army, whom Lord Chelmsford invited to the War Conference held at Delhi in response to Mr. Lloyd George's cry for help. Should England be involved in another big war the British authorities will again appeal for help to these very politicians as they did during the dark days of 1918, promising them the realisation of their aspirations when spacious days return, but it is doubtful whether the intelligentsia, disillusioned by the events of the last 15 years and exasperated by overbearing imperialists like Sir Philip Chetwode, will take the promises of British statesmen at their face value.

Owing to our political helplessness it is evident that Sir Philip Chetwode can, if he likes, insult the country again with impunity, but he has shown that the head of the Army is unfitted to be a member of the Government of India. The question of excluding the Commander-in-Chief from the Viceroy's Executive Council has been mooted more than once in the past. Recent events have proved that, whatever our constitutional future may be, the appointment of a civilian member for defence and the relegation of the Commander-in-Chief to the comparatively subordinate position which he should occupy in any Government which has the least pretensions to call itself constitutional has become an urgent necessity.

The resolution which set the Commander-in-Chief ablaze favoured the retention of the Viceroy's commissioned officers in the units selected for Indianisation. The same view had been expressed three years ago by the dissenting minority of the Indian Military College Committee to whom Sir Philip Chetwode referred insultingly in his speech. He hotly defended the recommendations of the majority of the Committee in this matter on military grounds. The contention that it is necessary from a military point of view that the replacement of the Viceroy's commissioned officers by Indian officers holding the King's commission should proceed simultaneously with the Indianisation of the higher ranks will however not bear a moment's ex-

mination. The Assembly, with the concurrence of Lord Rawlinson, resolved on the 28th March, 1921, "that not less than 25 per cent. of the King's commissions granted every year should be given to His Majesty's Indian subjects to start with." Lord Rawlinson was not a less distinguished soldier than Sir Philip Chetwode, but he did not even hint that the abolition of the Viceroy's commissions would be a necessary corollary of this proposal although, as his biography shows, he had made up his mind before sailing from England to adopt the policy of segregation and have certain regiments with Indian officers only. The Military Requirements Committee, appointed by the Government of Lord Reading after the termination of the winter session of the Assembly which was presided over by Lord Rawlinson, considered the problem of Indianisation further. It is an open secret that it not merely endorsed the resolution passed by the Assembly, but recommended that the initial percentage asked for by the Assembly should be increased by 2½ per cent. every year till the annual Indian and European recruitment became equal. Here again Lord Rawlinson who knew what he was about made no proposal for the replacement of the Viceroy's commissioned officers by Indian King's commissioned officers. Five years later the Indian Sandhurst Committee, which was presided over by General Sir Andrew Skeen, made proposals for Indianising half the officer cadre of the Indian Army in 25 years, but it also did not suggest that the replacement of the Viceroy's commissioned officers by Indian officers of a higher status necessarily followed from the policy of Indianisation. In none of the three cases just referred to was there the slightest reference to the need for a change in the present system of officering Indian units. The sole object of the proposals made in each case was the substitution of Indian for European officers. Indianisation was never understood to mean the replacement of Indian officers of one kind by Indian officers of another kind. Besides we have been constantly told that the Viceroy's commissioned officer is the backbone of the Indian Army. During the last three-quarters of a century the Indian Army, as officered at present in its lower grades, has never been found unequal to the tasks it has been called upon to fulfil. The accounts, official and unofficial, of the part played by it in the Great War testify to the power of initiative and the gallantry of the Indian officers. This makes it abundantly clear that military considerations do not call for any immediate change in the system in force at present. Every Indian would welcome the selection of competent Viceroy's commissioned officers for the grant of King's commissions. What we however want is that they should not be sent back to their platoons, and that both they and the directly recruited cadets should be utilized to displace European officers and hasten the day when the Indian Army will be national from top to bottom. It is true that the recommendations of the Shea Committee appointed by Lord Rawlinson to frame a progressive scheme for the complete Indianisation of the Army involved the disappearance of the Viceroy's

commissioned officers. But the report of this committee did not see the light of day till 1931; and even if it had been published earlier its proposals might not have met with an unfavourable reception as the Committee's revised scheme envisaged the complete Indianisation of the Indian Army in 30 years.

It is evident from what has been said above that it is sheer nonsense, and mischievous nonsense, to say that military efficiency will be impaired if in these regiments alone which are going to be Indianised the Viceroy's commissioned officers are retained till the Indian King's commissioned officers have taken the place of corresponding European officers. The purpose of the new plan, which was announced by Sir William Birdwood in 1928 and which is the basis of the Chetwode scheme, is, as was repeatedly pointed out in the previous Assembly, political. It has been devised to postpone as long as possible the day when the Indian Army will be commanded by Indian officers only.

It is still claimed, however, that notwithstanding all their defects the Chetwode proposals which provide for the admission of 60 recruits annually to the Indian Military Academy are a generous concession to Indian demands and the "greatest experiment in history." Let us see whether the claim is justified. The Shea Committee referred to above originally prepared a scheme for bringing about complete Indianisation in 42 years on the assumption that the King's commissioned officers would replace the Viceroy's commissioned officers. It recommended that the number of King's commissions which should be granted annually to Indians during the first stage of the execution of the scheme should be 81. The Chetwode scheme only provides for the admission of 60 cadets to the Indian Military Academy, some of whom will certainly fail to pass the final examination. It is thus materially inferior to the Shea scheme which was prepared 12 years ago. A comparison between it and the Skeen Committee's proposals will be still more unfavourable to it because the Skeen Committee recommended no change in the present method of appointing officers. Under its recommendations the Indian cadets trained at Sandhurst and Dehra Dun would have been appointed only to those posts to which European officers are appointed at present. What is, however, surprising is that the Chetwode scheme does not even concede what the Government of India had agreed to in 1921. As has been already stated above, the Assembly, supported by the Government of India, passed a resolution in 1931 that a minimum of 25 per cent. of the King's commissions granted every year should be given to Indians to begin with. According to the information given in appendix 8 to the proceedings of the Defence Sub-Committee of the first Round Table Conference, the Government of India estimate the normal annual wastage among King's commissioned officers in the Indian Army to be 120. The resolution of the Assembly thus required that 30 King's commissions should be given to Indians annually, and the newly commissioned Indian officers would

have been appointed only to the places rendered vacant by the retirement of European officers. The Chetwode scheme is apparently more liberal. Under it 60 Indians will be trained annually at the Indian Military Academy. If 90 per cent of them pass we shall get 54 commissioned officers every year, but all of them will not be appointed to the positions now occupied by European officers. Some of them will only occupy the posts formerly held by Indian Viceroy's commissioned officers. Roughly speaking, there are 13 King's commissioned officers in a regiment at present. It is proposed that in future their number should be 27 in regiments chosen for Indianisation. Thus 14 out of 27 officers in Indianised regiments will be filling the places formerly occupied by Indian officers of a lower status. Only 13 will be substituted for European officers. Accordingly, out of 54 officers provided by the Indian Military Academy only 26 will be used for the purpose of Indianisation properly so-called. We thus see that while the Commander-in-Chief and the Government of India agreed in 1921 that 30 European officers should annually make way for an equal number of Indian officers, under the Chetwode scheme which is claimed to be "the greatest experiment in history" they will be eliminated only at the rate of 26 per year. It should, further, be noted that in 1921 the Indian Army, practically speaking, had no Artillery or Engineers. Consequently the 30 annual commissions asked for by the Assembly were for the Infantry and cavalry only. Under the Chetwode scheme the 26 officers available for Indianisation will be posted not merely to infantry and cavalry units but to the newly constituted Artillery and Engineer units also. In spite, therefore, of the promised advance in the constitutional status of India and the tall talk indulged in by the Commander-in-Chief we have to-day less than what the military authorities and the Government of India promised us about 14 years ago.

The question of Indianisation was fully discussed by the Defence Sub-Committee of the first Round Table Conference. No definite rate of Indianisation was laid down, but the Chairman, Mr. J. H. Thomas, undertook that when expert committees were appointed in pursuance of the Sub-Committee's resolutions they would, "as a matter of course, take into consideration the proceedings of the previous committees and in particular the proceedings of the Military Requirements Committee, 1921, and the Committee on the Indianisation of the Indian Army of 1922." Yet when the Indian Military College Committees met it was not allowed to discuss the question at all. It was told that the rate of Indianisation had been fixed by the higher authorities and that the Committee must accept it as a settled fact. Instead of feeling in the slightest degree embarrassed by the want of common honesty shown by the authorities in this matter, the Commander-in-Chief attempted to browbeat the Indian members of the Council of State into silence, but neither threats nor a display of racial arrogance will reconcile India to the present state of things or prevent her from giving

expression to her deep and passionate resentment at the bad faith of the British Government. It is the duty and privilege of the members of the Indian Legislature to insist on India's legitimate demands and the authorities may feel sure that fear of the powers-that-be will not deter us from demanding freedom for the land of our birth.

CONGRATULATIONS!

IT is with a profound sense of thankfulness that I am enabled to record here the resolution passed last week by two Provincial Congress Committees on the subject of the Indian States' people's place in the Constituent Assembly. The resolution adopted by the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee at its meeting held at Ahmednagar on the 9th inst. ran as follows:—

This Provincial Congress Committee reaffirms the resolutions passed at the Madras (1927) and the Calcutta (1928) Sessions of the Congress, urging the rulers of Indian States to introduce responsible government in their states at an early date and to make a declaration regarding fundamental rights, and pledges its support to all legitimate movements of the subjects of Indian States for securing the same, consistently with the constitutional position of British India *vis a vis* the States. The Committee also declares that the Congress will agree only to such a federal scheme as will be mutually acceptable to the representatives of British India on the one hand and of the Indian States on the other hand, elected to the Constituent Assembly which it is the purpose of the Congress to set up for formulating the future constitution of India.

The same resolution was adopted by the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee at its meeting held at Belgaum on the 8th inst.

I may analyse here briefly the contents of the resolution. It expresses first of all the opinion of the Congress that the Indian States must achieve political freedom like British India, and that the States' people too must be given civil liberty like British Indians. In doing so the Provincial Committees have only reaffirmed what the parent body, *viz.* the Congress, has already done—at three (not two) successive sessions. The Congress on these occasions adopted a resolution concerning the establishment of responsible government in the States and the conferment of fundamental rights of citizenship upon the States' people in the way as it were of an appeal to the rulers of the States. The Congress did not undertake to render any active help to the people of the States in their struggle with the Princes. The resolution was in fact no more than a pious expression of opinion that the benefits of a reign of law and of popular government which the Congress is determined to win for British Indians may also be shared by the States' people.

The resolution now passed by the Provincial Committees goes further than this. It recognises the duty of the Congress to carry on a campaign in the Indian States as it is carrying on in British India. The importance of this change in outlook cannot be over-emphasised. The Congress, although it includes the people of the States as well as those of British India, has been confining its activities only to British

India. That is to say, it took the help of the States' people in its attempts at winning *Purna Swaraj* for British Indians. Having done so, it cannot logically refuse to conduct the same kind of agitation in the Indian States as it conducts in British India with the help of the States' people. It cannot treat the States as if they were foreign territory like, say, Afghanistan or French and Portuguese India. If it wanted to do so, the Congress ought never to have opened its portals to the States' people or received assistance from them in its civil disobedience campaign in British India. On the other hand civil disobedience conducted in British India and for the British Indian people has in many cases received larger help in the shape of man power from the States than even from British India. It is computed, for instance, that the movement in North Canara depended for 80 per cent. of the people who took part in it upon the subjects of the Mysore State. A similar calculation is made about the movement carried on in Bombay and Gujerat. When the Congress has received such handsome help from the States' people in its non-violent war in British India, it cannot with reason or decency but pledge similar co-operation on the part of British Indians in any agitation, either of a constitutional or of an extra-constitutional character that the Indian States' people may set on foot in the States. A demand too is now made to this effect by the people in the States, and it is well that two Provincial Congress organisations have handsomely responded to the demand. All that now remains is that the Congress itself should pass a resolution offering to the States' people not merely moral sympathy as it did so far, but active assistance. The States' people as Congress members have undergone terrible suffering for the benefit of British Indians. Let British Indians now as Congress members undergo some sacrifice and even risk some suffering in the interest of the States' people.

The resolution passed by the Congress in its former sessions regarding the Indian States did not contemplate federation. As matters stood at the time, British India and the Indian States were two different political entities, and the Congress concerned itself with both merely because it included the States' people as well as British Indians among its members. But now federation is under contemplation, and the two different entities are to become one for all-India purposes. And the immediate problem for the Congress to decide is whether, first of all, it will accept federation, and secondly if it accepts it, whether it will assign the same place in it to the States' people as to British Indians. Now, the Congress leaves the whole constitutional problem to be decided by a Constituent Assembly, and the simple problem is whether the Constituent Assembly will be composed of the States' people as well as British Indians and whether on this body the States' people, if admitted, will enjoy the same rights and privileges. Two Provincial Congress Committees have led the way by answering the question in the affirmative. The implications of their answer may be brought out as follows

(1) The Constituent Assembly will consist of elected representatives of the States and of British India.

(2) The Congress will accept a federal plan only if it is agreed to by the delegates of the States on the one hand and of British India on the other.

(3) If the Indian people's delegates lay down, as they do, election of the States' representatives on the federal legislature and the guarantee of the States' people's fundamental rights in the federal constitution as essential conditions of federation, the Congress will have no right to entertain proposals for a federal constitution on any other basis.

(4) The Congress recognises to the full the right of the States' people to self-determination in the constitutional discussions that it will inaugurate after the rejection of the White Paper as it recognises that of British Indians.

There was hardly any opposition to the adoption of the resolution at the meeting of either Provincial Congress Committee, both pro-change and no-change Congressmen giving their enthusiastic support to it. This encourages the hope that at the ensuing session of the Congress to be held towards the end of October the Congress itself will pass the same or a similar resolution. There is no reason to suppose that the Mahatma will not welcome it. He will.

A. V. PATVARDHAN.

Our London Letter.

(BY AIR MAIL.)

(From Our Correspondent.)

LONDON, September 7.

THE REFORMS.

THOUGH on the whole this is a close time for discussions about the reforms, the *Morning Post* and other journals that share the confidence of the Diehards are talking learnedly about Sir Henry Page-Croft's proposed motion for the October Tory Conference, when he hopes to get the whole question reopened. It is very unlikely that he will succeed, in view of the fact that the Report of the Joint Select Committee will not have been forthcoming. The latest authentic information that I have been able to secure as to the probable date of publication is somewhere between the 15th and the 25th November, in order to give time for simultaneous release in the two countries. It rather looks as though the Committee has already taken its decision in favour of a smaller Central Legislature. How far this will or may affect federation remains to be seen. The fact that the attacks upon the States have been so bitter and widespread in India may somewhat reassure the States that their interests have not, after all, been so seriously neglected as some of them have supposed. As so often happens, the sheer bitterness of opposition may have just the opposite effect from that desired by the opponents.

Which brings me to another point. A great deal of the criticism of the White Paper proposals has been based upon the hope that, if the Joint Select Committee proposals or the Government Bill are turned down by Indian opinion, there was the strong probability that they would be withdrawn and the *status quo* would then remain; just as the Congress appears to be under the delusion that, with the withdrawal of the White Paper reforms, the Communal Award would disappear.

A well-informed friend, however, is inclined to think very differently. The view is held, it would seem,

in Government circles, that a generally diffused, even if artificial, Indian opposition to the proposals would merely result in a still further whittled down constitution, on somewhat the same line, than that which is expected from the labours of the Committee. If the last is supposed to be so much worse than the present constitution, how much worse would be an emasculated White Paper constitution, consequent upon a conjunction of effort on the part of extreme elements on both sides of the ocean! That is the argument that will weigh heavily with friends of India here, who realise that nothing now can avail to restore unity in the Indian ranks or the high prospects that seemed realisable in 1930, when the maximum of goodwill was visible, and a Labour Government was in office. At any rate, it is a position which it is well worthy of careful consideration, if and when the time comes for a decision upon the attitude of the bulk of reasonable opinion in India.

INDIA AND LABOUR.

One day in the Trade Union Congress proceedings is given over to receiving messages and appeals from fraternal delegates and organisations overseas. No better representative of Indian Labour (unless it be Mr. Joshi himself) could have appeared on the T. U. C. platform at Weymouth than Mr. B. Shiva Rao, who received an ovation. He spoke eloquently on the conditions of Labour in India, criticised the probable structure of the new Indian constitution, and paid an unexpected tribute to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce for its former advocacy of the rights of Indian Labour, but now, alas! silenced by Lancashire's deal with the Indian employers.

Mr. Shiva Rao, speaking on behalf of the National Trades Union Federation of India, said that when people talked of the industrial progress of India they should think of the human cost. It was said that human sacrifice in India had stopped, but it was continuing on an unprecedented scale in respect of millions of men, women and children in the name of industrial progress. The best friend of the Indian worker in the past had been the Manchester Chamber of Commerce. Every time there was an inquiry into labour conditions in India, every time a question on Indian labour conditions had been asked in the House of Commons, Lancashire had taken the initiative. Since the War the position had changed very rapidly. Manchester had no further use for the Indian worker. Manchester sent deputations to Bombay to make pacts with the Bombay millowners.

He asked for help for the Indian people because next year the British Government would put through Parliament a scheme of political reform in India which would leave Indian workers in a far worse condition than they were at present. If he understood the English language aright, there was to be a combination of landlords, capitalists, and Indian Princes. Such a Government could never tackle social and economic problems from the standpoint of the millions of people in India. The people of India had neither political nor economic freedom. He asked for help to set the Indian workers on their feet politically. He urged that as many of the shackles as possible might be removed in the lifetime of the present Parliament, so that the Indian workers might strive for their economic emancipation and be a source of strength, not only to themselves, but to the international movement, and not a danger to the British workers' standard of existence, as they were at present.

OF INTEREST TO INDIA.

Pandit P. N. Saprú's name has figured in the columns of the *Times* on two consecutive days, in connection with the proceedings of the Council of State. If he goes on like this he will come to be

denounced as one of those garrulous politicians. I have no doubt, well acquainted as I am with his qualities and qualifications, that Mr. Sapru gave a good account of himself and it is to be hoped that he was one of the members of the Upper House who had the opportunity of replying to the Commander-in-Chief's extraordinarily arrogant speech. I know many people who could have torn it to shreds and I am glad to note that Sir Philip Chetwode had the grace to withdraw some of the more offensive of his remarks.

Yesterday's *Star* contains a paragraph stating that Mrs. Gandhi, according to Indian papers, is arranging to come here in order to join Mirabai and to address public meetings here on the situation in India. The feats of imagination of some of the Indian purveyors in England of paragraphs of Indian "news" are fearful and wonderful to behold. In this case the paragraphist is evidently unaware that Miss Slade has already arranged to take ship for India early in October and that she has no present intention of returning here. Secondly, Mrs. Gandhi's age is given as 52, which any person acquainted with "The Autobiography" would have known to be wrong. The gem, however, of the paragraph is the following: "Her dress is also very simple—an ordinary 'sari' with big red borders, which suggests in India, I am told 'devotion to husband'." Did you ever?

Mr. P. Kodanda Rao left for America on Saturday last. Mr. V. Ramadas Pantulu has this week been attending the International Cooperative Conference as delegate from India.

Reviews.

MONEY IN THE MELTING POT.

MONEY AND A CHANGING CIVILISATION.

By M. A. ABRAMS. (John Lane.) 1934. 20cm. 127p. 2/6.

THIS is one of the volumes in the new Twentieth Century Library which is being published under the general editorship of that active Indian journalist in London, V. Krishna Menon. The aim of this series is not, we are glad to note, merely to present in tabloid form all that you ought to know about a subject, or be an intelligent man's or woman's guide to this and that, but to view modern problems "in the light of the changing ideas and events of modern times." Judged from that standpoint, we must say, the volume under review has succeeded in explaining the dynamics both of monetary thought as well as of monetary events and in being at once fresh and stimulating.

The author was for some time Fellow of the Brookings Research Institute, Washington, and is now "engaged in commercial research in London." We must admit the grafting of Brookings on the London School of Economics has left its mark on every page. The author brings with him here an intellectual virulence and iconoclasm like a gust of wind from the Wild West, which he has mixed up with all the abracadabra of Dr. Hayek and Prof. Robbins. He is at times critical of American monetary policy and of dictators, "from whom Heaven preserve us" (p. 57), but if it is a question of assigning a share of blame to each country in the present economic debacle, then he would rather take up the cudgels on America's behalf. For example, in regard to the gold maldistribution he opines that in the post-war epoch, "the United States was the only country that, consciously or unconsciously, was using her gold in the way postulated by the principles of the gold standard" (p. III).

And this in spite of the fact that the United States was not lending out her export surplus, had sterilised enormous quantities of gold and had erected an elaborate structure of tariff walls in face of debt repayments on which she insisted and has continued to insist with great and unabated vehemence!

During his stay in London, the author appears to have picked up Prof. Robbins' cant of "a constant choosing from alternatives" (p. 5), and to have swallowed wholesale the jejune and vague meditations of Dr. Hayek. He has flirted violently with the notions of "the equilibrium rate of interest," "round about methods of production," "productional triangles," and "neutral money", and finally plumped for an international standard and exchange stability and given as his very mature opinion that "the best guide for central banks' policy is probably an index of security prices" (p. 64)! Chapter II on Money and Production might well have been subtitled as "Dr. Hayek's *Prices and Production* in a Nutshell." The thesis is of course that as banks lend more than what has been saved, the process of production is lengthened and gets more and more round-about (which, by the way, is only a roundabout way of saying that more investment in capital goods takes place) until the process of production stretched like a rubber band can no longer bear the tension and breaks into a crisis. The author is, therefore, obsessed with a holy horror for expansionism at all times and in all cases. Even when presumably the processes of production are unduly "shortened," he would not stand for reflation up to equilibrium, as this would ultimately bring a crash which is "more calamitous than the one we are trying to get out of." Great weather prophets, indeed, these deflationists-at-all-costs, who would silently suffer present misery rather than be lured back into prosperity which they are cocksure must be followed by still greater cataclysms!

In Chapter IV the author discusses the feasibility of neutral money and somewhat inconsistently with his intellectual allegiance to Hayek, comes to the conclusion that "the attainment of neutral supply of money is almost impossible," because of the inherent tendency of the banks to expand credit in relation to the supply of currency. He bases his discussion on the theory of the "co-efficient of expansion" of deposits, but seems to ignore the presence of a controlling authority like a Central Bank. He, however, agrees with Dr. Hayek that "if we want economic stability the supply of money must be kept constant" (p. 56) and is constantly dreading an "expansionist policy," although he has not a word to say about the opposite evil, a contractionist policy. On the other hand, Chapter III on "Can Price Stabilisation Help?", in which the author has led an entirely successful attack against price stabilising theories, is an admirable piece of monetary writing. We find ourselves for once completely in agreement with Mr. Abrams and should like to endorse his contention that in a progressive or retrogressive community a policy of price-stabilisation when unit costs were either falling or rising would "aggravate rather than eliminate industrial fluctuations" (p. 42). In spite of this brilliant reasoning, it is almost pathetic to see the author finally going almost into ecstasies over an international gold standard, which at best would give us mere exchange stability—an ideal which is worse than price stability. We do not propose here to undertake the task of exploding the gold myth as newly told by Mr. Abrams; we just refer him among other sources to Keynes's *Treatise*, Chapter 34, for some cogent and representative arguments against gold. People are apt to have short memories and the mischief done by indiscriminate adherence to gold so far is likely to be forgotten now that we are

off gold. But we might as well remind Mr. Abrams and others of his persuasion that it is merely because the shackles of gold were broken and expansionist policies were pursued by countries like the U. S. A., Japan, and the Sterling Area that business activity in most parts of the world has turned the corner during the last few months. If it were not such a lengthy affair, it would perhaps have been worth while to develop here the thesis that *national monetary management*, aiming to secure a *costs-prices parity*, was at present the only logical scientific course and one which was sure to bring the largest harvest of economic welfare to the world as a whole.

B. P. ADARKAR.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN KASHMIR.

ANCIENT MONUMENTS OF KASHMIR. By RĀM CHANDRA KAK. (The India Society.) 1933. 26cm. 172p. 25/-.

THIS book is the result of ten years' work by the author as Director of Archaeology in Kashmir State. Its arrangement, its scholarship and its admirable production lead us to share the regret of Professor Foucher, who contributes an introduction, that the author was not able to continue even longer his care and study of Kashmir monuments. The style of the book is lucid and easy. The manner is scholarly, and the book is enriched by 76 plates of illustration, plans and diagrams.

The book starts with an introduction dealing with the country and its people and the various sources of Kashmir history. Chapter III gives a sketch of Kashmir history, the most interesting portion of which is perhaps the section dealing with the easy stages by which the transition from Hinduism to Islam came about. It is interesting to note that the actual agent in this case was the Tibetan Rinchana who, on being refused admittance to Hinduism by the Brahmins, turned to Islam. Islam made great strides during the fourteenth century and the prosecution of Sikandar Bul-Shikan (1390-1414) was the end rather than the beginning of the process. There followed the brilliant reign of Zain-ul-Abidin, a restorer of monuments and patron of the arts in the 15th century, after which internecine strife prepared the way for the Moghul conquest in the time of Akbar.

In Chapter III Mr. Kak deals with the various styles of architecture in Kashmir. After mentioning the Buddhist remains of Harwan and Ushhar, he deals with the Hindu art of the mediaeval period, from 600 to 1300 A. D. He notes the influence of Gandhara art on Kashmir, and raises an interesting question of scholarship in his discussion on the date of the Sankaracharya temple on the Takht-i-Suleiman hill. Disagreeing with other authorities, Mr. Kak places its date at about a century later than the Martand temple, in 700 A. D. Then follows a section on Muslim architecture, and the rest of the book is occupied by a detailed description of the various monuments. The book is rounded off with an admirable collection of plates.

Altogether we can warmly recommend this book to any student of architecture for its scholarship, its style and its presentation.

T. G. P. SPEAR.

INDIAN FISCAL POLICY.

INDUSTRIAL POLICY OF INDIA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CUSTOMS TARIFF.

By C. N. VAKIL and M. C. MUNSHI. [Studies in Indian Economics, No. 7.] (Longmans.) 1934. 22cm. 271p. Rs. 5.

In this interesting and instructive book the authors

discuss the industrial policy in India with special reference to customs tariff. The first three chapters deal with "Some World Tendencies in Industrial Policy," "Industrial Policy of India—Past and Present," and the "Industrial Policy of India—the Future."

No one can take exception to the view expressed by the authors that in modern countries the goal of industrial development is to increase the *per capita* income of the people by raising their productive capacity to the maximum and that in India it is imperative that the pressure on the land has to be relieved and the balance of division of labour adjusted by a stimulation of Indian industries so that a large number of people now dependent on land may be diverted to industries both to their own advantage and to the advantage of the country. They also contend that a national outlook is essential for any sound industrial policy in India.

One need not dwell in detail upon the importance of such an industrial development and so it is sufficient to say here that such a development in India will achieve a general rise in the level of wealth and welfare of the population, will tap the capital resources at present lying unused, will release the country from the danger of being too greatly dependent upon agricultural pursuits which are subject to seasonal fluctuations, will absorb much of the unemployed labour of the country, and, by raising the average condition of the individual, will enable the State to increase its revenue by further taxation. Lastly, opportunity will be afforded for the beneficial development of national character; the spirit of enterprise and commercial adventure will be stimulated; and ample scope for scientific work and inventions will be provided by commercial and industrial necessity. This would redound to the credit of the nation as a whole and enable it to take a higher place in the world of science and thought and education.

The authors also examine the recent tendencies in the commercial policy of the world and the policy of protection and suggest ways and means for the adoption of a more comprehensive and systematic policy for India. In order to accelerate industrialization of the country, they advocate, apart from the policy of protection, other forms of assistance such as suitable railway rates, a national banking policy and facilities for technical education.

The second part of the Volume which is written by Mr. Munshi is full of facts and is very useful for those who wish to have a clear idea of the working of the present Indian customs tariffs. Mr. Munshi has collected valuable data and facts about Indian and foreign tariffs and argues for the improvement in the present tariff schedule of India.

In this connection the authors emphasise the need for an industrial survey which they say would be of great help for overhauling the present tariff schedule. They point out that the furtherance of industrial policy and the interest of the consumer should be borne in mind in framing the new tariff schedule for India. The authors say that in following the above principles they have followed the example of Australia in some cases, by suggesting 'Deferred Rates and Tariff Bye-Laws'.

This well-written and stimulating book is one which no serious student of economics can afford to ignore. The general get-up is good, the printing is clean, and the moderate price brings it within the reach of all.

B. V. NARAYANASWAMY.

SHORT NOTICE.

THE WAGGONER ON THE FOOTPLATE.
By LIONEL BIRCH. (Heffer.) 1933. 20cm.
142p. 4/6.

THE author of this book considers that one of the principal influences which have been operative in post-war England (or post-war Europe for the matter of that) is the decline of institutional religion. Institutional Christianity had come to distort the essential religious experience, firstly, by tending to encourage people to use the religious experience not for stimulating communion but for support for leaning up against; and secondly, by encouraging people to indulge in otiose speculation upon an immediately irrelevant future life represented as likely to give them compensation for the ills of this life. Both these two activities used to be indulged in by the majority of people as an escape from an otherwise vacant and intolerable life. Faith in institutional Christianity now having largely vanished, other methods of facing the fact that life often seems vacant and intolerable have come into general vogue. Literature, poetry, drama, the cinema, jazz, music, are all made to serve as drugs and narcotics. The demand is mostly for the narcotic type of recreation, very little for that which really stimulates and enriches life.

Apart from decline of religion, another dominant influence has been the advent of the machine age of plenty. However, owing to a fraudulent system of distribution, we have distress and destitution in a world bursting with plenty. The feast is spread out but millions of people have to starve because, under the present system, they fail to secure the necessary tickets of admission. The remedy is simple: Put as much money into the pockets of every man and woman each week as is calculated to evoke the maximum desirable production and equate the amount of money in the pockets of consumers to the amount of goods coming on to the market. All are to be equipped with adequate purchasing power, whether they have worked for their living or not. To insist on work as a necessary condition of command over the means to a full and satisfactory life is superstitious Sisyphism. In the opinion of the author, all this could be achieved in a day if only a sufficient number of people were to get interested in the matter and to take primary account of the economic situation. To the mere economist the reasoning is not very clear. But he is bound to envy the author his overwhelming optimism and the rich, if unscientific, firmness with which he accepts his own simple, much too simple, solution of a difficulty that is puzzling the best brains in the world!

G. B. JATHAR.

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY.

REPORT FOR 1933-34.

(Continued from our last issue.)

Mr. Devadhar and Mr. Kunzru were the Presidents of the Maharashtra and the U. P. Branches of the Harijan Sevak Sangh. Mr. K. S. Negi, who was admitted to membership during the year, was the whole-time Secretary of the U. P. Branch of the Sangh. Messrs. Kunzru and Negi supervised the work of the U. P. Board of the Harijan Sevak Sangh by means of personal inspections and correspondence. The Sangh has established 32 district centres, some of which in turn have formed tahsil branches. Anti-drink and anti-carrion propaganda, the establishment of common schools wherever possible, and of separate schools where absolutely necessary, the opening of the Hindu temples and wells to Harijans, joint celebration of common festivals by people of all castes and special surveys of Harijan quarters, formed the principal propaganda work of the Sangh. The Provincial Board and its district branches also awarded 50 and 57 scholarships to Harijan children in addition to books, stationery, etc. Some Municipalities were persuaded to improve the Harijan quarters. Mr. Devadhar, with the assistance of a full-time paid Secretary, engaged himself in similar work in Maharashtra. Mr. Venkatasubbaiya was Joint Secretary of the Madras City Branch of the Harijan Sevak Sangh and gave to it the greater part of his time. The Sangh gave scholarships to Harijan children (about 25 boys) and 25 grants-in-aid to night schools, supplied newspapers to about twenty reading rooms, ran a hostel for boys, arranged tuition classes and arranged for baths and other facilities for Harijans. The Sangh also arranged for medical aid and magic lantern lectures on health, etc.

Mr. Sahu gave a good part of his time to Harijan propaganda. He visited the Oriya districts of the Bihar and Orissa Province and of the Madras Presidency, stayed among Harijans and strove for their uplift in several ways.

Mr. Thakkar besides being the General Secretary of the whole organisation of the Harijan Sevak

Sangh is also the chief organiser for work in the various provinces. He has therefore to travel long distances and devote a very large part of his time to see that provincial and district branches are well organised and run smoothly. He could therefore devote very little time to his office correspondence and accounts work, though it was onerous, and had to rest content with leaving the indoor work to his assistant, Prof. N. R. Malkani and to the office manager and the accountant. As can be seen from the following table, he could spend only 125 days in the whole year at Delhi, his head-quarters, and 239 days in touring about in various provinces.

The month of April was spent in visiting Nasik, Bombay and Dohad, where at the last place a retrenchment was done in the expenses of the Bhil Seva Mandal by about 25%. Ranchi was also visited in the interest of the problem of Aborigines and on the way back to Delhi, Purulia, Patna and Allahabad, were visited for the Harijan work. In May, a detailed survey of sweepers and other Harijans living in the City of Delhi was undertaken and the results thereof were published later by Prof. N. R. Malkani. The whole of June was spent at Poona for attending the S. I. S. Anniversary functions and also the meeting of the Central Board of the Harijan Sevak Sangh.

In July Dohad was revisited for arranging the famine relief work for Bhils, about a lakh of whom were suffering acutely from want of food. Jalgaon, the four dist. towns of Berar, and Wardha and Nagpur were visited in the same month for inspection of Harijan work. In August Calcutta was visited and the problem of its insanitary Bastis was studied. Thereafter three chief towns of Assam viz. Gauhati, Nowgong and Sibsagar were visited and on the way back to Delhi Gorakhpur, Lucknow and three towns in Moradabad Dist. were visited. The first half of September was spent in Poona, partly for attending upon Mahatma Gandhi after his third fast and partly for discussing with him the Harijan problem

in general along with the president of the Sangh, Mr. G. D. Birla. In the second half of September Sholapur, Ahmedabad, Nadiad, Bombay, Dhulia, Akola and Wardha were visited up to the end of the month.

Almost the whole of October was spent at the head-quarters, Rohtak being visited for two days for the flood relief work of Harijans and a day was spent in Meerut. In November he was on tour for all the 30 days, mostly with Mahatma Gandhi, in Bhopal, Jhansi, in all the Marathi and Hindi districts of C. P. and in the four districts of Berar. In December he was out for the five days in the Hindi C. P. and for the last four days of the month in Ajmer, Ahmedabad and Dohad for the inspection of branches of the Sangh. In the middle of December he was busy with the preliminaries of and holding the Sangha's first annual meeting at Delhi and arranging Mahatma Gandhi's visit to Delhi, which lasted for five days and was synchronous with the Board meeting.

All the 31 days of January were spent in touring, the first half mostly in Bombay (for the collection of funds for the Bombay branch of the Society) and in visiting Madras City and the second half in visiting the whole length of Cochin and Travancore States and a portion of South Tamil Nad in company of Mahatma Gandhi. Similarly all the 28 days of February were devoted to touring, as Mahatma Gandhiji's touring Secretary, in 12 districts of Tamil Nad (including a week's rest in Coonoor on the Nilgiris), Coorg, South Kanara on the West Coast and a part of Karnatak. The first nine days of March were occupied in the company of the Mahatma in touring Karnatak districts, and the City of Hyderabad Deccan. The next eight days were spent in visiting Kolhapur, Ratnagiri, Bombay and Dohad and returning to Delhi for a short rest up to the end of the month. The itinerary can be summarised as below.

Month	Total Days	Days in hd. quarters	Days on tour
April	30	10	20
May	31	27	4
June	30	0	30
July	31	14	17
August	31	10	21
September	30	0	30
October	31	29	2
November	30	0	30
December	31	22	9
January	31	0	31
February	28	0	28
March	31	14	17
	365	126	239

It may be repeated here that Mr. Bakhale has a bill before the Bombay Legislative Council for the removal of certain disabilities of Harijans. The Society cordially supported the Removal of Untouchability Bill and the Temple Entry Bill now before the Legislative Assembly.

Mr. K. J. Chitalia, on behalf of the Bhagini Seva Mandir, was engaged in Harijan service in the Northern suburbs of Bombay. He was Secretary of the Bombay Suburban District Harijan Seva Sangh until September last when it was dissolved in consequence of the reorganisation of work in the Bombay Presidency. Mr. Chitalia concentrated his activities at Ville Parle. The Co-operative Credit Society for Harijans, which was started by the

local Municipality on the initiative of the Bhagini Seva Mandir was in good working order. Medical aid was rendered to the Mahars and later a night school has been started for their benefit. Mr. Sharma was Secretary of the Committee appointed to enquire into the condition of Harijans in Lahore and drafted its report.

Bhagini Seva Mandir.

Along with Shrimati Suraj Ben, Mr. Chitalia was in charge of the work of the Bhagini Seva Mandir at Ville Parle. The building of the Mandir, which had been taken possession of by Government, was restored in June, 1933. It has since been equipped as a Nursing Home, with competent medical and nursing staff and has been increasingly availed of by the local citizens to whom it supplies a much-needed convenience. The Mandir conducted a sewing class for women and accommodated two medical lady students.

The Criminal Tribes Settlement.

The Society took over the management of the Criminal Tribes Settlement at Jalgaon in East Khandesh on 1st July, 1933. Mr. K. G. Sharangpani has been in charge of that work since that date. A summary of the work is given below, but as this is the first reference to it in the Society's Report and as the Settlement is directly managed by the Society, a fairly full account of the work is given in an Appendix to this Report.

During the last ten months the population of the Settlement has steadily risen from 309 to 343. Only about one-third of this are persons who have been guilty of one or more offences, while the rest consist of their legal dependents. It is difficult to find employment for these people owing to the general prejudice against them. Nevertheless some of them have found employment in cotton spinning and weaving mills or oil mills or under the Jalgaon Municipality. Some are engaged in other occupations. All persons in the settlement are allowed to go out for work in the morning and to remain out till 8 o'clock in the evening. Education is free and compulsory for all boys and girls in the Settlement between the ages of 6 and 13, the attendance at the primary school teaching up to IV standard is 79. A night class is held for boys between 13 and 20 who have to work during the day to earn their living. Two boys have been helped to receive vocational education and are making good progress. The Settlement has a Boy Scout Troop, a Cub Pack and a Blue-Bird Flock. The Scouts, Cubs and Junior Girl Guides have a very good effect on the boys and girls in the Settlement. The Settlement has a Co-operative Credit Society with a small capital which paid interest at the rate of 6¼% to depositors and a dividend of 12½% to the share-holders. Steps are being taken to start a Backward Class colony in the vicinity of the Settlement. It is expected that the Bhils, Mangs, etc. who live in very unhealthy surroundings in the town will readily take advantage of the new site. The families from the Settlement who have a good record will also be accommodated there after release on license.

Mr. Joshi presented a memorandum to the Joint Select Committee regarding the representation of Backward Classes in the new constitution. Mr. Bakhale was elected to the Backward Classes Board by the Bombay Legislative Council and Mr. Thakkar was a co-opted member thereof for part of the year.

(To be continued.)