

The Servant of India

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Office : SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY, POONA.

VOL. XVII, No. 44. } POONA—THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1934. { INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6.
FOREIGN 15s.

CONTENTS.

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK ...	517
ARTICLES :—	
The Princely Bloc ...	519
Mahatma's Inward, Ho! ...	521
OUR LONDON LETTER ...	522
REVIEWS :—	
Evils of Land Fragmentation. By D. S. Modak ...	523
Freedom of the Press. By Dr. V. M. Bhat, M.B., B.S....	524
SHORT NOTICE ...	524
MISCELLANEA :—	
The Greater Gandhi. ...	525
India Indivisible. ...	526
S. I. S. Report for 1933-34 ...	527
BOOKS RECEIVED. ...	528

Topics of the Week.

Report of Joint Select Committee.

THE work of the Joint Select Committee has after all come to an end and in another fortnight we shall know to what extent it has whittled down the White Paper, there being no question of its having improved it. The simultaneous publication of its report in England and India has, as everybody knows, been authorised by Parliament, November 22nd being fixed for the purpose. The doubt may cross some men's minds as to why such express authorisation by Parliament was found necessary in the present case when the Simon report and the White Paper itself simultaneously saw the light of day in the two countries without Parliament's express sanction for the course. But as explained by Sir Austen Chamberlain, the cases are not identical. The Select Committee's report is submitted to Parliament, which was not the case with the other two documents, and as such it would be a breach of parliamentary privilege to send its copies out of the country before it was formally placed on the table of Parliament. In this case simultaneous publication, on which the Government had set their heart, would be impossible and there was nothing for it but to ask for the British sovereign legislature's sanction for copies of the Committee's report leaving English shores before the date fixed for its publication there so as to ensure the publication of the full report in India on the appointed date.

It is impossible for Indian opinion to pretend not to be interested in the report. It has no doubt been prepared by what appear to be well-informed press reports for important deductions even in such an inadequate measure of self-government as was

embodied in the White Paper; but when this report is published, it can satisfy itself whether it alters the White Paper beyond recognition, as was recently hinted by the British Chancellor of the Exchequer or whether it is left unmodified in substance. According to press forecasts, important concessions to Conservative die-hard opinion are reported to have been made with a view to ensuring a safe passage for the Indian reform bill in Parliament. Thus it is safe to assume that the India Act as it will emerge from the hands of Parliament will not mark any important departure from the recommendations of the Committee. Indian opinion will therefore be on reasonably firm ground in making up its mind about the acceptance or non-acceptance of the proffered reforms on the basis of the Joint Select Committee's report.

ACCORDING to the original reforms time-table, the India Bill, which is said to be already ready and to run into as many as 400 clauses, was to be introduced in Parliament before Christmas. As things stand at present, however, this will apparently not be found feasible, with the result that the introduction of the measure must stand over till after Christmas. The delay seems to be necessitated by Mr. Baldwin's promise to find out the mind of the Conservative Party on the Select Committee's report and a debate in Parliament before the introduction of the India Bill. All this, it may be hoped, will not be allowed to upset the Government's plan to see that the "autonomous" Governments in the provinces are in working order early in 1936.

"Forward Programme Sabotaged."

UNDER the above heading a friendly critic of the Congress reviews the proceedings of the last session in the *Bombay Chronicle*. He charges the Congress authorities with shelving every important issue and concludes his article thus :—

I ask whether the revision of the constitution of the Congress was more fundamental than the consolidation of the mass energy released in the process of the struggle.

Whether the rehabilitation of the dead and dying village industries—a scheme more suitable to the utopian period than to a scientific age—was more important than the organisation of the masses of workers and peasants on a conscious and planned politico-economic basis.

Whether the problem of the Indian States and their people is of so little importance that it could be relegated to the background.

What is it that the Congress has done after a week's deliberations?

It has done everything except facing facts. It will be said that the leaders met, discussed, deliberated and left the country in the jungle, from which it looked forward to get out. VERILY THE MAHATMA HAS WON; THE COUNTRY HAS LOST.

Congress and States.

The *Indian Express*, in its issue of 29th October, has written as follows on Mahatma Gandhi's draft resolution on the above subject:—

The relation of the Congress to the Indian States has been a matter of some bitterness since the publication of Gandhi's letter to Mr. K. K. S. We are, therefore glad that the matter has been referred to a Sub-Committee including some representatives from the States. Gandhi has left a draft formula to be considered by the Committee. According to it, the Congress will adhere to the policy of non-interference in the internal administration of the States while regarding the whole of geographical India as an indivisible whole. It will also appeal to the British not to treat Indians who do not belong to their States as foreigners and also to establish responsible Government in the States. We do not think this formula is satisfactory. Ordinary interference in internal administration of India certainly be avoided. But the Congress cannot look on when there is grave misuse of oppression. It may not be able to do much to prevent either but it may help in giving publicity to such abuses and also provide the aggrieved subjects with a platform. We do not see why the Congress should make a distinction between the States and British India. If any State prohibits a Congress organisation within its borders, its Congress Committee may exist outside, as suggested by Gandhi in the case of the Midnapore District of Bengal.

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Sir H. Sultwardy's Appeal

THE appeal made by Sir Hassan Sultwardy, in his convocation address to the Mysore University, for the cessation of strife between the two great communities, Hindu and Muslim, will, we doubt not, be widely echoed. He deeply deplored the phenomena which was unfortunately, on the increase of graduates, of products of our universities, who have won the highest distinctions and passed the highest examinations and sometimes men of mature years like lecturers and professors, who directing all their learning and knowledge to the petty ends of their own self for gaining applause and cheap popularity in the sinister interests of their own community. In proceeding, he said, it is a pity that unfortunately for our countrymen, the movement for political freedom is degenerating on the one hand into Indian self-government have ceased to occupy the other regions of dreams but the centre of practical politics, we are trying to open old sores and exaggerate animosities and antagonisms between the two communities.

to the dream of our statesmen. Communal differences, particularly between Hindus and Mussalmans, are being revived and fanatical political ends. It is forgotten that in these more recent periods of Indian History when the Hindu and the Mussalmans lived side by side in peaceful and harmonious relations, whose appreciation of each to the other's culture and traditions is a blend of both, which have even today matters of pride to our Hindu as a nation. In before there can be Hindu-Muslim unity at the political side, there should be intellectual and cultural cooperation between the two cultures. On these points, the Hindu and the Muslim should have a mutual understanding and sympathy in the best of all possible ways.

Indian Labour in Malaya. As a result of improved trade conditions in Malaya due to the rise in prices of tin and rubber, the demand for Indian labour grew up and at the urgent request of the Malayan authorities, the resumption of assisted emigration of Indian labour to that colony was authorised by the Government of

India nearly six months ago. Lest an unrestricted flow of such labour might depress the labour market, care was taken to fix the maximum of labourers to be taken to Malaya during the first year at 20,000. A feature of the new emigration arrangements was the almost complete elimination of the recruiter. The new scheme also included a promise by the Malayan Government to repatriate Indian labourers and their dependents asking to be sent back to India, in case of an unfortunate recurrence of wide-spread unemployment due to economic depression.

ACCORDING to information about Indian labour conditions recently supplied to the Legislative Council of the Colony, however, there appears to be no reason to apprehend such a calamity at any rate in the near future. As a matter of fact, wages for Indian labour seem to be steadily rising and it will not be long before an Indian labourer is able to earn the standard rates of wages, provided he shows the necessary zeal for work. To begin with, most estates were obliged to offer 35 cents to men and 28 cents to women for morning work with a promise to provide afternoon work sufficient to enable the labourer to make good the deficiency between the wages earned by morning work and the standard wage. For unless they agreed to do so, they found themselves unable to secure their quota of Indian labour which they so badly needed. The arrangement seems to have worked well on the whole. And at the end of June last, the statement assures us, a large number of the estates applying for their share of Indian labour were prepared to offer 40 cents for morning work to men, which was approximately equal to the standard rates formerly prevailing.

BUT this is not all. If the price of rubber continues to show uninterrupted improvement, the general consensus of opinion in the Colony is that its benefit must in the first instance go to the estate staffs and labourers. It is also gratifying to note from the statement that estates are generally inclined to be solicitous about the welfare of Indian labour by the provision of better housing and educational facilities. While all this information is no doubt reassuring, Indian opinion will look forward with keen interest to the next annual report of the Controller of Labour in Malaya to make sure that the new scheme of assisted emigration has really worked to India's satisfaction.

INDIAN POPULATION. The population of the Colony, according to the 1931 Census, was 157,236. At the end of 1933, Indians numbering nearly 81,000 and Europeans about 4,800. The franchise qualification in the case of the latter is the possession of property of the total yearly value of twenty pounds or a net monthly income of ten pounds, while that in the case of our countrymen is the possession of property of the yearly value of five pounds or a net annual income of seventy-five pounds. A literacy test in English or one of the well-known Indian languages is also enjoined in their case, a year's residential qualification being insisted upon in all cases. It is a strange feature of the British electoral system that the Government servant, whether a European or an Indian, can have the right to vote at elections.

PROPORTION OF THE INDIAN TO THE EUROPEAN POPULATION. In 1931, the Indian population was 157,236 and the number of Europeans 4,800. In the case of Europeans and 2,717 in that of Indians. Besides the Governor who is the President, the legis-

lative council consists of a membership of 25, 13 of whom are officials, 6 elected Europeans, 3 nominated natives and 3 elected Indians.

ONE of the three seats allotted to the Indian community has remained vacant, no nominations having been received for it. This is deplorable and must be stopped anyhow. If even the very meagre representation allowed to our brethren is not fully availed of, it is easy to see that the community places itself at a serious disadvantage in making its voice heard in the councils of the colony. We would earnestly urge our countrymen settled in the Colony not only to see that all the seats reserved for Indians in the legislative council are occupied but to agitate for a much larger representation. Whether their request for more adequate representation is

granted or refused, the least they can do to safeguard Indian interests is to return the full number of Indian members and to see that it is of the best available quality.

OUR curiosity as to the number of Indian children at school must remain unsatisfied, for the educational statistics in the Fiji Blue Book just received do not give separate figures relating to European, native and Indian education, the total number of children in receipt of instruction being 21,159 in all schools, Government, aided and other. May we suggest that the educational tables should be so arranged as to make it easy for anybody to ascertain the spread of education in these three important communities in the colony?

The Princely Bloc.

THE rulers of Indian States are committed to federation under effective safeguards as the British Government is committed to central responsibility under proper safeguards. The British Government has outlined the safeguards under which it will consent to introduce responsible government in the Government of India. What are the safeguards desiderated by the Indian Princes, subject to which they will enter into an all-India federation? The late Jamsaheb of Nawanager as Chancellor of the Princes' Chamber engaged certain distinguished counsel in London to inform him of the conditions on which the States might agree to join the federation, and the memoranda submitted by these lawyers have now been published in summary form. Counsel were not asked to pronounce on federation itself; they were asked to take it for granted that federation is a good solution of India's constitutional problems provided it could be adapted to the existing circumstances in India. They were asked merely to point out the adjustments that are in their opinion necessary in order that the interests of the States may be duly protected and the States may not be called upon to make too many sacrifices. Still they go out of their way to bless federation; they call it "a great and noble venture for the good of India and the British Commonwealth." They would advise the Princes to embark on it if at all they can in reason do so. But the terms of federation must not be too onerous for them. How the burden of the terms proposed at present can be lightened they then proceed to set out.

Counsel are dissatisfied with the number of adhering States required in the White Paper for the initiation of federation, viz. 50 per cent. This proportion may be sufficient from the point of view of the British Government. The latter may feel that half the States joining the federation will introduce enough conservative elements into the constitution to stabilise it to the required degree. But this proportion, the legal advisers of the late Jamsaheb contend, is utterly inadequate from the States' point of view. The Secretary of State no doubt contemplates a certain weightage to be allowed to the States that are in the federation on account of those

that may still remain without. But in the first place such artificial weightage will not be agreed to by British India, and, in the second place, it will not afford adequate protection. Furthermore, the federating States have a duty to perform towards the non-federating States, for the latter too, though nominally free to follow their own policy, will in practice be required to follow the federal policy. "The thumbscrew of political pressure will be tightened on non-federating thumbs." Counsel's advice therefore is that federation should come into effect if, initially, 80 to 85 per cent. of the States join it, but unless, within five years after the inception of federation, 90 to 95 per cent., have signified their consent to come in, the federation should become null and void, or at least the federating States should be at liberty to leave the federation.

The legal advisers recognise that federation will enure to the good of the States as of British India under reasonable conditions and they hope that it will in fact turn out well for everybody concerned, but they cannot allow themselves to lose sight of the fact that, after all, it is a big experiment, an experiment quite worthwhile it is true, but an experiment for all that, and that there are so many novel features in it that it may well prove that their anticipations are not justified. The type of federation proposed to be brought into existence, counsel point out, is wholly unique, "combining in one constitution the two antithetic political systems of Indian Kingship and western democracy." Who can guarantee the success of such an unheard-of constitution? Therefore, it is necessary, in their opinion, that we should move tentatively in the matter and lay aside the orthodox idea that a federation, once brought into being, cannot on any account be ended. The good old rule can be applied in normal conditions, but we are *ex hypothesi* dealing with abnormal conditions in several respects, and therefore a new departure must be made in that if the federation is by actual experience found to be unsatisfactory it should be dissolved without any further ado. This suggestion of the lawyers is put forward, be it noted in addition to their former suggestion that if an all-India federation is not found practicable within five years after the

start, it should either be terminated wholesale or at least individual secession should be allowed from it. But if, after five years' or a longer period of trial, "the great majority of the federated States conclude that federation is working badly, or is a failure so far as it affects the States, they should then be free to bring it to an end altogether."

All this in so far as the starting and the possible ending of the federation are concerned. But what about its working while it lasts? What are the minimum requirements in the interests of the States to make it beneficial to them? Counsel mention, first of all, the establishment of a second chamber. "An upper chamber composed wholly of representatives of federating units would be a rallying point for the conservative forces in the constitution, and thus might achieve more for stabilisation than could be accomplished if the conservative elements were obliged to sit side by side with the democratic elements in a single chamber." This, however, is a point which both British India and the British Government have conceded, and it need not be elaborated at any greater length. But there is one further safeguard which counsel insist upon with the utmost emphasis, and that is, in one word, that the States should act in the federation as one *bloc*. They recall that a committee of States' Ministers recommended in Delhi in March, 1932, that "the policy of the States should be to enter federation as a collective unit, though any State should be permitted to enter individually if it wished to do so. For the purposes of this policy it was suggested that there should be a preliminary confederation of the States." Counsel endorse this suggestion in the most emphatic way imaginable and say that the States ought to stipulate that they should be allowed to act as a single group in the federation in order that they may pull their full weight in it. The States' representatives in the federal legislature should act as a body, not only in all matters concerning the States' common interests, but even in all other matters also where the interests of a particular State are gravely prejudiced. "Where any legislative measure proposed by, or executive act of, the federal government threatens to injure any particular State, all the States' representatives should make common cause to protect the State so threatened." If a confederation of the States is first formed, and that confederation enters into a federation with British India, it will not only enable the States to enforce strict discipline on their representatives after they are appointed to the federal legislature, but it will make it possible for the States to make the appointments themselves collectively. The Princes need not take it upon their shoulders the responsibility of appointing their nominees. That task may well be left to the confederation itself. The lawyers at any rate tender the advice that the confederation should be used equally as machinery for the States' corporate action on matters of common interest and as an electoral college for the selection of Indian India's representatives in the federal legislature."

There is one great advantage from the States'

point of view in thus leaving the selection to the confederation. It is not mentioned by the K. C.'s, but it will be apparent to anyone who will think about it for a moment. And lest there be any rulers who will not give even a moment's thought to the matter (far be it from us to venture the horrid suggestion), we would like it to bring it respectfully to their notice. The federal scheme no doubt permits all the Princes to nominate representatives of their own choice to the federal legislature, but it still leaves the door open to election. And it is possible, though it does not seem very likely, that the people in the States may agitate for election, and even British Indian leaders may throw out remote hints in that direction. In no case will the pressure of public opinion be unbearable or irresistible, it is true; but theoretically there will be room for it. States like Mysore and Travancore and Cochin, where representative institutions of a somewhat advanced type exist, may feel this pressure and possibly, in a weak moment, may even agree, in response to it, as Their Highnesses of Bikaner and Bhopal indicated, to let their people have some say in the selection of some of their representatives. Imagine the state of things that will arise if this should happen. In some States there will be sheer nomination; but in some others it will be tinged, though to a minute extent, by some sort of election. How invidious, then, will be the position of those States where undiluted nomination may obtain? If, however, the selection is left in the hands of a confederation of the States, that body may be trusted to deal effectively with a possible demand for elective representation, without bringing any particular State into popular disfavour. All the Princes will then be able to march forward as one man in the federation, and there will be no discrimination between the States themselves to add to the discrimination that is bound to exist between British India and the States, there being popular election in the former and nomination in the latter. The confederation of the Princes, selecting all the States' delegates, will also exercise complete control over their action in the legislature. It will "have a permanent right to give instructions to those delegates, and also, in the last resort, to revoke a delegate's mandate and to recall him and appoint another in his place."

It is hardly necessary to comment upon the memoranda of the lawyers summarised above. If their advice is accepted—and we see no reason why it should not be—it will not materially affect the political situation as it exists at present, even as the rumoured stiffening of the safeguards designed in the interest of the British Government will not affect it. Those who are for rejection will cry out a little more loudly for rejection if the whittling away of the White Paper, of which we hear such frequent reports, is an accomplished fact; those who are against rejection will still be against rejection, though they will whine a trifle more. Similarly, if the all-India federation is perched upon a confederation of the Princes, anti-federationists will kick a little more violently at it, but pro-federationists will still say:

"Thank God, we are going to have at last some kind of federation." Friends of federation will remain friends and opponents will remain opponents. There will be no crossing the floor, so to say, however re-

trograde may be the changes that will hereafter be introduced into it. This is thus a golden opportunity for the British diehards and the Indian Princes! They cannot stretch their demands too far!!

MAHATMA'S INWARD, HO!

IT is seldom that foreign newspapers, however well-informed on other matters are able to size up Indian leaders and the Indian situation correctly, and the writings in these papers on Mahatma Gandhi and his movement are particularly wide of the mark. They are either denunciatory or adulatory, but always uncritical. The article which we reproduce on a later page from the *Christian Century* is uncritical in the direction of adulation. It breathes throughout a noble sentiment, but gives a wholly wrong impression both of the Mahatma's politics and of his harijan movement. It purports to be based upon Mr. Philip's letter, but this letter really affords no support for the editorial conclusions.

The purpose of the article is to show that Gandhiji has now retired from the political campaign because he has discovered that there is a great social evil, viz. untouchability, which the Indian community must first eradicate before it can try to shake itself free from the political domination of the British. Indians know that this is simply not true. The Mahatma has issued two lengthy press statements and made still more lengthy speeches in the Subjects Committee and in the plenary session of the Congress, explaining why he is going out of the organisation, but neither in the press statements nor in the speeches is there a reference to the prior need of improving the condition of the untouchables, a realisation of which, according to the *Christian Century*, has impelled him to disencumber himself from political agitation. It would, indeed, be a poor tribute to pay to Gandhiji's insight if one were to say, as our contemporary suggests, that the curse of untouchability came into his horizon only after he had waged two fierce struggles with the British Government for political power and had suffered reverses in them. Long before he appeared on the scene social reformers fought against untouchability, facing far more cruel persecution than it is his lot to bear; and Gandhiji himself was conscious of this social canker before he declared a non-violent war with the British Government.

Mahatma Gandhi, like most other public workers in India, does not think of social evils like untouchability, drunkenness, immorality, illiteracy on the one hand and the political evils resulting from foreign domination on the other in the terms of prior and posterior. That just cannot be done. The Mahatma himself has said times without number—and here he has voiced the feelings of most other reformers—that it is impossible to go far on the road of social amelioration without coming up against the paralysing effects of political bondage. If the *Christian Century* will consult Christian missionaries who keep aloof from political activities in

India, it will come to know the severe handicaps from which they suffer. Mahatma Gandhi did not embark upon politics because he thought that political liberty must come first and that social impurities might be purged afterwards. Nor has he given up politics temporarily now because he is convinced that external freedom can wait upon internal cleansing. He wants both political freedom and social purity and tries to achieve both as opportunity offers. And in pushing on the political movement at one time and the social movement at another time, he only shows himself to be an opportunist in the best sense of the word. He saw that the general mass of people, as was only natural, was more keen on a political fight than anything else, and very shrewdly he made *khaddar* and other items in the so-called constructive programme, which truly have no connexion with politics, part of his political campaign thus to make them take a deeper interest in things which in themselves would appear uninspiring. He carried on the political campaign vigorously, but unsuccessfully. As a result of offering civil disobedience, he found himself in gaol, and the campaign came to a dead stop for the time being. Instead of vegetating in pris on, he obtained Government's permission to carry on his harijan propaganda from within prison and got several Congress workers, who, finding civil resistance too tough a business, had been abstaining from politics, to utilise their idle time in the same noble cause. That was the immediate reason for Mahatma Gandhi giving a fillip to the harijan movement by placing it in the forefront of Congressmen's activities within the last two years. The civil resistance campaign is still in abeyance, and the harijan movement will go on in undiminished strength for some time. It may be however that, if and when civil disobedience comes to the fore once again, the harijan campaign will go through a period of recession, but that will happen, not because there is a waning in enthusiasm on the part of Mahatma Gandhi, even as the recent spurt of activity was not due to any accession of enthusiasm on his part, but only because there is a limited manpower available for national work, and it has to be distributed in several activities, all of them exceedingly important. The grading of this work, from the point of view of urgency, that the *Christian Century* ascribes to Mahatma Gandhi is purely imaginary and has no existence in his scheme of things. His cries of "Inward, ho!" and "Outward, ho!" are dictated only by the circumstances of the moment, and not by considerations of what should come first and what next.

Where there is room for a choice at all for Mahatma Gandhi to press on either with an external or an internal struggle, he will busy himself with the

former in preference to the latter. In this internal struggle we do not include the harijan movement, for that is of far too deep an import to be left in the background. But many other issues of social equality and justice which cry out for solution he is already side-stepping as a matter of deliberate policy in order that he may be able to concentrate all the national forces on the foreigner. What is the true inwardness of his coming into conflict with Socialists and the States' people? He is entirely in sympathy with the Socialists' aims and the States' people's aspirations. But he thinks their activities to be inopportune. These activities will necessarily turn the powerful classes in the country against the Congress, and he believes that the Congress needs their active support if it is to succeed in removing the foreign yoke. He would therefore like the Indian people to deal gently with Big Business and the landlords and the autocratic Princes and thus enable him to organise a Patriotic Front against the British Government. When the external enemy is once out of the way, there will be time enough to introduce all the drastic social changes which are necessary and which he too favours along with the rest. Of course he does not put it so crudely, but it is writ large on his policies.

How else can one explain, to take but one instance, his insisting at the Round Table Conference on popular election, and nothing but popular election, on a universal franchise in British India and acquiescing in nomination in the Indian States? Even on his day of silence, he did not omit to write on a slip of paper that the Congress would not bear to have even a single seat allotted to British India filled by nomination, but the same "born democrat" and "unadulterated democrat", as he loves to call himself, raised no objection in any of his speeches—and he had an occasion to make plenty of them—to all the seats allotted to Indian India being filled by nomination. Why this difference? Not because he believes that the Government of India's nominees will harm the country's interests but not those handpicked by the Indian rulers. On the contrary, we are certain that he believes, with this year's President of the Congress, that the bureaucrats' nominees will work more mischief than the autocrats', and yet he tolerates the autocrats and engages himself in implacable hostilities with the bureaucrats. Here he carries on his fight on strictly racial lines. We do not pretend to judge whether this is wholly justifiable on the moral plane. The *Christian Century* will be better able to judge. Anyhow, for all his Mahatmaism, Gandhiji is a politician to the core, not at all above temporising. This is not to admit that, even politically, "To the Left with foreigners" and "to the Right with your fellow-countrymen" is a good policy. We think it is not and we do not usually associate such tactics with men of religion either. But on this spiritual aspect we would not fain not speak. It is clear, however, that the interpretation of the *Christian Century* is based on fancy, and not on fact.

Our London Letter.

(BY AIR MAIL.)

(From Our Correspondent.)

LONDON, 26th October.

GENERAL SMUTS ON INDIA.

PERHAPS no-one in the British Empire is better qualified or under fewer inhibitions to make a pronouncement and an appeal in favour of constitutional advance in India than General Smuts. He does not labour under the disadvantages that surround a political leader in this country, who is liable to attack by his own followers or by his opponents on some or other real or imaginary issue, relevant or irrelevant to the main question. General Smuts is a statesman of world magnitude, who does not easily fit into the picture of a relatively small country like South Africa, with a chequered history little more than a century and a half old. But he has been a defender of causes on the battlefield, and has at times lost and at times won, but throughout, whatever other temperamental defects he might possess (and Mr. Gandhi was well aware of them in South Africa), he always had vision and a capacity for constructive statesmanship. He never bore personal animosity against an opponent, and lived a philosophy of life which has to some extent protected him from the more malignant criticisms that almost inevitably befall a public man of eminence. The present writer, for example, recalls two instances, some twenty years ago, both of General Smuts's natural simplicity of manner and his philosophic temperament. Before Mr. Gandhi left South Africa, he had a long personal talk with his redoubtable opponent, to whom he wished to present an example of the handiwork produced by the Indian passive resisters at Tolstoy Farm, as a memento of the end of a historic struggle, and after Mr. Gandhi had left for India, in the fateful summer of 1914, his secretary and the present writer were deputed by him to present to General Smuts a pair of hand-made sandals, which the General accepted with a generous affability. The other occasion occurred when General Smuts's conduct as the man of action who, at the heart of the general strike in Johannesburg, in 1913, deported to England and Australia several of the prominent Labour leaders. His opponents in the Assembly raised a debate, in which they poured the vials of their wrath upon his devoted head, at great length and in vitriolic terms. I doubt if General Smuts even listened to these tirades of denunciation, for he was immersed during the debate in some recent work of abstruse philosophy.

When thus General Smuts comes forward with so distinguished a career behind him, and so complete a realisation of the ineffectiveness of the application of force and an archaic system of administration for the suppression of natural national aspirations, it is only proper that he should be listened to with a respect to which such a man is entitled. Naturally there will be some superficial critics here who would tell him to mind his own business. To this he would reply that the business of ordered freedom and national liberty, to which he has devoted his life, both on a national and international scale, is his business and that of every other thoughtful man in the Commonwealth. Not unnaturally, too, he turned to his own country as an example of the stability of Commonwealth relations that resulted from the policy of trust inaugurated by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in the first decade of this century, to which reference is made in Lord Esher's

papers that are now appearing. Dr. Berriedale Keith corrects General Smuts's statement that this policy was adopted by joint action of the British political parties, and reminds us that it had the sustained opposition of the Tories of the time. Nevertheless, General Smuts is substantially right, for the Tories could have defeated the proposed Constitution in the House of Lords in 1906, but they forbore to do so when they realised that the country's sentiment was in favour of the Government's policy, and the Union of South Africa Act followed quickly three years later, with the assent of all the parties. Naturally, therefore, General Smuts's appeal over the heads of the politicians, in his Dundee speech, to the generous political sense of the British people as a whole, urging that Indian political progress should not be endangered by party considerations and partisan tactics, was very welcome.

MR. GANDHI AND THE CONGRESS.

It seems reasonably clear from the somewhat confused and conflicting reports emanating from Bombay this week that the Mahatma has been as good as his word and has carried out his determination to leave the Congress, both as leader and as member, in order to pursue his own activities of personal purification and economic and social reform. All the lamentations and imploring of his former colleagues and associates have evidently left him unmoved, and no argument has prevailed against his resolution to preserve for himself a free hand and to withdraw his dominating personality from the Congress councils.

There are not wanting those among his personal friends here who feel that he has reached an age and an eminence when he should no longer be trammelled by party affiliations. Notwithstanding his withdrawal from the Congress, and perhaps even the more because of it, he will remain a formidable influence in the country's affairs behind the scenes. For some time the truth of the view expressed here upon his return this week to England by Mr. C. F. Andrews, has been realised, that whilst the Mahatma retains his hold upon the agricultural masses and the simple-minded generally, he has lost his influence with the younger urban intelligentsia, and he finds himself today out of touch with that orthodoxy which remains unconvinced of the effectiveness, or even the desirability, of his campaign against untouchability, and which, on the other hand, has helped to emphasise, in a highly undesirable manner, the communal conflict that has spread its menacing shadow over the greater part of India. There are again others who prefer to apply the less spectacular, and the more conventional, remedies, political and economic, to the body politic in India and whose natural method of expression, as the *Times*' Special Correspondent, in an illuminating analysis of cross currents in the Congress, lies through the Legislatures. Whether in their turn they will some day give place to dictators tired of the ineffectiveness and the self-sufficiency, of politicians, is a matter that only the future can reveal. In the meanwhile, the Mahatma will resolutely go his own way, ploughing his wilderness in the hope that he may raise a crop of heroes, to carry on the herculean task of achieving Indian independence by what is to him the only conceivable means, namely, non-violent civil resistance. The reactions of Congress to this view of the needs of the situation are naturally awaited, but with the removal of the guiding hand of this unique leader, there seems every prospect of what was once a united and formidable body breaking into mutually destructive fragments, each claiming the inheritance of the great name and a not ignoble tradition. It may be that the Mahatma will have to be recalled presently from his self-imposed exile in order to fit the pieces together

again, and create of them at least the semblance of a whole.

INDIA LEAGUE CONFERENCE.

Mr. Krishna Menon's active temper leaves him little peace, and he is responsible for the organisation last Saturday of the Conference, arranged under the auspices of the Central Branch of the Indian League of representatives of women's organisations, at Essex Hall, Strand. The object was to discuss the future work "in view of the urgency and seriousness" of the Indian situation. In the absence of the Chairman, Miss Monica Whately, Mr. Tony Greenwood presided and gave the Conference some of his impressions gained while touring India last year with the student debating team. The other speakers were Mrs. Masani, Miss Agatha Harrison, and Mr. Krishna Menon. An interesting discussion followed, in which delegates from women's organisations participated with a view to report back to their respective groups.

MR. JOSHI ON THE I. L. O.

At the meeting that the League of Nations Union holds weekly during the lunch hour, Mr. Joshi, this week, spoke of the relation of India to the International Labour Organisation. Captain Thomas was in the chair and gave a very warm welcome to the speaker. Mr. Joshi detailed concisely the part that India had played in the work of the I. L. O. On the whole, he said, India had taken her due share and had honoured her ratifications. It was, however, a matter for concern that since 1929 not a single ratification of a convention had occurred, and recently delegations sent from India had not included any advisers, on grounds, according to the Government of India's explanation, of financial stringency. Mr. Joshi was not convinced that this was the sole cause. He was afraid that enthusiasm had cooled, and that in India, as in other countries, there was a lukewarmness towards the work of the League and the I. L. O.

Speaking of the position of the Indian States* Mr. Joshi described it as unsatisfactory. The conventions ratified applied only to British India, and he was evidently apprehensive for the future, if the Indian States were to be part of the Federation under the new Constitution, that ratification of conventions might be further impeded.

He regarded it as a matter for satisfaction that, owing to the change in the Constitution of the Governing Body, an employer's and a worker's delegate from India has now been added, but he felt that more Indians should be added to the Secretariat at Geneva. At present there were only four, and as India was one of the first eight industrial countries and had played her full part in the work of the Organisation since its inception, this number was inadequate. Speaking of the Branch Office in India, Mr. Joshi paid a warm tribute to the work of Dr. Pillay. Discussion followed, in which Mr. Clifton Robins, of the London Office of the I. L. O., took part.

Reviews.

EVILS OF LAND FRAGMENTATION.

PREVENTION OF FRAGMENTATION AND CONSOLIDATION OF HOLDINGS IN THE BARODA STATE. By GOVINDBHAI H. DESAI (Pustakalaya Sahayak Sahakari Mandal, Raopura, Baroda.) 1934. 24cm. 149p. Rs. 2.

THE subject of the land system, owing to its supposed complexities and difficulties, is weariness to many, and the question of fragmentation of holdings is one of its branches. Rao Bahadur Govindbhai H.

Desai has succeeded in making this branch of the subject attractive and interesting by his explanatory note written along with the collection of the legislative measures adopted in Baroda. He has lucidly explained the various clauses and amendments of the Land Revenue Code and Rules of Baroda.

In India the land system and the forms of tenures are very different from those of the Western countries. There are, in India, not less than two hundred tenures on account of numerous intermediaries. Agriculture merely on scientific and co-operative basis will not help towards the achievement of progress unless the land system is reformed as soon as possible and the holdings are limited. The main cause of fractionalisation of holdings is the principle of agnatic succession among the male heirs and desire for equality, all the members depending for their maintenance on agriculture alone. In the former days the cultivation unit was the joint family which lived in one house, was controlled by the manager of the family, and no necessity for subdivisions arose. But its economic solidarity was affected partly by the importation of individualistic notions of property and partly by the growth of population. In India there is a great disparity in the increase of population and the capacity of the soil to provide food for the population. In para. 27 Rao Bahadur Desai admits that Hindu Law was made long ago to suit the conditions of those times, laws must be adapted to the changing conditions or habits of society, and that but at the end of the para he says that there is no need to change the law of inheritance. For compulsory restripping laws were changed in Prussia, Denmark and Japan. The old social customs and laws must be revised on common principles of expediency and justice in the present times and India cannot afford to lag behind other countries. It is possible to amend the law of inheritance by adding to and amending the administrative orders of the Civil Procedure Code and the Land Revenue Code itself in order to provide that no land should be parcelled out if it is not an economic holding. A line must be drawn between an economic and an uneconomic holding. In Baroda the minimum limit fixed for Jirayat land is 8 bighas. If $1\frac{1}{4}$ bighas be taken to measure one acre, the holding would be of $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres. In the famous Joint Report 12 acres of land of good soil was considered an economic holding for cultivation with a pair of bullocks. The limit of $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres or 8 bighas will not be economical for the support of a family consisting of four members, viz. husband, wife and two children. In Denmark no holding is below 24 acres, whereas in China 42 per cent. of farmers have plots of less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres and holdings are scattered. Fragmentation has led both in China and India to (1) decrease in the output per acre, (2) idleness, (3) poverty, (4) friction, and (5) litigation.

It is now time for those who are interested in the welfare of India to direct their attention to the removal of the chronic agricultural poverty by adopting speedy measures for reforms of the land system and tenures with regard to the small holdings and other branches of the land system.

Rao Bahadur Desai's statement that much land is wasted on account of the boundary marks is not correct so far as it pertains to the Bombay Presidency. There are no boundary marks between subdivisions in the British part of the Bombay Presidency. When consolidation is accomplished, the question will crop up as to what the landless persons who were so long peasant-proprietors are to do. The answer to this will be to encourage and multiply cottage industries, develop dairy-farming and market-gardening, extend the big industries in large cities so that when agriculture becomes paying the raw pro-

duce could be well utilized by the industrial concerns in the cities. Among the qualifications of a voter mentioned in Schedule I, page 91, para. 3, female Khatedars are excluded from becoming voters. Since females are owners and kabjedars in many villages and are taking part in several activities, there appears no justification for excluding them.

D. S. MODAK.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

THE PRESS AND THE ORGANISATION OF SOCIETY. By NORMAN ANGELL. (The Minority Press, Cambridge.) 1933. 20cm. 70p. 3/6.

ENGLISHMEN fought with their Governments in times past and won the Freedom of the Press. That freedom meant private ownership. With industrial development and expansion of education, the press had to supply the curiosity of millions, and with millions of pounds of capital poured into it, it became industrialised, and capitalists took it into their own hands. Thus the engines of creating and harnessing public opinion and directing that force for the public weal or woe went into the hands of a few, and they, as the author has shown, prostituted that power for baser ends, never intended, nor expected by those who won the freedom of the press. The author is thus quite justified in saying: "It is one of the disillusionments of a purely political democracy that the *Free Press* has become one of the worst obstacles to the development of a capacity for real self-government, perhaps the worst of all the menaces to modern democracy."

What is then the remedy against the abuse of private control of this huge engine of power? Would State control be the right remedy? No, says the author emphatically, because when it was temporarily controlled by the State during the war, the governments "made the press a more 'reptile' instrument than Bismarck could have hoped to create." It comes to this then that neither capitalists, nor the State should be allowed to handle this great force which is intended to be used for the better organisation of society.

What then is the alternative? The author's proposals are: (1) "to make journalism a chartered profession, as law and medicine demanding a minimum standard of qualifications, and adherence to a certain code of professional conduct, and (2) to create a State or Government Press managed by 'journalistic judiciary' pledged to the impartial presentation of news. That judiciary is to be independent of Government and to owe its powers to Royal charter." The author hopes such an arrangement would, like the administration of justice, obviate the abuse of this power, and society would be better served with the facts required for its considered judgment about the problems facing it daily. The proposals are worth trying in a few places, but they have had no trial yet anywhere, and are likely to be, for a long time, only pious hopes, even in full-fledged democracies. In dependent countries like India, they are utterly unsuitable as the interests of the people and the Government are not always the same.

V. M. BHAT.

SHORT NOTICES.

SONGS FROM PRISON. Ed. by JOHN S. HOYLAND. (Allen & Unwin) 1934. 20cm. 150p. 3/6.

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU truly observed, "Mahatama Gandhi is essentially a man of religion"; and Gandhiji, too, says of himself thus:

"I am not a man of learning; but I humbly claim to be a man of prayer." The pastimes and literary work of the world's master-minds during their inevitable confinements in prison-cells will ever be an interesting study; and it is characteristic of Gandhiji that he sought peace and strength of mind during his enforced stay in the Yeravda Prison, by writing on ethical virtues, such as sacrifice, service, poverty, non-violence, non-stealing, and the like, or an introduction to the Gita. These compositions have not so far been presented in book-form; and the publication of Songs from Prison, which is but a translation of lyrics partly from the Upanishads and other Sanskrit scriptures and partly from the poets of the Bhakti school of thought and devotion, is, therefore, to be welcomed. Originally intended for his English friends, and principally for Mira Ben, the hymns have been put into metrical form and adapted for the Press by John S. Hoyland so that the names, symbolism and imagery of the Hindu Pantheon have been carefully omitted, in order to suit the cultured taste of the modern mind in the Orient as well as the Occident. The selections, whose spirit is excellently kept up by the translations, cover a wide range indeed, as they partly relate to the praise of the Great Being and His attributes, and are partly petitional to grant a discerning mind to pierce through delusion, fellowship undying with that which is supremely, wholly good, and for the cleansing and purification of the soul and for freeing it from the layers of ignorance and darkness that envelope it. In the wider sense of the term, prayer is inward communion with the divine and the book is helpful and valuable for practice in holding such communion, discovering our inner voice, and guiding it in the direction of God-realization. More, as one reads the book, one is forcibly impressed with the picture of the inner Gandhi, of his prayerful soul-longing to "drink in His love and to dwell intent in the vision of His beauty," of his unshaken resolve to "live poor, and live for other men," and to "hold others' woe to be his own," to live the higher life, and every word of the prayers contained in the songs. For these songs have ministered nourishment to a spiritual life that opens its doors to the oncoming spirit of God, His Love, His Wisdom, and His Beauty.

It is worthy to note that all royalties accruing from the sale of this book go to the funds of Mr. Gandhi's work for the removal of untouchability in India.

R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.

Miscellanea.

THE GREATER GANDHI.

IN his correspondence from India, published elsewhere in this issue, Mr. P. O. Philip tells of the split which has finally taken place in the Indian nationalist forces. An important group of high caste Hindus, led by Pandit Malaviya, has formed a party within the National Congress party. Ostensibly this split has occurred over the constitutional proposals contained in the British White Paper. The new party insists that the British offer must be rejected more positively, fought more uncompromisingly, than the Congress party under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership is doing. The communal awards in particular are denounced as something that must never be allowed to go into effect. But behind this disagreement over immediate political action, as Mr. Philip points out, there is something deeper in its meaning. The formation of the new party is really notice served by an important section of the orthodox Hindu community

that it is no longer ready to follow Gandhi's leadership, since that leadership seems now primarily concerned with issues growing out of the Indian caste system, and that it favors abiding by the ideal of an Indian society rigidly delimited as between castes and faiths.

This split in the movement which Mr. Gandhi has been leading will be variously interpreted in different quarters. Among British Tories, who have been fighting the concessions of the White Paper with stubborn ferocity, belief will revive that the day of empire is not yet drawing to its close, and that the old strategy of "divide and rule" can still be relied on to preserve imperial authority over this vast sub-continental domain with its 350,000,000 subjects. Mr. Churchill and Lord Lloyd will return to the charge at Westminster with the chances greatly increased that they can secure a further whittling down of the White Paper concessions before final action is taken by Parliament.

Political observers in general are likely to see in this development evidence for their oft-repeated charges as to the political impracticability of Gandhi, and another prophecy of his impending displacement as India's most powerful political leader. By turning aside from the immediate issues raised by the British White Paper to a campaign on behalf of the untouchables, they will hold, the Mahatma has committed the fundamental political error of dividing his strength between two objectives, and so has lost what chance he had of leading the Congress party to a great victory in pursuit of its major goal. Having thus proved his political ineptitude, it is inevitable that party leadership should pass to other hands, since no political leader can maintain power in defeat if that defeat has been suffered in a cause for which the majority of his followers had no consuming enthusiasm.

Here and there, students of the changing Orient will see in the division of the Indian nationalists a portent of more tragic disturbances in India a decade or so hence. Tempted by the lack of Indian cohesion, they will expect Britain to reduce her concessions to a minimum. They will expect the present Congress party in India gradually to lose importance. They will find no difficulty in believing that ten years of comparative calm may descend on India, with the British rule apparently restored to security. But the continuation of the economic despair of India's millions, along with the gradual permeation of the Indian population by the revolutionary ideas which are now loose throughout Asia, they will expect eventually to bring a day when another nationalist uprising will break out. And that uprising, contemptuous of all preaching of non-violence, will plunge India and Britain alike into bloodshed.

Meanwhile, neither India, Britain nor the world at large comprehends what, with regard to Mahatma Gandhi, is happening before its eyes. Gandhi's original crusade to win India's freedom by resort to non-violent non-cooperation caught world imagination. Everywhere in the Occident, a generation nauseated with the arbitrament of arms, and skeptical of its claims to finality, caught a glimpse of the possibility of a new method of political action in the sight of patriots submitting to lathi charges, imprisonment and impoverishment without resorting to physical retaliation. That phase of Gandhi's leadership the world may have rejected as impractical, but it was at least respected as important. Today, however, Gandhi is carrying his crusade into a realm of spiritual meaning far deeper than he penetrated with his doctrine of non-violence, yet there is grave reason to fear that its spiritual implications will hardly begin to appear, either inside India or

without, until several decades have passed. Yet ours is a generation which supremely needs to perceive the prophetic religious nature of Gandhi's present course.

To understand this new Gandhi, who watches today in sadness while a portion of his following rejects his leadership, it is necessary to fix firmly in mind the fact that he has conceived freedom for India as a spiritual blessing as well as a political goal. All struggles for liberty are, of course, proclaimed in similar terms, but in the case of Gandhi the proclamation and the fact have been one. Politics has been, for him, a field for spiritual adventure and achievement. And in the early stages of his leadership of the Indian nationalist cause he evidently believed that all India was ready to embark on a course which, while it would have glorious political consequences, would be always at heart spiritual. Before that faith is too lightly derided, it should be admitted that the masses of India did respond to the Mahatma's spiritual challenge to a degree without historical precedent, and that history will, as a result, be vitally affected by the example of the non-violent movement which so shook the British power.

But as Gandhi penetrated more deeply into the nature of the nationalist crusade, he came to see its inescapable relation to the fate of India's untouchables. To win for India some goal by virtue of the operation of "soul force" required of India a prior purification of her own soul. And how could the soul of India be ready for national independence while 60,000,000 of her people were damned from birth to an existence hardly better than that of the animals? What right had India to demand democracy when she was unwilling to grant democracy to her own people? Reflecting on the fate of the untouchables in the periods of contemplation which have filled so large a part of his career, the Mahatma came to believe that India could have no firm spiritual basis for seeking her rights at the hands of Britain until she had herself righted the unspeakable wrongs which she has inflicted on her own outcaste children.

The result has been the astounding—to most orthodox Hindus—turning aside from the direct drive against British domination to the *harijan* (untouchable) campaign of Gandhi's last two years. In the very hour when Britain was in the act of formulating constitutional grants, the Mahatma marched off to grapple with an internal social issue which is almost as old as Indian life. The results have been memorable. Despite the opposition of the orthodox religious groups, at first incredulous and then angry, Gandhi has stirred India to its core on the sin of maintaining untouchability. In two years he has almost succeeded in cracking wide open an unjust social order that had defiantly resisted challenge for centuries.

But he has done this at the expense of the unity and the driving power of the National Congress movement. Many of his closest associates in that movement have been quite unable to understand why he should have turned aside to thus endanger the campaign of *swaraj*. Toward the question of the untouchables the typical nationalist attitude has been: "This is an internal problem. Let us wait until India is free and then we will deal with it." Even socially minded nationalists have insisted that it was unfair to ask India to clean out the social evils within her household until she was master there. To all of which the unyielding answer of the Mahatma, passing from village to village in his pursuit of justice for the outcastes, has been: "India is not fit for freedom, and freedom will be worth nothing to her, until we have done away with this foul thing within her own life."

In that answer the greater Gandhi appears. Will the eyes of our desperately needy generation see him? For here he has once more challenged the spiritual stupor of mankind. He did it before with his claim that the achievement of vast national purposes is not dependent upon resort to force. Here he penetrates to an even more greatly needed spiritual principle, namely, that the doing of justice must precede the gaining of justice. He stands in the direct succession of that prophet who saw that judgment must begin in the house of God, and of the even greater Prophet who saw that blessing at the altar requires a prior establishment of right relations with the socially wronged.

Lest there be any confusion of this demand which Mahatma Gandhi is making for the inner purification of India with the sort of retreat into an other-worldly personal mysticism which, in other parts of the world, is being presented as the essence of religion's contribution to our contemporary need, it is to be noted that the "Inward, ho!" call which Gandhi has addressed to his followers has been a call to acute social struggle, to the immediate and bitterly opposed redressing of overt social wrong. There is a profound mysticism in Gandhi's conviction that India's attainment of freedom must wait upon her granting freedom to those of her own children upon whom she has bound the claims of her caste system. But it is the mysticism of the Sermon on the Mount.

What our generation therefore needs to see in India at this hour is that, as Gandhi appears to the superficial eye to be fading out of the political picture, he is actually offering mankind a revival of prophetic insight. He really is penetrating to the lowest depths of India's basic spiritual problem, and in so doing he is providing food for meditation for those in every land who believe that the crisis in history in which we are now involved requires that religion shall place itself in the forefront of a new struggle for human freedom. Will India follow Gandhi, subjecting herself to the searching examination and agonizing changes which are involved in righting the wrongs of her own untouchables, before she presses on to demand the righting of her national wrongs? It is not likely. But even more important is the question whether those who demand liberation in religion's name in other parts of the world will face the implication of the insight which Gandhi's *harijan* movement offers. Will they see that a successful onslaught by religion on the injustices of a pagan social order requires a prior dedication of religion itself to the cleansing of its own relations with the system which it sets itself to redeem?—The *Christian Century* 3rd October.

INDIA INDIVISIBLE.

IT is a great pity that the Congress gave no attention to the grievances of the States' peoples.

It is apparent that the Mahatma has not given up his opposition to the policy of intervention in the affairs of the States which he considers to be "independent entities", whatever he may mean by these words. It now appears that Gandhiji, in response no doubt to urgent requests made by the States' peoples, had prepared a formula indicating the Working Committee's views on this intriguing question for the consideration of the A.I.C.C. He changed his mind, however, and advised that a sub-committee be appointed to evolve another formula in consultation with the the States' peoples.

We do not know whether the Working Committee has yet appointed a sub-committee for the purpose, but the proposition when it is ready will be placed before the next meeting of the All-India

Congress Committee for its consideration, and we suppose the whole matter may then be placed before the Congress next year. All this unnecessary and disastrous procrastination and delay because the Mahatma took it into his head to perform one of his political somersaults over this question and wanted the Congress to follow suit.

He is still of the same mind that there should be no interference by Indians in the administration of Indian States. His draft resolution reads: "Congress adheres to its policy of non-interference in the internal administration of various States." This, to commence with, is not an honest introduction to the subject. The policy of the Congress is not one of non-interference with the States. The resolution proceeds to reaffirm what the Congress had said—that India is one indivisible whole and asks the Princes to establish responsible government within their jurisdiction, and recognise the necessity of guaranteeing the civil and political liberty of the people living in their territories." It then gives its sympathy in full measure to the States' people, perhaps, to add insult to injury for the strange position it has assumed in this matter.

It is no use giving to the States' people the empty sympathy of the Congress when it refuses to do anything for them, although it has not the slightest objection to receive help from the States' peoples, both in money and men, wherever necessary. The Congress has actually been helped, to a very considerable extent by the States' peoples, but when the time comes for Indians to help their brethren across the borders, Gandhiji wants suddenly to put a ban on the Congress intervention, in States' politics and tells the Indian public that the Princes are "independent" and that their administrations should not be interfered with at any cost!

This is an entirely illogical and selfish attitude and we hope all patriotic Indians, who consider that India is one and indivisible, will put up a fight on behalf of the States' people to give them their due. The Sub-Committee of the Working Committee must consider the whole matter from a new angle and come to an independent decision, instead of merely endorsing views already prepared for it by Mahatma Gandhi. We do not know what remedy the States' peoples have in this matter, but they should make it clear, in conjunction with their friends in British India, whether the Congress gives them any help or not, that they are determined to throw in their lot with British Indians in their fight against the White Paper and the monstrous scheme for Federation, which entirely ignores the States' people. If the White Paper is forced on the Indian people by the British Government, the States' people will be nowhere and their future will be permanently mortgaged to the Indian Princes. That is a contingency which should be avoided at all costs, and the States' people can never rest until the Congress is forced to give its whole-hearted support to their cause in future.

Gandhiji ought to know as well as anyone that it is no use appealing to the Indian Princes to establish "responsible government within their jurisdiction." They might as well appeal to stone walls. Only lately the Maharaja of Patiala reiterated his willingness to join the Federation, provided their administrative independence was guaranteed to them for ever, and they were secured from outside interference! No doubt the British Government are willing to do all this and more to get the support of the Princes for their federal plan. It will be a sad betrayal, if the States' peoples are left to themselves, and their appeal to the Congress callously turned down.—The *Bombay Sentinel*, 31st October.

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY.

REPORT FOR 1933-34.

(Continued from our last issue.)

Local Self-Government.

While organising public opinion on general questions like the White Paper and the Communal Award, Mr. Haradatta Sharma concentrated his energy primarily on the reform of the municipal administration of Lahore and in the Punjab. He was a Secretary of the Lahore Central Ratepayers' Association. On its behalf he organised public meetings and got articles written in newspapers to promote the reform of the municipal administration, with special reference to water supply, roads and drainage and the appointment of an Improvement Trust for Lahore. He mobilised evidence before the Government Board of Enquiry into the rates charged by the Lahore Electric Supply Co. He organised a deputation of influential men to meet the municipal authorities in December last to discuss the drainage problem of Lahore.

He then set about organising a Municipal Reform Conference at Lahore. He was elected Secretary of the Conference, which was held in May, 1934. He is promoting the formation of a local self-government institute for the Punjab and taking steps to organise a Conference of Local Boards. He was also in charge of the Lahore Poor House.

Miscellaneous.

Mr. Devadhar was President of the Indian National Social Conference held in Madras in December last. He made a special visit to Bhavnagar to study the debt redemption scheme inaugurated in that State. Mr. Sastri was given civic

addresses by the Municipal Councils of Bezwada and Erode. He made several speeches during the year on the political situation, the White Paper and education. Mr. Sahu and Mr. Sivaswami promoted Youth Leagues and Youth Conferences. The latter attempted the organisation of agricultural labour. Mr. Kunzru visited Partapgarh at the request of the Praja Sangh, which has been recently formed there to promote better relations between landlords and tenants, to inquire into the grievances of the tenants and to advise the Sangh with regard to the lines on which it should work. Mr. Dube started the Capital Club in Lucknow for the discussion of subjects of current interest and it was addressed by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer and others. Messrs. Suryanarayana Rao and Sahu promoted Study Circles in Coimbatore and Cuttack. Mr. Sharangpani took an active part in the celebration of the Children's Day in Jalgaon, the first of the kind in that place, in which the children of the town and of the Industrial Settlement fraternised. Mr. Bakhale was a member of the Care of Destitute Children and Young Offenders Committee, appointed by the Bombay Government. Mr. Sivaswami organised the Civic and Social Progress League in Trichinopoly. Mr. Bakhale was a member of the Bombay Branch of the Red Cross. Mr. Gupte attended a Rural Workers' Training class organised by the C. P. Rural Uplift Board at Rahatgaon and was a recipient of a certificate issued by the Board. Mr. Venkatesan published his "Social Service Directory" with the assistance of the International Fellowship. Mr. Devadhar was the Hon.

Provincial Secretary of the Bombay Presidency Baby and Health Week Association and Mr. Nayanar was associated with a similar body in Calicut. Messrs. Dube, Nayanar and Kodanda Rao took part in the celebrations of the centenary of the death of the Raja Ram Mohan Roy.

Mr. Bakhale was persuaded to stand for a seat in the Bombay Municipal Corporation in the interests of the Rent Restriction Bill he had introduced in the Bombay Legislative Council and was supported in his candidature by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu among others. At a later stage, he withdrew in deference to the strongly expressed wish of Mahatma Gandhi, who desired that preference should be given to the rival Harijan candidate, who, in the event, was not returned.

Mr. Gokhale accompanied Mr. Joshi to Delhi for the Legislative Assembly session and wrote "Parliamentary Letters" to the *Servant of India*, the *Hitavada* and the *Dnyan Prakash*. Mr. Sahu was appointed Secretary of the Utkal Sahitya Samaj and organised several literary gatherings, including a Poets' Conference.

Mr. Sharangpani interviewed the municipal authorities of Jalgaon on behalf of the Harijans of Jalgaon and secured a nominated seat for a Harijan on the Municipal Council in addition to the elective seat.

Mr. Kaul wrote two books in Urdu—one a social drama called "Kurbani" and the other a historical romance "Jahanara." They are due for publication in July next along with Hindi translations thereof.

Business Concerns.

With a view to create facilities for propaganda and also to ensure, if possible, a steady revenue, however small, for the Society to supplement its income from public subscriptions, the Society manages the Arya-Bhushan and Dnyan-Prakash Presses in Poona, the Bombay Vaibhava Press in Bombay and the Hitavada Press in Nagpur. The *Servant of India* and the *Dnyan Prakash* are printed at the Aryabhushan and Dnyan Prakash Presses and the *Hitavada* at the Hitavada Press. Messrs. Patwardhan and V. H. Barve were in charge of the presses in Poona and Messrs. Dravid and R. S. Gupte in Nagpur.

G. I. P. E.

The report of the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics follows. The investigations carried out by the Institute under the able direction of Mr. D. R. Gadgil, M. Litt. (Cantab.) are of great importance and are in some respects unique in India. It is hoped that the Government and in particular the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, as well as the public, will enable the Institute to expand its work.

Finance.

The finances of the Society have suffered considerably during the year. The deficit amounted to over Rs. 8,500, and the opening balances of the Society have been alarmingly reduced. The income from donations during the year amounted to Rs. 10,155. To those who made these donations the Society offers its grateful thanks. It appeals to the generous and discerning public to come to the rescue of the Society in its struggle to keep up its present activities and enlarge them as well.

Report of the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics.

The report of the detailed investigation into the marketing of fruit in Poona undertaken by the Insti-

tute was published in November, 1933. The report covers 184 pages, has 19 tables and is illustrated by 5 photographs and 9 maps. The last chapter of the report contains nearly 50 recommendations in various directions for improving the organisation of fruit marketing. Most of these recommendations are of wide applicability. The report has been very favourably reviewed by important newspapers, and co-operative and other journals. Dr. Burns, Director of Agriculture, Bombay Presidency, in writing to the Director expressed the following opinion regarding the report: "Your publication, No. 3, 'A Survey of the Marketing of Fruit in Poona' is extraordinarily useful." A Marathi translation of the report will be published during the ensuing year and steps will be taken to induce various authorities to take action on the lines indicated therein. As the next step in research in agricultural economics it has been determined to explore the possibilities of investigating the profitability of farming by the survey method. This method, though widely used in other countries for profitability surveys, has not yet been attempted in India. There are many difficulties in the way; but very useful results are likely to follow the successful establishment of this method. Preliminary work in this direction has already been begun in the potato tract of the Khed Taluka (Dist. Poona).

Mr. L. V. Gogate's work on the motor transport enquiry has now been completed and it is expected to issue a report embodying its results early during the next year.

The total number of M. A. students enrolled at the Institute were during the year 40, of whom 4 were research students. At the M. A. examination held in April, 1933, 3 students of the Institute appeared, of whom 2 were successful (both these being placed in the second class). Mr. N. M. Joshi, a scholar of the Institute, submitted a thesis on "Urban Handicrafts of the Bombay Deccan." The thesis was approved for the M. A. degree and he was placed in the first class. The Institute's scholars this year were Mr. P. A. Padhye and Mr. B. A. Vaidya.

The following four lectures were delivered in the Institute's series of popular lectures during the year under report. Mr. D. R. Gadgil, "Reserve Bank"; Prof. D. G. Karve, "Federal Finance"; Mr. K. T. Shah (2 lectures), "World Economic Crisis."

Mr. D. R. Gadgil continued to be a member of various authorities of the Bombay University and the Indian Women's University and delivered his usual course of lectures at the Local Self-Government Institute.

(Concluded.)

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- WOMEN AND A CHANGING CIVILISATION. By WINFRIED HOLTY. (John Lane.) 1934. 20cm. 213p. 2/6.
G. K.'s. A. Miscellany of the First 500 issues of G. K.'s Weekly. By G. K. CHESTERTON. (Rich & Cowan.) 1934. 20cm. 320p. 7/6.
HOW TO MAKE A REVOLUTION. By RAYMOND POSTGATE. (Hogarth Press.) 1934. 20cm. 199p. 5/-
TOWARDS THE UNDERSTANDING OF KARL MARX. By SYDNEY HOOK. (Gollancz.) 1933. 20cm. 288p. 5/-
THE PROGRESS OF RURAL WELFARE IN INDIA. By C. F. STRICKLAND. (Oxford University Press.) 1934. 16cm. 46p. As.8.
THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. (Oxford University Press.) 1934. 20cm. 121p. Re. 1/8.