

The Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

S. I. Society's Anniversary Celebration.

THE thirty-first anniversary celebration of the foundation day of the Servants of India Society commenced at its head-quarters in Poona on the morning of the 12th inst. when its President, Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, delivered an address surveying the present situation. The celebration was attended by most of the members, the absentees being Messrs. Srinivasa Sastri and Krishna Prasad Kaul who could not attend owing to unsatisfactory health and Mr. P. Kodanda Rao who is away in America. In the afternoon the Society was "At Home" to about 300 of its friends and sympathisers who were addressed by Mr. Kunzru on the work of the Society. A summary of Mr. Kunzru's speech will be found elsewhere in this issue.

THE usual election of three members of the Council by the members resulted in the return of Messrs. Vaze, Limaye and Parulekar. On the completion of their one year's probation, Messrs. Dinkar D. Desai from Karnatak, N. V. Phadke from Sangli and Shyam Sundar Misra from Orissa were formally admitted to the membership of the Society.

THE practice of arranging lectures for the benefit of the members by distinguished publicists which was initiated a few years ago was followed this year too. Mr. D. B. Gadgil, Director of the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, delivered a course of four lectures on the "World Economic Crisis and India" and Principal D. G. Karve of the Willingdon College addressed the members on "Socialism." Sir Lalubhai Samaldas kindly came specially from Bombay and spoke on the Bombay Provincial Land Mortgage Bank. The Society is grateful to all

of them for their help. It is needless to add that these lectures were highly appreciated by the members.

Matriculation "Slaughter."

THE Senate of the University of Bombay could not this year meet for discussing the annual budget on the day first appointed because of noisy and persistent interruption by a crowd of students and others who had invaded the Senate House. The demonstration was intended as a protest against what was described as the "slaughter" at the Matriculation examination held last April. The percentage of passes at this examination was somewhat lower than has been usual in recent years. This is said to be the result of a large number of students below average attainment being sent up for the examination in view of an imminent change in the course of studies and a misleading circular issued by the University authorities. It is also said that the abolition of the committee which used in former years to review the results before publishing them finally, affected the percentage of passes adversely. In case of a particular grievance of this last type it would be the proper and normal course for any school authorities, parents or student bodies to approach the executive of the University. In fact this course is being followed by a large number of educational associations. Certain persons in Bombay—including unfortunately some Fellows of the University,—however, seized this occasion to start a general agitation against the university authorities which culminated in the row staged in the Senate House on 15th June. How absurd and illogical was the attitude taken by the agitators is demonstrated by the fact that one of the "demands" put forward was the guarantee by the University of a certain minimum number of passes!

THE result of the matriculation examination is arrived at by bringing together the marks lists of a number of different sets of examiners. The University authorities have after the appointment of examiners no hand in shaping the result. Neither have they under the present constitution of the University powers to modify the result in the manner in which it was asked it should be modified. All this was well-known at least to those Fellows of the University who led and encouraged the unruly crowd of demonstrators. That in spite of this knowledge they should encourage the obstructionists and advise them to persist in what was naively called the struggle of the students against the University shows, we feel, a deplorable want of balance. Have these persons, we wonder, ever paused to consider the logical implication of their action? Are they not setting up a plea for the control of the standard of examinations not by the examining authority but by the examinees? Do they not think it undesirable that examination results should be open to manipulation on outside pressure being brought to

bear on University authorities? And if the student world once becomes convinced that what they think to be their legitimate demands can be enforced by "direct action" then would it ever be possible to maintain within an educational institution even that minimum of discipline which the most liberal educationists feel necessary?

Sind Finances.

TWO points were specially stressed by non-official speakers in the course of the recent budget debate in the Sind Advisory Council. One was the inadequacy of the resources of Sind for her development and the other the fearful extent to which corruption was rampant among Government servants there. Under the first head the universal criticism was that Sind's interest payments in connection with her debt would act as a veritable millstone round her neck. The budget provides for Rs. 146 lakhs, i. e. Rs. 10 lakhs in excess of the total land revenue receipts, by way of interest charges, Rs. 125 lakhs of which represent the interest on the debt incurred for the construction of the Sukkur Barrage and connected canals. This has aggravated the financial difficulties of Sind beyond measure. Whereas in pre-Barrage days her irrigation system was a paying proposition to the extent of Rs. 32 lakhs, it would now be converted into a liability to the extent of Rs. 85 lakhs a year! The debate was hardly fruitful from the point of view of immediately practicable suggestions for placing the provincial finances on a sound footing, the general tendency being to look up to the Central Government for more substantial help.

IT was clear from the debate that the evil of corruption was not confined to any particular department or departments but was all-pervasive. In the excise department alone, it is generally supposed that a revenue of about Rs. 20 lakhs was being absorbed by the departmental staff every year. It follows that with stricter supervision all this and perhaps some more money could be made to come into Government coffers. But the extent of corruption would be better appreciated when it is borne in mind that even the Dow Committee which inquired into the figures of income and expenditure of Sind nearly two years ago could not afford to overlook the existence of the evil. The Committee's estimate was that these illegal gratifications swallow nearly one-sixteenth of the total Government revenue. The Committee could not help referring to this evil though it did not come directly within the scope of its inquiries as in its view it had a material bearing in assessing the tax-paying capacity of the people. We hope the Government of the new province would devise measures for putting down this evil which so prejudicially affects its income.

Indian Situation in Kenya.

THE recent departure for England of Lord Francis Scott, the leader of the Europeans in Kenya, has thrown the Indian community there in a state of consternation. This is not difficult to understand. It is generally believed that the object of Lord Francis Scott's visit to England is to persuade the Colonial Secretary to enlarge the bounds of the highlands reserved for Europeans as recommended by the Carter Commission, to vent the Europeans' anger at the disbandment of the Kenya Defence Force without securing beforehand their blessings to that step and to ask for a more effective voice for the European community in the management of the affairs of Kenya. In all these respects the interests of the European and Indian communities are found to come into direct clash and

it is natural that the Indian community should bestir itself with a view to safeguarding its own interests. It is not surprising therefore that representative Indian bodies and public meetings should record their disapprobation of Lord Francis Scott's visit in no uncertain terms. The Indian Association of Mombasa e. g. in a moderately-worded resolution expresses itself as being strongly opposed to his views. Not content with this, it characterises his mission as being against, not only Indian but also native interests.

IN this connection one is relieved to learn that the Indian community does not consider its duty discharged by merely making these facts known to all whom they may concern but is thinking of concerting measures to counteract Lord Francis Scott's anti-Indian activities in England. To this end a deputation with the authority and mandate of the East African Indian Congress will visit England, India or both these countries with a view to educate public opinion in them on the Kenya Indian situation. The deputation to England being a very costly affair, mere prudence demands that steps be taken in advance to make sure that the Colonial Secretary will be prepared to discuss the situation with it. We are glad that this course will be adopted. It is a great pity that when the Indian community is faced with such a crisis in its fortunes it should be divided on matters which to an outsider appear to be of comparatively minor importance. With good will and understanding on the part of the parties concerned, these should be capable of amicable settlement. In any event we would deprecate anything being done which would in any way weaken the most representative Indian organisation in Kenya, the Congress.

An Overdue Reform.

OVER forty years ago it was that the Indian National Congress first put forward the demand for the constitution of a separate Civil Medical Service as distinct from the I. M. S. which is primarily a military service. But it is a matter for deep regret that despite the lapse of such a long period the demand remains unfulfilled. Its echo was recently heard in the Council of State but to no purpose. The considerations on which it is based are too well known to need recapitulation here. Suffice it to say that a service upon whose attention military interests have the first claim can never be expected satisfactorily to discharge its obligations for the medical relief of such a vast population as that of India.

THE war reserve of the I. M. S. consists of 66 officers on the Indian side and 134 officers on the British side. Why with a much larger number of Indian troops the Indian war reserve should be smaller in size than its British counterpart is not easy to understand. But this is by the way. In the absence of war these officers attend to the medical needs of the civil population but on its outbreak form part of the military organisation. The retention of such a large contingent of highly paid officers as a permanent measure in the belief that their services may be requisitioned some day is naturally resisted by public opinion as a totally unjustifiable drain on the public purse. Why not instead do away with this reserve and replace it by the required number of men selected from the independent medical profession whenever an emergency arises? This alternative was suggested in the course of the debate in the Upper House of the Indian Legislature.

THE alternative however failed to commend itself to the Government for reasons which, to say the least, are far from cogent or convincing. Under the terms of the Lee report the Government are, it was said, bound to maintain a staff of European medical men large enough to satisfy the requirements of the European members of the superior civil and military services. This preference for being treated by doctors of one's own race is doubtless unreasonable in view of the fact, to which attention was drawn by more than one non-official speaker, that over one thousand Indian doctors have permanently settled in England and are not suffering from lack of practice.

It is all very well to say, as was done by the Government spokesman on this occasion, that the war reserve will diminish in proportion as Indianisation of the civil and military services progresses. In other words this is to ask India to be content with the status quo more or less for a good long time. But the real point is why should India be required to pay for the satisfaction of this prejudice on the part of the Europeans? This question has been asked times out of number without eliciting a satisfactory reply from the Government. In the recent debate in the Second Chamber too the point remained unanswered.

THE FUTURE OF SANCTIONS.

FOR the first time in the Italo-Abyssinian dispute the British Government has given a real lead. So far it only said: "If other Governments are prepared to impose sanctions, so are we." It never said, "Sanctions, and drastic sanctions, must be imposed. We are prepared to play our part and would urge all the other League countries to do so." It carefully refrained from saying this in the matter of an oil embargo at the crucial moment. It was not willing to take the initiative in proposing a ban on the export of oil to Italy. It could only say: "If other countries are ready to cut off Italy's supplies of oil, we shall not be behindhand." Sir Austen Chamberlain had recommended a bolder course of action, viz. that the British Government should take it upon itself to propose all the measures that were necessary to prevent Italy from rewarding itself with the fruits of aggression, and in these measures he included everything, economic sanctions and military sanctions. The British Government however never took this line, which, if it had been adopted at an early enough stage, might possibly have prevented the outbreak of war and would certainly have prevented the war from being carried forward to a successful conclusion. Military sanctions the British Government ruled out completely from the beginning. Economic sanctions, too, of a severer kind, it did not propose itself and certainly did not press for. In the matter of withdrawing such mild sanctions as have been imposed, however, the British Government has taken a definite lead. It is a wholly wrong lead, but for once it has given the lead to other Powers, thus making clear as in a flash-light what its attitude to the whole question has been from the beginning. It does not say, as it did previously when it was a question of putting on sanctions, "If other countries insist upon calling off sanctions, we shall agree to do so." It says: "The withdrawal of sanctions is necessary. We are going to urge it at the meeting of the League Council at the end of this month. If, however, the Council decides otherwise we shall fall in." This *volte face* on the part of the British Government has shocked public opinion even more than the publication of the Hoare-Laval proposals of surrender. However, there is no real change of front, so far as the British Government is concerned. It imposed sanctions reluctantly and is glad to wash its hands of them at the earliest opportunity.

Mr. Eden says in effect: "There is no purpose in

continuing the sanctions, which were intended to stop the war, after the war has actually stopped." The *New Statesman* has given an effective reply to this in anticipation of the debate in the Commons of the 16th inst. "What has stopped," it says, "is the Italian war against Ethiopia, not the Italian war against the League and the rule of law." The Ethiopian Emperor fled from the battlefield, leaving Italy master of the situation. Now it is for the League to execute a flight, and the British Government is speeding it in its flight. Only Haile Selassie's flight was not dishonourable; he could not possibly hold his own against aeroplanes and poison gases. The League, however, could stand its ground if only it had made up its mind to do so. Its flight will therefore be thoroughly disgraceful, and Great Britain has brought on itself an irremovable shame in leading the League on this course. The consequences of the Ethiopian Emperor's surrender too are comparatively slight. Only one island of independence had remained in the African sea of slavery; it will now be wiped off the map. The addition of one more to the rank of slaves is not a very great matter. But if the League is liquidated, as undoubtedly it will be after this surrender on its part for all practical purposes, the rule of law will vanish from the international scene, and open brigandage will be enthroned in the world's affairs. We do not mind this if in reality we are to live as in a jungle, where the rule of force will dominate instead of the rule of law. It is much better to have to face reality in its stark nakedness than to be mumbling words like "collective security" and "international morality." Ethiopia has gone, but all the subject peoples will know that all the big Powers without exception are bent upon pursuing policies which are strangers to honour, justice, charity and truth. They knew this before, but the League had in the meanwhile roused in their minds hopes which are now cruelly disappointed. When they are once again alive to the situation as it exists, they will yet find out a way of stopping the exploitation that is now rampant.

The sanctions, mild as they are and slow in exerting pressure, are being raised, be it noted, just when competent observers tell us that they will be effective if continued. Mr. Keynes felt confident when the sanctions were about to be enforced that if the war dragged on the financial and economic sanctions would prove irresistible. It is true that the war came

to a stop earlier than military experts had anticipated. They thought that the war would go on for two years and more, but Mussolini achieved a complete victory between two rainy seasons. But the fact remains that Italy's foreign trade has been ruined and consequently Italy's economic position has become very much weaker. No facts relating to the economic and financial position of Italy are allowed to be officially published, but the statistics published by the League Secretariat make it clear that by the early months of this year imports of merchandise from Italy into sanctionist countries had come virtually to a standstill, whilst exports to Italy had also largely disappeared. The exports from 19 countries which include some non-sanctionist countries as well dwindled from 9,836,000 American gold dollars in March 1921 to 5,742,000 in March 1935 and the imports from 7,194,000 dollars to 1,802,000. Similarly, it is calculated that the Bank of Italy's gold reserves fell from £70,000,000 at which they stood when the Bank's last return was published in October 1935 to about £20,000,000 in March 1936. Again when the Italian army is demobilised, the men engaged so far in the military operations will have to be provided with work, which will prove an impossible task for Italy, what with the debts it has already incurred and the depletion of the gold stocks it has suffered. The mere maintenance of the sanctions would thus have produced almost a paralysing effect, but the sanctions could well have been intensified. On 29th May, in the House of Commons, some proposals to this effect were made: the withdrawal of ambassadors, the prevention of Italian shipping coming into League ports or League shipping going into Italian ports, the severing of connections between Italy and Africa, and the expulsion of Italy from the League. But the Governments of the League countries are afraid that as soon as sanctions become effective, they will provoke war. However, such a situation cannot be avoided. Mr. Henderson well asked: "If you are going to refuse to apply sanctions so as to make them effective because you are afraid of war, and if you will only incur the danger of war because the sanctions are effective, then what is the use of taking up the time of the League of Nations or the time of any one else in discussing proposals for bringing pressure to bear upon an aggressor nation?" The truth is that if Great Britain has its way, the League will be dead or else will lead a dishonourable existence, which is much worse.

THE WOMEN'S FELLOWSHIP OF SERVICE.

MR. G. K. DEVADHAR, the late President of the Servants of India Society, did not find it possible, while living, to bring into existence an organisation of women who would devote their whole lives in a missionary spirit to the service of the country. But it will gladden his soul to see, while he is not for more than eight months in God's care in another world, such a body formed. The Women's Fellowship of Service is this body, and it was formally ushered into being by the present President of the Servants of India Society on 12th June, when the

thirty-first anniversary of the Society's foundation was celebrated, with two very promising women workers, Miss Shanta Bhalerao, M.A., and Miss Godavari Gokhale, B.A., LL.B. These and the others who will be admitted into the Fellowship in future will be whole-time workers, and whole-time service for women necessarily implies, very much more than for men, a life of celibacy. The founders of the Fellowship do not cherish the Tolstoyan notion that marriage is an evil. In their opinion home making is no less noble a pursuit for women than dedication of their lives to the service of public causes. Only one conflicts with the other; no married woman can give her whole time to public work without compromising her loyalty to her home. Women have therefore to make a choice; they can either give the major portion of their time and energies to the rearing of a family and in their spare hours carry on such public activities as they can or remain unmarried and spend themselves in the service of the country.

An American paper wrote recently about the celebration of the Mothers' Day (10th May) as follows: "If women complained that to manage a household demanded a degree of courage and intelligence not often found, we could understand. But when they profess to be able to care for a household in odd moments snatched from public engagements, or aver that home duties are mean and narrow, we simply do not know what they mean. A railroad, or a great banking house, or an international steel corporation, can be managed by brains, but more than brains are needed to make a home, and keep it. It takes a strong will, and a keen intelligence, and a tender heart, all attuned to one great purpose; that is to say, it takes a woman into whose heart God has put mother-love." The Women's Fellowship of Service, acting on the principle of giving unto Caesar that which belongs to Caesar, has decided to take in only such women as will be free from family cares and responsibilities and will be in a position fully to discharge the duties of public life. If any of them desire at a later stage to enter on matrimony, they can do so without any kind of slur. Only in such cases they can remain in the Fellowship only as part-time workers or as Associates. We see a good deal of criticism levelled against the Fellowship because it confines its full membership to unmarried women. Such critics may be reminded that in all Christian missionary bodies the same rule prevails, and it is founded on the basic facts of a woman's life.

The Servants of India Society has been asked, and has consented, to give to the Women's Fellowship of Service for the first three years and later for such period as may be mutually agreed upon between them the necessary control, oversight and guidance. The Society looks upon it as a high privilege to look after the Fellowship in its infancy. The first members of the Fellowship have with singular courage come forward to shoulder the financial responsibility of their institution. They have also decided, very wisely, to serve a sort of novitiate with other public institutions in the initial stage, so that when they have gathered enough practical experience they can go forward with work initiated by themselves. The members

of the Servants of India Society will indeed be always glad to give a helping hand to their sisters, but the Fellowship needs generous support from the public on a wide scale. To those given to charity we wish to say a word of reassurance. The Fellowship's funds will be under the direct management of the Servants of India Society at least for three years from now, and it may

be helped financially with as much trustfulness as the Society itself. But more than pecuniary help, the Fellowship requires the moral support of all who feel a concern for the women's cause, and we bespeak the public's assistance to the new institution with a free hand and a full heart. We trust it will receive it in rich abundance.

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU AND OURSELVES.

I.—PANDIT JAWAHARLAL'S LETTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—I am grateful to you for your courtesy in sending me many of the old issues of the SERVANT OF INDIA. I have read the articles and editorial notes in them with pleasure and profit. And in reading some of these articles I have felt that the hiatus between your way of thinking and mine was not so great as I had imagined.

You tell us that :

While the members of the (Liberal) Party will utilise the constitution for what it is worth, they will ever beat in mind the evermastering fact that the constitution deserves to be put on the scrap-heap and will work with that end in view. Nor are they unmindful of the fact that a better constitution is almost impossible of achievement by constitutional means. . . . The British Government has as it were served notice on the Indian people, and particularly on the Liberal Party who pin their faith to constitutional means, that constitutionalism is at an end. . . . Whenever possible the Liberal Party will try to give a good spanking to a reactionary administration composed of all the vested interests, as mine to ten it will be. The party will on occasion even engineer daring, decisive coups. (Jan. 9, 1936.)

In an earlier issue (Aug. 22, 1935) you stress that :

We do not want self-government merely for emotional satisfaction, in order that we may enjoy the feeling that Indians now rule in the place of the Britishers. In fact even such a feeling would be illegitimate, for behind the facade of Indian self-rule that we may succeed in putting up there will always be British control. But a mere change of masters, even if it were real, would satisfy nobody. We want self-government only as a means of introducing fundamental changes in society, as a means of abolishing privilege, as a means of transferring power from the ruling class, whether white or brown, to the broad masses of people, as a means of establishing a democratic and equalitarian regime. If our self-government is such as to foreclose all these momentous issues, as on Mr. Jayakar's hypothesis it does, we have no use for it. . . . We want them (our legislators) to sponsor drastic measures for the creation of a new social order and challenge all the vested interests and the Governor and the Governor-General together to do their worst. To make the constitution successful is not our objective. Our objective is and must be to re-vamp our social and economic structure, and if even in taking one forward step in this long and weary process we come into collision with the holders of power and privilege, as we are afraid will be the case, for such collision we must be prepared, whatever the reaction of it may be on the constitution.

My own views on these issues have received sufficient publicity. They go much further. But I recognise with pleasure a certain similarity in mental outlook and a desire to face the real problem of vested interests, whether foreign or Indian. That problem, in the shape of the Indian States, has received continuous attention in the SERVANT OF INDIA and the attitude taken by it has certainly been in advance of some sections of Congress opinion in the past.

In reading these articles, with their clear though restrained analysis, I find it difficult to understand how the writers stop suddenly and refrain from drawing the inevitable conclusions which follow. They approach them, they hint at them, and yet they stop short of them, both in regard to the political issue of national freedom and the social issue of removing vested interest and privilege. We are told that because of the Government of India Act constitutionalism is almost at an end. Why 'almost' and why just because of the Government of India Act, though that Act might make the issue clearer? Is not a narrow constitutionalism and legalism, which has been the policy of the Liberal Party, inherently and always out of place when we have to meet the challenge of foreign domination or of entrenched vested interest? It was the recognition of this fact in the political sphere by the Congress that made the Congress, despite many failings, develop rapidly into a powerful and effective organisation. It was the refusal to admit it, even in a small degree, by the Liberal Party that made that Party, despite many virtues, ineffective and weak and completely out of touch with mass sentiment? The further recognition of this fact in the social sphere of vested interests will inevitably bring the broad masses even more into the national movement and make that movement irresistible.

The amazing passivity of the Liberal Party (quite apart from direct action) during all these years of storm and stress in India has been the consequence, I feel, of that deadening creed of legalism. Action, and often brave and heroic action, has saved the Congress and put it on a pedestal in India, even though it was often backward.

The attitude of the SERVANT OF INDIA in regard to Civil Liberty, I gladly admit, has been one of consistent opposition to its suppression. But I am not so sure that it represents in this matter, or in many others, the Liberal Party as a whole. Something more, surely, than occasional verbal protest was demanded by the occurrences of the past six years. And that protest was often a qualified one. Was it not possible for non-Congress groups, who felt on this question of Civil Liberty, to take steps to institute enquiries into the grave executive excesses in the Frontier Provinces, in Bengal and elsewhere? There was much that could be done, even under the abnormal conditions then prevailing, to draw the country's and the world's attention to the horror that prevailed in India.

Without indulging in any form of direct action people could have dissociated themselves from too close an association with the Government or high officials. There was no such attempt at a gesture which would have had a moral value, except, as far as I remember, in 1930 when some members of the Legislative Assembly resigned because of the repression.

Association in the Round Table Conference was a gesture in favour of the Government which was crushing India. Even at the R. T. C. no effective or continuous protest was raised on this ground.

Ever since the early years of this century the declared policy of Government has been "to rally the Moderates" to its side and in conflicts

between the Government and large sections of the people, leading Liberals have held high executive office and been to all outward showing part and parcel of the Government. They have undertaken responsibility for repression, and for the promulgation of the Seditious Meetings Act and similar measures. Individual Liberal leaders in the Assembly and elsewhere have supported Government in not releasing political prisoners, convicts or detenus.

It is not a question, so far as I am concerned, of the Liberal Party or any other party, but of a certain political and social outlook, which I consider reactionary and harmful. I am sure, and I have stated so in my autobiography, that there are many in the Congress who have this reactionary outlook. I am equally sure that there are individuals in the Liberal Party who dislike this and who feel embarrassed by their reactionary colleagues. But there can be no doubt that the Congress today does represent, as a whole, the most advanced outlook, apart from Labour and other groups more or less allied to it, and is the only effective organisation in India.

I have yet another difficulty. How far does the attitude of the SERVANT OF INDIA represent that of many leading Liberals—of Sir Sivaswamy Iyer, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and others, or of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who (though not a member of the Party) still represents, I take it, the Liberal tradition in India? Do they accept that constitutionalism is almost at an end and the new Act must be scrapped? Do they agree that "fundamental changes in society" are necessary "as a means of abolishing privilege, as a means of transferring power from the ruling class, whether white or brown, to the broad masses of the people, as a means of establishing a democratic and equalitarian regime"? Are they out to "re-vamp our social and economic structure" and "challenge all the vested interests"?

I would gladly believe this, but facts seem to be against it. They associate themselves closely with those very vested interests, white and brown, and oppose even a consideration of such vital social changes. In the Manifesto of the 21 businessmen of Bombay there were several noted Liberal leaders standing shoulder to shoulder with several persons whom you, Sir, have frequently criticised for this reactionary and pro-Government attitude. Do you agree with the sentiments contained in this manifesto, political or social? And do you think that the answers I have received from Sir Sivaswamy Iyer and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, which have been approved by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and other well-known Liberals of Bombay, represent the correct attitude in regard to civil liberties?

This letter has outgrown all reasonable bounds and I crave your indulgence for this. I would beg of you to believe that I write in no carping spirit of criticism. I am not much concerned with parties and individuals but more so with ideas and principles and the action that should follow from them. I think it is time that all of us should try to think straight if we are to act straight. In my autobiography I have endeavoured to give frank expression to my feelings in the hope that this will help in a real consideration of the issues before us. It was not my intention to offend any one, and if unhappily I have succeeded in doing so, that is my misfortune. But that risk had to be taken. We dare not ignore realities for the sake of superficial gestures and phrases conveying an unmeaning politeness. True courtesy requires a probing of the real issues and an attempt to understand each other.—Yours, etc.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

Mussoorie,
June 13.

II—THE EDITOR'S REPLY.

We are grateful to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru for his full and frank criticism of our attitude to the social and political questions confronting the country, and we are glad to find that the criticism is on the whole very friendly.

Civil Liberty.—For one thing, his appraisal of our attitude to civil liberty has undergone complete transformation. He finds in it no sign of weakness or callousness. So far so good. But he makes certain complaints against the Liberal Party as a whole. (1) Their protest is often qualified.—We answered this criticism in our leader on "Civil Liberty" in the issue of 28th May, and we do not wish to repeat the answer here, though Pandit Jawaharlal has chosen to ignore it. (2) It is a verbal protest not backed up by action such as an inquiry into official excesses.—An inquiry has been carried out in some cases, though not in all. But such a charge can be brought against all parties in all matters. Did the Congress itself institute an inquiry into the cases he mentions, for surely he cannot maintain that all Congressmen were in gaol at the time? He will find, after he constitutes the Civil Liberties Union, that the Union, though it dedicates itself to the maintenance of civil liberty, will not in actual fact be able to carry out, through accredited agents, an inquiry into more than a very small proportion of even the more flagrant acts of repression. (3) Some individual Liberals have failed in supporting attempts at preservation of civil liberty.—This must be admitted, but the action of such Liberals has received no endorsement from the Party and in fact is known to be in defiance of the Party's resolutions on the subject. But this is more than one can say about the black sheep in the Congress. Over Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, for instance, the Congress threw its mantle of protection in another matter. (4) A great many Liberal leaders have refused to join the proposed Civil Liberties Union.—To draw from it the inference that these leaders are opposed or indifferent to civil liberty would be no more reasonable than to infer from the refusal on the part of Mahatma Gandhi to join a body, if one were projected by Dr. Ambedkar, for the uplift of the untouchables that Mahatma Gandhi is opposed or indifferent to the uplift of the untouchables. Obviously many factors enter into a decision on such questions.

Constitutionalism.—It would be difficult to convince one like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who entertains a lofty disdain for all constitutional details, however important, of the fundamental change that has come over the situation by reason of the provisions of the Government of India Act. To any one else we would point out Professor Berriedale Keith's statement that "the amendment of the constitution is in the main forbidden" by the Act. But Pandit Jawaharlal would brush all this aside as mere legalism, and as of no consequence. Between him and us, we are afraid, there is no common ground on this issue, and a further discussion of the question is profitless. The Liberals have at least the candour to own to searchings of their hearts necessitated by the new constitution, but the Congress is yet to show that it is as alive to the difficulties created by the constitution in the way of direct action as the Liberal Party is alive to the difficulties created by the constitution in the way of parliamentary action. Pandit Jawaharlal loves to pour scorn on everything connected with constitutionalism, but has been unable to prevent a drift of the Congress from direct actionism to constitutionalism. Why, he does not even seek to prevent it. For he supports, and does not oppose, the entry of Congressmen into the legislatures. He no doubt opposes office acceptance, but there is no ground for the belief that, in his opinion, acceptance of ministerships on the part of Congressmen at a time when repression is in

full swing would be tantamount to their acquiescence in repression. Why does Pandit Jawaharlal then brand those Liberals who associated themselves with Government and with bodies like the R. T. C. as supporters of repression? Cannot one join them for the purpose of doing all one can to put down repression and bring freedom to the people? If, even in the extremely difficult situation created by the new constitution, we recommend parliamentary action and acceptance of office, it is with the object of extracting what little good we can from the Government of India Act, and, more than that, of replacing the Act by a new one. And, in this connection, it should be noted that no Congress leader outside the ranks of socialists and not even Pandit Jawaharlal, though a socialist, proposes adopting the tactics of uniform and continuous obstruction of all measures of Government.

Vested Interests.—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru approves of our policy in this matter, but doubts whether it is accepted by the Liberal Party as a whole. Frankly, we cannot be sure of this as the Pandit himself cannot be sure that the Congress as a body supports it. The existing party affiliations are formed on an entirely different basis, viz. the basis of wringing power from the Britishers. On the question of how to utilise the power when it comes into Indian hands the differences that exist between different schools of thought cut across the present party divisions, and we have no reason to suppose that there is a smaller proportion of conservatives in the Congress ranks than in the Liberal. Pandit Jawaharlal agrees that our attitude to one of the privileged classes in India, viz. the Princes, is more advanced than that of the section which rules the Congress. But the Congress attitude to this question is indicative of conservatism on a much larger scale. After all, why does the Congress shrink from promising the States' people (to take but one instance) a place on a constituent assembly, which is to be convoked, either after or on the eve of a political revolution, and, therefore, on a constituent assembly which may never in fact come to be convoked? What resistance has the Congress to fear on the part of the Princes when it has overthrown or is about to overthrow the resistance on the part of the mighty British Empire? Of course, none. It is not afraid of the future; it is afraid that by taking up a hostile attitude towards the Princes now it will only weaken itself in the national struggle against the Britisher. And, similarly, it would be afraid of carrying on the popular fight against the other vested interests in India—till at least national freedom is won. This does not represent merely Mahatma Gandhi's attitude; Pandit Jawaharlal

himself is not altogether free from it. Seeing what an outburst of adverse criticism has greeted his socialist propaganda, he is trying now almost to explain it away by saying, in effect, that no one need be frightened by his socialistic creed; that their efforts must for the present be concentrated on a nationalist political struggle; and that it is only when this political struggle is gone through successfully that socialism will be a live issue. He too keeps the fight on to nationalist lines, and in order to do so, must necessarily refrain from attacking vested interests where it is necessary to do so. But there is one serious miscalculation here. Back of Indian vested interests stands the British Government, and much more brazenly so under the new constitution than under the present. The British Government cannot be dislodged from power unless Indian vested interests are put in their place. If even Pandit Jawaharlal, the supposedly sworn enemy of privilege, is not above compromising his position in this matter in what he regards as the larger national interests, who is to guarantee that the Congress will fight Indian and British vested interests together? Our own attitude we shall outline briefly thus: We do not subscribe to the creed of the communists; we are not in favour of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the liquidation of religion, the crushing of the bourgeoisie. But we are in favour of all reasonable essays in what Mr. Kunzru aptly styled the other day as practical socialism, in the abolition of privilege and the removal of inequalities, and in the rebuilding of society in accord with right and reason. As in politics self-rule is the only permanent good, and other-rule can be justified temporarily only to the extent that it adheres to the basic principles of justice and charity and promotes the material and spiritual welfare of the people ruled, so in economic matters the wealthy can temporarily justify their possessions only to the extent that they use their wealth as the stewards of the poor, but our constant attempt must be in the direction of abolishing privilege and removing inequalities. In India the need for trying to abolish privilege both among the Indians and the Britishers together is very greatly emphasised by the coming in of the new constitution.

We do not at all object to Pandit Jawaharlal being critical and even censorious of the Liberal Party. We welcome criticism from all men of goodwill; the Liberal Party needs it as much as any other. We would only suggest to the Pandit that before he embarks on it he should take care that he has all the relevant facts in.

THE SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY. SPEECH OF PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU.

The following is a summary of the speech made by Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, President, Servants of India Society, at the "At Home" given by the Society in its Home in Poona on Friday, 12th June, at its thirty-first anniversary:—

MR. G. K. DEVADHAR.

AT the outset Mr. Kunzru referred to the great loss which the Servants of India Society had sustained by the death of Mr. Devadhar who guided it for eight years and a half. His championship of the rights of our poor and suppressed classes, his devotion to social service as a means of leading the nation towards freedom and his industry and efficiency led

Mr. Gokhale to widen the scope of the Society's work which was originally limited to political education and agitation so as to embrace within it those activities the object of which was to build up our strength from within by substituting justice and equality for tyranny and privilege in our social system. Social service was a timid claimant to a place in the national programme a generation ago. Today, thanks largely to Mr. Devadhar's enthusiasm and drive, it ranked with political activities in public estimation. Apart from this it was due to his inspiration that the Society turned its attention to the question of rural development to which many of its members were devoting themselves exclusively.

Mr. Kunzru then referred to the Committees which had been formed both in Bombay and Poona to collect adequate funds to raise a memorial to him. The Poona Seva Sadan, which he founded with the support and active co-operation of Mrs. Rawabai Ranade and raised to its present unique position, was his most visible title to the gratitude of his countrymen. He hoped therefore that the memorial would assume the form of assistance to this institution so that the debt amounting to nearly a lakh of rupees which threatened its existence might be cleared and it might be strengthened to serve the women of India in many ways. He thanked the Rani Sahiba of Sangli who was taking a keen interest in its future and had promised a donation of Rs. 5,000. He was glad to announce that a biography of Mr. Devadhar, which had been written in Marathi by a newly admitted member of the Society, would be published in the course of a few weeks.

RAO BAHADUR KALE.

Proceeding further, Mr. Kunzru paid a tribute to the late Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale for his sustained and active interest in public questions and his regard for the Society. It was well-known that he founded the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics in association with the Society and endowed it with a lakh of rupees. Mr. Kunzru was sure that the value of the Institute would be recognised in proportion as the questions with which it was concerned received our serious attention.

THE SOCIETY'S WORK.

Dealing with the work of the Society in 1935-36, Mr. Kunzru said, it could roughly be divided into four classes: political, economic, social and educational. The first category included, in addition to general political agitation and work in the legislatures, the help given to the subjects of Indian States in their struggle for civic rights, and the second such items as labour and rural development. The other heads covered activities like the uplift of the depressed classes and scouting (both for boys and girls). After recounting briefly the work done by the members last year, Mr. Kunzru pointed out that their record showed that the protection of the rights of the masses and their advancement occupied a high place in the Society's programme. In concerning themselves with the organisation of labour or rural development or the depressed classes, they did not merely aim at improving the moral condition of the people concerned. The Society wanted to awaken their consciousness and to release their imprisoned souls. It wanted to widen their outlook, to enhance their self-respect and to make them aware that by self-reliance and union they could make their voice heard and control their own destinies. The interest taken by His Excellency the Viceroy in rural development should gladden every heart, but Government by itself could not achieve the end they all had in view. Increased expenditure on social services was necessary and Government alone could provide the needed funds, but could official agents create the moral atmosphere required to vitalise the people and educate them in the rights of citizenship? Re-

ferring to the Seva Samiti Boy Scouts Association, Mr. Kunzru said, scouting as understood by it was an effort to train and tend saplings so that they might grow into straight and strong trees. Its aim was to do for little boys and girls what social movements of the kind referred to above should do for the adult. It was an educational and nation-building activity of the greatest importance.

Referring to the political work of the Society, Mr. Kunzru observed that its members had tried to impress on the country that this was no time for self-praise and partisanship. Holding the views expressed recently by Babu Rajendra Prasad, they had emphasised that the united efforts of all nationalists were necessary to pull the country out of the quagmire in which it had sunk.

WOMEN'S FELLOWSHIP OF SERVICE.

Influenced by the ideals and methods of the Servants of India Society, but without the least direct help or encouragement from it, a few public-spirited ladies had resolved to start an organisation to enable women to devote their lives to the service of the country. It will be called the Women's Fellowship of Service. Its constitution closely follows the lines of the Society's constitution and lays down rules for the selection and training of its members similar to those followed by the Society, but differing from them in one important respect. Celibacy will be an essential condition of the membership of the Women's Fellowship of Service. Its members will not be required to take the vow of celibacy on admission. They may marry without being guilty of violating their obligations, but they will have to sever their connection with the Fellowship on marriage as its founders feel that after her marriage a woman "will no longer be free to give that whole-time service which full membership of the Fellowship would demand of them". The co-operation of the Servants of India Society had been asked for to give a start to the institution and to help it in its infancy by selecting and training its members and guiding their activities. The Society will not be expected to give the Fellowship financial help or be responsible for the collection of funds for it. The duty of the Society will be limited, according to rule 17 of the constitution of the Fellowship, to its management and control "during the first three years and subsequently for such period as may be determined by the Women's Fellowship of Service in consultation with the Council of the Servants of India Society." The Fellowship was a great venture. Its future would depend on the sympathy and support it received from the country. It was the speaker's privilege to usher it into existence that morning by admitting to it as members under training two Poona ladies, Miss Shanta Bhalerao, M. A., and Miss Godavari Gokhale, B. A., LL. B., who were present in the gathering and whose enthusiasm guided by the advice of their more experienced friends was responsible for the establishment of the Fellowship.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

In conclusion, Mr. Kunzru dwelt on the position of the Society in connection with the present political

situation and the ways in which it can serve the interests of the country to a greater extent in future. He did not want to engage in the superfluous task of examining the reactionary provisions of the new constitution. They knew well the grounds on which it had been condemned by all progressive parties. He would, however, draw their attention to the views expressed by Keith in his recently published *Constitutional History of India*. "In the federal scheme," he says, "It is difficult to feel any satisfaction. It is too obvious that on the British side the scheme is favoured in order to provide an element of pure conservatism and in order to combat any dangerous elements of democracy contributed by British India. It is difficult to deny the justice of the contention in India that federation was largely evoked by the desire to evade the issue of extending responsible government to the central government of British India."

India could not unfortunately stop the promulgation of the unwanted constitution. It had to take things as they were. The people had to make the best of their circumstances and to utilise every opportunity of bending Government to their will in the new legislatures and to carry on propaganda among the people to win their full political rights. They could not shirk the duty of occupying positions of power, however small it might be, under the new constitution. As regards efforts outside the legislatures, it was obvious that they must extend to the whole country. The federal constitution did not apply to British India or the Indian States alone. It applied to India as a whole. In order, therefore, to bring the full force of public opinion to bear on Government it was necessary to educate public opinion in the States as well as in the rest of India. This was a moral duty laid on them by the Government of India Act. It would be a great constitutional injustice to India if in the name of the internal sovereignty of the Princes they were prevented from enlightening the people in the States regarding the character and practical working of the new constitution. To bar constitutional ways of seeking redress would be to place a premium on unconstitutional methods.

The unsatisfactory character of the new constitution was perhaps fully revealed only when they considered it in relation to those economic and social questions which thrust themselves on their attention at every turn. An answer had to be found for them in the interests of orderly progress, but the Act did not give them effective power to promote the rapid material progress of the country and to take steps to deal adequately with economic problems affecting the masses or the educated classes. Their ability to deal with those large questions on which the welfare of rural areas depended was extremely circumscribed. Impatience with the present system which was apparent throughout the country was therefore inevitable. They had, however, to realise that neither denunciations of the existing order nor unrestrained idealism would serve their purpose.

Nor would advocacy of benevolent despotism serve their purpose. They must oppose autocracy, whether it be of an individual or a party. Their aim was to establish democracy in the country. Short cuts to success, however alluring, must be rejected if they interfered with the achievement of their ultimate aim. Again what was necessary to mobilise public opinion and to bring reform within the bounds of practical politics was to point out the next step that could be taken to bring about social reconstruction in the country. A great deal of thought had been given to this matter which might be called practical socialism in western countries. India must follow their lead. Mr. Kunzru wished that the Servants of India Society could make some contribution to the solution of their difficult and urgent material problems in this respect. It needed what might be called a general staff to work out ideas and provide material for constructive policies, in so far as a small body like the Society could. Both men and money were wanting for this purpose. Mr. Kunzru appealed to the public to help the Society to realise its modest ambition to help in the building up of a social polity based on modern ideas of justice and progress.

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY.

ACTIVITIES DURING 1935-36.

A report of the work done by the Servants of India Society during 1935-36 was published on the 12th inst. Following is a summary of the report:

THE Servants of India Society which completes thirty-one years of public service to-day was established on June 12, 1905, by the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale. Secular and non-communal in character, the Society is a political body of public workers who have accepted Dominion Status as the goal of Indian political advance. The building up of a higher type of character and the raising of the general standard of the people by political, social, educational, economic and other activities are among the general objects of the Society. It is difficult to assess the value of the contribution which the Society has

made to the cause of the country's progress, but it cannot be denied that the idea of whole-time, trained men working in a missionary spirit has caught throughout the country.

Mr. Devadhar's Death.

The Society suffered during the year a serious loss in the death of Mr. Devadhar, its President, on November 17, 1935. One of the founder members of the Society, Mr. Devadhar, ever since he joined the Society, made social service, relief of distress, and co-operation his main fields of activity in public life. His work in these spheres is known throughout the length and breadth of the country. The Seva Sadan which he helped to found and foster has suffered like the Society an irreparable loss in his

death. It is in great financial difficulties and the public cannot honour Mr. Devadhar's memory better than by rescuing it from those difficulties. His death created a vacancy in the office of the President, to which Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru was elected at the special session of the Society held in Nagpur on January 1, 1936. Mr. N. M. Joshi was elected Vice-President of the Society, which position had been occupied by Mr. Kunzru. During the year under report Mr. A. D. Mani was admitted as member. The number of members was 29 both at the beginning and end of the year. As many as six probationers were enrolled during the year.

The political situation in the country continued as before. On the one hand, there was the forcing of the Government of India Act on the people in spite of unanimous Indian opposition and on the other, there was the passing of repressive measures curtailing the normal liberties of the people. Government were busy with their preparations to inaugurate the provincial part of the new constitution. The Congress was divided on the question of acceptance of office. The Liberal Party to which many members of the Society belong reiterated its uncompromising opposition to the Act in its session held at Nagpur last December and appealed to all parties to join in a common effort to have the Act speedily revised and to secure the return of as many nationalist candidates as possible in the coming elections. This represents the view of the Society.

Political Propaganda.

Many members of the Society were engaged in propaganda work during the year. Mr. Kunzru toured in several provinces as President of the Liberal Federation and addressed numerous meetings on the present political situation. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri spoke at many public meetings in the Madras Presidency on political and social questions. Messrs. Vaze and Patwardhan took part in public demonstrations against the passage of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill and the Bombay Emergency Powers Bill. Messrs. Shahane and Mani in the C. P., Mr. Sahu in Orissa, and Mr. Dube in the U. P., spoke at many meetings on public questions. Messrs. Kodanda Rao and Joshi did valuable propaganda work abroad, the former in the U. S. A. and Canada and the latter in England. Mr. Kodanda Rao was engaged in a course of studies on Race Relations in the Yale University. The Society's newspapers, the *SERVANT OF INDIA*, the *Hitavada*, and the *Dnyan Prakash* carried on unceasing propaganda against the new constitution and the *SERVANT OF INDIA* particularly was among the severest critics of the new constitution. Messrs. Thakkar and Joshi gave evidence before the Hammond Committee, the former on behalf of the scheduled castes and backward classes and the latter on behalf of labour.

The problem of Indians Abroad and their difficulties continued to receive the attention of the Society. Mr. Kunzru spoke on the question on several occasions, while Mr. Joshi was a member of the Standing Emigration Committee. The *SERVANT OF INDIA* wrote frequently on the subject.

The cause of the Indian States' subjects continued to receive special attention at the hands of the Society. The *SERVANT OF INDIA* was as vigilant and outspoken as ever. Messrs. Vaze and Patwardhan were particularly interested in the question. They and Mr. Thakkar were members of the Executive Committee of the Indian States' People's Conference. Mr. Patwardhan was a member of the Legislative Councils of Phaltan, Miraj and Aundh States.

The members of the Society were intimately connected with the work of Liberal political organisations in the various provinces. Mr. Kunzru was

President of the National Liberal Federation for 9 months during the year; Messrs. Sastri, Joshi and Kaul were members of its Council; Mr. Suryanarayan Rao was elected one of its Secretaries for 1936; Messrs. Ambekar and Gokhale were Secretaries of the Deccan Sabha, Poona, and Mr. Venkatasubbaiya one of the Secretaries of the Liberal Party in Madras. Several other members were on the executive committees of provincial organisations. The C. P. Branch took a special part in the organisation of the session of the Liberal Federation in December last.

Legislative Work.

Messrs. Joshi and Bakhale represented labour interests in the Assembly and the Bombay Council respectively. Mr. Joshi took a prominent part in the debates on the Payment Wages Bill, on the Mines Bill, on the Conventions passed by the I. L. O. and on the Orders-in-Council with regard to labour constituencies and excluded and partially excluded areas. He opposed the Criminal Law Amendment Bill and the continuance of the Ottawa Agreement. In the discussions on the Railway Budget he ventilated the grievances of Railway employees and in the discussions on the General Budget he stressed the need for reducing indirect taxation on the necessities of life.

Mr. Bakhale was able to get some modifications made in the Motor Vehicles Taxation Bill. He opposed the Bombay Emergency Powers Bill and the Finance Bill, and supported the Bill for lowering the franchise of the Bombay Corporation. In the debate on the reports of the Bombay and Sind Delimitation Committees he pleaded for all the labour seats being given to Trade Union constituencies, a proposal which though accepted by the Bombay Government was turned down by the Hammond Committee.

He introduced a Shop Hours Bill, which after passing through the first reading stage, was killed in the second reading by the opposition of the Government.

Local Self-Government.

After constant efforts and propaganda Mr. Haradatta Sharma was able to organise the first Punjab Local Self-Government Conference at Lahore, with the co-operation of influential organisations and individuals. The conference has given birth to the Local Self-Government Institute, Punjab, which has been joined by many Municipalities and Local Boards and has obtained recognition from the Government. It organised a training class for the employees of municipalities and Local Boards, who after passing an examination held by the Institute were awarded a diploma certificate, recognised by the Local Government. Mr. Shahane in the C. P., with the help of the members of the Legislative Council, organised a Local Authorities Federation, of which he is one of the Secretaries.

Labour.

The Bombay Branch has specialised in labour work. Mr. Joshi was President of several trade unions, Vice-President of the Asiatic Labour Congress and member of the Governing Body of the I. L. O. Mr. Bakhale was the General Secretary of the Trade Unions Federation, the B. B. and C. I. Railwaymen's Union and the Dockyard Labour Union. Mr. Parulekar organised some trade unions and guided the workers in some strikes. Messrs. Nayanar, Dube and Sahu were presidents of some labour unions in their respective provinces.

Co-operation and Rural Reconstruction.

Co-operation continued to receive much time and attention from the members of the Society. Mr. Venkatasubbaiya was the Secretary of the Madras

Provincial Co-operative Union and the editor of the *Madras Journal of Co-operation*. Mr. Suryanarayana Rao was a director of the Madras Provincial Handloom Weavers' Society and of the Madras Milk Supply Union and an honorary arbitrator. Mr. Nayanar edited a co-operative journal in Malayalam and was a director of the Malabar District Co-operative Bank. Mr. Andrews Dube was one of the Secretaries of the U. P. Co-operative Union, a director of the Lucknow District Co-operative Bank, and an honorary arbitrator. Mr. Sahu was a director of the Cuttack Co-operative Central Bank and a member of a committee appointed to organise a Provincial Co-operative Bank for Orissa.

The Society's Rural Reconstruction centres at Mayanur in Trichinopoly district, at Chowdwar near Cuttack and at Bhambora and Shendurjana in Amraoti District, all made satisfactory progress. The Mayanur centre was in charge of Mr. K. G. Sivaswami, the Chowdwar centre in charge of Mr. L. N. Sahu and those at Bhambora and Shendurjana in charge of Mr. N. A. Dravid. Mr. Nayanar looked after similar work started in five centres by the Devadhar Malabar Reconstruction Trust of which he was Secretary. Mr. Venkatasubbaiya supervised the six rural reconstruction centres of the Madras Provincial Co-operative Union, while Mr. Dube was the Joint Secretary of the Rural Development Board, Lucknow.

Social Service of different kinds through separate organisations has been a feature of the Society. Until his death Mr. Devadhar was the General Secretary of the Poona Seva Sadan Society whose work is well known throughout the country. The Seva Samiti of Allahabad, of which Mr. Kunzru is the General Secretary, organised social service during the Ardh Kumba Mela at Prayag. The Bombay Social Service League with which Messrs. Joshi and Bakhale were connected celebrated its silver jubilee during the year under report. Mr. Chitalia, who is looking after the Bhagini Seva Samaj of Bombay, compiled a directory of women's institutions in Bombay Presidency.

Harijan Work.

Several members were engaged in welfare work of the depressed classes through the Harijan Sevak Sangh and other institutions. Mr. A. V. Thakkar, as General Secretary of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, gave his whole time to its work, travelled extensively throughout the country and addressed innumerable public meetings on the uplift of Harijans. Mr. Devadhar was the president of the Maharashtra Provincial Board and Mr. Kunzru of the U. P. East Provincial Board of the Sangh. Mr. Kaul was a Vice-President of the Lucknow Board. Mr. Venkatasubbaiya was the Secretary of the Madras City Board and Mr. Negi of the U. P. East Provincial Board, while Mr. Nayanar was a member of the Kerala Provincial Board and of the Malabar District Committee. The Depressed Classes Mission, Mangalore, was in charge of Mr. S. R. Venkataraman for some time and thereafter in charge of Mr. Suryanarayana Rao. A free hostel and an agricultural colony were conducted for Harijans at Gopalapuram which is one of the centres of the Devadhar Malabar Reconstruction Trust. Free boarding and instruction were given to Harijans also at the Servindia Community School at Mayanur.

Mr. K. G. Sharangapani was in charge of the Criminal Tribes Settlement at Jalgaon in East Khandesh.

Mr. Dube was Secretary of the U. P. Temperance Association and Mr. Suryanarayana Rao that of the Madras Temperance League. He was also Secretary of the National Health Association of Southern

India which, in addition to carrying on preventive health propaganda, organised meetings on nutrition.

For some months in the period under report Mr. Suryanarayana Rao was engaged in giving supplementary relief to famine sufferers in the Anantapur and Bellary Districts of the Madras Presidency. Similarly Mr. Sahu was engaged in flood relief in Orissa.

Scouting.

Scouting was an important activity of the Upper India Branch of the Society. Mr. Kunzru continued to be the Chief Commissioner of the Seva Samiti Boy Scouts Association, while Mr. Sri Ram Bajpai was its Chief Organising Commissioner. The latter gave all his time for scouting. A grand mela of the scouts of the Association took place at Dayalbagh, which was a remarkable success. The Madras members of the Society helped the Association to make considerable progress in that province. The total number of scouts of the Association increased remarkably from 50,000 to 80,000 during the year.

The Society continued to publish the Marathi daily, *Dnyan Prakash*, and the English weekly, *SERVANT OF INDIA* from Poona, and the English tri-weekly, *Hitavada* from Nagpur. The latter was converted from a bi-weekly into a tri-weekly during the year.

The Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, which is attached to the Society, continued to do useful research and teaching work under the direction of Mr. D. R. Gadgil. It had 55 students preparing for the M. A. degree examination and one for the Ph. D. degree.

The expenses of the Society were met partly from interest on endowments and profits of its printing presses at Poona and Bombay, and partly from collections from the public. With the gradual increase in membership and activities, the expenses of the Society are also increasing. While every year it receives a large number of applications for admission, it is able to accept very few of them owing to want of funds. The Society, therefore, appeals for much greater and wider support than it has hitherto received.

MR. KODANDA RAO IN TRINIDAD.

Some time ago were published in Indian papers criticisms that had appeared in the papers of Trinidad against Mr. Kodanda Rao who visited the Colony recently. Mr. Kodanda Rao, not knowing that any of the reports have reached India, has not had an opportunity of giving his own version. But the following letter by "Seafarer" that appeared in the HINDUSTAN TIMES of 21st June will throw some light on the matter.

MR. P. KODANDA RAO'S recent visit to Trinidad and some of his alleged statements there have created a furore in a certain section of our countrymen in the Colony. A few of them have written to the Press in India protesting against his alleged claims. It is reported that he claimed to be "Envoy" of Mahatma Gandhi and a "representative of the Indian National Congress." By virtue of these claims, we are told, Indians in Trinidad "afforded him the most cordial hospitality and invited him to deliver addresses in various centres of the Colony." Mahatma Gandhi told a Press representative at Bangalore the other day that he considered Mr. Kodanda Rao, "too straightforward a man to make any such claim." The fact is that Mr. Kodanda Rao never made such claims. As far back as February 1935,

Mr. S. A. Waiz, Secretary of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association wrote to various Indian organizations and Indian leaders in Trinidad, British Guiana, and Jamaica about the projected visit of Mr. Kodanda Rao. He requested them to assist him in every possible way. In the letter there was no mention of Mr. Rao's association with Mahatma Gandhi. The Executive of the British Guiana East Indian Association issued a statement in October 1935 regarding Mr. Rao and his visit appealing to the Indian community for co-operation to assist him. Along with this statement a "letter of introduction by Mahatma Gandhi" was also published. This was the origin of the present controversy. Mr. Rao arrived in Trinidad in March 1936. By this time our people had forgotten about the letter of introduction by Mahatma Gandhi but had a faint recollection that at one time Mr. Rao was associated with Mahatma Gandhi. Without looking into the facts the newspapers announced the arrival of "Mahatma Gandhi's envoy." But Mr. Kodanda Rao made his position quite clear. At one of the largest public meetings held at Port-of-Spain and at which the Mayor presided, he said:—

I have not come to this country as the representative of any organisation or body in India at all, neither have I come in the capacity of an expounder of public affairs. . . . I have come as a student of public affairs in my own capacity and with no authority representing any person or organization to anybody or to preach or teach anybody at all.

Regarding his association with Mahatma Gandhi he said that it had been his misfortune as editor of the SERVANT OF INDIA to criticize some of the policies of the Mahatma with which they differed. He was, therefore, not exactly a follower of Mahatma Gandhi, neither was he a blind worshipper at the shrine. While the Mahatma was conducting his anti-untouchability campaign from the jail in Poona, it was for him that he sent rather than anyone else. His criticisms of Mahatma Gandhi had been such that it did not affect their relations and there continued to be cordiality and helpfulness in matters on which they agreed. Mr. Kodanda Rao said that the Mahatma was to have been a member of the Servants of India Society. The Mahatma always claimed that the founder of the Society was his political master. The event did not come off, however.

If, therefore, Mr. Kodanda Rao came to be known as a "representative of the Indian National Congress" and "Envoy" of Mahatma Gandhi it was not his fault. The Press in Trinidad gave him this status. It was a journalistic stunt.

MAHATMAJI'S LETTER.

The following is Mahatma Gandhi's letter of introduction:—

Wardha, 29th January, 1935.

To My American Friends:

Sjt. Kodanda Rao has been in America for some time. He is a member of the Servants of India Society founded by the late G. K. Gokhale whom I have regarded and often described as my political Guru. Sjt. Kodanda Rao was Private Secretary to the Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri when he was appointed the Agent-General of the Government of India in South Africa. He was Editor of the SERVANT OF INDIA when he left for America. He is moderate in politics and an ardent social reformer, holding advanced views on many social problems. He rendered me great assistance while I was permitted to carry on the anti-untouchability movement from the Yeravada Prison.

I have no doubt that he will receive a patient and courteous hearing wherever he goes. Any assistance rendered to him will be deeply appreciated by me.

(Sgd.) M. K. GANDHI.

It is further alleged that Mr. Kodanda Rao advised officials in Trinidad not to include Hindi and Urdu in their curriculum for Indian children. When Mr. Rao returns to India we would know what advice he gave the officials in Trinidad but I do not believe that he said that Hindi or Urdu was of no use for Indian children in Trinidad. At the opening ceremony of the Fyzabad East Indian Improvement Club, Mr. Kodanda Rao said, "I consider myself incapable of giving any advice and would not give it in order that I should not be guilty of giving any. In South Africa and other places where I have been, I saw the people forming themselves up into groups and teaching their children their language and culture and I urge you to preserve yours as they are essential in the preservation of a nation. No one can claim a language unless he knows it, because you are not born with it but learn it after you are born. It is yours and anybody else's who learns it. I apologize for not being able to address the audience in Hindi. I would suggest that religion should not interfere with Indian public life as it was a matter for the individual and his God and he may as well serve his God in his chamber. I will tell you the motto of the politicians of India at the time when the Congress started its work and that is: "We are Indians first and anything else afterwards" This should be practised in your Club."

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE PEOPLE'S YEAR BOOK. (Co-operative Wholesale Society, Manchester.) 1936. 21cm. 358p. 1/-.
- AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE. By C. M. MACINNES. (Revingtons.) 1935. 20cm. 431p. 7/6.
- INDIA BEFORE THE CRISIS. By BRIJ NARAIN. (The Indian Press, Allahabad.) 1933. 22cm. 465p. Rs. 6.
- THE POWER TO LOVE. By EDWIN W. HIRSCH. (International Library of Sexology and Psychology.) (John Lane.) 1936. 22cm. 308p. 12/6.
- LEADERSHIP THROUGH THE AGES. By GEORGE MACMUNN. (Alexander Maclehose & Co.) 1935. 22cm. 354p. 10/6.
- COTTON AND THE AAA. By HENRY I. RICHARDS. (The Brookings Institution, Washington.) 1936. 21cm. 389p. \$ 2.50.
- SEX HABITS. By A. BUSCHKE and F. JACOBSON. (Emerson Books, New York.) 20cm. 204p. \$ 2.50.
- U. S. S. R. HAND-BOOK. (Gollancz.) 1936. 20cm. 543p. 15/-.

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