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THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL

DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST.

EDITED BY G. A. NATESAN

Vol XXVIII.

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No. 11. 1927.

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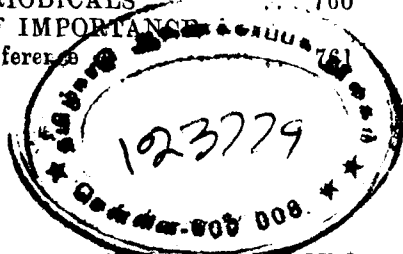
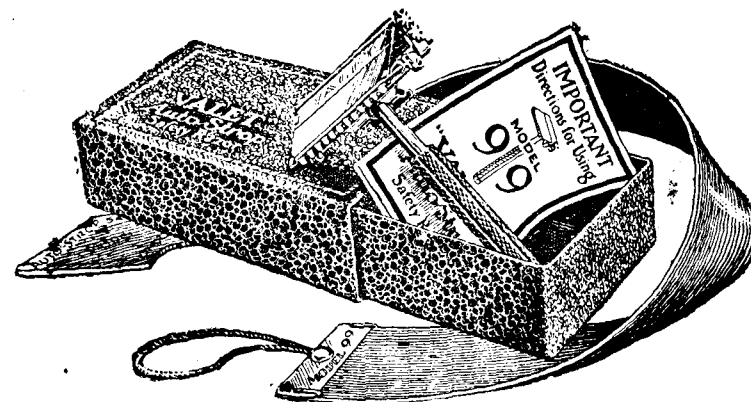
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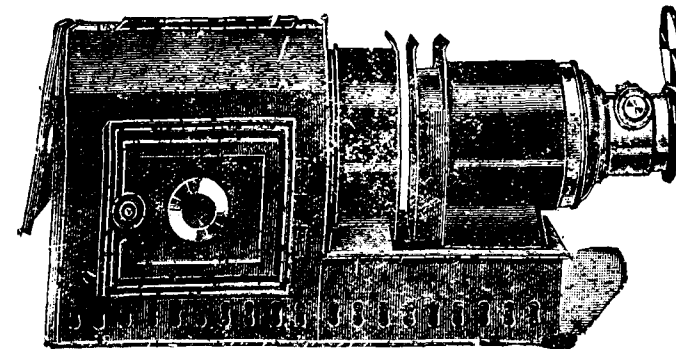
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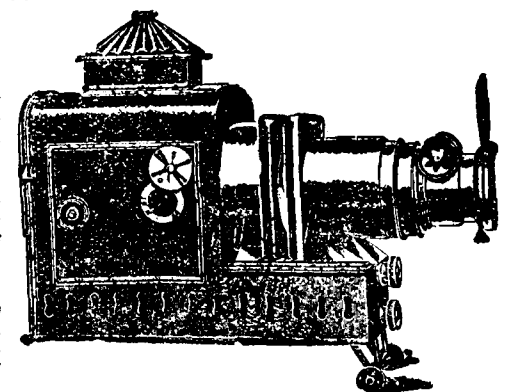
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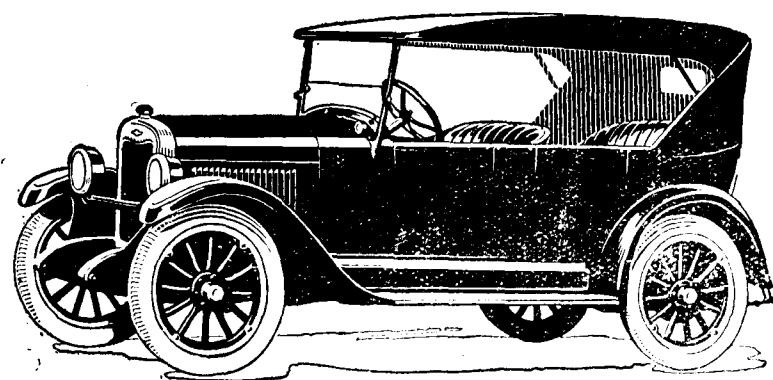
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The Indian Sandhurst Committee.

By

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THE report of the Indian Sandhurst Committee which should have seen the light of day in December 1926, was published after an unnecessary delay of four months in April last, with an ominous foreword approved by the Secretary of State for India, warning the country, perhaps to save it no little disappointment later, that the publication of the report did not imply its acceptance by the British or the Indian Government. Were it not for the condemnation of the dilatoriness of Government by the Assembly during the last budget debate, we might still have been in the dark with regard to the contents of the report and given no opportunity of discussing it till His Majesty's Government had announced their decision. While, however, the recommendations of the Committee are at last before us, the report and the proceedings of its sub-committee which visited England, France, Canada and the United States to study their military colleges and the system of education which precedes purely military training in these countries have been withheld from us. A perusal of the answers given by Government to questions Nos. 52 and 512 and the connected supplementary questions on the 22nd and 29th August respectively and the speech delivered by the Army Secretary, Mr. Young, on the 13th Sep-

tember in the course of the debate on the Indian Sandhurst Committee's report will be found highly instructive in this connection.

When questioned on the 22nd of August whether the main Committee had asked the Government of India to publish the report of its Committee, the Army Secretary said: "The main Committee said nothing whatever about the publication of the Sub-Committee's report in its report. I did receive as a matter of fact, a communication from one member of the Committee to the effect that the Committee desired the Sub-Committee's report to be published; if possible". The reply naturally creates the impression that the main Committee had expressed no opinion about the publication of the Sub-Committee's report and that the Army Secretary had merely received an individual opinion in favour of its publication from one member of the Committee. On the 29th of August the same Secretary replying to a question, said: "It appears from the Committee's proceedings as well as from an informal communication made to Government that the Committee desired that the Sub-Committee's report should be published. Government were aware of this fact when they decided not to publish this report." In answer to a supplementary question it was elicited that

the member of the Committee from whom an informal communication had been received was none other than the Secretary of the Committee. It is thus seen that the Army Secretary tried to evade the real point at issue on the 22nd August and that his replies were far from being straightforward. If the Assembly had not had the advantage of the presence of a member of the Committee in Mr. Jinnah it is doubtful whether the truth would have been found out.

As regards the proceedings of the Sub-Committee the Army Secretary's position was that "a great part of the material laid before the Committee was laid before them by official representatives of His Majesty's Government and it is entirely for the Home Government to make or not to make the stipulation that that material should not be published. They have as a matter of fact made a stipulation that it should not be published." Mr. Jinnah, however, pointed out that whatever instructions the Government of India might have received from the British Government no stipulation was made with the Sub-Committee "by anybody, either by the authorities or by the witnesses who appeared before the Sub-Committee, that they were not to publish their proceedings, their materials, or their evidence". The Army Secretary admitted the correctness of Mr. Jinnah's statement. "The Government of India are aware," he said, "that that is the case The stipulation was made by his Majesty's Government with the Government of India." On the 13th September the Army Secretary referred again to this matter. "At a very early stage" he said, "the question arose whether certain of the proceedings of the Sub-Committee should be

published. Part of these proceedings consisted of conversations which took place between representatives from the War Office and the India Office on the one hand and the members of the Sub-Committee on the other. It is not usual, Sir, to publish such conversations. . . ."

Mr. Jinnah promptly got up to deny the correctness of the Army Secretary's statement. "I beg to contradict that," he said. "There were no conversations at all and taken down as such".—The non-publication of the Sub-Committee's report was further justified by the Army Secretary on the ground that the Sub-Committee had passed strictures on the official guardian of Indian Cadets at Sandhurst and that there were passages in its report "which the Government of India did not wish to include in a published paper." It appears to me that it is fair to infer from what has been said above that the reasons given by His Majesty's Government for not publishing the sub-Committee's report and its proceedings are an afterthought. If the Sub-Committee had made any remarks which in the opinion of His Majesty's Government or the Government of India were of a personal nature they could easily have been excised. The withholding of such important documents on the flimsiest grounds imaginable creates a strong suspicion in one's mind that they were suppressed because they contained information which it would have been inconvenient to His Majesty's Government to allow to be widely known and which might have exorcized many a bogey with which the military authorities frighten us every now and then.

The main recommendations of the Indian Sandhurst Committee are as follows:—(1) The number of vacancies reserved for Indians at

Sandhurst should be immediately increased from 10 to 20, (2) By 1952 half the total cadre of Officers in the Indian Army should be Indians, (3) Indians should be held eligible for employment as King's Commissioned Officers in the Artillery, Engineer, Signal, Tank and Air Arms of the Army in India, eight vacancies being allotted to them at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, and two at the Royal Air Force College, Cranwell. These numbers "should be increased progressively in due proportion." (4) An Indian Sandhurst should be established in 1933 capable of accommodating 100 cadets. It is interesting to note in connection with the last recommendation that the Committee looked forward to a time when the Indian Sandhurst "may become a combined institution providing also the facilities of Woolwich." It should also be pointed out that the Committee has made no rigid recommendation that the Indianisation of half the cadre of officers should not take less than 25 years. On the contrary it has laid down that the scheme put forward by it should be reviewed in 1938 i.e., five years after the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst in order to determine "whether the success achieved is not sufficiently solid to warrant a further acceleration of the rate of progress." These recommendations have been objected to on more than one occasion on the ground that the Committee exceeded its terms of reference. It is necessary, therefore, to point out that the resolution passed by the Assembly on the 12th of February 1925 which was put forward by the Home Member, Sir Alexander Muddiman, asked that one of the functions of the Committee referred to in that resolution should be "to advise at what rate Indianisation of the

Army shall be accelerated for the purpose of attracting educated Indians to a military career." It is in the light of this fact that we should interpret the Committee's terms of reference. Besides, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief admitted in the Assembly on the 25th August that "when Government formed that Committee they naturally realized that the issues roughly would be to some extent what they had been." It is thus clear that the Committee was justified in taking a wide view of its responsibilities. Had it adopted any other course it would have laid itself open to the charge of playing with the Assembly and the country.

The Commander-in-Chief speaking in the course of the debate in the Assembly on the Committee's report regretted that he was not in a position to announce the decision of His Majesty's Government and pleaded for patience asking the Assembly to remember "the great magnitude of the question and what very far-reaching and irrevocable results might come from a faulty or over-hasty decision in this matter." "The Army in India", he added later on, "is one link in the Imperial chain of the defence of the Empire and naturally, therefore, no alterations in its organization, which might in any way affect its efficiency can be taken without the fullest consideration of His Majesty's Government which is ultimately responsible for Imperial security."

In these ominous words we hear an echo of the report of the Esher Committee which expressed the same opinion in 1920. This view was subjected to severe criticism by the Legislative Assembly which passed a resolution in 1921, the object of which was "to repudiate the

assumption underlying the whole report of the Esher Committee that the administration of the Army in India cannot be considered otherwise than as part of the total armed forces of the Empire." It is, therefore, surprising that the Commander-in-Chief who is a member of the Government which accepted the view taken by the Assembly of the position and functions of the Indian Army should have been guilty of using language which is bound to create suspicion and resentment throughout India. If the Empire is a reality to England it is natural that she should be interested in the defence of every part of it but this has not prevented the Self-Governing Dominions from claiming and enjoying the fullest autonomy in matters of self-defence. India cannot equitably be treated on a different principle. Besides, it is yet to be seen whether a time will come when India will need England's help. What has actually happened, so far however, is that the Indian Army has been ordered for Imperial purposes and that during the last War Indian blood and treasure poured forth in defence of English freedom. Col. Merewether and Lord Brienhead have told us that "the Indian corps saved the Empire." (The Indian Corps in France.) If the principle sought to be applied to India is correct India might well claim a voice in the regulation of measures pertaining to the defence of England. Yet such a demand will be scouted by Englishmen and with equal reason must England's claim to decide finally the organization of the Indian Army be indignantly repudiated by every Indian.

Those who ask us to exercise a little patience in view of the magnitude of the issues at stake seem to forget the history lying behind the

demand for the Indianisation of the higher ranks of the Army. The question of appointing Indians as King's Commissioned Officers was probably first raised by the late General Chesney in 1885, but as he was strongly opposed by Lord Roberts his proposals fell through. Two years later he returned to the charge but was unsuccessful again owing to the hostility of Lord Roberts. In 1889 the Punjab and Bombay Governments suggested the desirability of importing higher military instruction to Indian officers. This gave to General Chesney another opportunity to press his own proposals on the attention of Government but the unrelenting opposition of Lord Roberts brought about their rejection once more. There the matter remained till it was taken up by Lord Kitchener in 1904. He proposed "the establishment of a military school for candidates for direct Commissions in the Native Army". The scheme was submitted to Commanding Officers for their opinion and referred to a conference of Lieutenant Generals in 1905 when Kitchener boldly pronounced that the dread of mutiny was an anachronism and must not hinder efficiency. The Generals agreed *nem con* and voted for a Military School at which both candidates for direct Commissions and Non-Commissioned officers selected for accelerated promotion could receive proper professional training". (Life of Lord Kitchener by Sir George Arthur. Price Rs. 10. Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.) No action was, however, taken on Lord Kitchener's recommendations. It was not like 1918, when the need for India's help compelled England to make a nominal change in her policy, that an announcement was made reserving ten

vacancies annually at Sandhurst for Indians.

The attention of Government was drawn once more to the importance of this question in 1921 when the Legislative Assembly resolved with the concurrence of the Government of India that not less than 25% of the King's Commissions granted every year should be given to His Majesty's Indian subjects to start with", and that "as soon as funds be available steps should be taken to establish in India " Military College such as Sandhurst, An attempt was made in 1925 to deny that the Commander-in-Chief had committed himself to the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst and to show that he had only agreed to the desirability of the creation of such an institution being kept in view, but the proceedings of the Assembly furnish a conclusive refutation of the assertions then made. The Commander-in-Chief spoke in 1921 on the resolution regarding the creation of an Indian Sandhurst and definitely accepted it. In July 1923, the Army Secretary admitted in the course of the debate on Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar's resolution regarding the admission of Indians into all branches of the army, that the resolution of 1921 had been passed with the support of the Government of India. Soon after the discussion of the Esher Committee's report by the Assembly the Government of India appointed the Military Requirements Committee which was presided over by the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Rawlinson, to consider the question of Indian defence. In spite of the fact that the appointment of this Committee was due to the discussions which took place in the Assembly its report has not been published yet, but intelligent forecasts of its recommendations appeared

however, in the English and Indian Press. It was stated that the Committee had approved of the early establishment of a first class Military College in India and had recommended that in addition to a reservation of 25% of the annual vacancies in the Commissioned ranks for Indians the Indian proportion should be progressively increased every year so that half the number of Officers might be Indian within a period of ten or fifteen years. If these statements are correct they furnish one more proof of the hollowness of the contention put forward in 1925 that the Commander-in-Chief had not assented to the establishment of an institution for the training of Military Officers in India. Another Committee, it is understood, was appointed about the same time as the Military Requirements Committee with even wider terms of reference. The recommendations of this Committee, too have not been made public but if one may rely on the reports which appeared in the British Press it recommended the Indianisation of the whole Army in 30 or 40 years. Lastly we have the unanimous report of the Indian Sandhurst Committee presided over by General Sir Andrew Skeen, Chief of the General Staff, the main recommendations of which have already been summarised.

It will be apparent from the brief review of the history of the Indian demand for a larger share in the administration of the Army given above that the matter has been under discussion for more than 40 years and that no less an authority than Lord Kitchener was in favour of providing India with a College for training Military Officers about a quarter of a century ago. Those who now

counsel patience to us should have the fairness to ask themselves whether they would have been prepared to wait cheerfully had they been in our position. Some time ago Sir Alexander Muddiman referred with satisfaction to the fact that the important question of the separation of Judicial and Executive functions had been under consideration for more than 80 years. It is to be earnestly hoped that the importance of the Military question which is greater than that of the separation of Judicial and Executive functions would not require its consideration for at least the same length of time.

There is one more highly important fact which deserves to be emphasized in this connection. Before the Mutiny a portion of the Bengal and Bombay armies was officered in accordance with a system known as irregular. Every regiment of the line had a complement of about 25 British Officers but an irregular regiment was allotted only 3 or 4 picked British Officers. After the Mutiny the irregular system was adopted for the whole Army but the number of British Officers to be attached to an Infantry or Cavalry Regiments was fixed at 7. This system came under review several times during the succeeding years and both the Secretary of State and the Simla Army Organization Commission of 1879 arrived at the conclusion that it had proved a success, and that the Indian officers, in spite of the faulty method of selection, had justified the confidence reposed in them. The Simla Commission even recommended that Indian Officers holding a Viceroy's Commissions should be entrusted with greater responsibility. Yet the number of British Officers has been steadily increased with the result that the position of Indian officers has corres-

pondingly deteriorated. At present an Indian Cavalry regiment has 14 British officers and an Indian infantry battalion 12 or 13. As far back as 1894 Sir George Chesney was compelled to observe that "in the cavalry the position of a native officer has even gone back; for whereas formerly he could rise to the command of a squadron these squadrons are now commanded by British officers, the most junior of whom takes precedence over the oldest native officer. So far then as the Army is concerned the Queen's Proclamation on assuming the direct Government of India is a dead letter." (Indian Polity, Chap. XVI—1894). At the time Sir George Chesney wrote, Indian officers could command companies but Mr. Gokhale complained in the Imperial Legislative Council in 1906 that they had been deprived even of this remnant of their former position and that they could not rise to a higher office than that of a platoon commander.

It will thus be seen that while in consequence of the growing national consciousness the position of Indians has improved in every sphere of administration, in the Army it has not merely not improved but has even become worse. Had even a slight regard been shown for the rights of Indians in the Army we might with some show of reason have been asked to wait patiently till it pleased the British Government to complete its examination of the Indian Sandhurst Committee's report which raises scarcely a single new major issue but when even the little that we had has been taken away from us to counsel patience is to mock and insult us.

Critics of the Indian Sandhurst Committee's report have pointed out with great emphasis

that the Committee's recommendations were dependent on the fulfilment of two conditions. It was especially important in the first place that the required proportion of British recruitment should be maintained; and in the second that the system of education in India should be reformed so as to develop in the pupils of the ordinary schools and colleges those characteristics which are regarded as essential in an Army officer. It is true that the Committee believed that a continued supply of British officers of the proper stamp would be a valuable help for some time to come to successful Indianisation but one may be sure that the Committee relied on the *bona fides* of those who have it in their power to affect the recruitment of British youths. We know that at one time the Indian Medical Service did not attract the number of British candidates desired by Government. The paucity of candidates was ascribed to the unwillingness of Britishers to join a service which was likely to be Indianised, but we learnt, from the proceedings of the Islington Commission that the falling away in the number of candidates for the I. M. S. competitive examination was due to the propaganda carried against the service by some of its retired members. We saw a similar phenomenon recently in the case of the I. C. S. If the same kind of propaganda is carried on in regard to the recruitment of officers for the Indian Army it is bound to produce the same results. Those who are constantly asking India for whole-hearted co-operation should, instead of stirring up strife, exhort British youths to work in a spirit of comradeship with Indian officers, but an Army officer in the India Office has been found by

the Indian Sandhurst Committee to have delivered a speech at the R. M. C., Sandhurst, which assured British Cadets that they would not have to serve under Indian Officers. If racial prejudice is strengthened in this manner and Indians are compelled to give up all hope of co-operation on the part of British Officers in the Army the results will not be what our critics would wish them to be. Indian Nationalism will not allow itself to be deflected from the course it has chalked out for itself by the artificially stimulated racial antipathies of British youths.

As regards education it is necessary to point out that the Sandhurst Committee expressed the opinion that the defects of our educational system were in part due to Government's own policy. "We wish to emphasize the fact," said the Committee, "that the present deficiencies in the Indian educational system have a necessary connection with the past policy of Government in regard to the admission of Indians to the higher ranks of the Army. In England the educational system has been definitely adapted in part at least to the production of efficient leaders of men. In India the educational authorities have had no encouragement to adopt a similar policy; there have been no similar openings for which to train their boys." The Committee did not suggest that the acceleration of the pace of Indianisation should be dependent on the establishment of Public Schools all over the country or a complete reform of the existing system of education. On the contrary it quotes with approval the opinion of Sir John Maynard that in the Punjab alone there were many boys who did not appear for the

Sandhurst examination but were superior to the candidates who had been successful and whom he himself had seen. To anyone who reads the Committee's report it will be apparent that in order to ensure the requisite training all that the Committee considered necessary to begin with was the establishment of another College similar to the Prince of Wales Military College at Dehra Dun, and the institution of a three years' course at the Indian Sandhurst, which should include not merely military training but also academic study. Public schools may be excellent things but as pointed out by the Sub-Committee, France, Canada and the United States have no such schools but are nevertheless able to produce men possessing character and gifts of leadership. This may be a freak of nature but the most ardent enthusiast for Public Schools must persuade himself to recognize this melancholy fact.

However unpalatable the delay in giving effect to the Indian Sandhurst Committee's report by the British Government might be to Indians it would have been possible to appreciate the position of the Government of India had they remained neutral when the resolution relating to the report was put to the vote in the Assembly, but their opposition raises a strong suspicion with regard to their own attitude. Government could easily have declared their neutrality and undertaken to forward the report of the debate to the authorities in England. There is nothing which should have compelled them to oppose the resolution referred to above. Their opposition leads one to fear that they themselves are at heart against the recommendations of the Sandhurst Committee. Indeed it is rumoured that they are against the

establishment of a military college in India and have only recommended that the number of vacancies reserved for Indians at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, should be raised to 20. Both the Indian and British Governments are believed to be inspired with the idea of keeping India under tutelage so far as military affairs go, as long as possible. The projected visit of the Secretary of State for War to India is commonly regarded as a portent. Speaking in the House of Lords on the 30th of March 1922 Lord Haldane suggested that relief might be given to the Indian tax-payer by reducing the Indian Army and maintaining a portion of the Imperial Expeditionary Army at England's cost in India. "In these days of rapid transport", he said, "it would be possible to keep some part of our own Home Army, some part of our Expeditionary Force generally in India. It need not be a large part. A comparatively small part of it would be sufficient to relieve the necessity of keeping up quite as great a Military Force in India". It is rumoured that the visit of Sir Laming Worthington Evans is connected with the discussion of this suggestion with the Government of India. The response of the Imperial Government to our demand for control over our own army seems to be taking the form of an attempt to cut the ground from under our feet by reducing that portion of the army which we can call ours. Lord Haldane's suggestion if carried out would virtually amount to the tearing up of the Declaration of 1917. In every dominion of the British Empire self-government has been followed by a gradual reduction and the ultimate withdrawal of the Imperial forces, but in India apparently it is not regarded as a

paradox that the promise of responsible Self-government should be followed by a decrease in the Indian and an increase in the British Army. The Arms Act, the virtual exclusion of Indians from positions of trust and responsibility in the army, the maintenance of a British garrison in India and the recruitment of soldiers from extra-Indian areas in the Indian army have, it appears, not succeeded in crushing all manhood out of our countymen. It is perhaps regarded as necessary now that the

profession of arms even in its humbler grades should be gradually closed to them. India certainly complains of the crushing burden of Military expenditure but the proper way of giving relief to her would be not to increase the British garrison in India but to replace the costly British soldier by his much cheaper Indian colleague. She will indignantly reject any scheme of financial relief which involves a permanent danger to her freedom.

The Reserve Bank Bill

BY

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THE continued attitude of obstruction that is noticeable in the India Office in the negotiations that are going on between the India Office and the Government of India over the future fortunes of the Reserve Bank Bill make it necessary for the public of India to indicate more clearly than they have so far done the national point of view from which this great and important proposal should be dealt with. The proposal of a Central Reserve Bank for India following the models of those recently established in Australia and South Africa and on the Continent of Europe, was made by the Currency Commission in substitution of the proposal to expand the functions of the Imperial Bank of India so as to vest in it the power of issuing and regulating the circulation of currency notes. To some extent, the question of the constitution of a Central Bank was not specifically referred to the Commission, but it had to deal primarily with the steps necessary for securing the stability of exchange of the Indian currency and the regu-

lation of currency and credit in this country in such a way as to rid it of the evils and disaster that have periodically overtaken it in the past by reason of the management of India's currency and currency reserves on the part of the Government in India and the India Office in England. The Commission was thus inevitably led to the conclusion that whatever be the ratio at which the Rupee ought to be stabilised and whatever be the basis of the currency system that might be adopted, that is, whether it be of the gold bullion or the gold coin standard, the function of regulating the volume and extent of both the currency and credit facilities of the country should be taken out of the hands of the Government and the India Office and be definitely vested in an independent Indian authority acting on business principles and in the sole interests of India. It was realised more clearly perhaps at the conclusion of the labours of the Commission than at the beginning that the attempt to regulate the ebb and flow of currency without regulating the

ebb and flow of credit and credit facilities, or the attempt to retain the former function in the hands of a Government authority while leaving the latter in the hands of commercial bodies, is bound to a large extent to perpetuate the existing evils. The constitution of a Central reserve organisation was in fact a step which was literally forced on the United States by the logic of facts in spite of every effort on the part of financial interests to retain competition and freedom in the manipulation of currency and credit instruments. The evils of a managed currency have been, as every student of Indian Finance knows, intensified in this country by the fact that the regulation of the managed currency is in the hands of a non-national Government and under the control of authorities far away in London who are, it is notorious, subject to financial and capitalist influences whose interests have only too often been in conflict with the interests, financial as well as economic, of the people in India. Whatever, therefore, were the arguments by which the Hilton Young Commission had to arrive at the conclusion that the establishment of a Central Bank was the best method by which the stability and soundness of India's currency system may be established, Indian opinion generally had every reason to welcome the proposal of a Central Reserve Bank in India so long as thereby they could secure that freedom from the interference and control of Whitehall over the finances and the currency reserves of India which they have had reason repeatedly to protest against and so long as the authority set up in place thereof was Indian and national in its outlook and impartial and independent in its constitution and functions.

It was because there was good reason to hope that the organisation of the Central Reserve Bank can be modelled on these lines that all shades of Indian opinion generally in the Legislative Assembly, except, of course, where vested interests may have come into conflict with the notions of particular groups, allowed the Bill to be introduced and circulated for opinion and accepted the appointment of a powerful Joint Committee of both Houses to examine the detailed provisions of this important Bill and revise and improve it in a manner that could subserve the best interests of the country.

The Joint Committee, at the very outset, dealt with the fundamental question as to the real character of the institution that was sought to be established. The Government's Bill provided for a Bank consisting of shareholders with a subscribed capital of 5 crores of which 40% was to be allotted to the Imperial Bank and for the constitution of a directorate the majority of whom were to be elected by the group of shareholders represented by the Imperial Bank and presumably by other powerful financial interests, the rest being nominated by the Government. The Joint Committee after full discussion definitely came to the conclusion that having regard to the national character and functions of the proposed Bank and the very large currency, financial and commercial interests that will have to be entrusted to that institution, it was unsound and unsafe to entrust it into the hands of a small group of shareholders of the kind proposed. The Joint Committee came to the specific conclusion that a State Bank was the only proper institution in India that should be entrusted with these functions. It was ad-

mitted that what was necessary for the constitution of the organisation that should be in charge of the Central Reserve Bank and its functions was not any particular share capital, for that would necessarily bear a very insignificant proportion to the enormous financial operations and transactions that would have to be undertaken by the management of the Bank, but the establishment of an independent and impartial Indian authority competent to discharge those important functions. The provision of the necessary capital for the operations of the Bank could be easily found by the State and the real question therefore that arose in connection with the establishment of the Bank was thus the constitution of the most efficient and capable Indian directorate.

This principle was enunciated at the very outset by the Joint Committee and, subject to its acceptance by the Government, the Committee dealt with the remaining clauses of the Bill that covered the very important technical and financial questions connected with the functions of the Bank and with the regulation of the currency as well as credit by the Bank, in an eminently reasonable spirit of give and take and they succeeded in producing a Bill which admittedly was in all these respects, a piece of sound workmanship both from the technical and the business point of view. The Government also, before the Bill reached its final shape in the hands of the Select Committee, expressed with the concurrence of the Secretary of State its acquiescence in the principle of a State Bank so long as the directorate can be properly devised to secure efficient discharge of the important functions to be entrusted to it. The Govern-

ment, however, at any rate the Secretary of State in particular, had positive objections to constituting the legislatures of the country as an electorate for the election of any proportion of the directors that have to be elected for the Bank, on the ground that it would introduce politics and political considerations in the management or administration of an institution that should be scrupulously kept free from the same. This objection, however, was expected to be got over by some *via media* in the course of the passage of the Bill in the Legislature and the Bill was therefore brought up at the last Simla session with every hope and prospect of being enacted into law.

So far as the Legislature was concerned, it showed itself anxious to come to any just and reasonable settlement with the Government on the question of the constitution of the directorate so long as the fundamental principles for which they—at any rate all the progressive parties in the House uninfluenced by the counsel of vested interests—stood, were maintained, namely the constitution of a really valuable national institution that would control and conserve through a competent and predominantly Indian representative directorate the financial resources of the country and regulate its currency and credit in the national interests free from the evils of the past. And Sir Basil Blackett, to whose strong sense of financial justice and fairplay to India not less than to his financial genius and ability this important projected reform owes so much, recognised and acknowledged the spirit with which the Assembly, at any rate, the popular representatives in the Assembly, met the requirements of a great Bill and a great occasion in all these respects; and to the ex-

tent to which the Government of India could express its concurrence with the point of view of the people's representatives in the Legislature they expressed their concurrence with the proposals put forward, and expected the sanction of the Secretary of State as a matter of course to carry through a great piece of financial reform in this country with the support of the Legislature behind them in a manner which was bound to have had far-reaching effects both on the political and the financial developments of the future.

But evidently the large vested interests that were constantly behind the India Office in this respect and have viewed all along with uneasy and ill-concealed distrust these large reforms started by a finance member in India with the authority and prestige possessed by Sir Basil Blackett, were ever on the watch to find pretexts to turn down the Bill, and instead of leaving the details of the Bill to be settled by the Viceroy and his Government in consultation with the Legislature began to interfere and dictate in a manner which continues to threaten its passage into law. The Secretary of State has already conceded the principle of a State Bank, whatever might be his own preferences in favour of a Shareholders Bank. The Secretary of State has also conceded many another matter of contention on which intermediate and compromise proposals were made and accepted as between the Legislature and the Government in India. He has thought fit now to exaggerate one small point of contention and to suggest that unless it was conceded, the Bill should be withdrawn and he has taken advantage of the fact that on that matter there have been differences and disputes in the groups in the Assem-

bly itself—differences and disputes behind which are vested interests in the country, which would rather prefer the continuation and extension of the powers of the Imperial Bank of India and its directorate than the constitution of a new central banking authority which would represent the larger and more paramount interests of all the provinces and people of India.

The Joint Committee proposed that a proportion of the directorate should be elected by two electorates constituted of the Central and Provincial Legislatures, mainly on the ground that they would in practice be found the most convenient electorates for the representation of the tax-payers and of the agriculturists and for a proper distribution of the personnel of the directorate in the different provinces whose interests and requirements have to be constantly kept in mind by the management of the Reserve Bank equally with the requirements of the financial and capitalist interests that might be concentrated either in Calcutta or in Bombay. The motion that the electorates of the Legislatures were intended to introduce a political element in the management of the Bank was wholly foreign to the mind of the Joint Committee, but it was falsely, sedulously and mischievously propagated by Anglo-Indian vested interests with a view to intensify the prejudice that had been already conceived in that behalf by the India Office as well as by the Government of India in the first instance. It took the Government of India some time to understand the real object of the recommendations of the Joint Committee in this respect, but the India Office either did not or would not still understand this real object. The Assembly, however, was quite prepared—

and in this even Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, despite his doubts, expressed his concurrence, to consider any alternate scheme of popular electorates by which the same results might be achieved; and it was in the midst of the pursuit of this *via media* that the amendments put forward by the Congress party of a College of Electorates constituted of the Council of State Electoral Colleges and by Sir Basil Blackett of a College of Electors out of the registers of stockholders as were put forward for the consideration of the Assembly. Instead of allowing the Assembly and the Government to come to an agreement as they were very nearly doing on this matter and evolve a scheme which would have been found to meet even the exaggerated objections of the Secretary of State, the India Office interposed and blocked the progress of the Bill in a manner which the Assembly rightly characterised as an affront and insult. Meanwhile, financial and commercial opinion in London and elsewhere has been sought to be poisoned by all sorts of irrelevant and misleading suggestions of political pressure and popular clamour and they have been unfortunately abetted, consciously and unconsciously, by some vested interests in India anxious to perpetuate either the existing financial arrangements under the Imperial Bank of India or the substitution in its place of a system in which those who now control and influence the financial policies and operations of the Imperial Bank might be enabled to obtain the same control and influence in the Central Bank.

It seems clear that there are only two plain issues to be dealt with, from the national standpoint, one of which is financial and the other constitutional. So far as the financial issue is

concerned, I do not think, despite what one section of Bombay opinion might say, that there is any longer any dispute as to the necessity of the Central Reserve Bank. It has been said that a Central Reserve Bank with a bad directorate is worse than the existing state of things. Such general propositions always prove too much and they after all beg the question as to what is a bad directorate. When this is analysed and discussed, those who argue this proposition eventually arrive at the comfortable conclusion that the directorate proposed by them is the one and only solution failing which they would prefer the continuance of the existing system. It is one thing to say that a directorate in which a proportion is elected by the legislatures would be found on the whole better than a directorate that could be constituted by any other complicated method, but it is another thing to say that unless the former is done, the bringing into existence of the Bank would be a definite evil while with a proportion of directors elected by the legislatures or after their own heart, it would be an institution of great national benefit. After all, can we be so positive that elections by the legislatures would at all times and in all circumstances give an ideal electorate free from the defects or the deficiencies which are constantly ascribed to directors elected by other processes? Are we so clear that either the Government or the vested interests have possessed no power or exercised no evil influence in elections by members of the legislature which have taken place in the past either on communal, racial or political grounds? It is one thing to recognise that generally speaking the legislatures on the whole would constitute

a desirable electorate, but it is another thing to say that this is the sole and only electorate that could be thought of and to contend that failing it, this admittedly beneficial and national institution should be abandoned in favour of the continuance of the existing state of things whose evils none have been so loud in declaiming as those who urge this kind of argument.

It has been, for instance, argued by even such well-known commercial and business-men as Sir Phiroze Sethna and Mr. Valchand Hirachand that the Stockholders scheme is virtually a Shareholders scheme in a worse form. Mr. Madon takes the same view, although it is a relief to me to find that he considers that the scheme of electoral colleges of Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar is preferable and that he would apparently endorse it, at any rate, as a preferable alternative. Now it seems to me that unless we desire to quarrel about words, it is unnecessary to elaborate the distinction between the Stockholders Scheme, and a shareholders scheme. We all understand what is meant by shares and shareholders. Everybody knows that when a Bank or any Company consists of shares and shareholders and its capital is made up of shares the entire property and business of the institution thereby created vests in the shareholders, whatever might be the actual restrictions that may be imported in respect of their powers or even in respect of the directorate constituted by them. Can it be said that the Stockholders as such have, except for the purpose of furnishing an electorate for the election of a directorate for election from each province, any property in the Bank or any voice in regard to the business of the Bank? On the other hand, is it not the inherent right of shareholders in any concern as

it is the inherent right of the Government which owns the capital of the Bank and not of the stockholders in the other scheme to examine the business and the management of the Bank, to pass its balance sheet, to declare its profits, of course, within the limits of the articles of association, and generally call to account the directorate upon every matter upon which it is not by specific regulations prevented from interfering? In the next place, under the Stockholders scheme, neither the capital of the Central Bank nor the stock certificates held by the stockholders are anything but money in the hands of the Government. The sole right of the stockholders is to the guaranteed interest they get subject to their being bought upon terms by the Government itself. The whole environment, if I may say so, in the latter case, is that of State ownership whereas in the case of the Shareholders Bank the environment is, *prima facie*, and to a large degree, one of a private limited liability ownership. Much has been made of the suggestion that the stocks that would be issued would yield a larger return than the ordinary public debt. This, I think, is a matter which certainly is not either a final or a fundamental proposition and the question whether and if so, to what minimum extent, these stocks should be made more attractive than ordinary stocks is a matter which has to be considered from the point of view of the objects that have to be kept in view when constituting registers of stockholders for the election of directors in the provinces. Indeed, there are many other similar details which have hardly reached the stage of discussion on the stockholders scheme and in regard to which valuable co-operation and important suggestions on the part of

people like Sir Phiroze Sethna and Mr. Valchand Hirachand would have been welcomed both by the Assembly and by the Finance Member.

After all, the real merit of the stockholders scheme, is not in the stock proposed to be issued instead of shares, but in the fact that it seeks to provide a practical way out of the many difficulties that were met with in all schemes in order that a directorate may be constituted which will represent in a fair and general way, the interests of the provinces and the claims of agricultural and business interests of all parts of India besides the presidency cities wherein are concentrated, no doubt, the central financial commercial interests of Indian trade and finance. The only difference between the Stockholders scheme and the scheme put forward in the Joint Committee's report or in the amendment of Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar is that it does not professedly represent the interests of the tax-payer as such whose monies after all form the bulk of the resources by which the operations of the Bank will be conducted or of the general body of consumers as such who have to use the currency and credit facilities of the country and these aspects should no doubt, be further examined. At the same time, the suggestions made in the Stockholders scheme, it may be pointed out, though they may not provide for representation in the sense in which direct representation is used, would provide for representation in the sense in which what is known as representation by sample is used in political phraseology. After all, when the power to deal with questions of common and public interest has to be committed to some authority selected for the purpose, the authorities so designated

may be designed to act in one of three ways as Prof. Lowell pointed out long ago : (1) They may be designed to express the opinion of the public when there is one. This is strict and direct representation : (2) They may be appointed to exercise their own judgment or discretion in acting upon the questions that come before them : (3) They may be set apart to use their election as clear samples of the people on the supposition that their opinion will be the same. In practice, of course, these three categories are not rigidly separated. "An officer of the State may be the mouth-piece of public opinion or may be a professionally skilled man or he may be merely a capable and intelligent citizen. The Jury, for instance, is a case of representation by sample. Of course, in all such cases the sample chosen must be a fair one and must remain so and not be subject to corrupt influences or pressure."

I do not want to elaborate these things, but I am only contending that after all, on analysis, it will be found that there is a limit to casuistry on questions of representation or popular verdict. I myself think that the Stockholders scheme requires further close and full examination and is capable of much improvement and I believe that while it is wrong to put it aside by the casual remark that it is merely a variation of the Shareholders scheme, it would be equally unjust on the part of the Secretary of State to object to the Stockholders scheme on the ground that it still allows members of the legislature as such to have some voice, severally in different provinces and in different composite groups in the choosing of even the electors who are to elect the directors. A legislator is not *per se* such an objectionable

being that he should even individually be kept out of having anything to do with the electorate of the Central Bank even by the Secretary of State. Many legislators to-day are important members of the European and Indian Chambers of Commerce who want, and to whom the Secretary of State concedes the right, to have a dominant voice in the Central Bank directorate; and even if they are disqualified from being directors they cannot cease to be the important business and financial men that they are able to control with or without the vote, the decisions of the Chambers which will be directly represented in the Central Bank. It seems to me that behind these petty objections there are really other motives which are not openly avowed but which secretly operate with a view to turn down the Central Bank on some ground or other.

But apart from these purely financial aspects and issues that have been raised over the Reserve Bank Bill, the constitutional issues that have been precipitated by the intervention of the Secretary of State in the middle of the proceedings of the Indian Legislature to block its further progress, seem to me even more serious from the point of view of the future position and functions of the Indian Government and the Indian Legislature. They seem to be particularly ill-timed and mischievous at the very time when the question of further reforms has to be examined. To anyone who is conversant with the methods of the India Office, the pertinacity with which the domination of Whitehall obtrudes itself on critical occasions, will show where the real root of all real opposition to India's Swaraj lies. I do not desire to digress into these aspects, but confining myself to the strictly limited ques-

tion of the interpretation of the existing constitution, it seems to me that the action of the Secretary of State, if persisted in, would be manifestly unconstitutional in the sense of breaking the fundamental basis of the reformed constitution as it has been designed and worked since 1919 and would constitute a deliberate attempt to revert to the earlier methods of Whitehall domination—methods which are understood to have been clearly abandoned when the Reform Act was put into operation in 1919. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report in dealing with the question of the effect of the Reform scheme on the position of the Secretary of State and the control which Parliament exercised through him over the Government in India, expressly referred to the altered position which he was bound to occupy by reason of the definite accepted policy of the devolution of responsibility to representative popular authorities in India to the extent to which this devolution proceeded by the stages marked in that scheme, and they left the matter for fuller examination by the Crewe Committee. One of the first recommendation of that Committee in regard to the relations between the Secretary of State and the Government of India in respect of control and devolution was stated in the proposition which the Committee desired to be specifically embodied in the rules or in the Bill as *viz.*, that where the Governor-General-in-Council and the elected majority of the Assembly agreed in respect of a measure the Secretary of State should accept the same and refrain from any interference.

The Joint Parliamentary Committee who examined the Bill and the proposed Rules and made the final recommendations upon the exist-

ing Constitution, discussed this recommendation in Part III of their Report and they came to the conclusion with reference to the new regime proposed to be established that "in the relations of the Secretary of State with the Governor-General-in-Council the Committee are unanimously of opinion that no statutory change can be made so long as the Governor-General remained responsible to Parliament; but in practice the conventions which now govern the relations may wisely be modified to meet fresh circumstances caused by the creation of a Legislative Assembly with a large elected majority." They then proceeded specifically to endorse the recommendation of the Crewe Committee in the following terms: "In the exercise of his responsibility to Parliament which he cannot delegate to any one else, the Secretary of State may reasonably consider that only in exceptional circumstances should he be called upon to intervene in matters of purely Indian interest where the Government and the Legislature of India are in agreement." The Joint Committee, indeed, went further and laid it down that in respect of fiscal matters, the convention must be forthwith established of specific non-intervention where the Legislature and the Indian Government agreed as to the fiscal policy to be adopted and that, on that respect, fiscal autonomy should be granted to India in the same way in which it had been granted to the Dominions. The latter recommendation has been specifically put in operation as a definite convention by the adoption on the part of the Indian Government of the specific policy of discriminating protection for Indian industries in the several legislative measures which the Assembly and the Government of India have both concurred in placing

on the Indian Statute Book and in carrying out these provisions out in respect of several industries for the benefit of the country. It follows, therefore, that the other convention also must be considered operative, namely, that only in exceptional circumstances should the Secretary of State intervene where the Government and the Legislature in India are in agreement in respect of matters of purely Indian interest.

It is conceded that the Central Reserve Bank is a matter of purely Indian interest and the Secretary of State has accepted the decision of the Joint Committee of the Legislature that the Bank should be financed by State capital and should have a majority of Indian directors. It is also clear that in such a matter purely of Indian interest, Lord Irwin and his Government and the Legislature of India were doing their best during last month (September) to come to an agreement. It would therefore be a manifest attempt to break the above accepted convention for the Secretary of State constantly to intervene and issue mandates to the Government of India not on any vital question affecting the responsibility of the Secretary of State to Parliament, but upon matters of detail relating to clauses and sub-clauses of an admittedly complicated and technical measure. It was the necessity of obtaining the general support of Indian public opinion on this important measure than the securing of even a technical majority in division on the provisions of the Bill, that induced Lord Irwin to confer with the leaders of parties with a view to arrive at agreed proposals. And when these pourparlers were going on successfully, it was entirely gratuitous and unconstitutional on the part of the Secretary of State to interpose in the middle

of the negotiations and stop the progress of the Bill. Such peremptory interference can only be paralleled by precedents in the past autocracy of the India Office which were definitely and deliberately departed from when the Reform Act was put into operation. But even in the days when such interference on the part of the Secretary of State actually took place, Viceroy's resented such interferences and resigned their offices, while members of the Executive Council protested against them as calculated to prejudice the interests of this country in favour of the interests of British capitalism and exploitation. Even in the days when the India Secretary's responsibility to Parliament on the abolition of the East India Company was far more lively than subsequently, Indian Viceroy's asserted their responsibilities in respect of India in no uncertain terms, but masterful men at the India Office sure of the backing of the Cabinet had their way. It was laid down for instance by the Duke of Argyle that "the Government of India were merely executive officers of the Home Government who held the ultimate power of requiring the Governor-General to introduce measures and requiring also the official members to vote for it." But in the days of Lord Northbrook this position was contested and the Marquis of Salisbury re-asserted the authority of the India Office in terms which went so far as to say that the powers of previous sanction vested in the Governor-General statutorily are powers which in practice he was not to exercise according to his best judgment but in accordance with the mandates he might receive from the Secretary of State. The Secretary of State then laid it down that no important legislative proposal should be brought forward

in the Legislature without his previous assent and the fact that he possessed the right to a subsequent veto should not be taken as a pretext for any departure from this direction of his except in urgent cases. Lord Northbrook, however, as an urgent case, enacted the Tariff Act of 1875 imposing a duty on Cotton and other goods and this had the effect of checkmating the Secretary of State in reference to a matter on which he held contrary views and in which the interests of the Lancashire cotton manufacturers were involved. He censured the Government of India for having passed the Tariff Act without reference to him and he refused to accept the plea of urgency and directed that telegraphic intimation should always be given to him before and sanction obtained even in emergent cases. Lord Northbrook promptly resigned his high office and the Tariff Act itself was subsequently repealed by Lord Lytton. But even Lord Lytton had to face the protests of members of his Executive Council, while the Secretary of State himself had to face strong dissenting minutes from distinguished members of the India Council. Other instances can be cited in the history of the Government of India in which the Government of India, acting without the support of the legislature and as a subordinate branch of the British Government, has had repeatedly to accept, after vigorous protests, the mandates of the India Office dictated by British commercial and financial interests to the prejudice of what they conceived to be the interest of the country they governed. And it was all these aspects of fiscal and financial policy in the past that came under review before the Crewe Committee and the Joint Parliamentary Committee and led them to lay

down the specific conventions embodied in the Joint Committee's report.

I do not think it can be contended that the interference of the India Office in the present stage is not a departure from the conventions they have laid down. Moreover, in practice, even if the Secretary of State eventually found as a result of the labours of the Assembly that certain provisions did require alteration, he has ample powers and opportunities of doing so without interposing his autocratic block on legislation pending before the Assembly. It would have been quite easy for him to instruct the Government of India and if the Government of India agreed to propose the alterations before the Council of State and bring them again before the Assembly and attempt to persuade the Assembly to accept them. Or under the Statute, it is also open to the Secretary of State to direct the Governor-General to reserve the Bill and to remit it to the Assembly for reconsideration in respect of particular changes which he might recommend for the consideration of the Assembly. There are indeed many number of stages in which further consideration and discussion might have been quite possible and an attempt to persuade each other and find an agreement in some form was fully open without having to resort to the drastic measure of stopping the Bill. The India Office, however, had apparently ignored all these aspects of the case. Whether the news that has now found publicity shows that they have realised the existence of these further stages and are prepared to allow the Bill to proceed, it is difficult to say. But it is even more difficult to see how such a minor matter as the inclusion of the members of the legis-

lature as part of an electorate is so fundamentally fatal to a Bill of such importance and comprehensiveness, unless it be that the India Office is none too eager to put the Bill on the Statute Book and wants to get at any pretext for turning it down. It is known that the India Office has not blessed the scheme of the Central Bank. The reason behind its unwillingness to part with the powers of managing and regulating the currency and credit resources of this country from Whitehall and behind the opposition of vested interests in London are not beyond the comprehension of the Indian public all over India. The conviction that the India Office is moved by other considerations than those of the interests of India in the steps it has taken is deepening in the minds not merely of the politicians but of the general public throughout the country. If the Indian Legislature and the Indian Government are agreed on a measure which on the whole commends itself as a progressive measure to the national sections in India, the fact that Lord Birkenhead and the India Office have blocked its coming into effect will be perhaps one of the most significant of the wanton acts of injury to Indian interests that must influence the political life and programme of the country in the coming months.

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Irrigation and Electro-Chemical Industries

By MR. B. LAKSHMAN RAO., M. SC.

THE water-power resources of India have been dealt with in a number of papers, but the important question of its relation to irrigation schemes as electro-chemical industries has hardly been placed before the reading public. The inter-connection of these problems is such as would revolutionise the economic configuration of Eastern and Western India and would provide a living for thousands of workers existing from hand to mouth on the land threatened yearly with partial starvation by the vagaries of the monsoon. At the same time, it would add considerably to the Government revenue.

With the exception of a few snow-fed Himalayan rivers, most of the Indian rivers suited for power-production are either completely dry or have a very low discharge during about eight months of each year. As a consequence, the most important feature of Indian water-power schemes is the provision of adequate water storage reservoirs. And irrigation has the most important claim upon the rainfall. It frequently happens that irrigation projects involve constructions of dams and reservoirs. These could be so connected as to serve the double purpose.

Since the continuity of supply is absolutely essential to the successful operation of electro-chemical and metallurgical plants, the falls of several neighbouring systems of irrigation might be linked so that the closure of one station is met with the supply from others or *vice versa*. Instead of water-power stations (and consequently Electro-Chemical industries) being bound to and dependent upon irrigation schemes, the latter might profitably be

supplied by the overflow water from the power stations feeding the chemical or smelting works. When required this water might be directed into irrigation canals, at other times flowing to waste.

The areas round about the water-power irrigation schemes will attract agriculturists and specially growers of such crops which require and benefit by the supply of artificial fertilisers capable of electrical production. The sugar-cane industry will afford an example. Although India has an enormous area under sugar-cane, yet the yield per acre is so low that sugar is actually imported to India to the value of many millions annually. Improved yields have been demonstrated to be possible by the liberal application of either ammonium sulphate or other of the electrically produced nitrogen compounds. The relation of artificial fertilisers to Indian crops is a subject of exclusive research in indicating the lines of profitable products for production in particular areas. This will not only educate the peasants to take to scientific intensive cultivation but will pave the way to mutual support between agriculturists and manufacturers, as in the West.

India possesses magnificent range of raw materials for a number of Electro-Chemical Industries and metallurgy for which there can be no economic shortage. The following products are most suited for manufacture with the aid of electrical energy:—

- (1) Aluminium,
- (2) Calcium Carbide, Cyanamide and nitrate,
- (3) Ferro Alloys (Chrome, Tungsten and Manganese).
- (4) Nitrates and Ammonium compounds.

- (5) Chlorine products including Bleaching Powder,
- (6) Caustic Soda,
- (7) Iron and Steel,
- (8) Carbon and Silicon products (carbonyl and alundum),
- (9) Zinc, and Copper.
- (10) Magnesium, Phosphorous etc.

The raw materials for all these are available in the following list:

- (1) Bauxite, Cryolite, Caustic Soda.
- (2) Limestone, Nitrogen (from the air) coal or other carbon,
- (3) Chromite, wolfram (Tungsten ore) and Manganese ore.
- (4, 5, 6) Nitrogen, Sulphuric acid, Salt and products of other chemical industries named above.
- (7) Iron ore, coal or charcoal.
- (8) Carbon, Sand and Bauxite.
- (9) Ores of Zinc and Copper.
- (10) Magnesite, Apatite, etc., etc.

It is remarkable how the electro-chemical industries are to a large extent inter-dependent, so that the establishment of one industry often makes possible or demands the establishment of others. For example, the wood distillation industry will not only produce high grade carbon for graphite electrodes and for metallurgical operations but will yield coal tar from which most of our dyes, scents and drugs are obtained.

The fact that the commercial future of the electro-chemical industries in India depends upon the price at which it is economically possible to generate and transmit electric current to the site of the works, need not be dilated upon. But the problem of cost will

be much simplified if water from power stations is directed for irrigational purposes, as indicated above.

At a meeting of the East India Association, Sir Thomas Holland said that something more than cheap energy hangs upon the development of hydro-electric power and that the possibility of industrial advance in India was closely bound up with it. He pointed out that the first reconnaissance survey of the water-power of India indicated an annual recoverable waste of at least 1,750,000 h. p. or as much energy as the country obtained from her yearly coal output and delay in harnessing this means a direct annual loss of £ 5,000,000. None could speak with greater authority on this important aspect of national industrial development.

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Industrial Education in Travancore

BY

MR. N. K. VENKATESWARAN, B. A.

IT is well-known that as a result of a sustained and vigorous educational policy Travancore stands higher to-day than any other part of India in general education. It is perhaps not so well-known that the State has been making good progress also in industrial education.

The Central Technological Institute at Trivandrum is doing quite useful work. This school trains students in weaving, dyeing and knitting. To the weaving classes of the State it affords demonstration of the value of up-to-date looms and other appliances. It is not only a school but is also, in some sense, a factory. It makes cloths of various kinds and dyes the yarn required to make them. During the last year the value of its textile produce amounted to Rs. 2,202-13-4.

The School also does some industrial education propaganda. It organizes itinerant weaving parties who visit all the important centres of the State. Last year these parties stayed 20 days in each such centre demonstrating the weaving of finer counts of yarn with border designs.

The Institute further invites persons interested in the textile industries to visit it and profit by a knowledge of what is being done there. The number of visitors during the last year was 1275. The strength of the School is perhaps capable of expansion, it being at present none too high. Only 4 students left the School last year after having completed their course, but two of these intend to take up textile work on their own account.

The State runs a similar school at Nagercoil, the S. M. R. V. Technical Institute. It has a larger number of students on its rolls. Nagercoil, it may be remarked, is a great weaving centre. This school affords instruction in the theory and practice of weaving and demonstration in warping and sizing. Lessons in free-hand and model-drawing and scale-drawing of looms are also given. Instruction in spinning has been given from last year and the Government have secured the services of a spinning Instructor on a salary of Rs. 50 per mensem.

The Carpentry and Smithery School at Quilon is also a State-managed institution. Admission to this school is necessarily limited and there is a Selection Board to choose the required number from among the applicants. The course comprises three years and there were 24 students on the rolls last year. Only 12 students are admitted every year and for this reason a large number of applicants are disappointed. The great demand for admission into the School is a clear indication that the State has need for several institutions of the kind, and what is more, it is a very healthy demand and it will certainly be a good thing if the State provide the facilities it seeks.

The School of Arts at Trivandrum is a fairly-sized industrial concern. Its reputed ivory carving has won gold medals for its excellence. Its pottery has attained high perfection. Its stoneware articles are steadily increasing in popularity. Experiments in enamelling on gold and silver ornaments are

carried on here. On its walls hang the originals of some of Ravi Varma's masterpieces. It runs drawing classes in which there is a sprinkling of the fair sex. The School is one of the chief centres of attraction to the visitor to Trivandrum. The Government spends Rs. 23,765 on it a year. The school gives back to the Government about Rs. 4,668.

There is a Button Factory in Trivandrum at Valiathorai on the sea-shore. It is a private factory, but the Government are taking advantage of its existence. Last year six students under State stipends were given instruction in button-making at this factory.

Besides the institutions mentioned above there is a large number of Industrial Schools in the State some of which are aided by the Government. These number 113, of which 36 are aided, receiving varying amounts of grant. They are the fruits of private enterprise and are mainly sustained by individual enthusiasm. Between them they afford industrial instruction to 1171 students. Most of them are cotton-weaving schools. A few of them give instruction in painting and drawing, carpentry and smithery, and one of them, namely, the St. Thomas Industrial School at Vazhapally in Changanacherry, which is an unaided institution, is devoted to embroidery.

This article will not be complete without a mention of the Industrial Research Laboratory which is located on the premises of the Maharaja's College of Science. Reviewing the work of the Laboratory during the last year a Government white paper says: "The Industrial Research Laboratory is becoming more useful and firms and private individuals resort to it for information on industrial and technical matters. Writing ink

of good quality was prepared in the Laboratory and Government have placed with the Department an order for the supply of 50 gallons. The process of preserving ginger was perfected and advice was given to a European firm in Alleppey who wanted to take advantage of the opening in the European and American markets for preserved ginger brought about by the disturbances in China." It may be stated that China was until its present upheavals began, the world's chief supplier of preserved and candied ginger.

The reader might wonder why the Government themselves should not embody, in view of the acute unemployment of the educated now prevailing in the State, the results of these researches in industrial enterprises under their control. There is very large scope, indeed for industrial activities in the State, and there can be little doubt that without a full use of the opportunity the phenomenally progressive general education of the State must remain, in the main infructuous.



HEAD OFFICE :—ESPLANADE ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY.
E, Sept. '28,

“ 1927 ”

BY

MR. CYRIL MODAK.

—:o:—

Earth spreads her snowy carpet strewn with gems,
The winds wail mournful minstrelsies;
You go; we stay to see Hate gnaw slim stems
Of Love's frail ecstasies.

Pale, trembling, friendless Spectre of the Past,
Called back to some dim, nameless Shore,
Behold, your corse on Time's fierce pyre at last,
Unlearn life's care-phrased lore!

Fly thro' yon flaming Sunset's festive Gate,
Sad, bad, mad, glad this parting, true:
Joy bred by Pain, Hope born of Doubt shall wait
To sing my song to you!

In her star-scattered course, disconsolate Night,
Is out in lingering quest of you;
Farewell, dear Old! Man's eager protean sight
Invites the strange, the New!

Like some lone, truth-drunk star dwell in the Sky,
To watch the birth-throes of this Earth;
And in the dark my sleepless, dreaming eye
Shall steal your twinkling mirth!

Beggar Relief

BY MR. P. G. NAIK,

Life-worker, Social Service League, Bombay.

The relief problem is one of the oldest social problems. From very ancient days beggars have been found everywhere in the society and though innumerable efforts were made in various countries to check the evil none of them was completely successful. The wonder is that with the growth of civilization the number of people depending on charities is also growing.

It is but natural that owing to various reasons some members in a community should be sickly, feeble, deformed and defective. And even among those who are healthy, strong and without any inborn defects, some should meet with accidents while going about in search of food and other necessities of life and become unfit as it always involves labour, fatigue and danger. In this way an army of dependent people is created. It is the general rule that those who are best fitted to live have the best chance of living and that those who are the least fitted to live have the least chance of living. This is what is called the law of "The survival of the Fittest."

The lower animals, as a general rule are unable to give mutual assistance at the time of difficulty. And therefore a slight injury or a temporary illness is sufficient to end their lives. Because it leaves the individual powerless against its enemies. Each must fulfil all the conditions of its existence or failing this must be prepared to die a premature death. But this is not the case with man. He is social and sympathetic. He is not only able to know the sufferings of others but he can help his companions to tide over difficulties and thus can defeat the law of Natural Selection. Even among the aboriginal tribes the weak do not suffer the extreme penalty which falls upon animals in the same condition. This victory over Nature achieved by man is due to his being a member of an organised society and cannot be attained by him acting singly or in

isolation. But this success has brought with it an additional responsibility. The efforts to band together for the purpose of defeating the grand law of Nature compelled man to make provision for maintaining a class of people totally depending on the society. If the man would have lived alone in a state of isolation and not in an organised society he would have become a victim to the law of nature and the charitable institutions which we find everywhere could have no existence. Owing to these organised efforts on the part of man unfit members of the society are not left to themselves as unwelcome burden on the society but are allowed to live in the society to be supported wholly or in part by its strong and healthy members. To tell the truth this was the origin of pauperism.

A question will be asked as to what will be the result if these defective people are left unaided and uncared for. The result will be that there will be no chance of removing their defects and making them self-supporting wholly or in part when possible and they will die after a very long struggle and suffering, because Nature's way of eliminating the weak is very harsh and slow. But if these people are to be left out of consideration what is the use of endowing men with the great qualities like sympathy, love, etc. Certainly it must be the intention of Nature that man should make proper use of the qualities and should lessen the sufferings of his fellow beings.

But if the organised society could see to it that only those members who are unable to support themselves wholly or in part receive help from it, the problem would not have been so difficult to solve and pauperism and all its attendant evils would have been unknown. But that was not done. Unfortunately the society while making provision in various ways for its weak members has totally

failed to take proper steps to prevent members able enough to take care of themselves from taking undue advantage of this privilege. Owing to this the number of idlers has been increased beyond expectation at a great economic loss to the society at large, and the strong and vigorous members are unable to bear this unnecessary burden any more. The whole society has to suffer for this and immediate steps must be taken to lighten the burden.

Now the question arises how are we to get rid of this evil? While recognising our duty as members of the organised society to help the weak, the sick and the defective, how are we to punish those who are abusing the privilege and reduce the evil to a minimum? The answer will be to give adequate help to those who are wholly dependent and make as much self-supporting as possible, those who are partly dependent and then only make up the deficiency in their income. Whenever possible assistance should be of such a nature as to increase the earning capacity and so make further aid unnecessary. When the deficiency is, however, inevitable and permanent, the aid must be likewise permanent. As for those who want to become a burden on the society, the organised society must try its utmost to prevent them by united action by exercising the same power which the man does in defeating the law of nature and by this alone man can combat the evil. In the higher states of civilization everything depends on the division of labour. Therefore each member of the society must perform that part which he is best able to perform and under no circumstances should become a burden to the society at large. This should be the underlying principle in dealing with the problem of pauperism.

In old times relief was generally supplied by relatives or neighbours. The normal family in the community was self-supporting. There were no big cities and towns in those days and almost all

the villages were self-sufficient units. Therefore a man unable to support himself used to get adequate help in his own village if not in his own family and it was not necessary for him to go elsewhere for it. The joint family system was most useful from this point of view. Because in a joint family much attention is not paid whether each member is self-supporting or not, but the income of the whole family is taken into consideration and the weakest members are supplied with all the necessities of life according to the standard of living of the family along with other members without the least reference to their individual incomes. But there is a defect in the system. The whole family generally depends on the income of the bread winner and when by a stroke of misfortune the man suddenly dies or his income is cut off the whole family breaks down.

The industrial revolution in the nineteenth century made a great change in all this. It led to an enormous increase of towns and cities. Economical and social relations were widened. People left their native places in large numbers and families were broken. This change reduced the family ties and forced the individual members of a community to rely upon the community as a whole rather than upon their immediate relatives and neighbours for relief. At this stage the society has to step in and it became a matter of concern for the society as a whole. The society has to see that the question is not only to give feed to those who are without it, but to consider whether the individual is doing what he can to earn his own food or whether the circumstances which have incapacitated him from earning it, may be so modified as to make him self-supporting and prevent others from reaching the same state. For all these reasons and others of a similar character the place of relief in a progressive society is naturally a large and permanent one.

When a person was to be helped in his family or in his village it was very easy to do so.

Because his previous history was known to the people and naturally therefore they were in a position to know what kind of relief would best suit his conditions. But in a big city inhabited by thousands of people from the different parts of the world it is very difficult to collect all the information about one's past history and it requires much time, tact, and money. There is the danger that help given without full knowledge of the circumstances and facts might lead to one's further fall. Unless the donor is in possession of the full history of the man whom he wants to help he will not be able to know what exactly the latter wants, how far he is able to help himself and how much outside help he will require.

Another important principle of relief is that it should not be supplied to make good temporary or permanent deficiency in the wage earning capacity of a person. Relief should not be supplied in order that employers may get the benefit of underpaid labour. Encouragement to the expectation that a part of the income of the wage earners whose wages are below the normal and self-supporting standard will be supplied from charitable sources should never be given. It is only when from some definite reason a person is below the level of normal wage earning power that relief is justified. Relief is not a substitute for wages in whole or in part, but is a substitute for income necessary for the supply of the necessities and the ordinary comforts of life when such income cannot be earned.

Within the past few years a noticeable change has taken place in the conception of charity and of social obligations. The idea that personal reward either in the present or in a future life will follow acts of charity is now changing and the question is not considered from the donor's point of view but from the recipient's point of view. Up to now it never occurred to the donors in general that if the recipient of the donation was not a fit person, it makes him more dependent on the

society and the society and the individual alike have to suffer the consequences. Therefore efforts are now made to organise charity in such a way that both the society and the person who receives it be benefited at the same time.

In old times there was not such a large army of able-bodied beggars as is found at present everywhere in India. In those days means of communication were few, costly and slow and therefore beggars found it very difficult to go from one place to another in search of alms. Besides at that time India was in a very prosperous condition from economic point of view and it was not difficult for a family to give something in charity. Rich people gave big donations to start institutions like Sadavartas and Annasatras to feed Brahmans, Sadhus, travellers and destitutes. These institutions are now found everywhere from one end of the country to the other. But most of them have now degenerated into agencies for feeding and sheltering idlers, vagabonds and loafers who are a nuisance to the society. All these charities were made in the belief that to give money in charity was necessary to ensure one's own salvation. It was spent indiscriminately and therefore it did not lead to decrease the number of people depending on relief, but attracted a large number to it. There are a number of people in India who openly profess to be beggars by caste and they with their families depend on charities for their maintenance for generations. They sincerely believe that according to their religion they cannot follow any other calling than begging. In this way indiscriminate charity in this country has not only induced a very large army of able-bodied persons to depend for their maintenance on the income of the industrious members of the society but made a section of the community who have no reasons at all to remain in this state permanently dependent on the society. The fundamental principle of the modern charity is that the number of reci-

pipients must be slowly reduced to a minimum. If this test is applied to our Annasatras and Sadavartas it will be admitted that they do not justify their existence. These institutions badly stand in need of reform. Parasites who are encouraged by these institutions must be compelled to work. The relief agencies referred to above being self-supporting institutions do not find it necessary to change their old methods of distributing relief to fit in with the spirit of the time though their methods are half a century old, if not more. Their object may be good but their indiscriminate charity instead of advancing the progress of society is retarding it and therefore it is necessary to bring pressure to bear upon these institutions to change their methods.

Owing to the present complicated state of the society and the rapidly changing ideas about charity it has become very difficult for an individual or a family in absence of the necessary

machinery to make preliminary inquiries in the matter, to make any charity directly on their own responsibility. This work, therefore, is now handed over partly to the Government and partly to the institutions who have specialised themselves in it.

If it is a fact that the society has deliberately taken upon itself the responsibility of helping its dependent members it cannot shirk the responsibility. At the same time it must see that its honest members are not overloaded. If the problem is to be successfully solved a consistent relief policy and the adoption of measures in accordance with it for the whole of India must be outlined. Then and then alone the evil can be remedied adequately. Because it is not confined to a particular province but is spread all over India and therefore the steps to be taken to cure it must be applicable to the whole of India.

A SOLUTION OF THE COMMUNAL PROBLEM

BY MR. S. SHAFAT HUSAIN, B. A. (ALIG)

The leaders at Simla have failed to take note that no amount of sentimental talk can advance the cause of unity. The Delhi Unity conference in spite of a Mahatma's fast failed to achieve much good. The then achievement did not go beyond the adoption of some resolutions which were easily shelved a little after that show was over. Such results are hardly worth any trouble and affords us a great lesson. If the leaders of both the communities are really determined to put an end to the present communal warfare, let them resolve to carry the masses with them by a vigorous propaganda of communal peace and amity.

Whatever may be the final settlement they arrive at, it must be made a basis of strong propaganda for mutual rapprochement. Let it be incorporated in the aims and objects of every political and social organisation in this country.

Each one of these should propagate it in its own sphere. The Indian Congress must give them a lead.

This kind of work can be accomplished even though the leaders at Simla agreed only in disagreement and have lately dispersed. The task before them bristles with grave difficulties which shall take time for being fully talked and solved. There is no reason why hopes of an amicable and equitable settlement should be given up.

It may be a human weakness to succumb to pessimism too easily; but we should bear in mind that "whereas hope is the child of gods, despair is born of the devil." While the dense cloud of communal hatred threatens and darkens our political horizon, there is still there a silver lining. Following the footsteps of His Excellency the Viceroy, such enlightened and large-hearted Indian Rulers as His highness the Nawab of

Bhopal, a worthy son of a worthy mother, the Maharaja of Alwar whose generosity knows no communal limits and last but not the least Her Highness the mother Begum of Bhopal have all come forward to offer their invaluable services at the altar of peace.

Their noble conduct and courageous example must afford a great incentive to the lukewarm and dispirited leaders, some of whom are more fond of keeping the ignorant masses dancing to their piping than giving them the right kind of lead.

It is an indelible shame to Indian youths and intelligentsia to go on slumbering while the motherland suffers.

Will not young India rise and trample down the demon of mutual discord that rends into two the heart of the motherland?

Can India produce a Garibaldi, a Cavour or at least a Saad Zighlul to kill the monster of discord and dissension?

The present intense struggle dates back to the inauspicious times when the Suddhi movement was started by much flourish of trumpets. This led to a rude awakening of the other community which in pure self-defence organised Tabligh committees to counteract the Samajist activities. Our primary step therefore, should be to disarm these militants that organised the present day communal warfare.

Both Suddhi and Tabligh as militant and aggressive movements must disappear. This does not mean that the seekers after truth should be shut out from all opportunities and facilities of completing their inquiry. Every religion in this country is at perfect liberty to place the exposition of its doctrines before the public in a calm and persuasive manner. The missionaries of every religion may carry on their duties scrupulously avoiding annoying airs and vexatious methods. Those who persist in their fanatic propaganda should be publicly disowned by all these

to whom they happen to belong. No religious organisation should entertain or harbour such mischief-mongers whose disappearance will naturally facilitate the establishment of religious and communal peace.

(2) Our next suggestion would be that both Sangathan and Tanzim may be merged into one great national organisation assisting both communities on occasions of apprehended breach of peace. An organisation comprising of both communities will ultimately develop into a great tower of national strength. It may also serve in several other ways. There do arise numerous opportunities when both communities need social service. In the celebration of various festivals such an organisation can be utilised for maintaining peace and order. However, if Sangathan and Tabligh are allowed to exist, they must amalgamate or both must go. Let every district in this country have its own Aman or peace sabha to preach, inculcate and prove, both by example and precept, the blessing of communal peace. The replacement of Sangathan and Tanzim by such a national movement will not only ease the present tension but will also lay the foundation of Indian nationality.

(3) As soon as the steps suggested above are taken, the questions of music before mosques and cow-slaughter will lose their pungence. As a matter of principle, no music should be allowed to be played before mosques while prayers are being offered there, and no cow-slaughter should take place at a private or public place without sufficient enclosure where none but the interested in it may notice it. So far about the religious aspect of the communal problem. The crux of it lies in the politico-economic aspect. The after-war economic effects coupled with the ever increasing un-employment of the educated have hit hard the already impoverished Indian people. Thus the question of 'loaves and fishes' has suddenly

assumed an extremely inflated dimension and has taken the shape of communal and religious strife. The Mussalmans being the poorer owing to their reluctance to take to commerce and trade cannot remain content by foregoing their proper and legitimate share in public services. They not only now aspire but are being driven by sheer economic necessity to claim and obtain what is their due. If a Muslim candidate applies for a post in a department in which Muslim representation is disproportionately meagre and his qualifications are co-equal with those of his Hindu brother, there is no earthly reason why there should arise any communal heart-burning for his being appointed. The converse of it must equally be permissible. All the various communities of the land should be allowed equal opportunities to serve the public. While the Mussalmans can extend a helping hand to the Hindus in exterminating such social evils as untouchability and caste-exclusiveness the Hindus can easily assist them in the economic reconstruction of their society. While amicably disposed towards each other, both communities stand to gain economically as well as socially. Political advantages shall be so great that none can overestimate them. If the spirit of co-operation generated by the Khilafat-Congress propaganda lasted longer than it did, probably the present tendencies of separation would have ceased to ruffle Indian political atmosphere. The question of abolishing separate representation and separate electorates cannot be solved as long as there exists mutual distrust between the minority and the majority. Separatism whether in representation or in electorate surely cuts at the very root of national solidarity. But this evil necessity cannot be obviated until and unless both communities particularly the majority develop a purely national outlook. The record of Provincial and Imperial Legislatures shows that in matters non-communal both Hindu and Muslim representatives have frequently

joined hands. Even during this period of grave communal tension this happy tradition had been maintained. There is not much substance or force in the contention that separate electorates are largely responsible for the present communal feelings. If the proposed joint electorates are substituted, while the present unhappy mood of both communities lasts, there is a much greater danger of communal clash in future. The past experiences of the mixed electorate fully justify the present apprehensions of the minority. A repetition of this old and tried experiment is feared to add further to the already heavy catalogue of communal riots. The existing mentality of both the communities does not warrant a change in the electorate machinery. Still there may be no harm if in certain selected areas where both communities agree to the proposal of joint electorates being put into practice, this experiment is resorted to.

It is a great pity that our communal squabbles have set back our onward march to the self-government goal. But facts must be faced squarely and boldly.

There is yet time to bring about a real change in our outlook by sincere and assiduous propaganda for national unity. Let all of us first search our own hearts and find out as to how best we can achieve this desired end.* Will communal stalwarts repent or continue their nefarious work of self-aggrandisement to the complete annihilation of all national consciousness?

Will not they now ponder over the immense mischief they have already done? The heart of our mother-land bleeds and bleeds profusely. May peace reign where at present war and strife rage. I conclude with this prayer :—

"O Lord, let my country awake unto peace and freedom."

* This article was written before the meeting of the Calcutta Unity Conference. Editor, "Indian Review,"

Murugan—The Tiller

By MR. K. CHANDRASEKHARAN M.A., B.L.

MR. Venkatramani's new book entitled "Murugan—The Tiller" (Price Rs. 2-8. G. A. Natesan & Co. Madras) would strike any reader, as but a third volume of the series of pen-pictures of South Indian Life, which he in his own peculiarly alluring manner, has already portrayed to us, though it is presented in the form of a story. The scene of action is almost confined to Madras, the adjoining district of Chingleput and the village of Alavanti, and thus we have here some delicious descriptions of the village and the town—an effective contrast of the urban and rural life touched with a vein of melancholic outlook on the rapidly decaying charms of the village.

Mr. Venkatramani seems a visionary and his Ramu is cast in his own mould. The author pinning "On the Sand Dune" "for things that will never be mine" gets emboldened here to infuse in his Ramu a spirit to achieve. Murugan, born of a sturdy race of workers, loves his mother earth with a passion, all his own, which scarcely an inhabitant of the town can comprehend having lost the "Pearl of his soul in the bottomless brine" of artificiality. Hence, Murugan with his native instincts for labour and thrift, forfeits, when he falls a prey to the soul corroding influence of ambition, the dignity of labour earned for him by generations of his ancestors. His head is turned with the thoughts of a fortune-hunter, when he takes a short cut to wealth through his toddy shop, helping only others to pawn their souls for a momentary intoxication. Indeed, it is Murugan, who, with devotion sparkling in his eyes, seeks to fill his master's mind with ideas about the dignity of the tiller's profession—thoughts, which, taking root, as they did, in the most favourable soil, yielded, in the end, and, a great scheme for the construction of an ideal village on the slopes of the Nagalapuram Hills.

We cannot but perceive throughout the book the author's leanings towards the peaceful life of

the village. The majestically flowing Cauvery is always his favourite theme and his thoughts nestle round the home of his fore-fathers even as the merry villagers of Alavanti pursue their unsatiable pleasures in the sacred river. The exhortation of the author reclining "On the Sand Dune," to his countrymen to hasten back to the "Gold dust" of the waters of the Cauvery and to the "fecund joys of everlasting youth", has also its echo here, though rather faint. The scenes in the river and the humming chats, as if in a bee-hive especially of the women-folk, have their own distinct messages of tranquility and plenty to us. As we come across the joyful vein in which the author throws himself in the book, at the approach of the monsoon clouds, we are agreeably reminded of the hearty welcome given to the rains by the farmers in tropical climes. And nothing is a more pleasing sight to the lover of nature than the trees, fresh after the rains.

Turning to the story, we not only do not feel the want of romance to excite in us a feverish delight, but are also attracted by the quiet radiance of ordinary life in it. The figure of Kedari struts before us with all the ardour of pursuit of an ambitious career though the gloomy end becomes with us a fore-gone conclusion. He employs tricks in order to gain success in the legal profession which characterised sarcastically is "superior even to war in many respects, even in the primary respects of ruin to both the parties". No less ignominious are his efforts at an election to the Imperial Legislature through bribery and fraud. Kedari, with intrepid courage, seeking "bubble reputation even in a cannon's mouth" falls to the ground enveloped in infamy and prostrates himself before the untarnished Ramu. Their natures, standing as a contrast to each other impress us with the idea that such are existing about us in every day life though the eye is but unobservant. The passages in the

book describing the different effects produced by the sea on the minds of the two friends, bear out, as the author himself says, their characters beautifully. "Ramu voted for the tiny, emerald-like ripples of the gentle-waves, on the sleeping sea that died, in ever enlarging circles a peaceful death on the shore. But Kedari loved only the mighty rollers of the monsoonish hour. It did but paraphrase the lives of both". A more artistic suggestion of the key-note of their characters cannot be attempted.

When the author narrates the numerous entertainments given in honour of Kedari's success in the election and the changed attitude of the same friends in the hour of his distress, he avails himself of the opportunity of showing us the fickle-mindedness of even the educated classes, more so when they are seized by the election frenzy. In his musings on city life there is the same pathos as is found in the words of an English thinker who looking at the world and life in general, feelingly broke out "Oh the inanity, frivolity and futility."

None can mistake that Ramu by the side of Kedari is the pure representation of the author's ideal. The set-backs which are god send to the youth have their marks left on the man. His sorrows awaken in him the sympathy to observe around him penury, which alone is responsible for the whole burden of man's sins. If knee-crooking, flattery of officials, fawning on the powers that be, and tale bearing are not necessary for rising even to the top, Mr. Ramachandran's life brings home the moral.

Murugan is the bed rock of the Pivot. Without him Ramu's musings would not have taken a shape or his nobler purpose gained, in lighting the hearths of three hundred homes. So he is indispensable. His is the work on the fresh morning after the incessant rains for a week, in Meenakshipuram. The Tamil belief in "Kairasi" (lucky hand) is happily invoked when Murugan

handles the plough once again, leading the rest on the fields, prosperity will flow only when such blessed men pilot an undertaking.

The women, all beautiful, and lovably endowed with qualities divert us for a while agreeably, though they cannot be said to possess much of individuality. But they are as heaven made them, more in conformity with the typical Hindu women whose individuality ever gets merged in her devotion to her lord. Not that the author has failed to make them worthy of our esteem, but has been endeavouring to give us a true picture of the Indian home, where women, without taking an active part can still be the best influence. Hence, we find Kokilam's protest against Kedari's neglect of his friend, quite subdued and even disproportionate to the righteous feelings within her. But it is all the more powerful. The Indian mind is quick of preception and wary of suggestions. For the glory of the race lies in 'suggestion' in every art and noble occupation which elevate the human mind. Herein Mr. Venkatramani equals many another lofty mind imbued with the culture and tradition of the East. The three women characters have not much of difference in their mental equipment and tendencies. But Meenakshi strikes an entirely different note. She is an embodiment of the energetic Hindu mother who controls as well as invigorates the house-hold. Hers, is the palm of victory, for her eloquence alone converted the hesitating Ramu into a man of purpose. Ramu himself is conscious of the driving power within her and he names after her, his ideal village Meenakshipuram, immortalising the healthy influence of a woman in his life.

The rest of the characters are the requisite materials for the enrichment of the story, though Mr. Cadell and Mr. Turner cannot pass unnoticed. The prestige of office weighing heavily on Mr. Cadell's conscience evokes nothing but our sympathy for him, the scion of a family whose con-

nection with the service began even under the East India Company. But it is with a smile we look upon Mr. Turner I.C.S. breaking colour prejudices even to the extent of loving a common Yadava girl belonging to the working class.

The story is profound with thoughts so subtle and concealed, that the ordinary reader with the avidity for romance and love, will find it fruitless to trace them here. Love, of course, in its purely Oriental fashion, with the magic touch of delicacy, is revealed in many a place as in the scene where Ramu meets first his Janaki or where Kedari pensive and crest-fallen, confronts Kokilam, whose dream of an impending disaster to her husband, is but a further link forged in the golden chain binding them together.

Mr. Venkatramani's descriptions of Nature are truly poetic, and the music of the language

strikes us quite happy. "The Thumba plant grew with its tiny, lily-white, myriad flowers, bending a little to the breeze and to the bee, that sucked the dew-decked drop of honey." "The Arni river chattered her way with little songs for the hills and the plains and the merry bees that hung honey-combs on her bridal course". Such lines speak for themselves. To the Poet's eye and heart, that drink deep of Nature "the flowers blossomed every morn with an expectant look and sickened in the evening out of sheer, weary watching."

In short, our eager expectations of a book of this kind from the pen of Mr. Venkatramani are more than fulfilled, in the 'plain and unadorned tale', in the native allusions and humour and not least in a "hundred beauties in this thing."

INDEX NUMBERS

BY MR. B. R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., DEP. COM.

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STABILITY of value of money material could be secured only when the purchasing power of money or general prices do not fluctuate. But statistics in relation to the history of prices in all parts of the world has proved beyond all doubt that prices of commodities always fluctuate and never remain at the same level during given periods. Economists of world reputation have been trying to suggest ways and means for securing stability in the value of money material, in other words, for removing constant fluctuations in the prices of commodities. Before trying to suggest remedies for removing fluctuations, it is imperative for one to find out, whether first of all, there are not fluctuations in the prices of commodities in general. Various methods are adopted to measure the movements of prices. One of the commonest methods adopted by workers in this line, is the method of Index Numbers, which are constructed on the principle of averages. Thus the

subject of index numbers apart from its theoretical importance is of great practical significance in view of the great importance attached to prices of commodities in practical life. This is specially so during and after the recent Great War. We shall now consider, how these index numbers are constructed.

At the very outset, the prices of certain typical commodities, typical from the point of view of consumption are to be taken, the choice being made at random. As it is always easier to collect wholesale prices of commodities and these prices would be indicative of the alterations in their retail prices in the long run, whole prices alone are taken. Such prices of representative commodities like foodstuffs and raw materials, are collected on a number of days during the period in question, so that the prices might be representative of the year or some other period. The selection of the days should be at random. It

must not be based on any definite principle which might bias the investigation.

Having thus ascertained prices for a number of commodities, they are to be grouped and averaged in such a way as to ascertain the purchasing power of money. One among the various kinds of averages arithmetical, geometrical mean, medium or harmonic—may be utilised in trying to arrive at the average prices of those commodities during the given period, care being taken to eliminate the peculiarities in the prices of one or two articles.

The object of the investigation is to understand the general trend of the fluctuations in the purchasing power of money, therefore a base line or a starting point is required. The starting point or the base line might be either a single year, or a cycle of years, the latter being generally preferred. The starting point must not be too remote, from the period of investigation. If it were so, it would not allow one to appreciate the movement of prices fully nor would it show the correct indication in the relation of prices.

The mere addition of the list showing the average prices for different commodities which would be of various denominations at the two given periods, would imperfectly show the rough movement in general prices of commodities.

The average prices got in the above manner would be in various denominations and for different quantities; therefore the results would not be accurate, if they are merely added. Besides, all the commodities would not be of the same importance, from the point of view of the consumer. To give the proper and adequate importance due to each of the commodities, the method of weighting has to be applied to the averages obtained. The weighted averages thus obtained would be more representative. These weights might be chosen on the basis of the proportion of exports to imports or on the figures of consumption or on some other equitable basis,

Even these weighted average prices at the two periods of comparison, would not indicate the movement in the general prices of commodities very clearly. Therefore the following modification is suggested.

The prices of the commodities chosen at the starting point, will be mentioned in terms of a concrete number, say 100. This 100 should not be taken to represent the actual price of the articles. But it is purely a conventional number used for purposes of convenience. The prices of the same commodities, during the following periods would be stated as a percentage of those at the starting point, as, 103, 105, 106, 93, 110, 99 etc. For example, if the price of rice in 1900 and 1920 is to be compared, the price of rice in 1900 will be taken as 100. Suppose it is taken at 12 seers per rupee. In 1920 it is taken at 6 seers per rupee. In 1920 the number for rice will be 200. In other words the prices in the following periods are stated as percentages of those at the starting point. This would indicate the rise or fall as compared with the base line. This is the method generally followed, in the construction of index numbers, to represent the general movement of the fluctuations in the prices of commodities. These numbers may be plotted on a graph paper, to make the movement more visible to the eye.

There are various objections laid against the method above outlined. All these have, however, been overcome as the limitations on the use of the results obtained by index numbers, are clearly understood.

Till recent times investigations are conducted by taking 22 selected representative commodities. This is what is done, for example, by 'The Economist' and Mr. Palgrave the editor of the Dictionary of Political Economy.

Mr. Sauerbeck selected 45 (forty-five) commodities while Mr. Soetbeer included 114 (one hundred and fourteen) commodities in his investigation. Some

object even to this and suggest that the investigation ought to cover a 'wider' field. But the index numbers are intended only to indicate the general trend of the movement of prices—whole sale—in general the particular ones being eliminated on this ground, it is maintained very strongly that 114 commodities would be sufficiently 'wide' and representative.

The absence of a principle in selection would according to some lead to divergent results. It is also urged that the method above adopted in the construction of index numbers would take out of consideration the variations in detail, thus resulting in grave doubts even in regard to the accuracy of the investigation.

The conclusions drawn from averages the basic principle in the formation of index numbers are liable to be fallacious. This is another objection. The method of index numbers, it is pointed out would lose sight of the main distinctions between the general and specific causes affecting the prices. It is suggested, that the methods fail in, not giving due and proper weight in accordance with the relative importance of commodities. The little variations in the qualities and descriptions of articles varying so much from year to year, are entirely neglected. Such are some of the objections laid against the method employed in the construction of index numbers.

Further, it is emphatically pointed out that the conclusion based on index numbers cannot be trusted on account of the above difficulties involved in the method itself. It is stated first of all, that ever since the construction of index numbers, there has been no evidence of an appreciable general fall in prices, which is necessary to support that the fall is due entirely to an alteration in the value of gold. Each time, there were other explanations which would explain the movement of prices on independent grounds. It may be due to causes, other than alterations in the value of money such as increased competition

facilities for transport and communication, increase in the productive power in a number of ways or increased efficiency of capital and credit. There is still another objection laid against the conclusions drawn from index numbers *i.e.* that they would affect movements only in wholesale and not in retail prices.

But all these objections would lose much of their significance, if one rightly understands the limitations set on the use and application of index numbers.

Being based on a system of averages, the index numbers are only intended to show the general tendency of the course of prices. Again even the relative importance of commodities has been secured, to a remarkable degree by following the system of 'weighted averages'. Again the results obtained by Mr. Nicholson, by a totally different method, in this field have resulted in the same conclusions. It is urged, that events have proved that there has been an increase in purchasing power in accordance with the facts relating to index numbers. In this case, cheaper production cannot be taken as a cause; because cheaper production generally increases the demand and thus would push up prices again. Besides the universality of the fall or rise brings out the value of index numbers.

Regarding the importance of retail prices, it is maintained that wholesale prices will react on retail prices generally and hence index numbers would be representative even of the effects in retail prices.

The main fact to bear in mind is the limitation attaching to the use of index numbers. Index numbers merely act as a device for 'measuring the general trend and the general movement of prices of commodities generally.' The particular commodities and their prices are to be eliminated. With this limitation in view, the investigation if carried on, will prove very valuable.

THE STORY OF My Experiments with Truth

BY
MAHATMA GANDHI.

[Further glimpses into the life of the Phoenix Settlement are given in the chapters that follow. Mr. Gandhi describes the simple, yet hardy life of the cosmopolitan household in Johannesburg. Then we have an account of his experiments in earth and water cure and his views on education, particularly the education of his own children.—Editor, Indian Review.]



PART IV CHAPTER XXI

POLAK TAKES THE PLUNGE.

It has been a perpetual regret with me that though I started the settlement of Phoenix I could stay there only for brief intervals. My original idea was gradually to retire from practice, go and settle at Phoenix, earn my livelihood by manual work there, and find the joy of service in the fulfilment of Phoenix. But it was not to be. I have found in my experience that man makes his plans to be often upset by God, but I have also seen that where the ultimate goal is the search of truth, no matter how one's plans are frustrated, the issue is never injurious and is often better than expected. The unexpected turn that Phoenix took and the unexpected happenings, were certainly not injurious, though it is difficult to say that they were better than our expectations.

In order to enable every one of us to make a living on manual labour, we parcelled out the land round the press in pieces of three acres each. One of these fell to my lot. On all these plots we, in spite of ourselves, built houses with corrugated iron. Our desire was to have mud huts thatched with straw or small brick houses such as

A few sets of the INDIAN REVIEW for last year (1926) containing Mahatma Gandhi's autobiography from the very beginning are available. Copies will not be sold separately; but only as a set. Price Rs. 6; if by cheque Rs. 6-4. Copies will not be sent by V. P. P. All orders must be accompanied by M. O. or Cheque to G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

would become ordinary peasants, but it could not be. They would have been more expensive and would have meant more time and every one was eager to settle down as soon as possible.

The editor was still Mansukhlal Nazar. He had not accepted the new scheme and was living in Durban where there was a branch office for INDIAN OPINION. Though we had paid compositors, the idea was for every member of the settlement to learn type-setting, the easiest, if the most tedious, of the processes in a printing press. Those, therefore, who did not know it already, learnt it. I remained a dunce to the last and Maganlal Gandhi surpassed us all. Though he had never before worked in a press, he became an expert compositor and not only achieved great speed but to my agreeable surprise quickly mastered all the other branches of press work. I have always thought that he himself was not conscious of his own capacity. We had hardly settled down, the buildings were hardly ready, when I had to leave the newly constructed nest to go to Johannesburg. I was not in a position to allow the work there to remain unattended to for any length of time.

On return to Johannesburg, I informed Polak of the important changes I had made. His joy knew no bounds to learn that the loan of his book had been so fruitful. 'Is it not possible,' he asked, 'for me to take part in the new venture?' 'Certainly,' said I. 'You may if you

like join the Settlement.' 'I am quite ready if you will admit me.'

His determination captured me. He gave a month's notice to his chief to be relieved from the CRITIC, and reached Phoenix in due course. By his sociability he won the hearts of all and soon became a member of the family. Simplicity was so much in his grain that far from feeling the life at Phoenix in any way strange or hard, he took to it like fish to water. But I could not keep him there long. Mr. Ritch had decided to finish his legal studies in England, and it was impossible for me to bear the burden of the office single-handed, and so I suggested to Polak to join the office and qualify as an attorney. I had thought that ultimately both of us would retire and settle at Phoenix, but that was not to be. Polak's was such a trustful nature that when he reposed his confidence in a friend he would try to agree with him instead of arguing with him. He wrote to me to say that though he loved the life there, and was perfectly happy, and had hopes to develop the settlement, still he was ready to have leave and join office to qualify as an attorney, if I thought that thereby we would realise our ideals quicker. I heartily welcomed the letter. Polak left Phoenix, came to Johannesburg and signed his articles.

About the same time a Scotch Theosophist whom I had been helping to get ready to qualify for a local legal examination also joined as an articled clerk, on my inviting him to follow Polak's example. His name was Mr. MacIntyre.

Thus with the laudable object of quickly realising the ideals at Phoenix I seemed to be going deeper and deeper into a contrary current, and had God not willed otherwise I should have found myself entrapped in the net spread in the name of simple life.

It will take a few more chapters before I describe how I and my ideals were saved in a way no one had imagined or expected.

PART IV. CHAPTER XXII WHOM GOD PROTECTS

I had now given up all hope of returning to India in the near future. I had promised to my wife to return home within a year. The year was gone without any prospect of my return, and so I decided to send for my wife and children. On the boat taking them to South Africa, Ramdas, my third son, had in playing with the Captain of the boat broken his arm. The Captain had looked after him well and had him attended to by the ship's doctor. Ramdas had therefore landed with his hand suspended in a sling. The doctor had advised that as soon as we reached home the wound should be dressed by a qualified doctor. But this was the time when I was full of faith in my experiments in earth treatment. I had even succeeded in persuading some of my clients who had faith in my quackery to try the earth and water treatment.

What then was I to do for Ramdas? He was just eight years old. I asked him if he would mind my dressing his wound. With a smile he said he did not mind it at all. It was not possible for him at that age to decide what was the best thing for him, but he knew very well the distinction between quackery and proper medical treatment. And he knew my habit of home treatment and had faith enough to trust himself to me. In fear and trembling I undid the bandage, washed the wound, applied clean earth poultice and tied it up again. This sort of dressing went on daily for about a month until the wound was completely healed. There was no hitch, and the wound took no more time to heal than the ship's doctor had said it would under the usual treatment.

This and other experiments enhanced my faith in such household remedies, and I now proceeded with them with more self-confidence. I widened the sphere of their application, trying the earth and water and fasting treatment in case of

wounds, fevers, dyspepsia, jaundice and other complaints, with success in most cases. But now I have not the confidence I had in South Africa, and experience has even shown that these experiments involve obvious risks.

The reference here therefore to these experiments is not meant to demonstrate their success. I cannot claim complete success for any experiment. Even doctors can make no such claim about their experiments. My object is only to show that he who would go in for novel experiments must begin with himself. That leads to a quicker discovery of truth, and God always protects the honest experimenter. The risks involved in experiments in cultivating intimate contacts with Europeans were as grave as those in the nature cure methods. Only those risks were of a different kind. But in cultivating those contacts, I never so much as thought of the risks.

I invited Polak to come and stay with me, and we began to live like blood brothers. Mrs. Polak and he had been engaged for some years, but the marriage had been postponed for a propitious time. I have an impression that Polak wanted to put some money by before he settled down to a married life. He knew Ruskin much better than I, but his Western surroundings were a bar against his translating Ruskin's teaching immediately into practice. But I pleaded with him: 'When there is a heart union, as in your case, it is hardly right to postpone marriage merely for financial considerations. If poverty is a bar, poor men can never marry. And then you are now staying with me. There is no question of household expenses. I think you should get married as soon as possible.' As I have said in a previous Chapter, I had never to argue a thing twice with Mr. Polak. He appreciated the force of my argument, and immediately opened correspondence with Mrs. Polak who was then in England. She gladly accepted the pro-

posal and in a few months reached Johannesburg. Any expense over the wedding was out of the question, not even a special dress was thought necessary. They needed no religious rites to seal the bond. Mr. Polak was a Christian by birth and Mrs. Polak a Jew. Their common religion was the religion of ethics.

I may mention in passing an amusing incident in connection with this wedding. The Registrar of European Marriages in the Transvaal could not register marriages between black or coloured people. In the wedding in question, I acted as the bestman. Not that we could not have got a European friend for the purpose but Polak would not brook the suggestion. So we three went to the Registrar of Marriages. How could he be sure that the parties to a marriage in which I acted as the bestman would be Whites? He proposed to postpone registration pending inquiries. The next day was Christmas day, and to postpone the date of a solemnly arranged wedding on such a flimsy pretext was more than one could bear. I knew the Chief Magistrate who was head of the Registration Department. So I appeared before him with the couple. He laughed and gave me a note to the Registrar, and the wedding was at last duly registered.

Up to now the Europeans who lived with me had been more or less known to me before. But now an English lady who was an utter stranger to us entered the family. I do not remember having ever had a difference with the newly married couple, but if Mrs. Polak and my wife had some unpleasant experiences they were no more than what happen in the best regulated homogeneous families. And let it be remembered that mine would be considered as essentially heterogeneous family where people of all kinds and temperaments were freely admitted. When we come to think of it, the distinction between heterogeneous and homogeneous is discovered to

be merely imaginary. We are all one family.

I had better celebrate West's wedding also in this Chapter. At this stage of my life, my ideas about "Brahmacharya" had not fully matured, and so I was interesting myself in getting all my bachelor friends married. When in due course, West made a pilgrimage to Louth to meet his parents, I advised him to return married if possible. Phoenix was the common home, and as we were all supposed to have become farmers, we were not afraid of marriage and its usual consequences. Mr. West returned with Mrs. West a beautiful young lady of Leicester. She came of a family of shoemakers working in a Leicester factory. Mrs. West had herself some experience of work in this factory. I have called her beautiful because it was her moral beauty that at once attracted me. True beauty after all consists in purity of heart. With Mr. West had come his mother-in-law too. The old lady is still alive. She put us all to shame by her industry and her buoyant cheerful nature.

Just as I persuaded these European friends to marry, I encouraged the Indian friends to send for their families from home. Phoenix thus developed into a little village, half a dozen families have come and settled and begun to increase there.

PART IV CHAPTER XXIII A PEEP INTO THE HOUSE-HOLD.

We have seen in a previous Chapter that though the expenses of the household were heavy, the tendency towards simplicity began in Durban. But the Johannesburg house came in for much more overhauling in the light of the Ruskin teaching.

I introduced as much simplicity as was possible in a barrister's house. It was impossible to do without a certain amount of furniture. The change was more internal than external. The liking for doing personally all the physical labour increased. I therefore began to bring my children also under that discipline.

Instead of buying baker's bread we began to prepare unleavened wholemeal bread at home according to Kuhne's recipe. Common mill flour was no good for this and the use of handground flour, it was thought, would ensure more simplicity, health and economy. So I purchased a hand-mill for £7. The iron wheel was too heavy to be tackled by one man, and easy to be managed by two. Polak and I and the children mainly worked at it. Mrs. Gandhi also occasionally lent a hand, though the grinding hour was her usual time for beginning kitchen work. Mrs. Polak now joined us on her arrival. The grinding proved a very beneficial exercise for the children. Neither this nor any other work was ever imposed on them, but it was a pastime to them to come and lend a hand, and they were at liberty to break off whenever tired. But all the children including those whom I shall have occasion to introduce later somehow, generally never failed me. Not that I had no laggards at all, but most did their work cheerfully enough. I can recall few youngsters in those days fighting shy of work or pleading fatigue.

We had engaged a servant to look after the house. He lived with us as a member of the family, and the children used to help him in his work. The Municipal sweeper removed the night-soil, but we personally attended to the cleaning of the closet instead of asking or expecting the servant to do it. This proved a good training for the children. The result was that none of my sons developed any aversion for scavenger's work and they naturally got a good grounding in general sanitation. There was hardly any illness in the home at Johannesburg but whenever there was any the nursing was willingly done by the children.

I will not say that I was indifferent to their literary education, but I certainly did not hesitate to sacrifice it. My sons have therefore some reason for grievance against me. Indeed they have occa-

sionally given expression to it, and I must plead guilty to a certain extent. The desire to give them a literary education was there. I even endeavoured to give it myself, but every now and then there was some hitch or other. As I had made no other arrangement for their private tuition, I used to get them to walk with me daily to the office and back home,—a distance of about 5 miles in all. This gave them and me a fair amount of exercise. I tried to instruct them by conversations during these walks, if there was no one else claiming my attention. All my children, excepting the eldest, Harilal, who had stayed away in India, were brought up in Johannesburg in this manner. Had I been able to devote at least an hour to their literary education with strict regularity, I should have given them, in my opinion, an ideal education. But it has been their as also my regret that I failed to ensure them enough literary training. The eldest son has often given vent to his distress privately before me and publicly in the press, the other sons have generously forgiven the failure as unavoidable. I am not heartbroken over it, and the regret if any is that I did not prove an ideal father. But I hold that I sacrificed their literary training to what I genuinely, though may be, wrongly, believed to be service to the community. I am quite clear that I have not been neglectful in doing whatever was needful for building up their character, and I believe it is the bounden duty of every parent to provide for it properly. Whenever, in spite of my endeavour, my sons have been found wanting, it is my certain conviction that they have reflected not want of care on my part but the defects of both of their parents.

Children inherit the qualities of the parents, no less than their physical features. Environments do play an important part but the original capital on which a child starts in life is inherited from its ancestors. I have also seen children success-

fully surmounting the effects of an evil inheritance. That is due to purity being an inherent attribute of the soul.

Polak and I had often very heated discussions about the desirability or otherwise of giving these children an English education. It has always been my conviction that Indian parents, who train their children in thinking and talking in English from their infancy, betray their children and their country. They deprive them of the spiritual and social heritage of the nation, and render them to that extent unfit for the service of the country. Having these convictions, I made a point of always talking to my children in Gujarati. Polak never liked this. He thought I was spoiling their future. He contended with all the vigour and love at his command that if children were to learn a universal language like English from their infancy, they would easily gain considerable advance over others in the race of life. He failed to convince me. I do not now remember whether I convinced him of the correctness of my attitude or whether he gave me up as too obstinate. This happened about twenty years ago, and my convictions have only deepened with my experience. And though my sons have suffered for want of full literary education, the knowledge of the vernacular that they naturally acquired has been all to their and the country's good, in as much as they do not appear the foreigners they would otherwise have been. They naturally became bi-lingual, speaking and writing English with fair ease, because of daily contact with a large circle of English friends, and because of their stay in a country where English was the language chiefly spoken.

(To be continued.)

Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule. By Mahatma Gandhi. Annas. 8. To Subs. of the "I. R." As. 6.
M. K. Gandhi: An Indian Patriot in South Africa. By Rev. Doke. With an introduction by Lord Amthill. Price Rs. 1. To Subs. of "I. R." As. 12.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.

World Events

BY

DR. A. J. SAUNDERS, M.A.

October.

SOUTH AFRICA.

It is not always easy to state categorically each month what is the most important world event, but I think I shall have to give first place this time to the settlement of the South African flag dispute. To bind divergent elements into a common loyalty to one great Empire is a tremendous task, and the British genius has been wonderfully successful in that achievement; one of her greatest successes has been in South Africa. It is not yet thirty years, less than one generation, since there was raging in that land a fierce and persistent war between the Boers and the English. One would have thought that the hatred and racial hostility developed then would last for sixty or seventy years at least, but it has not done so. Erstwhile enemies and Generals in the National Army, like Botha and Smuts, became in turn Prime Ministers of the new self-governing nation; they saw that the best interests of South Africa were bound up with the fortunes of Britain, and they became staunch Imperialists. General Hertzog formerly was a strong nationalist, and many thought that he would push for a separation from England. But again the broader view has prevailed, and Hertzog's former nationalist position has given way to a working compromise with Britain. The last ditch to be negotiated in this campaign was the question of a national flag. For months it has been the cause for much anxiety, and at times the dispute threatened to disrupt even the Union itself.

What is a nation's flag? The cynic replies—It is only a piece of bunting. But the man with imagination and a sense of history says, Nay, much more than that. It has a sentimental value; people have willingly given their lives for

the flag; it is the symbol of the nation, that which is highest and best in the ideals of the group. The problem in South Africa was to get a flag that would represent the independence and history of the peoples concerned and at the same time continue some attachment with England. Obviously a compromise flag was the only one that could satisfy the situation. The two leaders in the negotiations were General Hertzog, representing the Nationalist Party, and General Smuts of the South African Party. There are to be two flags: the British Union Jack, which is to represent South Africa's allegiance to the Empire, and is to be used on ships, in docks, the official flag at the capitals, on Parliament buildings, and on other state occasions. And the domestic flag, which will be used for all other local and domestic occasions. The domestic flag which was designed by Mr. Tielman Roos attempts to combine the already existing flags of the separate states. The settlement was received with every mark of pleasure that a most disagreeable business was happily finished, and we trust that now peace and harmony have come and will remain.

BRITISH PARTY CONFERENCES.

Although it may yet be over a year before the next general elections in connection with British politics the leading parties are clearly laying their plans and seizing every opportunity to turn events to their own advantage. For this purpose the recent conferences of the Conservative and Labour parties are of more than ordinary interest. The Conservative Conference met at Cardiff, and passed a resolution favouring the giving of universal suffrage at the age of 21. How that will influence the next elections is now being considered from many points of view. It will have a far reaching effect if Lord Rothermere's estimate is anything near correct that 70 per

cent. of the new electors will vote for socialism.

The coal trouble and unemployment were dealt with by Mr. Stanley Baldwin. He said a fine thing when referring to the coal-owners: "In all far-reaching developments affecting your trade, take the men with you." He welcomed the new spirit of co-operation between the trade unions and the employers. The Government also seem determined to go on with their scheme for reforming the House of Lords.

The most important thing that the Labour Conference evolved was a proposal to drop the Capital Levy and to pledge their support to a surtax. It was proposed to add an extra charge of two shillings in the pound on unearned incomes over £500, but Labour has not yet made up its mind as to the best use of the £ 80,000,000 a year thus gained. We shall no doubt hear a great deal about this surtax during the forthcoming election speeches.

TRADE BARRIERS

It will be remembered that six months ago the World Economic Conference under the auspices of the League of Nations took up the general question of the barriers to trade which restrictions and various prohibitions were having, and passed a number of resolutions looking towards helping the situation. A Convention has recently been called attended by official delegates from 33 States to give practical effect to the general understanding arrived at the earlier meeting. It is proposed to draft an International Agreement to last for five years looking towards the abolition of import and export prohibitions and restrictions.

PACIFIC RELATIONS.

More and more our attention is being drawn to the problems of the great Pacific Ocean. There are political questions here of the first magnitude; it is a vast sociological laboratory, and there are racial and labour problems which will tax all kinds of social workers.

For several years past there has existed, the Institute of Pacific Relations with a Conference which meets periodically. It is a non-government, unofficial, inter-Pacific organisation for the sole purpose of gathering and discussion of facts relating to the countries and peoples of the Pacific. They believe that the Pacific is to be "The Ocean of the Future". Such subjects have already been dealt with in Conferences as the response of the home life of the natives to the changing industrial conditions; the disorganisation of the former primitive markets and the opening up of new ones; the experience of a partial industrial revolution: the influence of the China revolution on the natives of the Pacific and other allied questions.

There are other matters before them also of great importance such as immigration and the restriction of the White Australia policy; transportation and communications; the whole question of industry in the East; and racial admixture and prejudices. One can see at a mere glance the complications and vexed questions which lie beneath the placid waters of the Pacific.

SOVIET RULE.

Russia has recently been celebrating the tenth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, and has been trying to make the most of her achievements. The chief function consisted of a long manifesto issued by the "Red Parliament" at Leningrad. It outlined the work attempted during the past ten years, made an appeal to the workers and peasants of the Soviet Republics, and then declared for a seven-hour working day in all Soviet factories in the place of eight hours and the abolition of the death penalty. These two boons, however, have certain strings tied to them, and will only become operative if and when conditions warrant them. We sincerely hope that the second decade will have more to show of a positive, constructive nature than the first has been able to achieve.

THE WORLD OF BOOKS

THE STONE-AGE IN INDIA. By P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar—(Sir S. Subramanya Ayyar Lecture for 1925) Government Press, Madras.

The author traces in an interesting manner the growth of primitive culture in India in its earliest stages. He approaches the problem of the first home of man in India from the anthropological standpoint which is gaining more and more support from scholars.

The second chapter traces the outgrowth of the neo-lithic culture from the Paleolithic one by gradual degrees, and as a result of gradual evolution from the preceding age. The domestication of animals and plants led to a growth of distinctive occupations and of a dense population. The arts and the methods of disposing the dead followed by these people are interestingly told; and the author holds with great conviction that the neoliths of Northern India spoke languages allied to the Dravidian family, which were later on strongly influenced by Sanskrit—and consequently the people who spoke these could not have come from outside. The main theories of the writer are forcefully put and supported with a wealth of strong and excellently worded arguments which may command conviction with the growth of research.

HINDU EUGENICS. By T. N. Roy—reprinted from *The Journal of Heredity* (Washington).

Mr. T. N. Roy of the Bengal Department of Agriculture tries to prove in this paper that the greatest eugenic movement of the world originated in India even in the earliest period of their religious and social history; and that the Brahmin was originally created by eugenic selection. The rules of their mate-selection were very elaborate and carefully avoided inbreeding, while observing the law of similars. The object of the paper is to prove that the present degeneracy of the Hindus is not due to their observing caste distinctions, but due to the fact that they were not observed well enough.

EKNATH. A translation from the Bhaktalidamrita. By Justin E. Abbott, (N. R. Godbole, 627, Sadashiv Peth, Poona City).

This is the second in the author's series, "Poet Saints of Maharashtra," which he has chosen to translate into English. Next only to Tukaram in popularity, Eknath was the greatest of the Maratha poet-saints. And Mahipathi's LIFE OF EKNATH is by far the most interesting and comprehensive of the many accounts of the great Maratha saint that have appeared in the Vernacular. It is perhaps the oldest of the original sources and the best expression of tradition. The story of the poet saint is told with all the vivid picturesqueness of Oriental colouring.

And though we cannot look to them for exact history, they are nevertheless true in a better sense—they give a truer impression of the life and teachings of the poet-saint than any chronicle of mere facts. Handed down from generation to generation, the stories, told with all the charm and simplicity of olden times, bring back to our mind the vivid and engaging personality that so charmed his contemporaries in the sixteenth century.

ANCIENT JAFFNA. By Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam of the Ceylon Civil Service—with a Foreward by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, Everyman's Publishers, Ltd, Madras.

This book is an attempt to trace the history of Jaffna from very early times to the Portuguese period with conclusions on some points put forward which are directly opposed to the views hitherto accepted. It is a very laudable attempt to put forward a vast quantity of material marshalled and presented in the form of a fairly consecutive narrative spread over a period of nearly 1600 years. It is one more piece of evidence showing the ardent interest taken by the *intelligentsia* of Ceylon to build up their country's indigenous history; and our author takes the very front place among such scholars.

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN INDIA, By N. M. Joshi, M. L. A., Bombay.

Mr. Joshi is the General Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Movement, and he has every right to write with authority on the history and prospects of that movement. According to the author there are as many as 49.1 million wage-earners in India, including those working in agriculture (25 million), Transport (1.5 million) and Public Administration (4 million). If we take the part-time employees into account the numbers will be much larger. However, as these labourers are scattered in the different parts of our sub-continent and have different interests, it will take long before they will all be organised under the auspices of one Trade Union movement. In the meantime, the industrial workers in the principal cities (about 7 million in number) are organising themselves, and now there are about 100 Trade Unions in India with a membership of 1,46,000. Of these the largest, the Ahmedabad Cotton Textile Workers' Union alone has a membership of 14,000. The first Trade Union Congress was held in 1920. Within a short compass Mr. Joshi has summarised a good deal of not very accessible material on this important movement.

STUDIES IN CO-OPERATIVE FINANCE By V. L. Mehta, Servants of India Society, Pamphlet No. 13, Aryabhushan Press, Poona. Re. One.

Mr. Mehta utilises his practical experience of Co-operative working to produce a clear and practical exposition of the actual working of Co-operative institutions in relation to finance. We commend this book as a really excellent guide.

THE CO-OPERATIVE ORGANISATION IN BRITISH INDIA by B. G. Bhatnagar, M.A., University Professor, Allahabad.

Prof. Bhatnagar has given us a very compendious and exhaustive handbook on the various agencies, through which Co-operative movement works in India.

THE HINDU COLONY OF CAMBODIA. (The Asian Library). By Prof. P. N. Bose. The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar. Rs. 2/8.

In his account of the growth of Greater India (of which the history of the Hindu Colony of Champa and the influence of Indian teachers in the Buddhist universities have been already published in the form of separate books) the author treats of the growth and decline of Hindu cultural influence in Cambodia which was dominant from the 2nd century onwards till the 13th century. He gives an account of the kingdom of Funan which preceded the Hindu empire of Cambodia, and traces the growth of Hindu cults, particularly Saivism and the Vedic sacrificial ritual in the land, till Buddhism swamped them out.

ESSAYS AND CRITICISMS. By Syamacharan Ganguli, M.A., Luzac & Co., Russell Street, London. Rs. 1-12.

A slender volume gathering together the more noteworthy writings of Professor Ganguli, whose life has brought him into more or less intimate contact with most of the great names, Indian and European in Bengal during the past half century. Professor Ganguli's versatility and catholicity of taste and outlook are apparent in the subjects discussed, i.e., Common Craft for India, Esperanto, Reduction of Armaments, Reform in Indian Law, Partition of the Bengal, etc.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

REPORT OF THE 41st SESSION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. Published by All-India Congress Committee, Madras.

THE ART OF WAR AS PRACTISED IN SOUTH INDIA. By V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar M.A. Paper submitted to the Fourth All-India Oriental Conference, Allahabad.

SEX-PROBLEM IN INDIA. By Prof. N. S. Phadke M. A. Taraporewala & Sons., Bombay.

The Statutory Commission.

It would be difficult to give adequate expression to the intense feeling of dissatisfaction and indignation which the announcement of the Statutory Commission has created in the country. Neither the personnel of the Commission nor the procedure it proposes to adopt to envisage Indian opinion has commended itself to any section of the Indian public. Furthermore the method and the manner in which the appointment of the Commission has been announced has been justly viewed as an insult to India. Despite the evident sincerity of the Viceroy's personal appeal to leaders of public opinion, the feeling of resentment against the Commission has not in the least abated. On the other hand the volume of public opinion is gathering strength day by day. Such staunch Liberals as Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Sir Sivaswami Aiyar, and men like Sir Ali Imam, Sir Abdur Rahim and Mr. Jinnah have expressed their views in no unmistakable terms and have appealed to the country to keep aloof from the Commission. Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar, the President of the Congress has advocated its boycott and Dr. Ansari and other leading congressmen have supported his view. Dr. Besant has issued a strong manifesto condemning the whole thing. And thus the country has been plunged once again into the vortex of a great agitation the responsibility for which undoubtedly rests on the shoulders of the authorities. It would be a great pity however if the leaders of the various political parties contented themselves with a merely "boycott agitation". We feel strongly that a supreme effort should be made on this psychological occasion to gather together selected leaders of the Congress, the National Liberal Federation, the All India Muslim League, the All-India Christian Conference and other representative bodies to endeavour to frame a constitution acceptable to the country. "The Commonwealth of India Bill" can certainly be the basis for starting the discussion. Let us not forget the tremendous moral effect the Congress-League Scheme produced in the minds of the authorities on the occasion of the Montagu-Chelmsford Commission. If ever there was a time for rallying discordant forces it is the present moment. Let us forget racial and communal jealousies and show our fitness for Self-Government by representatives of all classes and creeds sitting together and framing a constitution which we could say with one voice is *The United National Demand*.—G. A. Natesan, Editor, INDIAN REVIEW.

PROCEDURE.

The Commission consists of seven members, of whom five are members of the House of Commons and two are members of the House of Lords. Of the seven members, one is a Liberal, two are Labourites and four are members of the Tory party.

CHAIRMAN.

The Right Hon'ble Sir John Simon, M. P.

MEMBERS.

The Viscount Burnham.
Lord Strathcona.
The Hon'ble E. C. Cadogan, M. P.
The Right Hon'ble Stephen Walsh, M. P.
Colonel The Right Hon'ble George Lane-Fox, M. P.

Major C. R. Attlee, M. P.

TERMS OF REFERENCE.

The terms of reference to the Commission are the same as those embodied in the Statute, namely:—
"Enquiring into the working of the system of Government, the growth of education and the development of representative institutions in British India, matters connected therewith;" and the Commission will report as to "whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government or to extend, modify or restrict the degree of responsible government existing therein, including the question whether the establishment of second chambers of the Local Legislatures is or is not desirable."

As regards the procedure to be followed, it is stated that the Commission will proceed to India as early as possible in the new year for a short visit, returning to India in October for the performance of its main task.

It will invite the Central Legislature to appoint a Joint Select Committee, chosen from among its elected and nominated unofficial members to draw up its views and proposals in writing and lay them before the Commission for examination in such manner as the latter may decide. The Committee will remain in being for any consultation which the Commission might desire at subsequent stages of the enquiry.

A similar procedure is to be adopted with Provincial Legislatures.

When the Commission has reported, and its report has been examined by the Government of India and His Majesty's Government, the latter will not ask Parliament to adopt its proposals without first giving a full opportunity for Indian opinion of different schools to contribute its views upon them.

To this end the Indian Legislature will be invited by delegation to attend and confer with the Joint Parliamentary Committee and similarly any other body of opinion in India may be so invited, whom the Joint Committee may desire to consult.

MR. STANLEY BALDWIN.

That there will be differences of opinion here as there is in India regarding the wisdom of the plan, I do not doubt, though I do not feel any doubt about the ultimate verdict. In including amongst the Commissioners not merely no Indians but no Englishmen who have been hitherto associated with the Government or the commerce of India, our sole desire, paradoxical though it may sound, was to give real responsible and instructed opinion among Indians the best chance of playing an effective and constructive part in devising a solution. It is no part of my purpose to anticipate the argument that the plain way perhaps is most likely to secure the object at which we aim, but for the moment, I address a wider audience to which the Indian press will carry my words to-morrow and say I am well aware that the word "co-operation" is suspect and that there is a tendency to regard it as an euphemism for obedience to dictation. Cannot we in the face of this great task escape that delusion? Cannot we have done with suspicion and jealousies with the strife of caste with caste, of religion with religion, of nation with nation, of the East with the West? If we can approach this problem with the common determination to build for posterity upon the best and surest foundations, then whatever the future may have in store, as a fruit of its labours, the Statutory Commission will go down to history as an instrument and symbol of a new era.

H. E. LORD IRWIN.

I hope that there will be none, whatever may be their political opinion, who will fail to take advantage of this potent means thus presented of establishing direct contact between the Indian and British people. There will be some whose inclination it may be, will prompt them to condemn the scheme of procedure on which His Majesty's Government has decided. Others may criticise this or that part of the proposals. The reply to these is that the plan outlined stands as a single, comprehensive whole, and should be so regarded. Of the first, I would ask in all sincerity whether disagreement on the particular machinery to effect the end which we all alike pursue is sufficient ground for any man to stand aside and decline to lend his weight to the joint effort of peoples that this undertaking represents.

Let us not magnify such things (misunderstandings) beyond their value. Least of all, let us not permit such transient influences to lead us to lose sight of the rich prize of the achievement of a common-purpose which we may assuredly win together, but can hardly win in separation.

It is my most earnest hope that this joint endeavour to solve a problem on the wise treatment of which so much depends, may be inspired by such a spirit as shall offer good hope of reaching an issue to the great and abiding good of India and of all her sons.

Dr. ANNIE BESANT.

We reject your proposal. We will have none of your gilded chains. Parliament has no moral right to boycott Indians from the Commission, and then to threaten us *a la* Birkenhead, if we should deem it right to organize for a responsive boycott.

SIR JOHN SIMON

If therefore the future of India is to be one of peaceful progress (as all men of goodwill both in India and Britain intensely desire), this can come about only by the action of the British Parliament combined with co-operation by India itself. Both these have been provided for by the scheme of investigation and consultation of which the work of the Commission forms the first stage.

When the Commission has reported the scheme provides for that full and final consultation between representatives of Legislatures in India and Britain, which is an essential condition to be fulfilled before reaching a decision on which so much depends.

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P.

The Free Press reports that both Mr Ramsay Macdonald and Mr. George Lansbury have told Lord Birkenhead that unless the proposals of the Government are modified in a manner acceptable to the opinion, they would be compelled to request and Labour members of the Royal Commission to withdraw.

COL. WEDGWOOD.

I do not want Indians to be petitioners for favours. I think that a dignified attitude of abstention by Liberals and Swarajists, acting in concert, will produce better results in the long run by creating mutual respect between the two peoples which is so essential for a real understanding.

LORD MESTON

It is imperative that India should have adequate voice in her own case. He hopes that the Commission would be provided with a body of assessors consisting of both Indian politicians and experienced officials.—(*The Observer*.)

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

Addressing a public meeting at Allahabad Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said that Lord Birkenhead and the Government of India had taken a leaf out of the book of Non-co-operators by refusing to co-operate with Indians in this matter. Speaking for himself, he could make a public declaration that he had no confidence in any degree or measure in Lord Birkenhead or the India Office and he would ask his fellow Liberals not to have any confidence in them. He would have no part or lot in this affair.

SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYAR, K.C.S.I.

The exclusion of Indians from the Commission is a studied insult to the Indian public and a very ill-advised step from the point of view even of the Tory Government. "As a matter of principle and in assertion of our self-respect, I am in favour of a complete and effective boycott of the Commission. The boycott would lose its efficacy if it were sectional. Nothing would be lost by such a complete boycott even if the results were to put off the Commission or the next step in the reforms for a few years.

SIR P. C. RAY.

No self respecting Indian should have anything to do with the Statutory Commission. I am at one with all Indian leaders in the matter of the boycott.

DR. ANSARI

President-Elect, Indian National Congress.

The disagreement between the view of the Government of India and the British Cabinet on the one hand, and the people of India as represented by its various schools of political thought on the other are so fundamental and so great, that they would be considered sufficient for people to stand aside and abstain from any participation in the work of the Commission.

HAKIM AJMAL KHAN

It is a flagrant disregard of Indian demand and an open challenge to the various political bodies in the country. We should hope that this challenge will be accepted and that parties which are now not well disposed to one another will sink their differences and declare that it is impossible for them to co-operate with or in any way assist the Commission.

MR. M. A. JINNAH.

No self-respecting and accredited representative of India would associate with or serve on the Commission unless invited on absolutely equal terms and with equal rights.

I am a glad to say that I have received so far the most powerful and influential support from all parts of India from the foremost leaders of the Indian National Congress, the All-India Moslem League, the All-India Liberal Federation, the Federation of Indian Chambers and Millowners' Association.

MAHATMA GANDHI

If a general, dignified and uncamouflaged boycott was brought about, it would be an effective answer to the extra ordinary step taken by the Government.

CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE

As the British Government has constituted the Statutory Commission in defiance of national will and repeated national demand for a round table conference to settle a Swaraj constitution for India, the Working Committee of the Congress calls upon the people of India and appeals to all political parties to abstain from co-operating with the said Commission either by giving evidence or by voting for or serving on any Select Committee connected therewith.

MR. S. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.

President, Gauhati Congress.

We should be wanting in elementary self-respect if we thought for a moment of co-operating either by giving evidence or by going to the Select Committees.

I would therefore appeal not only to Congressmen but to others also to boycott the Commission in all its parts and aspects without any mental reservation.

MRS. SAROJNI NAIDU.

The accredited leaders of all communities will resist, with one strength every overt and covert attempt on the part of Britain to exploit our momentary domestic differences, no matter how poignant or bitter they may be. Nor will they permit the nation to be cajoled into acquiescence by the specious promises or coerced into submission by vague dark threats such as are implied the premier's Guildhall speech.

SIR ALI IMAM

The exclusion of Indians from membership of the Reforms Commission is an emphatic assertion of British Imperialism, and a negation of India's partnership in the Empire. The only reply Indians could make is a united and unyielding boycott, to be carried on till the insult is wiped off.

SIR M. VISVESWARAYA.

The Commission will not be satisfactory unless half the number of Members are Indians.

SIR ABDUR RAHIM.

We should have nothing to do with the Commission in which our co-operation is not wanted on equal terms but only in a subordinate or merely advisory capacity. If we boycott it successfully then I am sure we should have gained the first step towards self-Government. I am equally sure that such determination on our part would at once radically change the attitude even of the present Government.

MOULANA ABDUL KALAM AZAD.

To-day, Moderates, Liberals, Extremists, Co-operators, Non-co-operators, Hindus and Muslims are all unanimous on this one point that the only answer of self-respecting nation to this national insult is full and complete boycott of the Commission.

DEWAN BAHADUR T. RANGACHARIAR

It is a great blunder on the British Cabinet's part in excluding Indians.

Mr. H. P. MODY.

I am not prepared to say yet how she should meet the challenge. All that I would urge is that whatever action may be decided upon should have behind it the sanction of every political section in the land.

SIR C. SANKARAN NAIR.

The reason given by the Viceroy for the delay in appointment is not sound because the non co-operation Party whose attitude is alleged to be the reason for the delay would always boycott any Royal Commission.

SIR MAHOMED IQBAL

The non-inclusion of Indians in the Parliamentary Commission was unexpected, incomprehensible, disappointing and even distressing.

Mr. ARTHUR MOORE

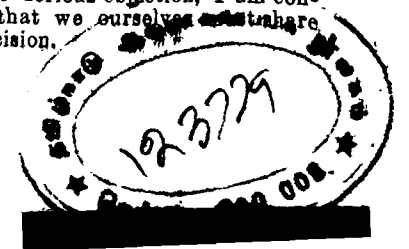
I should have preferred a mixed Commission, and my impression is that a majority of unofficial English agree with me.

SIR R. N. MUKHERJEE

Can you select a compact representative body from amongst the chaos and multitude of party leaders without raising doubts, suspicions and ultimately sneers from those who happen to be left out? I feel that we have not yet outgrown the stage of political amateurishness. . . . and therefore however unwillingly must feel resigned to the idea of a purely Parliamentary Commission.

SIR MAHAMED SHAFI

* * * While in my opinion, the decision arrived at by His Majesty's Government regarding the agency for the preliminary investigation in India, is open to serious objection, I am constrained to recognise that we ourselves must share the blame for that decision.



SIR MICHAEL SADLER.

Sir Michael Sadler in the TIMES suggests that *rapporteurs* should be attached to the Commission to interpret opinion on social and educational aspects of the problem and suggests among Indians, Messrs. K. Natarajan, A. Hydari, K. T. Paul and Miss Cornelia Sorabji.

MR. K. C. ROY, C. I. E.

The decision is against the principle underlying the Government of India Act of 1919 which lays down the policy of increasing association of Indians with the high functions of Government.

MR. NAROTTAM MORARJI

We must not only boycott the Commission as a united people sinking all our differences but we must work to supply the sanction behind our demand.

SIR CHIMANLAL SETALVAD.

I think it is extremely desirable that all parties and all communities should put their heads together and take concerted and firm attitude in grave crisis.

MR. A. RANGASWAMI IYENGAR, M. L. A.

They should join the Congress in a united and wholesale boycott of the Commission. The Government have deliberately taken a step of the utmost gravity, but it rests with us to make it a blessing in disguise in the onward march for Swaraj.

MR. ISWAR SARAN, M.L.A.

The only answer which self-respecting Indians can give can be summed up in one word "Boycott." But mere boycott is not enough.

SIR PURUSHOTHAMDAS THAKURDAS.

No self-respecting Indian can think of giving evidence before the Parliamentary Commission.

MR. RAMANAND CHATTERJEE

I am in favour of an absolute boycott of the Commission. Let its reports and conclusions go forth to the world as things with which Indian people had nothing whatever to do in any capacity.

MR. M. R. JAYAKAR

The duty of Indians is clear. They must lose no time to take concerted action to assert Indian opinion.

LALA LAJPAT RAI

This announcement has convinced us that the declaration of August 1917 was not sincere and that the preamble of the Reforms Act was only farcical.

MR. N. C. KELKAR

There is only one course open to them, namely to severely boycott the Committee.

MR. S. SATYAMURTHY, M. L. C.

The only dignified course for the Congress therefore is not to lead evidence before the Commission. I earnestly trust that all political parties in the country will adopt the same course.

MR. A. P. SEN.

It was bad policy if not bad motive to make Indians feel that they have no hand at all in the shaping of their own destiny.

MR. N. M. JOSHI, C.I.E.

I think Lord Birkenhead is playing a mischievous game. He wasted two years in mere talk of co-operation, more co-operation and yet more co-operation; and when he found that the psychological moment had come he hatched a plot which will enable him to delay still further the progress of constitutional reform in India.

SIR ZULFAQAR ALI KHAN M. L. A.

The Commission as constituted would give rise to difference of opinion in India but all thinking men expected it as there was no other course open to the British Parliament under existing deplorable inter-communal tension in India.

MR. LANGFORD JAMES.

I consider that the Commission has been constituted on the best, if not the only possible lines.

COL. GIDNEY, M.L.A.

Of this much I feel certain that if Indians decide to boycott this Commission, it will be their own fault, if the giver of Reforms to India, namely, the British Parliament refuses to proceed with the Commission, and puts the hand of the Reform clock back.

MR. J. M. SEN GUPTA.

It is our belief that this Commission will satisfy no responsible section of public opinion in India. We urge a complete boycott of the Commission.

DEWAN BAHADUR GOVINDARAGHAVA IYER

The volume of opinion in favour of boycotting is already so strong, that perhaps that ultimately may be the attitude which a consideration of all the circumstances of the case would necessarily lead to.

MR. C. VIJIARAGHAVACHARIAR

We must all boycott the Commission at every stage and the Joint Parliamentary Committee.

MR. K. V. RANGASWAMI IYENGAR, M. L. A.

I am not eager to co-operate with the White Commission nor am I going to break away from my party in this matter of the boycott of the Commission.

MR. SAMIULLA KHAN

To such an insolent flouting of public opinion and humiliation of national honour, there could be one and only one reply, and that is boycott of the Commission, as completely as was done in Egypt in the case of the Milner Commission.

Dr. B. S. MOONJE.

If the Government has thought fit to boycott, India's people may also boycott the Commission.

SIRDAR JOGENDRA SINGH.

We must not, in a spirit of anger, lose sight of the vital issues—vital not only to India but to the Empire as a whole.

DR. GOKUL CHAND NARAINJ

It is a splendid opportunity to political leaders to rally and consolidate their forces and once more bring about a Hindu-Muslim entente.

TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS

PLATO AND THE BHAGAVAD GITA.

The latest number of the CALCUTTA REVIEW contains an interesting article on the above subject from the pen of Dr. Umerchandra Bhattacharjee. Dr. Bhattacharjee institutes a comparison to show that there is an aspect of Plato's philosophy which European expositors of his system have never recognised owing to their ignorance of Hindu thought. When a Hindu student knows how much of his country's thought found expression in Plato's philosophy, he must feel a much keener interest in this, the greatest philosophy of Greece. Dr. Bhattacharjee continues:—

"Though with a somewhat different purpose, Plato intended to bring about the same social organisation that was real and valid for the author of the *Gita*, the same classes of men and the classification of men on identical grounds, were accepted by both of them. For the author of the *Gita*, it was not an unrealised ideal only, but part of the actual ordering of the world: Plato, however, wanted it as the condition precedent for the realisation of the highest justice. This no doubt was a difference. But yet what was the ultimate order of things on which both fixed their gaze? It was the same ordering of men in society—the same division into castes, if you please, and a division based on the same reasons—that both Plato and the author of the *Gita* accepted as ultimately real. It was valid for Plato, for it was the ideal, and, therefore, more real than the actual; and it was valid for the author of the *Gita*, because it was divinely ordered and was actually a part of the scheme of the world; and the moral ideal that the *Gita* inculcated, was based upon a recognition of the fact that there was this order of things. Now, when two philosophers look upon the same social organisation as ultimately desirable and valid, the similarity is much too real to be allowed to be obscured by dissimilarities in other respects."

INDUSTRIALISM IN INDIA.

Mr. William Paton contributes a thoughtful article on "Eastern Industrialism and the Christian Mission" to the INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF MISSIONS for October. He says that missionaries are confronted throughout Asia not only by such concrete evils as long hours or bad conditions of work in the new industrial areas, but by the development of a new type of society (godless) which is threatening and clashing with, the old.

"The industrial worker in India and in China (perhaps less so in Japan) is only partly an industrial worker; he is still partly a rural labourer. The great agglomerations of labour near Calcutta and Bombay bring together men and women of many races and languages from far distant parts of India. Actually one-sixth of the entire population of Assam has been brought into the province by the tea industry—it is the American 'melting pot' on a smaller scale. But it needs only a little imagination to enable one to see what great changes are entailed on these working people by the new life into which they come. Most probably they are moving to and fro from the old village to the urban centre, losing touch with the rural society and not being integrated into another social economy. The rural society has its moral sanctions, its ancient life based on immemorial tradition; the new life is lived amid a welter of tongues, with all the familiar landmarks gone, new temptations present, and the old values, which are the strength of the life of the East, obscured or forgotten in the rush of the new environment."

Salvation, according to Mr. Paton, lies chiefly in the direction of self-help by the workmen themselves, i.e., in the growth of trade unionism. He exhorts all the missionaries to improve the position of the illiterate workmen of India following the example of Mr. Gandhi whose efforts to improve the condition of workmen at Ahmedabad have proved successful.

COMMUNALISM IN INDIAN POLITICS

"Communalism and the Statutory Commission" is the subject of an interesting article in the current number of *THE UNITED EMPIRE*—the organ of the Royal Colonial Institute—by Rao Bahadur P. N. Jambulinga Mudaliar. Mr. Mudaliar deplores the disintegrating effects of communal representation which is an organic part of the Reforms Act of 1919. He is of opinion that even as a transitional measure the system of dyarchy is unworkable. The inherent defects are further intensified by the personal and petty jealousies of job-hunters among the so called leaders. He says:—

"Every avenue in the service of the Government is tapped by these job-hunters, and the moment they are placed in power and enjoy the fat emoluments of the office they strain their every nerve to benefit their kith and kin, whilst persons who are eligible for exalted positions by reason of their intellectuality and unswerving devotion to duty are thrown overboard. When these job-hunters are deposed by popular upheavals they turn out to be the most savage and reactionary enemies of the Government itself."

Taking the case of Madras where the Justice Party which was in power for six years from 1920 was routed at the last election, Mr. Mudaliar writes:—

"After the general elections the Justice Party was recognized as a disintegrating force, representative of an oligarchy composed of a disgruntled section of job-hunters. It is because the Governor did not condescend to subscribe to the dissipated creed of the Justice Party that his recall is demanded. It is the non-Brahman friends that constitute the present ministry and yet the Justice Party is crying itself hoarse over their appointment. Why, I want to know? Echo answers, Why! My question cannot be answered by any rational member of the Justice Party. It is because the Justice Party or their henchmen do not enjoy the loaves and fishes of office that they

are frantically mourning over the inauguration of the present ministry, consisting of non-Brahmans, whose emancipators and saviours the Justice Party has claimed to be for the last six years."

Coming to the bigger question, the grant of further reforms to India, Mr. Mudaliar hopes for the cessation of communal and sectional bickerings. He concludes:—

"In the preamble of the Act of 1919, it is stated that a Statutory Commission will be constituted to enquire into the working of the Reforms Act and the fitness of the country for a greater measure of political advance. The question of the Commission and its personnel is being threshed out in the Press and on the platform in India. It is a momentous and paramount question. All the political parties are agreed, except a few diehards, that Dominion status must be granted to India, with complete provincial autonomy, and that communal and sectional cleavages must not be allowed to mar the harmony of that autonomous position."

WOMEN AT OXFORD.

Dr. Joseph Wells, Warden of the Wadham College, Oxford, for over fourteen years, has a thoughtful article in the October number of the *ENGLISH REVIEW* wherein he discusses at length the recent struggle for a statutory limitation of the number of women students at Oxford. He says that twenty years ago the University had admitted most of the women who were first class examinees, and that the great increase of recent times is from those of less intellectual calibre, i. e. so far as the examination system, is a test of brains.

The examinations are only partial tests of intellectual performance. But the supporters of women's education at Oxford have reason to be proud that "women have in the last three years won the Arnold Essay, the Winter Williams Law Scholarship, and the Newdigate Prize Poem, not to mention other successes in open competitions

and that at least one of the University studentships for Research (founded during the last two years out of the Government grant) has been awarded to a woman scientist. And of the forty lectureships for the encouragement of Research among college teachers (also founded this year out of the Government grant), three have been given to women—two for Modern History, one for English. The "Transactions," too, of bodies like the Royal Historical Society and the English Association usually contain contributions from Oxford women teachers and students."

More personal intercourse between men and women results, says Dr. Wells from the mixed clubs than from the inter collegiate debates. The Labour Club and the Student Christian Movement, different as they are, we are told, are alike in bringing men and women together. In conclusion, the writer points out the one sphere of university life where so far the woman student has not penetrated.

"She has her own organized athletics and the men have theirs, and they have been kept apart. The women students have been content to watch the men play, and certainly they have not been slow to avail themselves of the privilege, and their knowledge of the "blues" and their performances is extensive and up-to-date. But as a rule the women have had the good sense not to advertise their own contests. The attempt last year to introduce a boat-race between a crew of Oxford women students and a crew from Cambridge met with very little favour; the Oxford crew drew no members at all from three of the four women's colleges, and the promoters of the race tried in the end to avoid the publicity they should never have courted. The whole thing was a fiasco, and only served to show that there are still some things that men can do which women fail in completely."

A BESANT LEGEND.

Dr. Besant has returned home after a long absence and is everywhere welcomed with affection and respect. Hers has been a remarkable career. Writing on her eightieth birth day on October 1, *THE NATION AND ATHENÆUM* observes:—

"Dr. Annie Besant's eightieth birthday is celebrated to-day, and perhaps the comment coming most naturally to the pen is that no veteran in the world can at fourscore have travelled a more surprising distance from the point occupied at thirty years of age, or at forty. In 1874 the young wife of a Lincolnshire country parson shook off all her fetters and went out into a bitter wilderness of combat and calumny. For a dozen years she worked as the colleague of Charles Bradlaugh, and for four years as a pioneer of Fabian Socialism, being at that time certainly in the first half-dozen of platform orators. Since the early nineties she has been, in India and England, leader of the Theosophical movement, latterly dividing her apparently undiminished vitality between agitation for the freedom of India and the strange cult of a coming World Teacher. During her fifteen years of aggressive atheism the name of Annie Besant was uttered with horror throughout orthodox England. With her withdrawal into the region of occultism and prophecy there began the creation of a Besant legend which even her adventures into Indian politics have not greatly disturbed. She has grown into an old age of continuing activity, of gracious persuasion, and the weaving of a curious, intangible influence, and of a formal, pontifical, and unending eloquence from which the echoes of her dazzling early maturity have long since died away. It is a most singular personality and an extraordinary career."

SOCIALISM IN OUR TIME

In the current issue of the FORWARD Mr. Ramsay Macdonald has a parable for the Independent Labour Party—a parable of equal significance to us in India. It is drawn upon his observation of sheep-dog trials and the moral of it is, "Abandon the cry of Socialism in our time." He writes:—

"There was one great and eloquent moment. The sheep had come down, delicately and deftly coaxed, between posts and through gaps. There had not been a break nor a scare. They had come as of their own free will with a companion in the shape of a dog behind them. To the eye of the on-looker, the sheep led the dog. We were even tempted to jeer at him as one of those leaders who have no backbone, but who follow the flock he leads. Surely, in this case, the tail which wagged the dog was the sheep. They had come to the pen into which they had to go. But obedience tries the best of saints. A fling occasionally is a necessary exercise for the soul. A sheep turned round and has a look at the dog then another then the third. The dog lay down. He was indifferent. They advanced on him. They stamped their feet, and never did lady do that more daintily.

"The dog was a nuisance. A cave had to be formed against him: a back bench revolt was stirring. Who was this pompous thing—this creature of airs and orders? He wagged his tail almost hidden in the grass. They jumped, backed, came forward again. They looked at each other and encouraged each other. There would be a grand paragraph with a bold and brave headline in next week's SHEEP'S WORKERS." He rose cautiously. They backed. He lifted up one leg and thrust his head forward. They backed. His leg came forward stealthily. They tossed their heads and backed. As though he were a slow moving piece of clock work he approached. They backed. He was like the soothing hand of a mother upon

them. Inch by inch he advanced: inch by inch they retreated. We clapped and laughed. They were in the fold walking backwards, and he squatted, ears cocked and tongue out, at its entrance."

Then follows a description of a pair of dogs working together. Of one of them Mr. Macdonald writes:—

"The fire of a ginger group was within him. He became restive; he turned round. You could see that he had a heroic plan, that he was sick of gradualism. He jumped; he wagged his tail; he put out his tongue. He forgot his own job, made a rush, upset his fellow's plan, scattered the sheep, turned to behold his own charges scurry out of the pen pell-mell, lowered his head and tail, and had the good sense to look a fool."

One of the greatest problems of the socialist, says he, is how to mingle judgment with enthusiasm and patience with haste. He concludes:—

"I deplore the cry: Socialism in our time" for several reasons, but especially for this: that it will postpone our success till the Greek Kalends. It is gradualism drawn out to the nth stretch of time, under the guise and with all the airs of a fleet-footed nymph. Men are not sheep, but they have two of the dominating characteristics of sheep. They are gregarious and they are easily frightened. It is foolish to give that fact as an excuse for losing an election and then proceed to build up a policy on the assumption that it will never happen again. I am a young man in a terrible hurry to get Socialism, to get the real thing and not an image of the real thing."

Bureaucratic Government. (A study in Indian Polity) By Bernard Houghton, I.C.S., (Retd). This is the first Indian Edition of this well-known work. Mr. Houghton examines the present position critically. It is a book of great topical interest. Price, Rs. 1-8 as. To Subscribers of the "Indian Review" Rs. 1-4 as.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, G. T. Madras.

THE NEXT WAR

Credulous people have always thought that the last great war was fought with a view to end war; and the consequences of that tragedy have gone home to the belligerents. But nobody seems to have heeded the warning, and the passion for war seems to be inciting them now no less than before. "A Student of Peace" quotes some pertinent pronouncements on the subject in the current issue of the HINDUSTAN REVIEW and shows how the ground is being prepared for the next war. Open or secret preparations, he says, are being made everywhere. Mr. Sisley Huddleston, formerly Correspondent of the LONDON TIMES, is quoted.

"The sensible countries of the world—from military point of view—are keeping up-to-date with the military developments and they are taking such measures, as will enable them, at a moment's notice, to transform ordinary factories into munitions factories which can turn out large quantities of guns and munition quickly." (NEW REPUBLIC, New York, 1924, July 16, p. 205).

France went mad over the Allies' victory and began to cherish the wildest plans. She occupied Ruhr which means more danger than security for France. Mr. Sisley Huddleston observes:—

"For as any military man would agree, at any given moment Germany could sweep aside the armies of occupation if she were prepared to accept the consequences. In the event of war the Ruhr would be a trap: its occupation would serve no useful purpose." (NEW REPUBLIC, New York, 1924, July 16, p. 204).

France is making elaborate military preparations and drilling millions of negroes in the desert of Africa and she is said to possess the largest air force in the world.

And what of Germany? She is straining every nerve to recoup her military strength. According to Major-General J. H. Morgan, "they (Germans) have been busy since the war in building vast factories, subsidised by State funds,

in the East of Germany for the production of synthetic ammonia, the 'key' to explosive manufactures. We had good reason to believe in the existence of a similar design to make Spandau, near Berlin, the seat of future gun manufacture, in order that it might not be exposed, like Krupps', to the immediate neighbourhood of the Armies of Occupation". (QUARTERLY REVIEW, Oct. 1924, p. 453).

The writer adds that other Powers are no less keen in their anxiety to keep their powder dry. The U. S., Great Britain, and Japan are doing their best to maintain their power and preparing themselves for any future clash.

He concludes with an appeal for a World Peace Congress and the mobilising of all forces making for peace.

CHARACTER IN EDUCATION

"Character in Education" is the theme of an article contributed by Mr. G. W. Trowell to the September issue of the INDIAN EDUCATOR. In our busy everyday life one is liable to lose sight of this central aim in one's pursuit of more immediate ends. Mr. Trowell gives many reasons for this neglect and he attributes it chiefly to the S. S. L. C. system. He urges the Headmasters to free the youngsters from the blighting curse of examinations and to safely certify their boys fit for college, "faithfully and impartially for the twice-born and for the low caste Christian, and also, when he need not fear unpopularity and a fall in numbers by keeping up a high standard, or the enmity of members of the local body that appoint and pay him by refusing to lower the standard for their sons. It is a sombre comment that the initial intention of the Madras S. S. L. C. scheme to remove the protests against the completely external character of the previous scheme, by taking into account the school marks, had to be changed, to cease to be guided in any way by them, because it was found they were being tampered with by Headmasters."

THE RELIGIOUS MAN.

"What is a religious man?" asks Dr. Fort Newton in the *ATLANTIC MONTHLY* and sums up his answer as follows:—

"Much of what is called religion, as usually interpreted, conveys nothing real or helpful to the average man; it contains little to link on to life as he knows it. Its outlook is remote, its imagery alien.

Its ideas and insights need to be restated in the terms of our time, in plain everyday speech, so that man can understand it, lay hold of it, attempt to live up to it. No idea of religion, he says, is worth anything that does not have a vital effect on character, in which the eternal values are revealed and attested. Life is profoundly influenced by belief, as belief, in turn, is "clarified and confirmed" by life. Yet "a man may believe all the creeds and have little moral worth or spiritual loveliness; he may believe in the resurrection of the body and be dead of soul."

As Carlyle said, the religion of a man is not the creed he professes; not that necessarily, often not that at all since men of all degrees of worth and worthlessness sign all kinds of creeds. His religion is his life, what he acts upon and knows of the meaning of life and his duty in it.

"In the meantime, we want finally to get rid of the idea that a bad man who believes a creed is more religious than a good man who does not.

"Religion is not safety; it is service. It is not a plan by which we escape Hell and get into Heaven, but a life of fellowship and ministrant good-will. As a rule, the best men are not those who are most sure of their salvation, or think most about it. They are those who, while aware of their own failings and limitations, do not indulge in morbid reflections on their own spiritual state, but put their power into a life of love guided by truth.

"Many a man who has only a hazy idea of what it means to love God is really doing it all

the time, in the most real way, by helping his fellows along the road."

"If such words seem to be trite, they are none the less true, truer by far than many a dogma: and it is by such things that we learn that religion is not a thing apart from life, but life itself at its best."

THE INDIAN NAVY

"By the creation of the Royal Indian Navy, India has been placed in one more respect on the same footing as the Dominions of Canada, Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand," says Mr. P. R. Cadell in his paper on "The Royal Indian Navy," published in the latest number of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*. He traces the history of the Navy in India for the last three centuries. Continuing he says:

"It is obvious that India cannot afford a large navy and need not do so, so long as it can depend on the strong arm of the Royal Navy. It is essential, however, that officers and men should be well paid, if the service is to be efficient and popular. If we refer to the men alone, we must remember the severe competition of the mercantile shipping for the comparatively small sources of recruitment available. It is equally necessary that the ships should be well found for service in the Persian Gulf, and more suitable, it may be remarked, than the vessels in which the men of the Royal Navy at present silently suffer in that region. Already we hear it said that India cannot afford the cost of even the small navy proposed. If this navy is inefficient, any money spent on it will naturally be wasted."

The revenues of the Government of India depend very largely on foreign trade and on the duties levied at India's ports whose marine administration will be very largely in the hands of officers of the Royal Indian Navy. Therefore, it seems unreasonable, says Mr. P. R. Cadell, to grudge a portion of these revenues for the maintenance of the naval force proposed.

NOVEMBER 1927]

DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA.

To the student of contemporary politics there is no study which surpasses in importance that of popular Government in the United States of America, says Professor Charles Sarolea in the *ENGLISH REVIEW*.

"It has a supreme theoretical interest. For the American Constitution is a masterpiece of political wisdom. The American experiment in democratic government has succeeded, where most similar European experiments have signally failed. And the success is all the more instructive because the American experiment was made under the most unfavourable circumstances and with apparently the most unpromising human material, the flotsam and jetsam of twenty races."

The American Republic, unlike other modern republics, has weathered every storm and succeeded in spite of a hundred reasons why it also should have failed. The Professor's explanation is that, whilst the American Commonwealth is in outward appearance a popular Government, it is not a pure democracy, but one based on a series of political compromises.

"It has realized, better than any other popular administration, that the chief merit of any government is to be strong and stable. It has emphatically repudiated the false conclusion of Rousseau that the people are always infallible, and can do no wrong. On the contrary, it has assumed that the people are eminently fallible, that indeed, because they are fallible, they must be deliberately protected against their own errors and impulses. The American Constitution is ever reminding the citizen that he has duties as well as rights. Above all, it proclaims that there is something greater than the caprice of majorities, and the passions of parties—and that is the liberty of the subject, the interest of the common weal, and the majesty of the law. Under the American Constitution it is the law and not the will of the people, which is the sovereign power."

THE INDIAN PRINCES

"The pretence of the sanctity of the Treaties between the Imperial Crown and the major Princes of India having been knocked on the head by the late Viceroy," writes Dr. Besant in the *NEW INDIA WEEKLY*, "it is worth while to consider how these Princes would stand when India gains Dominion status, and is supreme within her own territory." About the relation between a king and people in olden days in India Dr. Besant says:—

"Forms of Government, moreover, affected but little the prosperity of the people, and were very various—monarchical, republican, council cities, occasional empires. The stable unit of Government in India was the village, the groups of villages, the linked groups, and so on, the Self Government of the people in these successively increasing areas by Councils—the form approved of by the Lord Buddha as conducive to stable prosperity. The part played by a King, where a kingdom existed, was that of a protector rather than that of a ruler. A certain tax, levied on the crops, and the manufactured articles, was paid to him for his protection against violence or serious breaches of the laws. As a King pointed out to a favourite who asked for power, he was not the people's lord and master; he only interfered with criminals. He was responsible for good order. New laws, where needed, were made by a King and his Council or other chief power; a King without a Council, said Kautilya, was like a cart with only one wheel."

Several of the major Princes of India have already voluntarily established in their States some of the forms of Self-Government. In some of the States education is more advanced than in British India". Dr. Besant continues:—

"The people of the Indian States may be trusted to press on any backward Princes the necessity of granting them freedom, and they will do it effectively when some of such Princes cannot rely on British aid, as they can now, against their discontented people."

THE ORDINARY MAN.

"The plutocrat is what he is by virtue solely of his material position in the world. If an accident should remove him from that position, he disappears into non-entity. Success is the test of social eminence. In spiritual matters disinterestedness is no longer the sign of superiority," writes Mr. Aldous Huxley in *HARPER'S MONTHLY MAGAZINE*.

"Nothing is more remarkable than the recent American tendency to exalt the ordinary man, occupied with ordinary worldly affairs, at the expense of the exceptional man who takes no interest in such affairs. I have seen it boldly stated by American spiritual leaders that 'Business is religion.' The identification of business with service permits the worldling to identify himself with the Christian saints.

"This tendency to raise the ordinary, worldly man to the level of the extraordinary and disinterested one seems to me entirely deplorable. The next step will be to exalt him above the extraordinary man, who will be condemned and persecuted on principle because he is not ordinary—for not to be ordinary will be regarded as a crime. In this reversal of the old values I see a real danger, a menace to all desirable progress."

BUDDHA AND WOMEN

The *YOUNG EAST* for October has an interesting article on Buddha's view of women by Mr. Taikun Kimura. The attitude of Gautama towards women varied according to the occasion. In one instance when a follower of his was worrying himself because of his love for a woman, Buddha helped him to get rid of his trouble by mentioning various weak points of women. He, however, always advised his disciples to love and respect their wives, though he recognised the superiority of man to woman. Buddha had praised and criticised women according to the cases placed before him, but he never despised them as some of the mediaeval monks of Europe have done. It is evident also

from the fact that the many women followers of Buddha became great Missionaries in later years.

• "Thus Buddhism gave a high position to women as Buddhist disciples, whereas Confucius and Christ rather made light of women, though the latter always had sympathies with women as weak creatures. This is undeniable from the fact that many of the Christian Churches did not like women to preach, while most of the great Christian disciples of the mediaeval age regarded women as if they had been offsprings of Satan. Some of them even declared that women had no soul. If we consider these facts together with the fact that the Church of England is still undecided whether women should be allowed to stand on the pulpit or not, it is really remarkable that thirty centuries ago, Buddha gave to woman followers as much right as to man followers."

INDIA IN PERIODICALS.

DOES INDIA WANT CHRIST WITHOUT WESTERN CULTURE? By Miss. E. McDougall, M.A. ["The National Christian Council Review," September 1927.]

ANCIENT INDIAN LIFE. By Rai Bahadur Jogeschandra Ray M. A. Vidya Nidhi. [The Calcutta Review. September 1927.]

INDIAN UNIVERSITIES AND INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION. By Prof. P. R. Krishnaswami M. A. ["The Indian Educator," September 1927]

THE ANCIENT TAMILS & THE NAGAS. By Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, ["The Indian Historical Quarterly, Sep. 1927]

MISS MAYO'S CRUELTY TO INDIA. By Margaret E. Cousins. ["The Young men of India," October 1927]

RELIGIOUS POLICY OF ASOKA. By Dr. Barna M. A. ["The Maha Bodhi," October 1927.]

HINDUS AND MUSLIMS. By Mr. Shrinivas M. Datar, LL. B. [The Hindustan Review, October 1927.]

THE UNITY CONFERENCE.

The Unity Conference called under the auspices of the All-India Congress Committee met at the premises of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, at Calcutta. There was a large and representative gathering of Hindu and Muslim Congressmen from different provinces. Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar opened the proceedings with an introductory speech in which he tried to remove certain misapprehensions. Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Prakasam explained the circumstances that led to the summoning of the Conference. Babu Bhagavan Das and Sir P. C. Ray also took part in the proceedings and made fervent appeals to unity.

Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta started the discussion by placing before the Conference the main questions which they should discuss and come to an agreement. They were disputes relating to (1) conversion and re-conversion between the two communities, (2) slaughter of cows, and (3) music before mosques. He referred to the resolutions of the Unity Conference at Delhi and said that they might form the basis for the drafts that might be made for the present Conference.

CONVERSIONS AND RE-CONVERSIONS

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar then read the resolution as re-drafted in consequence of an informal conference earlier in the day among a few leaders. The resolution which was accepted after a long discussion is as follows :—

That every individual or group is at liberty to convert or reconvert another by argument or persuasion but must not attempt to do so or prevent its being done by force, fraud or other unfair means such as the offering of material inducement. Persons under 18 years of age should not be converted unless it be along with their parents or guardians. If any person under 18 years of age are found stranded without his parents or guardians by persons of another faith he should be promptly handed over to persons of his own faith. There must be no secrecy as to the person, place and manner about any conversion or reconversion nor should there be any demonstration or jubila-

tion in support of any conversion or reconversion. Whenever any complaint is made in respect of any conversion or reconversion that it was effected by force or unfair means or whenever any person under 18 years of age is converted the matter shall be enquired into and disclosed by arbitrators who shall be appointed by the Working Committee either by name or under general regulations.

THE COW & MUSIC QUESTIONS

The Conference then proceeded to deal with the Cow question—the discussion on which was adjourned to the next day. Dr. Ansari, in a long statement dealt with the several points in dispute both at and after the Simla Conference.

Whereas no community in India should impose or seek to impose its religious obligations or religious views upon any other community but the free profession and practice of religion should subject to public order and morality be guaranteed to every community and person, Hindus are at liberty to take processions and play music before mosques at any time for religious or social purposes but there should be no stoppage of the processions nor special demonstrations in front of mosques nor shall the songs or music sung or played in front of such mosques be such as is calculated to cause annoyance, offence or special disturbance to the worshippers in the mosques. Moslems are at liberty to sacrifice or subject to existing municipal laws regulating the slaughter of animals for purposes of food to slaughter cows in any town or village in any place not being a thoroughfare nor one in the vicinity of a temple or a Mandir nor one exposed to the gaze of Hindus. Cows should not be led in procession or in demonstration for sacrifice or slaughter. Whenever a complaint is made that any of the provisions of this resolution have been contravened it shall be enquired into and decided by arbitrators appointed by the Working Committee by name or under general regulations and their decision shall be final. Having regard to the deep-rooted sentiment of the Hindu community in the matter of cow killing the Moslem community is earnestly appealed so to conduct the cow sacrifice or slaughter as not to cause annoyance to the Hindus of the town or village concerned.

The A. I. C. C. which met subsequently ratified these resolutions.

SIR HABIBULLAH ON UNITY

A joint address was presented on November 2nd to Sir Mahomed Habibullah by the Muslim Association of Nagore and the Shareeth-ul-Islam Society of Negapatam. In the course of his reply Sir Mahomed Habibullah said:—

"I note with very great gratification that in this town as indeed generally in the rest of the province, the Hindu and the Mahomedan live together as brethren in the most friendly and loyal relation, and may this spirit pervade the whole of India. I am a Mussalman. I yield to none in the depth or intensity of my devotion to my faith. But I cannot discern any inevitable conflict between my orthodoxy and the orthodoxy of the Hindus. Similarly, I feel sure that every rational and patriotic Hindu must wonder at those who hold that those who profess his faith cannot be at peace with the Mussalmans. I am not a believer in unavoidable antagonism. I have an invincible faith in the essential harmony of the spiritual ideals that are at the core of the world's great religions—Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam."

VICEROY'S TRIBUTE TO BIKANER

H. E. the Viceroy before opening the Ganganagar Canal on October 8th said in reply to H. H. the Maharaja's address:—

"Your Highness has, I have no doubt, long dreamt of this day, and of all that it means to thousands of your subjects, and so, to us, it is a real happiness to be able through your kindness, to share in those glad feelings which come when hope wins fulfilment, and achievement comes at last to crown the long period of effort and anxiety. I am indeed, glad to think that this Canal, which is destined to bring such inestimable benefits to Bikaner, should bear Your Highness' name, and thus be a memorial for generations yet to come of a Ruler to whose foresight, enthusiasm and devotion to the progress of his State, they will surely owe so much."

Dr. BOSE'S MESSAGE TO THE STUDENTS

In the course of his Convocation address to the Mysore University, Dr. Bose gave the following message:—

"Could I wish for you anything less than that you should attain the highest manhood or womanhood? May you realise the great privilege of being born at a time when your country needed you most. The civilisation we have inherited have lasted through many millenniums; you will certainly not allow it. You will answer to the call that had been echoing through ages, the call which compels men and women to choose a life of unending struggle for the alleviation of human suffering. The removal of suffering and the cause of suffering is the Dharma of a Kshatriya. Be each of you a true Kshatriya."

It was action and not weak passivity that was glorified in heroic India of the past and the greatest illumination came even in the field of battle. There can be no happiness for any of us, unless it had been won for all. In this I would urge on you the doctrine of strength and of undying hope. Realise that there is something in the Indian culture which is possessed of extraordinary latent strength by which it had resisted the ravages of time and destructive changes, that have swept over the earth. And indeed a capacity to endure through infinite transformations, must be innate in that mighty civilisation which has seen the intellectual culture of Nile Valley, of Assyria and of Babylon, wax, wane and disappear, and which to-day gazes on the future with the same invincible faith with which it met the past."

SIR JAGADISH BOSE. His Life, discoveries and writings. The matter has been carefully selected and arranged under three headings. Educational, General, Science. Price Rs. 3. To Subs. of "I.R." Rs. 2.8 as Modern Review:—The excellent biographical Sketch (prefixed) enhances the value of the compilation.

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PANCHAYATS IN BIKANER

H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner, in opening the Bikaner Legislative Assembly, referred to the Panchayat Bill, and said:

"Any liberal edifice for the participation of the popular element in the task of Government must, I need hardly point out, be raised on solid foundations. It is impossible to build on sand. We must begin from the lowest rungs of the ladder. Popular assemblies and responsible legislatures, municipal boards, councils and district boards, all must commence with the humble beginnings of village communities. A village is the lowest administrative unit; and a sound political structure, in order to be enduring, can only be reared up on solid tiers, stage by stage created upon stable foundations. Here again we have only to revive and resuscitate our old village communities which had acquired a repute as the one durable foundation of Hindu polity. Village Panchayats, beside being entrusted with the management of simple village needs and daily requirements of the rural populace, can also, as their name signifies, be made to subserve the purpose of simple civil tribunals and rural magistracy. . . . Justice administered at the threshold of their own homes, is often more equitable and certainly cheaper and quicker than that obtained from the more elaborate refinements of modern civilization. Where village factions and rival animosities do not, like a canker, eat at the core of village life, the justice secured at the hands of village elders is also more acceptable to the people and leaves little venom behind."

NEW DEWAN OF RADHANPUR

Mr. Sayyad Mohomed A. Urezi, B. A., Income-Tax Officer, Surat, has been appointed Dewan of Radhanpur, his services having been lent to the State by the Government of India.

BHARATPUR REFORMS

The Maharaja of Bharatpur has now finally sanctioned the enforcement of the Administration Board (Shasan Samiti) Act, 1927, passed in the month of March last under which a representative body of Bharatpurians will conduct the general administration through their elected and nominated representatives. It has come into force on October 4.

All those who are born in the State, have some landed property in the State or are domiciled residents for the last 5 years preceding the elections, will be entitled to vote or stand as candidates. The body will be composed of 120 members out of which 90 will be elected, and although the number can be lessened at the will of the durbar the elected majority will remain unchanged, viz., three-quarters of the total number of members. The Dewan will preside over the Board and a cabinet composed of 10 elected members of the board will meet every Thursday and arrive at conclusions on various topics and submit their opinion to His Highness. The Vice-President will be elected by the members themselves. An honorarium of Rs. 500 per annum has been approved for the cabinet members. Depressed classes will have their due share and 10 seats have been allotted for them.

DECCAN SABHA AND INDIAN STATES

The Council of the Deccan Sabha has passed a resolution urging the Government of India strongly to press upon the attention of His Majesty's Government the necessity of having the whole question of the status and position of Indian States in relation to self-governing British India settled by the Royal Commission on Indian Constitutional Reforms shortly to be appointed (since appointed) with a view particularly to make constitutional provision for the inclusion of the States in course of time in the future federation of India.

INDIANS IN BRITISH GUIANA

Mr. C. F. Andrews, interviewed concerning the disquieting news received in Bombay from British Guiana, said that if the report was correct, then the gravity of the situation could not be overestimated. When the whole question of fresh Indian emigration was considered by the Indian Legislature, a demand was made that the present electoral rights of Indians could be secured to them for all time by statute, and this demand was favourably considered. If the control of finance were to be placed in the hands of the Governor instead of registered Indians, it would obviously lower the value of the franchise and status of Indians as citizens.

INDIAN DEFENCE LEAGUE.

In view of frequent misrepresentations made in England of Indian culture and Indian view point, it is felt necessary to start an organisation in England of Indians and friends of India, called the "Indian Defence League."

The immediate objects will be:—(1) To take steps to prevent, if possible and to correct wherever necessary, any misrepresentations about India in England; and (2) to conduct an educative propaganda mainly on cultural lines in order to make Indian aspirations and sentiments familiar to the West.

The membership is open to all Indians and non-Indian sympathisers over 21 years of age, and the fee will be 5 shillings per annum.

Dr. Annie Besant, Mr. H. S. L. Polak, Mr. Basil Howell and many others have already joined the League, whose Secretary is Mr. Vishnu Karandikar.

EAST AFRICAN COMMISSION

It is understood says the LEADER, that Kanwar Maharaj Singh and Mr. Ewbank were being deputed by the Government of India to East Africa, to assist the resident Indian community in the preparation of their case to be put before the Royal Commission.

NATAL EDUCATION COMMISSION

Mr. Sastri, the Agent-General of the Government of India, interviewed by a representative of THE NATAL WITNESS on the appointment of the Education Commission, expressed his gratification at the honouring of the Agreement. "The news of the appointment of this Commission" said Mr. Sastri, "will be received with great satisfaction in India. It will be an indubitable proof that the Capetown Agreement is a reality and will result in a benefit to the Indian population resident here." The Natal Administration is to be congratulated on having magnanimously ignored its differences with the Union Government, and resolved to bear the burdens cast on it by the Agreement."

The Government of India have accordingly deputed Mr. K. N. Kitchlu of the Indian Educational Service, to go to South Africa and report on the Indian Education questions in Natal.

INDIANS IN CEYLON

It is reported that at a meeting of Indians in Kandy, Mr. Letchuman Chettiar, the Chairman, remarked on the unsatisfactory nature of Indian representation in the Legislature and deplored the exclusion of Indians from the Civil Service and the humiliating restrictions at the quarantine camp at Mandapam. He pointed out that Indians were not represented on the several Advising Boards, where their interests needed safeguarding. Above all, he said, the apathy of the electorate was a source of anxiety.

INDIANS IN DURBAN

The Durban Town Council has, at a recent meeting, voted a sum of £ 150,000 in order to purchase a block of land extending to 3,000 acres about 11 miles from Durban, ostensibly for the future Borough extension, but in reality to establish what the anti-Asiatics call an Indian village. The Indian community has protested against the proposal but to no effect.

BOMBAY TEXTILE INDUSTRIES.

Perhaps the foremost indigenous industry of India is the mill industry in Bombay. From small beginnings five and seventy years ago it has grown by leaps and bounds, to almost international importance. It has played no little part in the progress and prosperity of Bombay, and indeed of the whole of western India. A comprehensive review of the progress of such an industry from its inception down to this day must be of absorbing interest to all concerned. This task has been attempted by Mr. S. M. Ratnagar, Editor of the INDIAN TEXTILE Journal and completed with a success for which he rightly deserves to be congratulated. The book is a comprehensive review of the whole textile industry of Bombay from 1850 to 1926, including a summary of the present constitution, management and financial position of no less than a hundred spinning and weaving factories. This exhaustive review is enriched with innumerable pictures and portraits while the statistics and trade figures supplied make it an invaluable book of reference to those who have anything to do with the mill industries of Bombay. We congratulate Mr. Ratnagar on the excellence of the publication which is well worth its price of Rupees Twenty.

PROTECTION TO COTTON INDUSTRY

Government's Bill proposing some measure of protection to the Indian yarn industry was the subject of a lively and prolonged discussion in the Legislative Assembly in its last sitting.

The House rejected by a very large majority, Mr. K. C. Neogy's amendment for circulating the Bill for eliciting public opinion as to how far it would, detrimentally or otherwise affect the consumers and the handloom industry in the country.

Sir Victor Sassoon, in a long speech, explained the view of the millowners, emphasising that the handloom industry would not be, in any way, seriously affected by the Bill and that the measure of protection proposed to be given to the industry

was inadequate inasmuch as the spinning section was left, practically without any safeguards. He compared the position of the industry to "a poor wounded man left uncared for on the road-side."

Dewan Chamanlal, Mr. T. C. Goswami and others who supported Mr. Neogy's motion, enumerated the many sins of commission and omission that the mill-magnates had committed in the past, particularly during the days of the Swadeshi movement inaugurated in Bengal as a protest against the Partition measure.

Government's attitude was explained by the Finance Member and later on, by the Commerce Member, the latter charging the millowners with attempting to overawe the Governor-General-in-Council and with failing to combine for promoting the legitimate interests of the industry.

The Bill was then taken into consideration and passed.

EMPIRE ECONOMIC UNITY.

Sir Alfred Mond speaking upon the subject of Empire economic unity at a public meeting held under the auspices of the Empire Industries Association said that on the proper and true solution of the organisation of the British Empire as an economic unit, depended not merely the economic prosperity of millions of people in England but depended more on the whole future existence of the British Empire. In the command of some of the world's leading commodities we had a position which ought to enable us to compel the most favourable trading terms from other countries if our resources were utilised unitedly and in the right way.

He quoted figures showing the remarkable development of the interchange of goods between England and overseas and declared that inter-imperial trade was becoming the dominating factor in the trade position of the world and of England. Sir A. Mond advocated the expenditure of much larger sums on settlement in the Dominions.

AGRICULTURAL SECTION

AGRICULTURAL EXHIBITION

An All-India Agricultural, Industrial, Khaddar and Arts Exhibition will be held at Madras during the Christmas week in connection with the 42nd. Indian National Congress.

The object of the Exhibition is to show the present state of Agriculture, Art and Science, in India, to take stock of the various impediments in the way of their advancement and to provide an opportunity for the exchange of ideas relating to trade, Agriculture, Industries, Education, Public health, and various other subjects between people from various parts of India.

Accommodation for exhibits will be provided for in the stalls, but machinery, looms, scientific and other apparatus to be used for demonstration purposes will have to be installed in separate places, which will be provided for in the Exhibition grounds.

The Committee appeals to general public inclusive of firms to make liberal donations towards the general funds of the Exhibition and to firms to take up stalls and exhibit articles largely.

FUTURE OF INDIAN CULTIVATOR

To judge from the reports already published, the present state of agriculture in many regions in India, is clearly so unsatisfactory as to justify considerable anxiety with regard to its future, says the TIMES on the work so far completed by the Agricultural Commission.

It expresses the opinion that some of the difficulties besetting the path of the Indian cultivator are of his own making, and can only be removed by education. Some of the evidence before the Commission suggests that administrative deterioration has followed the Reforms.

The paper points out that the example of Australia indicates that the control of organization could render most valuable service to Indian agriculture by co-ordinating activities, more especially the research work of departments of the local Governments.

EMPIRE AGRICULTURE

Sir Alfred Mond, addressing the delegates of the Imperial Agricultural Research Conference at a Luncheon in London, on Oct. 26, stated that the chemical industries were co-operating with the Government departments in trials of fertilizers in the Empire and elsewhere.

Many trials had been designed to test the suitability of nitro-chalk in tropical and sub-tropical countries, and arrangements had been completed to carry out in India and Kenya trials of such new fertilizers as ammonium phosphate and nitro-phosoka.

A representative was studying the conditions in South Africa and Australia to determine to what extent phosphate and other deficiencies had been the reason why so little use was made of nitrogen fertilizers there.

Another representative was going to India to study the best means of carrying out the proposals submitted by the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India for a great scheme of co-operation in fertilizer propaganda, between the Governments of India and Britain.

He said that arrangements were also made to carry out fertilizer trials in the Sudan.

AGRICULTURE IN INDIA

The journal OUTLOOK, commenting on the evidence collected by the Indian Agricultural Commission, says that it comes as a great shock. The evidence proves that the condition of the ryot is deteriorating.

"It is our boast that no Government that India has ever known has cared for the peasant so consistently as the British," says the paper. "It now seems that all our care has failed."

In discussing the causes, the OUTLOOK expresses the opinion that Great Britain assumed that, given good government, with guarantees of internal peace and reasonable taxation, the Indian would raise himself by his own exertions.

NEW AIR FORCE HOSPITAL.

Princess Mary opened the new hospital for the Royal Air Force at Halton, in Buckinghamshire. Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary for Air, in a speech mentioned that Halton was the biggest Air Force station in the world, and its hospital would be the principal hospital of the Royal Air Force. The building contains, 204 beds, to which would come not only cases from Halton, but all Air Force cases in the country, outside the convenient range of Naval, Military or Civil accommodation and Air Force invalids from overseas. There was no service in the world where the most efficient medical and surgical help was more urgently required, to meet the inevitable risk of life in the air. The Air Force, as a whole, would now have in the Halton Hospital a fully equipped institute to meet their needs.

AYURVEDIC SYSTEM OF MEDICINE.

The importance to India of the Ayurvedic system of medicine was emphasised by the Hon. Mr. K. M. Jhaveri, who presiding over the annual gathering of the Prabburam Ayurvedic College, Bombay, pleaded for wholehearted support for Ayurved "the oldest science of India."

Mr. Justice Jhaveri said that both Ayurved and Unani were particularly suited to Indian conditions and should, therefore, be encouraged. Methods of cure which had only recently been discovered in the West had long existed in this land, he said and cited as an instance the mud-bath vigorously advocated by American doctors for skin diseases.

THE MAN OVER FORTY

"Most of us, after 40, stand in need of being told that health is not our inalienable possession," writes the Medical Correspondent of the TIMES TRADE AND ENGINEERING SUPPLEMENT.

"If we wish to keep fit we must deserve fitness. We must work for it and plan for it—just as a wise trader works and plans for his business and takes nothing for granted."

MR. EUSTACE MILES ON RHEUMATISM

"Rheumatism is terribly prevalent to-day, and produces a disastrous epidemic of absence from work; so that through rheumatism the nation loses hundreds of thousands of pounds a year," said Mr. Eustace Miles in a recent lecture.

"Rheumatism is due to many different causes, for it is impossible to assign all the results to any one cause. On the other hand, rheumatism is a sign of strength. Those who have in them so much poison that rheumatism will result, must be strong or else they would have died before there is this amount of accumulation!"

"The underlying cause seems to be acidosis: that is to say, an over acid condition of the system which may be due to one or more of many kinds of acid. I am inclined to think that, among the most important troubles of the day is acidosis due to excess of carbohydrates (that is to say, of starch and sugary foods—what a vast amount of sweets and sugar people eat to-day!) and, secondly, to fruit-acid, for almost all the fruit that is eaten in this country to-day is intensely acid."

"The cures, apart from any special measures and the ensurance of warmth, should include better foods and drinks, and particularly an abundance of green stuff in various forms, and pure nourishment, and the practice of deep and full breathing and water-sipping."

DISEASE DIAGNOSED FROM THE HANDS

"Medical science," writes Mr. Jaquin, in PEARSON'S MAGAZINE "has always noted the colour and shape of the fingernails in certain diseases, but not until recent years has any serious consideration been given to the actual lines of the hand as what I may call nerve indications of physical troubles."

"Facial characteristics express broadly the mind of the individual, and in some cases clearly denote the presence of disease, but the hand gives a far more complete and detailed expression."

DO SCIENTISTS LIVE LONGEST?

Do scientists live to a greater age than members of other professions? The question is raised by the remarkable ages attained by ten well-known scientists whose deaths have been recently reported in one week.

Their ages are as follows:—

Mr. B. Lewis Rice, archaeologist	..	89
Mr. John Macleod, mathematician	..	86
Mr. J. H. Reynolds, technologist	..	85
Mr. Charles Ford, botanist	..	83
Mr. W. S. Valiant, geologist	..	81
Prof. Mittag-Leffler, mathematician	..	81
Prof. C. W. Hargitt, zoologist	..	75
Mr. Hudson Maxim, inventor	..	74
Prof. A. Kossel, physiologist	..	73
Mr. G. B. Sudworth, dendrologist	..	63

The probable reason for their great ages, suggested Sir Richard Gregory, the distinguished scientist, to a London pressman, is that as scientists they have known how to conserve their energies. "I should suggest that a group of scientific workers would live longer than a group of workers taken from any other profession for the reason that scientists know how to take proper care of their physical system. * *

"Then they lead a less hectic life than actors, musicians and writers, so it is to be expected that they would live longer."

PROMOTION OF CIVIL AVIATION

One more step has been taken by the Government of India for the promotion of civil aviation. They have deputed Dr. B. N. Banerji, M. Sc., Ph. D. (Cantab) Meteorologist, Civil Aviation, Karachi, to get first-hand knowledge of European meteorology with particular reference to airship services. Dr. Banerji is proceeding by the mail steamer "Kaiser-i-Hind" to England, and from there, will go to Norway to work in Professor Bjerkne's well-known meteorological institute. He will also visit Germany to study the upper air and kite work in Berlin and Lindeberg.

NEW CHEMICAL DISCOVERY

A statement is made by Sir Alfred Mond, Chairman of the Imperial Chemical Industries concerning a new chemical discovery. This is understood to be a new form of antiseptic which in the opinion of Sir Alfred Mond and those associated with him including many medical men is destined to revolutionise the use and scope of antiseptics in surgery.

Striking results, it is said, had been obtained by direct injection into the bloodstream.

DR. HENRICH LUDERS

Doctor Heinrich Luders, Member, Prussian Academy of Sciences and Lecturer in Indian Paleontology, Berlin University, who is now in Ceylon will come shortly to India for obtaining materials for the second volume of "Carpus Inscriptionum Indicarum" which he is editing at the request of the Government of India.

MOSUL OIL

Five leading American oil companies have acquired an important interest in a scheme for developing the oil in the Mosul region, in co-operation with groups of Britain, France and Holland under the direction of the Turkish Petroleum Company. Each company will hold a 25 per cent. interest. It is planned to construct a 500-mile pipe line to the Mediterranean.

ERUPTION ON JUPITER

The Jungfrau Observatory reports having seen one night, recently an immense luminous eruption on Jupiter, between the equatorial lines of the planet. Fine weather favours the observation, and the phenomenon will be investigated by M. Schaer, the Swiss astronomer, who is well-known by his work on the planet Mars.

SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITIONS.

The meeting in City Hall discussed plans of two scientific expeditions in 1928, one to the Himalayas organised by the Milan section of the Italian Alpine Club and the other to the Arctic by General Nobile.

TOLSTOY AND SHAW

"Dear Mr Shaw, you are not sufficiently serious. In your book I detect a desire to surprise and to astonish readers by your great erudition, talent, cleverness."



LEO TOLSTOY

This was the rebuke given to the Fabian by Tolstoy when the author of "Man and Superman" sent him a copy of that book.

Originally written in Russian just before Tolstoy's death, the letter has now been translated, apparently for the first time, and its publication in New York is creating a literary sensation.

"Life is a great and serious affair," Shaw is reminded, "and in the short interval of time granted us we all must try to find our appointed task and fulfil it as well as possible."

Mr. Shaw's rejoinder would make piquant reading, but it is not yet forthcoming.

DR. BESANT ON MISS MAYO'S BOOK

Dr. Besant who has now returned after an absence of over eighteen months says:

"If I were trying to give a true picture of American civilization to-day, I would not begin with the stockyards of Chicago. Yet that is what Miss Mayo has done in her crudely coloured picture of India. As a matter of fact, animal sacrifices have already been abolished in many of the territories of the Indian Princes. As to child marriage, all educated Indians feel strongly on the subject, and reform will certainly come; but we need not look further than England to understand how difficult it is to change the social habits of a people. I have lived among Indians as an Indian for many years of my life, and I know their thoughts and feelings and the beauty of their domestic relations. Miss Mayo's book may tell the truth about isolated cases, which are bound to occur in a country of three hundred million people, but it is not the whole truth or anything remotely like it. Deeds of shame are done in every country, alas! and even worse instances of rape and violence than those cited in *Mother India* could be duplicated in England."

THE BOMBAY SAMACHAR.

The Diwali number of the SAMACHAR is a sumptuously illustrated annual containing many special articles by well known writers. The Editor leads off with greetings followed by a resume of the leading events of the year. Mr. Saint Nihal Singh writes on the Nationalist struggle in different countries of Asia and Miss McSwiney on Irish politics. Messrs Lansbury and Saklatwala, Dr. Modi and Sir Pheroze Sethna, Sir P. C. Ray and Sjt. Arabindo Ghose also contribute to this special number. Indeed there are articles by a number of distinguished writers, and altogether we have a valuable collection.

IDEAL OF NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

"There never came a time so fateful as the present when a great demand is made on the strength and idealism of our youth in serving the highest interest of the country", said Dr. Jagadish



SIR J. C. BOSE.

Chandra Bose in addressing the Convocation of the Mysore University. He urged the students to be strong in life's great adventure, advising them to draw strength and inspiration from work and the lessons of the past as he himself did.

Speaking of the ideal of a National University he said: "Our National University must stand primarily for self-expression and winning for India her true place among the federation of nations." He refuted the "baseless and ignorant" assertions of critics who deny India's capacity for advancement of knowledge and spread of learning among her people. Pointing to India's contribution to knowledge in the past, as also in the present age, he showed how vulgar and ignorant the claim is that all advance of knowledge is the contribution of the West.

Dr. Bose concluded by pointing out that "the extension and utilisation of knowledge in the service of man are important functions of the University." He wanted the students to answer to "the call that has been echoing through the ages, the call which compels men and women to choose a life of unending struggle for the alleviation of human suffering."

THE S. S. L. C. SYSTEM

Dwelling upon what he called the deterioration of the modern students in several respects than their compeers in the immediate past, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer in the course of his presidential address delivered in the Kumbakonam College attributed the fact mainly to the institution of Secondary School Leaving Certificate system. "However well meant the scheme might be" remarked Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, "it has produced disastrous effects on the quality of the students. A system which required many props and checks was hardly worth while for their energies to be spent and he would only say whether it was not high time to go back to the state of things that obtained in the matriculation days." He insisted on the students not to indulge in collective action in the method of trade unions under the garb of maintaining self-respect.

FIRST FIFTY IN I. C. S.

An analysis of the Indian Civil Service Examination list published shows that of the 236 candidates who entered, some of whom were also down for Home and Colonial Services, 112 were Europeans compared with 93 and 71 in the two preceding years. Of the candidates obtaining the first fifty places in the I. C. S. 36 were Europeans and 14 Indians. 31 of the Europeans were Oxford and Cambridge men of whom 21 were either scholars or exhibitioners of their colleges.

COMPULSORY PHYSICAL EDUCATION.

It is understood that the scheme prepared by Principal K. R. Kanikar for compulsory physical education to the students of the Arts Colleges in Poona has been sanctioned by the Syndicate of the Bombay University and will come into force at the beginning of the next term. This scheme involves an annual expenditure of a little over Rs. 7,000 and contemplates the employment of over thirty student instructors with a monthly scholarship of Rs. 20 and two head instructors on Rs. 100 per month.

AMERICAN JUDGES

Iges like other men are apt to err, but an eminent bar and a virile public opinion are check on judicial vagaries. Apparently humour in the American courts is not confined to the proceedings. It extends to judgments as well. Now and then we are regaled with eccentric pronouncements from the American bench. Writing on the lapses of the bench in America, THE WORLD TOMORROW says:

Not all judges in our courts are hard, not all are political opportunists, not all are frivolous in their conception of justice—despite the multitude of cases which have cast reproach upon the bench. But far too many are blessed with an erratic desire for horse play. A judge in New York declares that he can tell guilty persons in advance from their physiognomy. Another celebrates his birthday by suspension of sentences. Another advises a cruelly-treated wife to sock her husband hard if he refuses to behave. Still another lightens a sentence because the man convicted had "a very nice jaw" and was "a man of great determination" thus able to reform.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands has deposited with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations the instruments of ratification of the three following International Labour Conventions:

- (1) The Convention concerning equality of treatment for national and foreign workers as regards workmen's compensation for accidents, adopted by the International Labour Conference at its 7th Session (Geneva, 1925):
- (2) The Convention concerning workmen's compensation for accidents, adopted at the same Session;
- (3) The Convention concerning the simplification of the inspection of emigrants on board ship, adopted at the 8th Session of the Conference (Geneva 1926).

JUDGE GARY'S WILL

The following is from the late Judge Gary's Will. The learned Judge is not content with instructions regarding the disposition of his property. He also leaves a piece of his mind for the benefit of his successors. There is some worldly wisdom in his counsels of prudence which may be of general interest to others as well. But he failed in his last moments to specify what are well-known securities and where they could be found. Have not many an undoubted security melted into a dissolving dream?

"I earnestly request my wife and my children and their descendants to steadfastly decline to sign any bonds or obligations of any kind as surety for any other person or persons; that they refrain from anticipating their income in any respect and refuse to make any loans except on the basis of first-class, well-known securities, and that they invariably decline to invest in any untried or doubtful securities or property or enterprise or business; they should reject any representations or opinions of others if involved in any doubt."

THE HEREDITARY PRINCIPLE

"Lord Astor, in his article in the NINETEENTH CENTURY, directs attention to the weakness of the hereditary principle as the basis of any new Second Chamber for Great Britain," writes Mr. John H. Humphreys, J. P., Secretary of the Proportional Representation Society. He declares that 'impartiality, independence of prejudice, and all round representation should be an essential' in any reformed House of Lords.

He outlines a scheme under which the hereditary principle would in the end entirely disappear. He would constitute a small House of Lords (not more than 200 to 300), in which, at first, the hereditary principle as represented by the existing peers would be retained. But definite proportion of this House would retire at stated intervals and be replaced by new members.

SIR G. PADDISON'S WORK

Mr. C. F. Andrews in appreciation of the late Sir George Paddison says:

"In Sir George Paddison's unexpected death India and England have lost one who had the



SIR GEORGE PADDISON

supreme gift of friendship. Owing to this gift he was a perfect ambassador. It was a stroke of genius to send him to South Africa in the dark days of 1925 when everything between the two countries was at stake. My own settled conviction is that to Sir George Paddison was due in the first instance and in foremost place the credit for the remarkable psychological change in General Hertzog and Dr. Malan, last year, which made them ready to abandon the Asiatic Bill. Sir George's natural friendliness of heart was so honest and sincere that it at once appealed to these two great Dutch statesmen, who are themselves transparently honest men. The same thing happened with the Indian community in South Africa. Here again Sir George Paddison won his way by his supreme gift of making friends."

THE MARQUESS OF CAMBRIDGE

The late Marquess of Cambridge, brother of Queen Mary who was born at Kensington Palace fifty-nine years ago, was the eldest son of the late Duke of Teck and Princess Mary Adelaide, daughter of the first Duke of Cambridge. He made his career in the British Army, serving first with the 17th Lancers and later with the 1st Life Guards. He took an active part in the South African war and was present at the relief of Kimberley. During the great war he acted as Assistant Military Secretary at the War Office, and subsequently as Assistant Military Secretary at General Headquarters in France, with the rank of Brigadier-General.

He succeeded to the title of Duke of Teck in 1900 on the death of his father, but relinquished the title in 1917 when he was created Marquess of Cambridge.

LORD HAWKE

We hear, says the TIMES OF INDIA, that Lord Hawke may possibly be paying a visit this cold weather to his friend Sir Stanley Jackson, the Governor of Bengal, and Lady Jackson. "Sir Stanley and Lord Hawke have a common bond on the cricket field, and His Excellency's efforts and aspirations to induce Bengal to play more cricket will deeply interest the veteran Yorkshire ex-skipper. Lord Hawke has played a good deal of cricket in India, and he carries his 67 years so well that his inspiring "Buck up, boys!" may again be heard out here."

SIR C. M. HINDLEY

The Government of India have decided to extend Sir Clement Hindley's tenure of office as Chief Commissioner of Railways by two years from November 1.

AUTONOMY FOR INDIA.

Writing on Nationality in the DAILY HERALD, of the 17th October Mr. Ramsay MacDonald says:—"The moral justification that has always been made for the existence of our Empire amongst subject people has been that we are training them for Self-Government. The most typical of that is our Indian Empire. A thousand and one reasons are given for just a little more tutelage. The family is a complex one. The world upon which it is to issue is a dangerous one. Children are not as grateful as we should like them to be and so on. Now plain practical common sense should come to our rescue. The time will never come when we can say everything is alright. Nobody can imagine that any harm will come from independence. Let independence be granted. India can receive a little more benefit from our paternal rule as part of the Self-Governing Commonwealth that compose the backbone of our Empire. It will have much to gain. But it must be there on equal terms. It may still have a good deal to learn but its great master and instructor has now to be its own experience. The time has come for us to take that step."

DEAN INGE ON DEMOCRACY.

Dean Inge, like Shaw, always says the unexpected; and he takes care to put a little ginger in anything he says.

"One of the advantages of Democracy is that it is so unworkable that it covers a whole system of shams, some of which are tolerably serviceable," he writes in the Evening Standard. "Public opinion mediates between herd-morality and the much higher morality of conscientious individuals. It is also more intelligent than the impulses of the herd, being to some extent inspired by respectable thinkers. Representative Government still produces a capable set of men to act as legislators; and though they are no longer allowed to vote as they please, their masters for a time being are not so much the electors as

the Cabinet—a secret committee which is quite undemocratic, and in a sense unconstitutional; it has grown because it was needed. We have also the equivalent of a Second Chamber in the permanent Civil Service—a very able body of men who would make it difficult for a Labour Government to fulfil its wilder promises. It is these mitigations of Democracy which make its continued existence possible.



GAZI MUSTAPHA KEMAL PASHA,
who has been re-elected President of
the Turkish Republic,

TUNNEY'S AMBITION.

In that thrilling half hour at Soldiers' Field the other day, when he retained the world's heavy-weight championship against Jack Dempsey, Gene Tunney earned considerably more than ever he did in his life before, writes the Chicago correspondent of the DAILY MAIL.

It is estimated now that his fortune is more than £400,000 and he is 29 years of age. He told me that he has set his mind on gathering a fortune of a million pounds. When he has done this he will retire from pugilism, which he only uses as a means to an end. He thinks it will take him from three to five years to do this, but he is confident—and openly says so—that there is no fighter breathing who can beat him. He added:

Since then, I have had offers aggregating £200,000 to star in vaudeville and moving pictures. I shall accept some of these, but first I intend to take two months' holiday. Several famous playwrights also want to write plays for me, but curiously enough I have not received a single fight offer.

One of my most yearning ambitions is to take a university degree. I am considering entering Notre Dame (in the State of Indiana), but I would give anything to go to Oxford. Eddie Egan (an American Rhodes scholar, who is Tunney's social secretary) has told me so much about it, and it is even possible now that I may try to enter that university.

AMERICAN TENNIS CHAMPIONSHIP.

Miss Helen Wills has regained the American Tennis Championship this year by defeating Miss Betty Nuthall of England, 6-1, 6-4, in the finals of the Fortieth American Women's Tennis Championships at the West Side Stadium, Forest Hills, Long Island.

INDIAN WRESTLER

Sarajdin, the Lahore wrestler, has been invited to America by Zbyasco.

THE SCHNEIDER CUP RACE.

The British and Italian Press are full of praise for Webster's achievement in the Schneider Cup race, in which there have hitherto been three victories. Each have been secured by Britain and Italy, two by the United States, and one by France. Webster, who maintained a stupendous speed for over three quarters of an hour landed black with oil and immediately drank a glass of milk. He was apparently in a very fit condition. The British machines which were skyblue in colour and Italian machines which were blood red, tore past a packed beach at a velocity suggestive of shells, the engines' shriek dying immediately into a whine. Undoubtedly the British victory is to be connected with their superior tactics in negotiating acute-angled turns at each end of the course which they took widely and steeply, banking a few feet above the water, whereas the Italians spectacularly loomed aloft, spun round in cart wheel fashion and dived back along the course. The British method proved the quicker one.

POLO

Thirty-two ponies belonging to the Army in India Polo team, which were auctioned, fetched a total of £20,040. "Late Night," the black Indian gelding which was ridden in the International Polo matches by Capt. Pert and Capt. Denning, brought £1,620. Included in another string of 20 ponies, which realised the total of £18,780, were three ponies belonging to Capt. Frederick Guest, which had been ridden by Capt. Roark. These fetched the highest price of the day, one "Felix" realising £2,140. Mr. C. Whitney bought "Felix," Mr. Sanford bought six ponies, including "Diana" for which he paid £1,900. The Army in India mounts, "Sheik" and "Moonbeam," are being returned to the Maharaja of Kashmir.

THE RESURGENCE OF AUTOCRACY

Under the above caption Mr. William Bennett Munro contributes an article to the American Quarterly FOREIGN AFFAIRS giving an interesting analysis of the processes which have led to the establishment of dictatorship in many countries. He says:

The outstanding political phenomenon of to-day is the resurgence of autocracy on a world wide scale. Democracy of the militant type is everywhere in partial or total eclipse. Throughout Europe, and in America as well, one can observe a widespread reaction against liberalism in politics—an aversion to the extreme implications of popular sovereignty, and a conspicuous predilection for order, economy, normalcy. All of which means that the world is running true to form and demonstrating anew the essential unity of its politics. This must inevitably be so for under the conditions of to-day there can be no such thing as national isolation, whether splendid or other wise. Even as respects the form and the spirit of its own government, a nation can no longer live on itself. World currents, when they come, sweep right over the boundaries of nationalism, carrying the political opinions of mankind into one great and common stream.

Why has this happened in an age which has realised the advantages of democracy? Mr. Munro thinks that the reversion from democratic to autocratic ideas is perhaps due to the fact that the men who are best fitted to lead the country into a war are not fit for the difficult and onerous tasks of re-construction. Therefore it is we have come to the era of reactions and realists like Mussolini, Pilsudski, Primo de Rivera.

Accordingly there are three fundamental reasons for the resurgence of autocracy in Continental Europe during the past half-dozen years. It may be well to state these reasons in brief and then explain them one by one, more fully. In the first place, the parliamentary system of government, coupled with the disintegration of political parties, has facilitated the exercise of dictatorial powers under the cloak of constitutionalism. Without this easy channel for its emergence, autocracy would have had much rougher sledding. The second reason is to be found in human nature; in the inevitable aversion of mankind to stay keyed up to a high pitch of moral exaltation for any longer time than is absolutely essential. To the souls of men the spiritual inflation of war time is very exhausting, and it is no marvel that they should welcome a scheme of government which makes no further call upon the national emotions. Third, and perhaps most important of the three, is the stern necessity for post-war retrenchment in governmental expenditures, for heavier and more inclusive taxation, and for the rigorous stimulation of economic production.

But no government can push such measures through, in the drastic form which the aftermath of a great conflagration demands, and still remain a popular government.

No government which holds itself responsive to the whims and caprice of a disillusioned and resentful populace can jack up the public revenues, fund the debts, peg the standard of values, balance the budget, resist the pressure for war pensions of all kinds, and shake off the horde of pay-roll patriots who have established a short circuit between themselves and the public treasury during the war era. All such measures are highly unpopular and politicians of the traditional stripe cannot be induced to father them; yet the whole programme must somehow be carried through or disaster will ensue. And so, when democracy comes into head on collision with the stern necessities of governmental finance and economic rehabilitation, there is only one thing to do. The democrat goes out and the autocrat comes in. Neither a government nor a people will suffer itself to be starved in the name of political idealism.



Dr. ANNIE BESANT

who was welcomed in Madras with great demonstrations on her return from a long absence abroad.

Diary of the Month

- October 4. The Bombay High Court refuses bail to Mr. Spratt.
- October 5. Bombay Government appoints committee re. the Back Bay scheme.
- October 6. Several Legislators are court-martialled and executed in the Mexican civil war.
- October 7. Lord Birkenhead pays a tribute to Indian army's services in France.
- October 8. His Majesty receives Sir Henry Wheeler, member of the Council for India.
- October 9. His Majesty receives Sir Charles Innes and Sir Alexander Muddiman.
- October 10. Mr. Cosgrave is re-elected President of the Irish Free State.
- October 11. Bombay Hindu members walk out from the council in protest.
- October 12. Pandit Indra, son of the late Swami Shraddhananda, is arrested.
- October 13. William Le Quez, the novelist is dead.
- October 14. Poona Municipality presents address of welcome to the Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel.
- October 15. The Indian Railway Conference concludes at Simla.
- October 16. Sir C. V. Kumaraswami Sastri returns to Madras from Europe.
- October 17. Sir Austin Chamberlain, Foreign Secretary celebrates his 64th Birthday.
- October 18. Cinema Committee begins enquiry.
- October 19. An International conference meets at Geneva for Trade convention.
- October 20. The Mejlis (Persia) unanimously ratifies the Perso-Soviet security.
- October 21. The Agricultural Commission arrives at Bombay from Europe.
- October 22. Pandit Nehru reaches London.
- October 23. The Ahmedabad Municipality re-elects Mr. V. J. Patel as president.
- October 24. Hankow Government announces severance of relations with Nanking.
- October 25. The Marquess of Cambridge, brother of Queen Mary is dead.
- October 26. Anglo-Iraq negotiations in London.
- October 27. Sir George Paddison is dead.
- October 28. Unity Conference meets in Calcutta.
- October 29. The A-I-C-C meets in Calcutta.
- October 30. Dr. Besant returns to Madras.
- October 31. Lala Hansraj is elected President of the All-India Aryan Congress at Delhi.
- November 1. Mustapha Kemal Pasha is re-elected President of the Turkish Republic.
- November 2. U. P. Council passes a resolution in favour of separation of functions.
- November 3. Viceroy interviews leaders.
- November 4. Anti-British Boycott in Canton.
- November 5. Government of India announces a Trade mission to explore foreign markets.
- November 6. Viceroy rejects the appeal of Abdul Rashid.
- November 7. The All-India Engineering Conference meets in Karachi.
- November 8. Viceroy announces the personnel of the Statutory Commission.



MR. STANLEY BALDWIN
The Prime Minister referred to the Reforms Commission in his Guild-hall speech.

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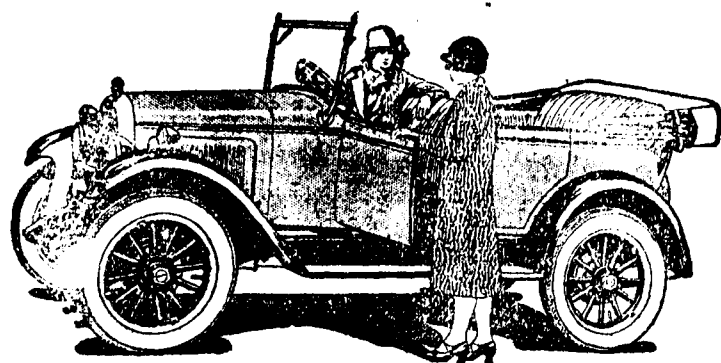
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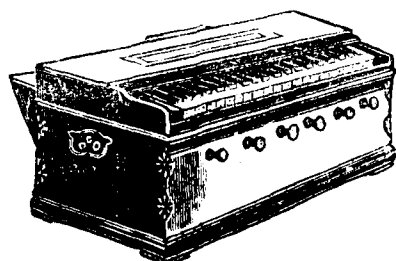
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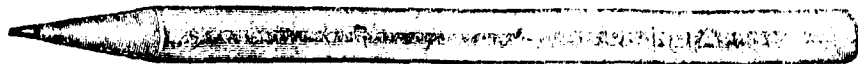
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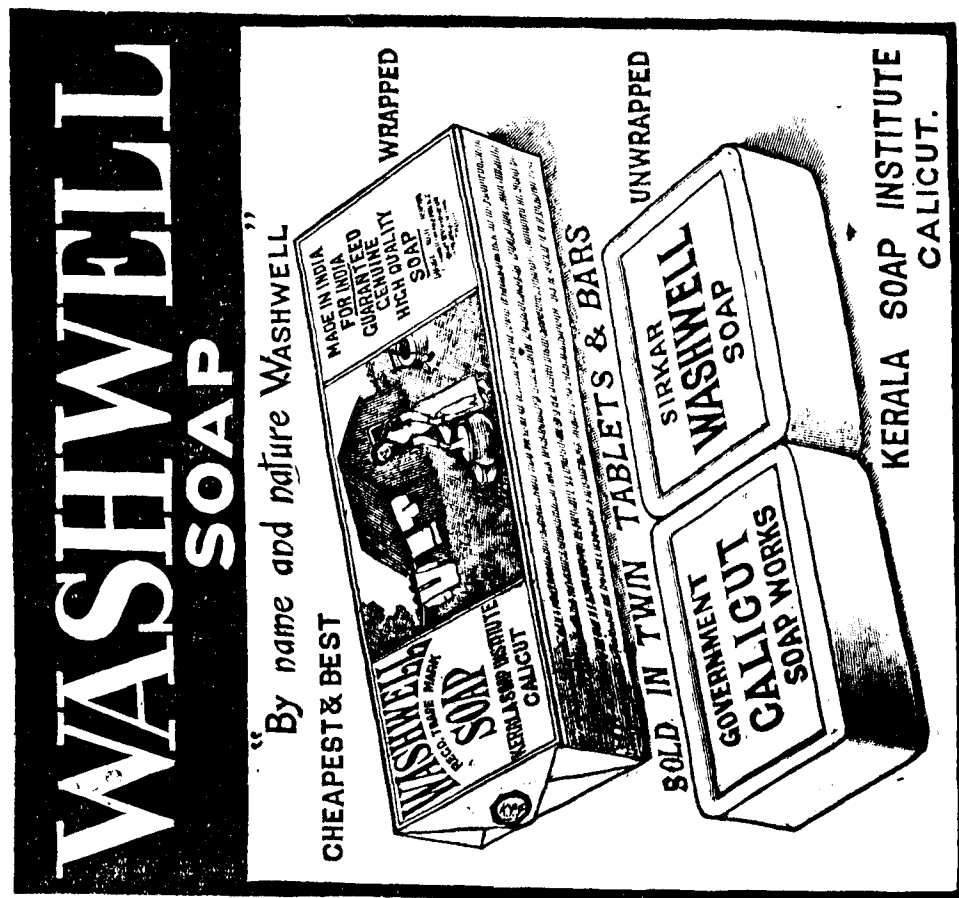
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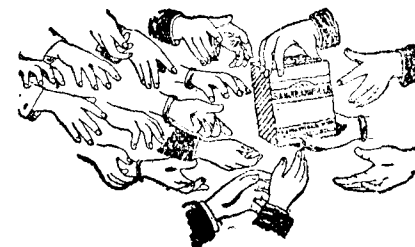
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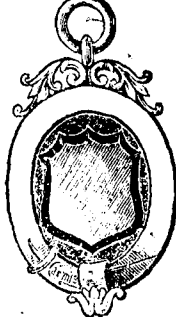
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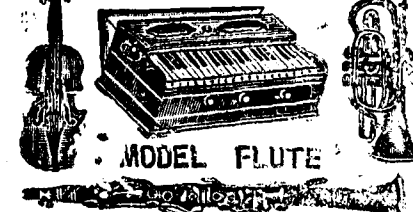
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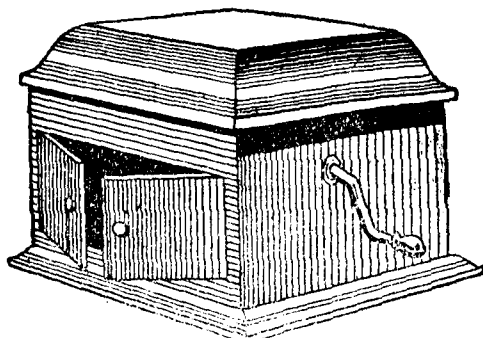
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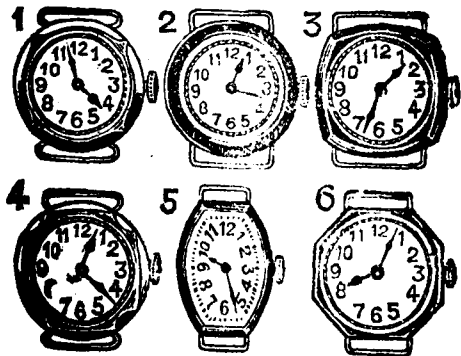
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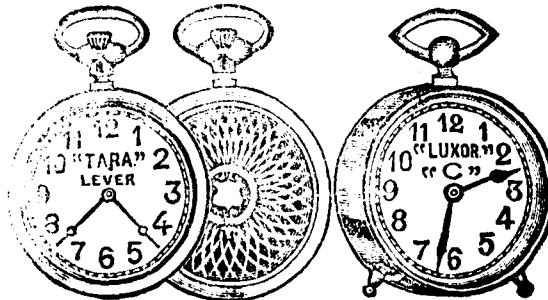
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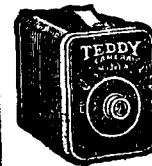
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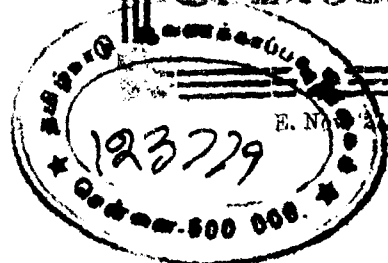
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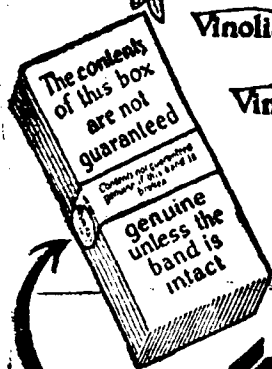


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