

# THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL

DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST  
EDITED BY MR. G. A. NATESAN

Vol. XXXI.

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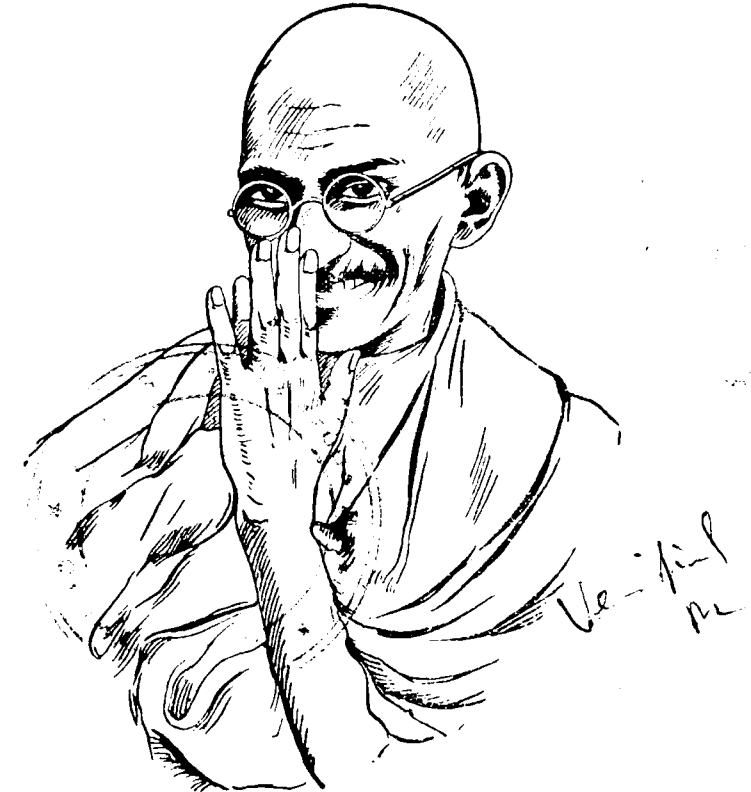
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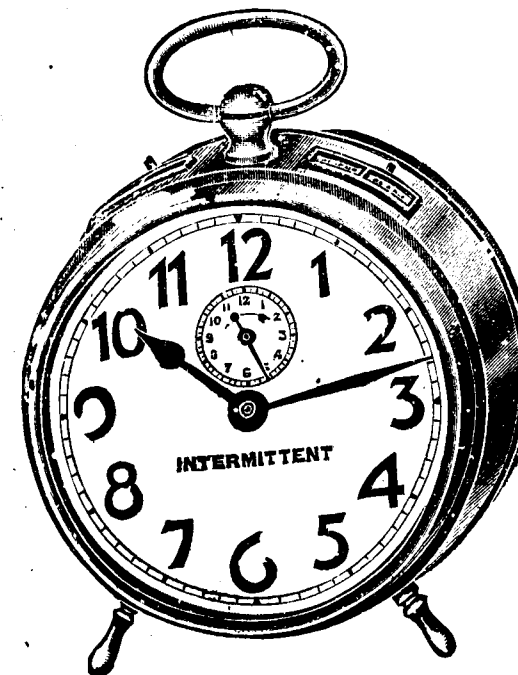
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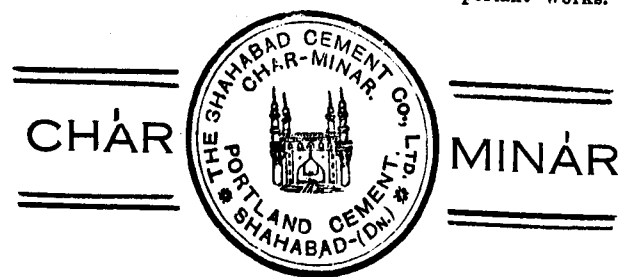
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|-------|------------|----|----|----|-----|-----|-----|-----------|----|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------|----|----|-----|-----|-----|----|-----------|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| SUN.  | ...        | 5  | 12 | 19 | 26  | ... | ... | 2         | 9  | 16 | 23  | ... | ... | 2   | 9         | 16 | 23 | 30  | ... | ... | 6  | 13        | 20 | 27  | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| MON.  | ...        | 6  | 13 | 20 | 27  | ... | ... | 3         | 10 | 17 | 24  | ... | ... | 3   | 10        | 17 | 24 | 31  | ... | ... | 7  | 14        | 21 | 28  | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| TUES. | ...        | 7  | 14 | 21 | 28  | ... | ... | 4         | 11 | 18 | 25  | ... | ... | 4   | 11        | 18 | 25 | ... | ... | 1   | 8  | 15        | 22 | 29  | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| WED.  | 1          | 8  | 15 | 22 | 29  | ... | ... | 5         | 12 | 19 | 26  | ... | ... | 5   | 12        | 19 | 26 | ... | ... | 2   | 9  | 16        | 23 | 30  | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| THU.  | 2          | 9  | 16 | 23 | 30  | ... | ... | 6         | 13 | 20 | 27  | ... | ... | 6   | 13        | 20 | 27 | ... | ... | 3   | 10 | 17        | 24 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
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| SAT.  | 4          | 11 | 18 | 25 | ... | ... | 1   | 8         | 15 | 22 | ... | ... | 1   | 8   | 15        | 22 | 29 | ... | ... | 5   | 12 | 19        | 26 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
|       | MAY.       |    |    |    |     |     |     | JUNE.     |    |    |     |     |     |     | JULY.     |    |    |     |     |     |    | AUGUST.   |    |     |     |     |     |     |
| SUN.  | ...        | 4  | 11 | 18 | 25  | ... | ... | 1         | 8  | 15 | 22  | 29  | ... | ... | 6         | 13 | 20 | 27  | ... | ... | 3  | 10        | 17 | 24  | 31  | ... | ... | ... |
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| SUN.  | ...        | 7  | 14 | 21 | 28  | ... | ... | 5         | 12 | 19 | 26  | ... | ... | 2   | 9         | 16 | 23 | 30  | ... | ... | 7  | 14        | 21 | 28  | ... | ... | ... | ... |
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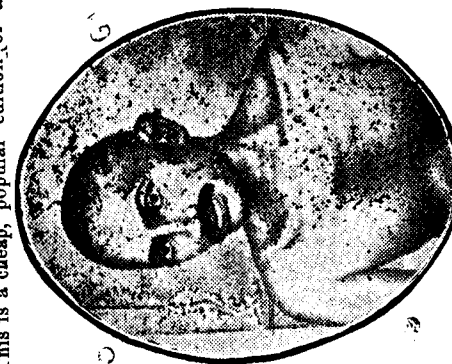
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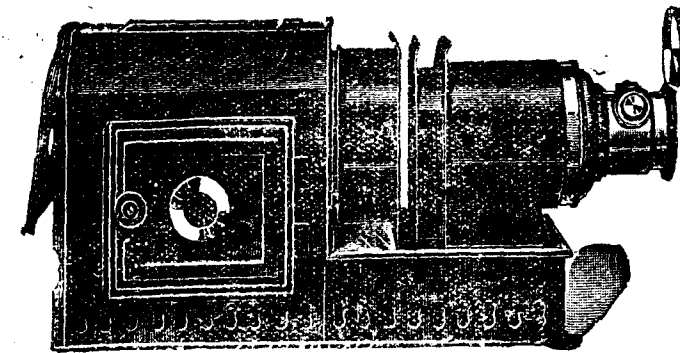
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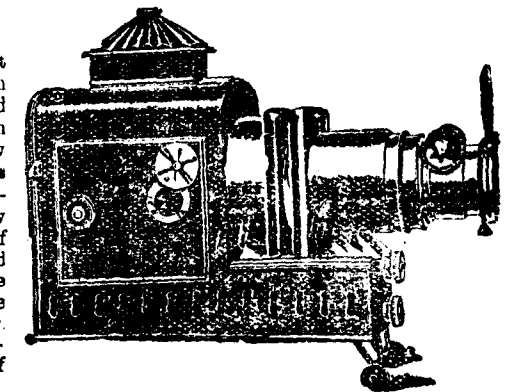
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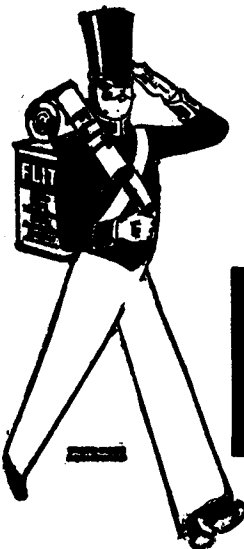


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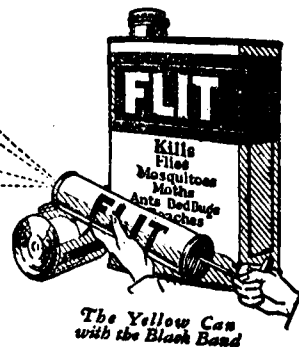
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# THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST.

EDITED BY MR. G. A. NATESAN.

VOL. XXXI.]

APRIL 1930

[No. 4.]

## PROTECTION FOR THE INDIAN COTTON INDUSTRY

BY THE HON. SIR JEHANGIR COYAJEE,

*Professor, Presidency college, Calcutta.*

THE scope of application of the economic argument for protection has been enlarged considerably since the days when Mill enunciated the case for protection to infant industries. In a book on "the Indian Fiscal Problem" which I wrote some years ago I pointed out that this is due to the necessity of meeting the menace from the constantly growing aggressive capacities of well-established industries. Such capacities are the result of potentialities inherent in mass production and skilfully contrived export policies. It is due to the development of such dynamic elements of strength that economists consider an extension of protection for a suitable period allowable even in the case of old industries which are temporarily atrophied or depressed wether owing to overwhelming or unfair foreign competition or to exceptional domestic circumstances. From this point of view there is abundant justification for the scheme of protection put forward by Sir George Schuster for the textile industry of India.

In fact in the case of our textile industry the depression is due to an accumulation of difficulties which are partly of domestic and partly of foreign origin. At home the industry was shaken to its foundations by

the labour troubles. There is also good reason to point to a certain amount of over-production of the sort of cloth in demand. Thus during the decade preceding the year 1927—28 the local production increased by over 700 million yards and the imports by 400 million yards. Thus the country has been asked to absorb 40 per cent. more of cloth and that in a period of depression too. While on this topic it might be noted that between the years 1923—24 and 1928—29 the up-country mills increased their production by no less than 1356 millions *i. e.* by 60 per cent.

As regards foreign competition it might be first emphasised that the imports from Lancashire have been stagnating for the last decade. The real menace has come mainly from Japan and as long ago as 1925—26 the Bombay mill-owners have been demanding protection against it. The word menace is not used here in any deprecatory sense however. For though to some extent the competition from Japan is unfair and due to inferior labour conditions this is only a temporary phase which is passing away while there are many other factors of a permanent character which make—and will always make—Japan the most formidable

competitor of India. In his recent report on the cotton industry of Japan an expert like Mr. Arno S. Pearse shows that it owes its success to factors like the group instinct, her efficient system of buying cotton and her magnificent industrial organisation. The labour in Japanese mills is docile, educated and can bear comparison with the operatives of any other country. It is such factors that account for her great powers of export in recent years.

|                       | 1929.                    | 1928.     | 1927.   |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------|---------|
|                       | (In thousands of yards.) |           |         |
| British India ...     | 580,614                  | 357,510   | 285,126 |
| Dutch East Indies ... | 198,665                  | 172,708   | 123,696 |
| China ...             | 679,461                  | 653,675   | 358,534 |
| Others ...            | 330,461                  | 234,910   | 209,476 |
| Total ...             | 1,789,695                | 1,418,703 | 976,832 |

It is obvious from the figures that this all-round growth of exports is due to the general factor of superior efficiency and not to a particular cause like the 1s. 6d. ratio.

Having analysed the causes of depression in our textile industry it needs only to emphasise the fact that the new ratio is in no way responsible for the troubles of the industry. Those who hold the view that the 1s. 6d. ratio has harmed the industry might be invited to explain why for four years after the inauguration of the new ratio the production and exports of price goods in India went on making new records. If the ratio was hindering our exports and helping foreign imports how is the fall of imports from the United Kingdom since the year 1924-25 to be accounted for? The figures of our textile imports in the Hardy Report are conclusive upon the point. That Report also emphasises the great increase in local output of textiles as soon as exchange settled in the neighbourhood of 1s. 6d. In fact between the

years 1923-24 and 1928-29 the output of up country mills increased by no less than 60 per cent. Again the increase in the imports from Japan is a much later phenomenon than the change in the ratio. Nor should it be forgotten that the increase of Japanese exports is not confined to India but is also witnessed by Dutch East Indies and China. In the face of these undisputed facts it is difficult to see any connection between the new ratio and the troubles of our textile industry.

So far we have examined the case for protection to the textile industry, and from the economist's point of view it is clear and convincing. For even those who emphasise the "sins" of our mill-owners cannot but admit that the industry is labouring under an unusual complex of difficulties both domestic and foreign—at home, the back of the industry was broken by that last straw—the labour troubles, while from abroad there has been a steady growth of over-whelming competition. That portion of the competition which is due to unfair competition has received due emphasis. But the danger is far greater from the steady and great development of the textile power of Japan. Thus there are cumulative grounds for extending protection to the textile industry—not only the temporary atrophy due to labour troubles but an overwhelming attack from abroad.

Coming now to the scheme of protection projected by Sir George Schuster we find that a great controversy has been raging on the subject. The important issues in that controversy are reducible to three and we shall discuss them seriatim.

The first issue is whether in accepting the proposed scheme we are adopting Imperial

Preference as a policy. Here we must be careful to avoid any confusion between the acceptance of Imperial Preference and the adoption of a policy of differential duties. While the main object and motive of the former policy is a regard for the interests of the United Kingdom, the employment of differential duties by any country has for its object its own advantage. From the first the case of our mill-owners has been that the domestic industry requires special protection against Japan. It would be the very negation of judicious or discriminating protection to levy the same duties upon the products of countries which enjoy unfair as well as overwhelming advantages and upon those of countries from which there is not even a remote possibility of economic menace. And yet it is proposed by some critics to grant over-protection to the domestic industry and to tax the local consumer unnecessarily only to gratify the political sentiment against anything which resembles or savours of Imperial Preference.

In the second place, it is easy to exaggerate the benefit that might accrue to Lancashire from the system of differential duties. Looking to the fact that we have been beating Lancashire for years and gained ground with import duties of 11 per cent. and less, we can be sure that it is not likely to turn tables on us with duties raised much higher. We know that with an 11 per cent. duty imports of Lancashire cloth have been stagnating, we also know that in the five years between 1923-24 and 1928-29 our up-country mills increased their production by no less than 60 per cent.; and we can safely infer from all this that by far the greater part of the gap left by the reduction

of Japanese imports will be filled by the increased production of India.

But it has been further contended that the scheme of differential duties amounts to the taxation of Indian masses in the interests of Lancashire. Those who argue on this line might be reminded that the larger the duty we place on English imports the smaller will their volume be; for it must be remembered that even with an 11 per cent. duty the textile imports have been stagnating. But further we must remember that a part of the heavier duty might be ultimately paid not so much by English exporters as by Indian consumers of English imports. We might well remember that the real incidence of import duties is a highly complicated problem.

Having considered the nature and character of the proposed scheme of protection we might proceed to a subject of far greater importance—the proper utilization of that protection. For we must not make the mistake of under-rating the menace to which our textile industry is exposed from the constantly increasing and progressive manufacturing power of Japan. The advantage of Japan is not all due to unfair competition though some of us in India would fain believe so—and even a 20 per cent. duty might fail to achieve equality between highly progressive and very conservative producers of textiles. It is fortunate that there is a fairly general consensus as regards the main lines upon which the task of rehabilitation of the textile industry is to be carried out. It is generally recognised that among the instrumentalities to be utilised for achieving such progress the chief place has to be given to rationalisation of the industry and the improvement of the system of management

both upon its financial and technical side. The problems of technical education also do not occupy an unimportant place in our programme. At the same time every effort has to be made to secure the co-operation, efficiency and contentment of our labour force. On all these matters there is much to be learned from experience, particularly from our present great rival Japan. *Fas est ab hostes docere.*

Coming to the proposals for rationalisation attention might be directed in the first place to the lines on which it is being carried on abroad. Lancashire is proving an apt pupil of rationalisation as a result of its efforts towards the reduction of costs of production. There we have the Lancashire Cotton Corporation which has been absorbing spinning mills and weaving sheds and which now supervises about 50 companies. There is also the corporation called the Combined Egyptian Mills, Ltd., which has also been making considerable progress. It is further to be emphasised that Lancashire can show both aspects of amalgamation—the vertical and the horizontal.

In India projects are at present being worked out for the introduction of rationalisation. At first sight it would appear as if the large groups of our mills which are under common management could afford the right starting points and sufficient bases for rationalisation. But in the opinion of experts a broader basis is required for successful rationalization and that the groups do not by themselves afford an adequately wide basis. The cardinal matter to be seen to is the state of demand in each particular line of textile manufacture and in

correspondence to this there will be a specialisation of mills in the respective line. Of course the task of rationalisation is particularly difficult in the case of the Indian textile industry. For apart from the inertia of individual millowners, there is the problem of financing the movement. Further, the Indian mill industry is spread over a vast area and in that area the distribution of comparative advantage is very uneven. Finally the attitude of labour towards the forces of rationalisation might be more favourable than it has been in the past.

But rationalisation is only a part of the process of organisation which is necessary for the rehabilitation of the industry. Besides rationalisation there are the problems of improving the managing organisation of individual mills—in particular that of the reform or replacement of the Managing Agency system. Even those who are friendly to the system are conscious of the defects inherent in it and the Textile Tariff Board has made numerous suggestions for remedying the defects in the system especially for securing technical equipment in such firms. It is to be hoped that these friendly suggestions will be acted upon without loss of time. The problem of substituting a better system in its entirety is a long period problem requiring much development of financial resource. But ultimately our organisation will be on the lines which has been so successful and general in more advanced countries and each mill or group of mills will be run by a board of live directors among which there will be a managing director who will deserve such responsibility by his equipment both on the technical and financial side. But it can also be foreseen that a price will have to be

paid for such an overhauling of the system and a certain amount of voluntary liquidation will be found necessary to get rid of old trammels as well as for amalgamation.

Next in importance to the problems of rationalisation and of the introduction of co-operative buying and selling is that of industrial education and research. Had the Tata Research Institute been located, as some far-sighted people had proposed, in the vicinity of Bombay it would have formed an invaluable part of the equipment of the local industry. What would Bombay give now to possess conveniently near it such a priceless institution we must make provision not only for the education of future managers and experts but that of the rank and file of employees. It has been well pointed out recently with the proper type of education we can induce the comparatively educated people of the middle class to enter the mills and to work up from the rank of labour. While this would on the one hand improve considerably the quality, intelligence and enterprise of labour the movement would on the other hand solve in an important measure the problem of middle class unemployment. In that case we should have a quality and mental attitude of labour comparable to the American type—labour not

hostile to capital for each unit of labour would look forward to becoming a capital.

The peculiar problem of labour in the Indian textile industry is at least as baffling as those of organisation and education. Rarely is there anywhere such an accumulation of complexities and difficulties. On the one hand our textile labour is in the grip of a tyrannical and corrupt class of jobbers, while on the other hand it is incessantly worked upon by the propaganda of Communism. No time or opportunity was left by this movement for the birth and infancy of a genuine Trade Unionism. The result is natural that labour does not know its own mind and we need not be surprised that ultimately it opposed bitterly that proposal for standardisation of labour which had been put forward by itself. An immense field of labour lies before us here in solving the problems of standardisation of wages, of unemployment insurance, of the development of a sound and sane trade unionism and the evolution of the machinery for industrial peace. Here is an unequalled field of co-operative effort for the industrialist, the economist and the social worker. It is to be hoped that the Labour Commission now sitting will give us all the required lead and guidance in the matter.

## Restriction of Indian Immigration Into Ceylon\*

By ST. NIHAL SINGH.

I  
THE Agenda of the Ceylon Legislative Council contains a motion designed to restrict Indian immigration into the Island. It has been cleverly framed. Its author (the Hon'ble Mr. C. E. Victor Corea, Member for Colombo Town, North) seeks to achieve that object without directly mentioning India.

The motion reads:

This Council is of opinion that in the interests of the indigenous population, the Government (of Ceylon) should take immediate steps to restrict immigration into this country.

\* This article must not be reprinted nor translated outside India without first securing the written consent of the Author.

Indians, it must be admitted, are not the only people who enter Ceylon. Britons come for purposes of ruling the Island, exploiting its agricultural, and industrial resources and utilising financial and commercial opportunities. Persons from the continent of Europe, too, arrive and engage in trade. So do Americans, Japanese and Chinese.

The numbers of these Europeans, Americans and non-Indian Asiatics is, however, small. If they were counted the total would probably range round about ten thousand persons.

The Indian population in Ceylon is, on the other hand, quite large. The exact figure is

not available but according to the estimate recently made by an Irish member of the Ceylon Civil Service who, at the time, was entrusted by the Ceylon Government with the superintendence of "Indian Immigrant Labour" (the Hon'able Mr. T. Reid), it somewhat exceeded 900,000 persons in 1928.

Statistics issued under the authority of the Ceylon Government show that during recent years the Indian population in Ceylon has increased under the stimulus applied to recruitment in southern India through a system supported with funds collected almost entirely from British and Ceylonese planters and largely worked through their own agency. Making due allowance for departures, something like 65,000 persons have, through this means, been annually added, on an average to the Ceylon-Indian population during the quinquennium beginning with 1924 and ending with 1928.

India is, it will thus be seen, the only country from which there is any large volume of migration. The motion on the Ceylon Legislative Council Agenda Paper, to which I am referring, can, therefore, be directed against Indians—and no one else.

## II

It must be said to the credit of the author of this motion that though he refrains from making any direct reference to Indians in the terms in which he has couched it, he has never sought to hide the fact that his efforts were intended to be directed towards the reduction of the Indian population in Ceylon, or at any rate, towards arresting the further growth of that population. In talk in private as well as public places he has expressed his determination to restrict Indian immigration.

Mr. Corea has so far refused, however, to indicate the nature of the "immediate steps" he is anxious for the Ceylon Government to take to further the object he has in view. He has not yet even told the public how drastic an action he wishes the authorities to take—whether all Indians are to be excluded or only a limited number of them are, in future to be

admitted; and if the latter, just how many are to be permitted to land—by hundreds or thousands. Nor has he indicated the class of Indians that he would have barred out—whether merchants and petty shop-keepers or manual workers on plantations and in towns, or all. He has yet to say what class or classes of Indians he is trying to exclude.

The author of the anti-Indian motion in the Ceylon Legislative Council cannot say that the opportunity to reveal his mind has been denied him. Many motions put on the Agenda Paper subsequent to his have come up before the Council and been disposed of. I have little doubt that on the plea of urgency he could easily have claimed the attention of the House: but so far, he has preferred to stay his hand.

Can it be that the Member for Colombo North is anxious to let the matter drop? A suggestion to that effect has been made to me by more than one of his colleagues in the Legislative Council. One of his co-workers, indeed, spoke of this motion as a "political stunt" of which its author is sick.

Whether there is anything in that remark or not, I cannot say. I know, however, that the motion has been appearing on the Agenda Paper from day to day, week to week, month to month. If Mr. Corea did not mean to proceed with it, he would have withdrawn it long ago. He is probably waiting for the psychological moment to bring the subject forward.

This Sinhalese politician is, in any case, not the only one in Ceylon who is desirous of restricting Indian immigration into the Island. There are several leaders—mostly Buddhist by religious persuasion—who hold the same view. Some of them have a considerable following. There is, in consequence, talk of Indian exclusion at meetings held in Colombo and other towns—more particularly towns in the southern part of the Island, where hatred of the Tamils is intense.

## III

The anti-Indian agitators in Ceylon are, as a rule, uninformed. They talk as if large

numbers of Indians were coming into the Island of their own initiative and at their own expense, settling down in urban areas and engaging in competition with the sons of the soil—competition which the Sinhalese find ruinous.—that there was no movement India-wards—and that an intolerable position was being reached.

Statements of the same tenor appear from time to time in the newspapers. Great prominence is, I am told, being given to them in the Sinhalese press.

The impression is, in consequence, spreading that the number of Indians who do not work on plantations has, during recent years, been growing "by leaps and bounds," and if drastic measures are not taken forthwith the Sinhalese will be driven out of their jobs in the (Colombo) harbour, in Government and other factories and workshops, and even domestic service. Some Sinhalese workers are becoming excited and grave consequences may follow.

This impression is not warranted by the facts. The Indians in Ceylon other than those engaged in work on plantations constitute a small fraction of the Ceylonese population and the number is not increasing at a rate that need alarm any honest Ceylonese.

According to figures recently published under the authority of the Ceylon Government, the number of Indians engaged in one or another branch of Government and Municipal services, trade, and industry, and labour—both skilled and unskilled—together with all their dependents, cannot be more than two lakhs of persons. I arrive at this result by deducting the number of Indian plantation workers and their dependents (739,316 persons)—from the total Indian population in Ceylon (say 935,000) persons.\* The Sinhalese, Ceylon Tamils, Ceylon Muslims and Burghers—the so-called "permanent population"—are estimated to number forty-

\* These figures, as all the others I have used in this article, have been taken from the *Report of the Controller of Indian Immigrant Labour for 1928*, published under the authority of the Ceylon Government.

two lakhs or more. Less than two lakhs of "free" Indians—that is to say, Indians who are not tied down to plantations—cannot be said to constitute a menace.

It is quite possible to raise a scare by pointing to the number of Indians who enter Ceylon from year to year. Such a procedure is, however, neither reasonable nor fair.

Allowance must be made, first of all, for Indians who do not come to Ceylon of their own accord, but are BROUGHT to the Island—Indians taken to plantations and kept there in conditions that the Sinhalese publicists themselves describe as savouring of semi-slavery.

It is necessary also to make the allowance for the number of "free" Indians who leave Ceylon year by year.

The outflow to India has, in some years, been nearly as great as the inflow into the Island. There have been years, in fact, when the number of "free" Indians leaving Ceylon exceeded that of the "free" Indian immigrants entering the country.

I have carefully gone through the figures relating to recent years, published under the authority of the Ceylon Government, and find that they entirely support this conclusion.

During the quinquennium ending with 1928, for instance, 568,428 Indians arrived in Ceylon without the assistance of any agency—planting or otherwise.

During the same period 555,142 non-plantation Indian workers and their dependents left Ceylon.

There was, in other words, an excess of 12,286 Indians who entered Ceylon of their own initiative over the number of such Indians who departed from the Island. The annual net gain, on an average, was thus only 2,457 persons.

That rate of increase can certainly not be described as alarming. It is small compared with the total number of "free" Indians in Ceylon (say two lakhs in all). It certainly is small compared with the rate at which the Ceylonese population is increasing.

The anti-Indian agitators have not studied the facts and figures relating to the arrival in and departure from the Island of "free" Indians, or they are purposely magnifying the rate at which such Indian population is growing, to rouse racial rancour. No other explanation is possible.

Can it be that the agitators are inimical towards the planters (most of them British) and are trying to hit them by disorganizing and eventually cutting down their labour supply?

I will let the facts speak for themselves :

(1) Sometime ago the Ceylon Legislative Council took action that has made it impossible for the Government to sell land to planters. The feeling ran so high in the Chamber that though several of the M.L.C.'s are capitalists more or less directly concerned in planting, nothing could be done to arrest such action. The executive has considered it wise to comply with the legislative will in this matter, and, in consequence, extension of planting areas had ceased long before prices of rubber and tea fell. The aggrieved planters drew the attention of the Donoughmore Commission to this fact.

(2) Be this as it may, the expansion of rubber and tea plantation during recent years would not have been possible but for the additional labour imported by the planters. The supply of workers in Ceylon was utterly inadequate. Figures gathered by the Controller of Indian Immigrant Labour and published under the authority of the Ceylon Government show that, making allowance for Indian plantation workers who, together with their dependents return to India, the Indian plantation population in Ceylon considerably increased during the quinquennium that ended with 1928. Here are the figures:

During 1924-28 (both years inclusive) the number of Indians whom the planters brought to Ceylon—or "assisted" Indians, as—the British and Ceylon capitalists like to call them—was 674,430 persons.

Only 351,661 Indians were estimated to have left the plantations during the same quinquennium.

There was, in other words, a net gain of 351,661 persons; or an increase of 70,322 persons, on an average, a year.

If the Sinhalese are seeking to prevent further areas in the Island from passing into the hands of capitalists—particularly Britons—the exclusion of Indians would certainly accomplish that object. In that case it would only be necessary for them to induce the Ceylon Government to disband the costly department of Indian Immigrant Labour, shut up its camps at Mandapam, Tuticorin and Tataprai, order the so-called Labour Commission to close all its depots and offices and make it a penal offence for a *kangany* or other agent to go to India on a recruiting expedition and punish heavily those who, in contravention of such regulations, are caught in the act of bringing Indian labour into the country. If anything like such action betaken, the number of Indian arrivals would automatically fall.

The planters are, however, a power in the land to be reckoned with. Will they permit the Government to take any action that would have the effect of stopping—or even curtailing—the supply of cheap and docile labour, which they secure through the expenditure of great effort and some thirty-two lakhs of rupees a year?

Unless that avenue of artificially stimulated immigration from India is to be sealed up, the demand for Indian exclusion is a meaningless cry inspired by sheer malevolence upon the part of some Sinhalese.

### FREEDOM.

Freedom, as I understand it, is fellowship.  
Fellowship with Humanity.  
England is not free, Nor Soviet Russia.  
For imperialism thrives on exploitation of the weak.

And Bolshevism with all its feeling for the poor is wanting in rich reverence for man as man. In Trotsky's book on "Lenin" is recorded a saying of Lenin:—"Do you think we can be victors without the most severe revolutionary terror?"

A new era will not open until governments renounce repression and all worship of Lenin's God—"the necessity of Terror."

A new era will begin when nations resist war and all counsels of hate and strife.

T. L. VASWANI,

# The Problem of Indian Minorities

BY

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MINORITIES exist not merely in India but in most of the States of Europe. The consideration and solution of their problems in all their possible bearings and conceivable complications bulked largely in the schemes of post-War reconstruction and settlement adopted by the common consent of the leading Powers of the world by the League of Nations. What are known as the Minorities Guarantee Treaties form important and integral parts of the many Peace Treaties concluded between the Powers concerned through the instrumentality of the League of Nations to whom belongs the authority to enforce those Treaties. So much business has naturally arisen in connexion with the duties and obligations the League has undertaken in this regard that it has had to establish a separate section in its Secretariat called the Minorities Section to cope with that business. The main part of this business is the receipt of complaints connected with the provisions of Minorities Treaties for which a regular procedure has been set up within the administrative machinery and organisation of the League.

It will thus appear that all problems connected with Minorities in all their variety and complexity have been finally solved, settled, and closed for a large part of the world, for practically the entire civilised world of those Powers or States (numbering 54 up to 1st July, 1928) that have registered themselves as members of the League of Nations. India is also one of these, nay, she is an original member of this League who has herself taken her full share in the deliberations and conversations of the Peace Conference at Paris which led ultimately to the formulation of

the Minorities Treaties. But not only is the problem of Minorities solved for the rest of the world. The solution now forms the very basis upon which rest the new states and constitutions of Eastern or reconstructed Europe.

The following list shows the names of the States that have accepted the Minorities Guarantee Treaties and the dates on which they had signed the Treaties :

- (1) Albania [2nd October, 1921.]
- (2) Austria [16th July, 1920.]
- (3) Bulgaria [9th August, 1920.]
- (4) Esthonia [17th September, 1923.]
- (5) Finland [27th June, 1921.]
- (6) Greece [10th August, 1920; 9th and 30th August, 1924.]
- (7) Hungary [6th July, 1921.]
- (8) Latvia [7th July, 1923.]
- (9) Lithuania [12th May, 1922.]
- (10) Memel [8th May, 1924.]
- (11) Poland [10th January, 1920.]
- (12) Roumania [16th July, 1920; 4th September, 1920; 26th July, 1921.]
- (13) Serb-Croat-Slovene kingdom [10th September, 1919; 16th July, 1920; 26th July, 1921.]
- (14) Upper Silesia [3rd June, 1922.]
- (15) Czecho-Slovakia [16th July, 1920.]
- (16) Turkey [29th July, 1923.]
- (17) Germany [July 3, 1922.]

All these treaties binding so many States and peoples in the new order established in Europe embody a common treatment, a universal and standardised solution of all possible problems presented by Minorities, produced by collective wisdom and statesmanship of the world as represented in the League of Nations. It will also be observed that they use the same standardised wording as

the expression of a common understanding for the provisions pertaining to Minorities.

If we analyse these provisions, we shall find that they answer all the points and problems presented by Minorities in India, and that in the precise, logical and legal language of jurists who are considered as experts and specialists by the League of Nations. Some of the questions that are settled and solved in these Minority Treaties are indicated below.

I. *What is a Minority?* The first step taken in these Treaties is to define the Minority that is legally eligible for special treatment and protection outside the common administration of the state. It is a grave and serious position for any group of citizens of a modern state to claim, and to be permitted, to organise itself as a separate entity on the basis of special rights and privileges. Therefore, it was felt that the term *Minority* should be applied under certain understood conditions. These are: (1) That a Minority must differ from the majority of the citizens of a state in such fundamental matters as (a) *Language* (b) *Religion* and (c) *Race* [Article 93 of Polish Treaty of 28th June, 1919];

(2) That a Minority must come up to a certain limit as to size. All the Treaties require the Minority to constitute "a considerable proportion of the population." A mere *microscopic* Minority does not come within their purview. Indeed, that the Minority must be possessed of an adequate strength of numbers will be evident from the assumption that it must be numerous enough to keep alive and promote a separate language of its own. Some of the Treaties also define what is meant by the expression "considerable proportion of the population." The proportion is much larger for local areas, and is lower for the state as a whole. For the state as a whole, numerical limit for a Minority is fixed at 25 per cent. in the Polish Republic, at 23 per cent. to accommodate the German Minority in Czecho-Slovakia, and at

20 per cent. in Hungary. The limit of 20 per cent. is, however, recognised as the irreducible minimum in these international stipulations [see p. 120 of Mair's *Protection of Minorities*, London, 1928]. As regards local areas, the numerical standard laid down is much higher. The theory seems to be that a Minority is not at liberty to distribute itself through a province or district in any way it likes. If it is desirous of special treatment, it should appear in longer numbers, it should congregate and concentrate, in certain areas, to render such treatment administratively and economically feasible. It must so distribute itself through the different parts of a province that it registers everywhere a certain degree of density and does not dwindle anywhere into thinness that is not recognisable. The requirement in this regard as embodied in one of the constitutional stipulations (the Hungarian Decree of 1919) is that Minorities must "live in sufficiently considerable compact masses in the territory of the state." The Estonian as well as the Hungarian constitution definitely lays down that a Minority should convert itself into a majority in the areas in which it claims special treatment. The significance of this provision will be understood from the fact that Estonia as a whole has a minority forming only 12 per cent. of her total population, and this small Minority is itself a heterogeneous and composite composition comprising 1.7 per cent. Germans and the balance Russians and others.

The League was not content with laying down these numerical limits merely theoretically. Cases are on record to show that it strictly enforces these limits. In one district in Poland, the Government "forced the children of German-speaking parents to attend Polish Schools" on the ground that the Germans concerned failed to form "a considerable proportion of the population," as required by the Treaty. Similarly, the Lithuanian Government took advantage of decrease of numbers shown in the

last Census to deprive the Polish Minority of their rights. The Austrian Government took the same action against the Czech Minority whose complaint to the League of Nations failed, because "they considered that the population of Czechs was not in any part of Austria sufficiently large to enable them to claim special privileges [pp. 93, 102, and 103 of Mair's book already cited].

As a result of these international decisions, the Indian position in respect of Minorities is as follows:

(a) For India as a whole, for purposes of her central or federal Government, the Moslems forming about 24% of the total population constitute a legally eligible Minority.

(b) In the provinces of India taken separately, the Moslems are either in a majority, or in a minority too small for recognition, as in the U.P., Bihar, Madras, etc.

(c) The Minority problem becomes a Hindu problem in the Provinces like Punjab and Bengal where the Hindus form more than 45% of the total population, a much higher proportion than the prescribed international minimum.

Thus the definition of a Minority as fixed by the League of Nations is (i) that it must differ from the rest of the citizens of the state in Race, Religion and Language and (ii) that it must be in considerable numerical strength in the country, at least 20% of the population, and in larger numbers in local areas.

When these two conditions for eligibility are fulfilled by a Minority, the league defines the kind and degree of protection to which it is entitled. The protection in all the Treaties is invariably threefold: *Religious, Racial and Linguistic*. The protection is strictly confined to these three aspects. No recognition is given by the League to any other kind of Minority, political (such as Liberals or Communists), social (like Brahmins, non-Brahmins or depressed classes), or economic (peasants or industrial labourers).

The theory of Minority protection behind these provisions of the Treaties is that the *protection* is not permissible for any artificial or accidental aspects or features which a Minority may assume or acquire in its career. It is meant only for its native, inherent, and fundamental features, its cultural characteristics. These must be protected, so that the minority may enrich the culture of mankind by developing its own distinctive culture. But the State cannot encourage superficial differences or artificial and interested groupings not rooted in history or tradition.

We shall now present the provisions of the Treaties dealing with Racial, Religious and Linguistic Protection.

#### I. RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS PROTECTION

(1) Treaty of Lausanne signed on 29th July 1923 between Turkey on one side and British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, Greece, Roumania and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State on the other side:

Art. 38—"All inhabitants of Turkey shall be entitled to free-exercise, whether in public or private, of any creed, religion, or belief, the observance of which shall not be incompatible with public order and good morals.

Art. 40—"Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as other Turkish nationals.

In particular, they shall have an equal right to establish, manage, and control at their own expense any charitable, religious, and social institutions, any schools and other establishments for instruction and education, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their own religion therein."

Art. 42—"The Turkish Government undertakes to take, as regards non-Moslem Minorities, in so far as concerns their family law or personal status, measures permitting the settlement of these questions in accordance with the customs of those Minorities.

These measures will be elaborated by special commissions composed of representatives of the Turkish Government, and of representatives of each of the Minorities concerned in equal number. In case of divergence, the Turkish Government and the Council of the League of Nations will appoint in agreement an umpire chosen from amongst European lawyers."

#### (2) ESTHONIAN CONSTITUTION

"Racial Minorities in the country have the right to establish autonomous institutions for the preservation and development of their national culture and to maintain special organisations for their welfare, so far as is not incompatible with the interests of the state."

(3) GERMAN-POLISH CONVENTION OF MAY 15, 1922

Art. 78: "The fact that associations devote themselves to the interests of Minorities as regards their language, culture, religion, ethnical character or social relations cannot constitute a reason for prohibiting these associations, hindering their activities or preventing them from acquiring legal status."

Art. 81: "Nationals belonging to Minorities shall have the right to establish, manage and control, at their own expense, charitable, religious, cultural and social institutions."

(4) TREATY WITH SERB-CROAT-SLOVENE STATE OF 10TH SEPTEMBER, 1929

Art. 10: "The Serb-Croat-Slovene State agrees to grant to the Mussulmans in the matter of family law and personal status provisions suitable for regulating these matters in accordance with Mussulman usage."

II. *Linguistic Protection.* On this subject, the articles of the German-Polish Convention of May 15, 1922 give definite details and regulations as indicated below:

Art. 105: "The needs of the Minorities as regards public elementary education shall be supplied by means of the following educational institutions:

(a) Elementary schools employing the Minority Language as the language of instructions—i.e., *Minority Schools*;

(b) Elementary classes employing the Minority Language as the language of instruction, established in the elementary schools employing the official language—i.e., *Minority classes*;

(c) Minority courses, including:

(1) Teaching of the Minority language (*Minority Language Courses*);

(2) Religious teaching in the Minority language (*Minority Religious Courses*)."

Art. 106: § 1—"A Minority School shall be established on the application of a national supported by the persons legally responsible for the education of at least 40 children of a linguistic minority, provided these children are nationals of the state and that they belong to the same school district, that they are of the age at which education is compulsory, and that their parents intend to send them to the said school."

If at least 40 of these children belong to the same denomination or religion, a Minority School of the denominational or religious character desired shall be established on application."

Should the establishment of a Minority School be inexpedient for special reasons, Minority classes should be formed."

Art. 107—"It requires at least 18 and 12 pupils for Minority Language Classes and Religious Courses respectively in the public elementary schools."

Art. 108—"Minority educational institutions may not be closed unless the number of their pupils for three consecutive school years is less than the number required for their establishment."

Nevertheless the school may be closed at the end of one school-year if throughout that year the number of pupils has been lower than half the number required."

Arts. 117 and 111: These lay down regulations on similar lines for "Secondary and Higher Schools."

As many as 300 pupils are required to claim separate *Minority Schools* for secondary and higher education, 30 pupils and 20 pupils respectively for the lower and higher classes for Minorities in the public schools, 25 pupils for separate *Minority Language* and 18 for Religious courses in the public schools.

Art. 122—"Minority educational institutions (secondary and higher) may be closed if for three consecutive school years the number of their pupils is lower by at least 20% than the number required for their establishment."

If during one year the number of pupils is less than half the number required for its establishment, the educational institution may be closed at the end of the school year."

THE LAUSANNE TREATY WITH TURKEY OF JULY 24, 1923.

Art. 41—"As regards public instruction, the Turkish Government will grant in those towns and districts, where a considerable proportion of non-Moslem nationals are resident, adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Turkish nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision will not prevent the Turkish Government from making the teaching of the Turkish language obligatory in the said schools."

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem Minorities, these Minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, Municipal or other budgets for educational, religious or charitable purposes."

Art. 91 of *German-Polish Convention of May 15, 1922*—

"Religious confessions, parishes and Jewish communities belonging to a religious minority shall be entitled to an equitable share of the sums provided for religious or spiritual purposes in the State, Municipal or other budgets, taking into account the requirements of the nationals belonging to the religious minorities."

Art. 109: "The maintenance of Minority educational institutions shall be provided for according to the same principles as the maintenance of other State elementary schools."

Art. 110: "The Minority Schools shall receive a share, proportionate to the number of their pupils, of the funds allowed from the budgets of the school districts for the ordinary maintenance of elementary schools, apart from general administration expenses and grants-in-aid."

Art. 129: "If a private (secondary or higher) Minority school replaces a State secondary or higher school existing on the date of the transfer of sovereignty, it shall be entitled to a grant from public funds:

(a) Provided that the income of the school does not cover its necessary expenses. Income derived from school fees shall be estimated on the basis of at least the school fee charged in State schools of the same kind."

(b) And provided that the number of pupils who are nationals of the State amounts to either a total of 159, or an average of 30 per class in the four lower or 20 in the other classes."

Art. 130—"Grants may only be made by communes or groups of communes if the commune or group of communes in whose area the private school is situated makes grants to State or private schools of the same grade, or if its expenditure on its schools of the same grade is not covered by the income of these schools."

One of the bases for calculating these grants shall be the average amount of the grants or expenses disbursed per pupil."

If the State, commune or group of communes declares its willingness and is actually prepared to admit a certain number of the pupils of the private school to a state Minority School or Minority classes in the same locality, the amount of the grant to be made to the private school shall be reduced by a sum proportionate to the number of pupils."

It will thus be abundantly clear from these provisions that the entire system of *Minority Protection rests on a numerical basis*. A Minority must first be of the prescribed size to call itself so. The provisions for its protection, racial, religious or linguistic, cannot apply or operate unless the Minority can satisfy the different numerical tests prescribed for different purposes. Even the question of a separate primary school for a Minority in a village is a question of numbers of pupils forthcoming to form such a school. Where the numerical conditions are fulfilled, Minority institutions, educational, cultural, and religious, are entitled to state aid."

The Treaties also make it clear that they do not contemplate any other kind of protection for a Minority than racial, religious, or linguistic. In all other matters and interests, political, administrative, social or economic, the Treaties

only assure to Minorities equality of treatment, and grant them what may be called negative rights and privileges by way of removal of all disabilities grounded on racial, religious or linguistic differences. This will be evident from the following articles:

Art. 39: "Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Turkish national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as for instance, admission to public employments, functions and honours, or the exercise of professions and industries." [Treaty of Lausanne with Turkey of July 24, 1923].

"Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities will enjoy the same civil and political rights as Moslems."

"All the inhabitants of Turkey without distinction of religion shall be equal before the law."

"No restrictions shall be imposed on the free use by any Turkish national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, religion, in the press, or in publications of any kind or at public meetings."

Art. 38—"The Turkish Government undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Turkey without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion."

Art. 77 (of German-Polish Convention of 1922):

"All Nationals shall be treated on a footing of equality as regards admission to public employments, functions and honours, including military ranks, and to public establishments, and as regards the granting of degrees, distinctions, etc."

Art. 75 (*Ibid*)—"Legislative and administrative provisions may not establish any differential treatment of nationals belonging to a minority. Similarly, they may not be interpreted or applied in a discriminatory manner to the detriment of such persons."

Art. 78 (*Ibid*)—"Nationals belonging to minorities shall enjoy the same rights as other nationals as regards the right of association or meeting and the creation of foundations."

The principle underlying these protective provisions for Minorities is that they must be protected against any possible injustice, disability, or inequality of treatment prompted by any racial discrimination, and not that they should be invested with any positive rights or special privileges which might only emphasise and perpetuate their differences and aloofness from their fellow-citizens. The ideal aimed at is the gradual absorption of the Minority in the common citizenship of the state and not the progressive consolidation of the

Minority as a permanently alien group within the State.

This point has been made clear in many authoritative statements at the League of Nations from which I make the following extracts :

(1) *Sir Austen Chamberlain* (speaking at the League Council on 9th December 1925) :

"It was certainly not the intention of those who had devised this system of Minorities Protection to establish in the midst of a nation a community which would remain permanently estranged from national life. The object of the Minority Treaties was to secure for the Minorities that measure of protection and justice which would gradually prepare them to be merged in the national community to which they belonged."

(2) *M. de Mello-Franco* (*Rapporteur* to League Council meeting of 9th December, 1925) :

"It seems to me obvious that those who conceived this system of protection (of Minorities) did not dream of creating within certain States a group of inhabitants who would regard themselves as permanently foreign to the general organisation of the country."

(3) *M. Blociszewski* (in his Note of March 1922) :

"We must avoid creating a State within a State. We must prevent the Minority from transforming itself into a privileged caste and taking definite form as a foreign group instead of being fused in the society in which it lives. If we take the exaggerated conception of the autonomy of Minorities to the last extreme, these Minorities will become a disruptive element in the State and a source of national disorganisation."

(1) *M. Dendrakis*, Greek representative (speaking at the League Assembly meeting of September 16, 1925) :

A perusal of the Treaties showed that the Minorities concerned were racial, linguistic and religious minorities. The authors of the Treaties had not intended to create groups of citizens who would collectively enjoy special rights and privileges: they had intended to establish equality of treatment between all the nationals of a State. If privileges were granted to the Minority in any country, inequality would be created between this Minority and the Majority; this latter would be oppressed by the minority and it would then be the Majorities Question which would have to engage the attention of the League of Nations.

The fundamental principles of Minority Protection as illustrated and embodied in the Treaties and as expounded by some of the authors of those Treaties, thus definitely rule out the device of any communal, reserved, or separate electorate and representation as legitimate means of Minority Protection, nor do they recognise the existence of

separate interests of Minorities in matters of public service and administration. No such Minority or communal demands have been conceded in any up-to-date constitution of the West including that of Turkey.

Sometimes the case of Canada is cited in support of these communal claims. But it is done in ignorance of Canadian history. No doubt, Canada offers a parallel, and, perhaps, more than a parallel, to India in the extreme communal bitterness and hostility culminating in complete social estrangement between the French and English citizens for a long period. But when the time for a settlement came and a new constitution was introduced on the lines of Lord Durham's celebrated report, it boldly provided for a common electorate which quickly achieved its expected success in promoting the friendliest relations between the two peoples. The same history repeated itself in South Africa where the Boers and the British, after fighting out their differences in a bloody war, settled down to a common constitution based on a common electorate, neither claiming any special protection even for its linguistic, racial, ethnological, cultural or historical differences. But a more appropriate case may be cited nearer home. Lord Donoughmore's Committee for Ceylon Reforms has done away with communal representation in the legislature, stating that "it tends to keep communities apart and to send communal representatives to the Council with the idea of defending particular interests instead of giving their special contribution to the common weal."

In conclusion, it may be noted that the Indian problem of Minorities is not certainly more difficult or complicated than the problem in Europe where it had been a burning problem for years until it led to the conflagration of the Great War. The Peace Treaties and post-War reconstruction tried to reduce as much as possible the discontents of Minorities by the creation of new states with

ideal compositions. But even in these states composed of majorities artificially obtained, the outcome of Treaties dictated by the victorious Powers, the conditions as regards Minorities are not better than those of India. The new Polish Republic, for instance, has been able to start with a majority of only 69% for the Poles after whom the state is named; the Serb-Croat population of Yugo-Slavia forms a majority of only 73%, the Czecho-Slovak state has to deal with the German Minority of 23 per cent., a Minority that yields to no other Minority in the world in culture, power, influence and claims for special treatment. But India has an indigenous majority of 75 per cent. Secondly, it is to be noted that there is no special reason why the common solution

evolved in Europe of the problems of Minorities for application to all countries concerned should not apply to India who has herself approved that solution for other countries in the Treaties which she has signed and guaranteed as an original member of the League. And, finally, let it be noted that this common solution which has practically established the international law on the subject has been found adequate and acceptable even by the German Minority whose claims to special treatment and protection mark the limit of such claims [pp. viii-ix of Professor Gilbert Murray's Introduction to Mair's book cited above.] Let us not, above all, even in this matter, give in to the cheap assumption that what is good for Europe is not good for India!

## The Claims of the Indian States

BY "KERALA PUTRA."

THERE is no subject which is so much before the public eye as the problem of the States. From every aspect of it, the subject is being studied and expounded as it never has been before. Constitutionalists have told us the legal position; historians have told us the origin of the system and given us the background of the treaty-position. Politicians have elaborated the difficulties in the way of a genuine federal system being developed in India owing to the legal and jurisdictional position of the States. The Rulers themselves have not been backward in enlightening the public as to what they think of their position in the light of history, treaties and inherent rights; while the democrats, intent on securing for everybody the benefits of representative government, have not hesitated to denounce the evils of personal rule. In this article, no attempt is made to treat the subject of Indian States from any comprehensive point of view. It is my purpose to confine solely to the claims that

the States are putting forward for the acceptance of all fair-minded people.

One elementary misconception has to be cleared away. The claims of the States are in no way connected with the personality of the Rulers. The forms of government in a State or the characteristics of an individual Ruler have nothing whatever to do with the claims of the States *qua* States. However bad an individual Ruler may be, that fact cannot and should not in any way affect the legitimate claims of his State. This principle has been for long recognised by the Government of India, and in cases where they intervene owing to maladministration or other reasons, it is the practice of the Political Department to leave intact the rights of the States.

What the Chamber of Princes deals with is therefore not the case of the Princes but the case of the States. Much of the misunderstanding in British India about the activities of the Chamber

arises from an ignorance of this fact. The personal affairs of the Princes is a matter between each Ruler and the Paramount Power. The Chamber is precluded from expressing an opinion according to the constitution and rules now in force. It is a significant fact that all the 14 Resolutions which were discussed in this year's session of the Chamber dealt with constitutional questions affecting the rights of the States as against the Paramount Power and against British India.

Now what is it that the Princes are demanding? A clear statement of their case, will, I am convinced, help to dissipate the fear now generally held that the Princes desire to aggrandise themselves at the expense of British India. They have no such object in view. All they ask is that they should not be unjustly treated. Their proposals in this connection may be stated in four propositions.

The first claim of the States is :—That the treaties and agreements between the British Government and the States should continue to be of binding force even in a self-governing India. This is no question of argument. These treaties were taken over by the Crown by the Act of 1858 and have been declared over and over again to be 'inviolable and inviolate.' The question is not whether the treaties are just or unjust, but whether any one has the right of tearing them up. The rights guaranteed by these solemn engagements would be binding on any future Government of India which takes over the administration of the country from the British Parliament. The Princes demand that a clause to the effect that the treaties would continue to bind the Government of India, such as was inserted in the Government of India Act of 1858, should be inserted in the Act conferring Dominion Status on India.

It follows from the above demand that there should be some machinery established as a part of the constitution of India, which would have the

right to determine whether any legislation or executive action of a Government of India actually infringes the right thus guaranteed. If the legislature of British India or the Government of British India has the right to ride roughshod over the autonomy of the States, then the mere insertion of the Clause that the treaties would have continuous and binding effect would be of little value. This problem seriously agitated the minds of the statesmen who were responsible for drafting the American Constitution. The problem was similar when the thirteen colonies desired to establish a united government. They were desirous of maintaining the sovereignty of the constituent States and were afraid that the central executive and the federal legislature will in course of time attempt to restrict it by different methods. In order to render such a course of action impossible, the fathers of the American Constitution devised the Federal Court to which was entrusted the duty of seeing that the constitution was not set at naught and that the Central Government did not encroach on the rights of the States. An institution of this kind which would have the right of adjudicating on the executive acts and legislative measures of the Government of India would serve as a guarantee to the States.

The Princes realise that such a federal court is likely to create friction and also that it could be used only as a last resort. There are so many points of contact, so many questions of common concern that to depend upon a supreme court which, in the nature of things, would only be entitled to say whether a measure is *intra vires* or *ultra vires*, would not solve their problem. Therefore the third proposition is that there should be brought into being a Federal Council to which all questions of common concern could be referred. There are many questions on which the Princes have a right to be consulted before final decisions are taken. The most obvious of these is the

question of defence. The defence of India is not merely the defence of British India but also of the States. Most of treaties with Indian States contain the express provision that they will be protected from external aggression. Clearly, therefore, the British Indian Government is not free to decide the military policy of the Indian Empire without reference to the point of view of the States. Again there is the question of international commitments, for example, the Opium Convention. The claim of the States to be consulted on questions of policy which affect them jointly with British India is recognised by the British Government. The King's proclamation at the time of the foundation of the Chamber of Princes conceded this point of view. To-day on many questions of this character, the Standing Committee of the Princes is consulted before decisions are taken. The demand of the Princes is that in a future self-governing India, there should be a body which will decide questions of All-India policy in which British India and the States would be proportionately represented. This is, it would be remembered, the essential part of the German Constitution where the intense particularism of the States finds expression in the Reichsrath or the Federal Council.

The fourth demand of the States is that there should be created a suitable machinery for the decision of all questions of a justiciable nature either between a State and the British Indian Government or between States *inter se*. Much injustice has occurred in the past as a result of the practice evolved by the Government of India of deciding questions of law and fact by executive orders. Whether a State has a particular right, say in regard to a river, or whether a privilege enjoyed by one State in the territory of another has become an easement enforceable at law are questions to be decided in conformity with judicial principles and according to the evidence produced.

The basis of all these proposals, it will be noticed, is the idea of closer and more harmonious co-operation with British India. The Princes have made it amply clear in their speeches during this session of the Chamber that their ideal for India is that of a federated dominion in which their own States will take their rightful place. It is obvious that the people of British India could not by any stretch of imagination be said to have the right of governing their brethren in the States. Unless therefore some machinery could be evolved which would in course of time represent the whole of India, while maintaining the States as separate entities with varying powers of internal autonomy, a united federal government must remain a distant ideal. The object of the Princes in making these proposals is to hasten the day of that federal Government by evolving in outline a machinery which could in time expand into a real federal constitution.

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# INDIA AND THE BRITISH MEDICAL COUNCIL

BY

DR. JIVARAJ N. MEHTA.

WITH the publication of the correspondence that passed between the Government of India and the General Medical Council, the public is now able to have a fairly accurate idea of the elaborate and well-considered proposals submitted by the Indian Government to secure the continuance of the recognition of the Indian Medical degrees by the British General Medical Council and of the attitude of this Council towards them.

The Government of India had assured the General Medical Council, with the previous concurrence of all the Local Governments, that a Bill for establishing an Indian Medical Council was to be taken in hand "with the least possible delay" that the intricacies of its various provisions would permit. But, though agreed in principle to the institution of such a body in India, the General Medical Council had neither the patience nor the courtesy to hold their hand during the indispensable period of time it would take to pass the necessary legislation for setting up such a body. Till such a Council is constituted, instead of a single Commissioner of Medical qualifications and standards that the General Medical Council had asked for, the Indian Universities offered, through the Government of India, individually as well as through the Inter-Universities Conference, the appointment of a much more suitable alternative in the form of an All-India Medical Board who would appoint "specialists in their own subjects, namely, Medicine, Surgery and Midwifery, respectively, for the purpose of carrying out inspection and reporting on the standard of medical education and examinations". But even that did not satisfy the General Medical Council who expressed their inability to accept this proposal "as furnishing a satisfactory method of supplying the

Council with authoritative information on Medical qualifications and standards in India and with the necessary guarantee of sufficiency".

If the Government of India had any self-respect left, they would not tolerate such insults to themselves and to the Indian Universities. Or are they impotent before powerful vested British interests? No doubt the British General Medical Council is a powerful Body, backed as it is by the British I.M.S. Officers both on the retired as well as on the active list! For these very Officers are the technical advisers of the Government in India and of the Secretary of State for India on medical matters. So it is no wonder that the fiat of the General Medical Council is made to appear to our Government—Secretaries, Ministers and Members—almost in the nature of a decree of fate against which there can be no appeal.

Now that the die is cast, and the British Medical Council has declared its intentions, the question of entering into any further negotiations with this Council should be ruled out of court altogether. We should henceforth have nothing to do with the British Medical Council and with British Medical Degrees, whose holders, both British and Indian, have unfortunately hypnotised themselves as well as the whole country into a belief on their alleged superiority. The decision of the General Medical Council has thus been a blessing not in disguise but without a disguise.

Efforts are being made in certain quarters to frighten the Indian public as to the future prospects of the 450 Indian Medical students who are at present studying in the United Kingdom. Though the rupture between the Medical Council of that country and the Indian Universities has now occurred, no apprehension need however be felt so far as the interests of these students are concerned. On a careful study

of the reports of the Education Department of the High Commissioner for India for the years 1928-29 and 1928-29, it would be found that nearly four-fifths of the Indian Medical students at present in that country, have had their medical qualifications in India, and that they are already on the British Register. Their future prospects, so far as the continuance of their studies in the United Kingdom is concerned, need therefore cause no anxiety to their parents and friends.

As regards the forty or at the most fifty under-graduates, who are studying at the British Medical Schools now, and who would be in difficulties when British degrees are not recognised in India for reasons stated below, a special provision could be made in the Indian Medical Act when passed and as discussed hereunder, to the effect that such Indian Nationals may be taken on the Indian Medical Register without any examination before a certain date, say 1935. The interests of no Indian now abroad, and not qualified in India, would thus suffer.

So far as the attendance and instruction in Hospitals and Medical Colleges is concerned, even for those who may still desire to go to Great Britain for further medical studies, no difficulty need also arise so long as they pay their fees, whether reciprocity exists or not. Medical practitioners of the American, Portuguese and other nationalities, whose qualifications are not registrable in the United Kingdom, do even now go to that country to attend the Hospital practice and Laboratory and other classes, which they are allowed to do on payment of the usual fees. Indian Nationals can, therefore, do likewise. They will of course not be able to appear in the British Medical Examinations, nor obtain their degrees. But in my opinion it is just as well that they will not be able to do so, because they make a fetish of British qualifications in this country. What the young Medical Graduates should henceforth

do is, if they are still desirous of going to the United Kingdom, to go there and attend the classes as the other nationals do. The training they would get in this way would, if they are earnest in their work, be sufficient for all professional requirements. And if they want still better training, they must remember that they can get excellent post-graduate instruction through the medium of English at Vienna, which has the largest Hospital and the best Post-Graduate Medical School in the world. They will be also welcome in Germany, France and Italy for such training and experience.

The question arises, how long are we to tolerate dictation at the hands of the General Medical Council? If we had the real Dominion Status in action in India, on which the Secretary of State for India has harped several times during the course of the last six months, the arrogance of the General Medical Council and the BRITISH MEDICAL JOURNAL whose comments on the decision of this Council have been telegraphed to us and of their supporters, would not have been tolerated for an instant, and the rule by which aspirants for Commissions in the Indian Medical Service are required to hold a Medical qualification registrable under the British Medical Acts would have been immediately abolished. But in the present situation, it is necessary for the Medical and lay public in India to bring to bear the greatest possible pressure on Government to do what a National Government would have automatically done. It must be understood that so far as the Dominions like Canada, Australia, New Zealand, &c. are concerned, no such special privilege is allowed to the British Medical qualifications in these countries. As a matter of fact, New Zealand and several Provinces of Canada have ceased reciprocity with the General Medical Council and they are none the worse for this break. The Medical Graduates from these Dominions do even at present go to

Great Britain for Post-Graduate work without let or hindrance.

I am glad to learn that Dr. M. D. D. Gilder is already drafting a Bill to amend the Bombay Medical Act, 1912, with a view to rescind all the privileges which are conferred under that Act, on the holders of British Medical Qualifications in the Presidency. I trust the other provinces will follow suit. While the Legislative Assembly\* is still in Session, the members should demand an assurance from Government that the gauntlet thus

\* The fiat of the British Medical Council was the subject of a number of interpellations by Dr. B.S. Moonje and Lt. Col. Gidney in the Legislative Assembly at its sitting on the 20th March. Mr. M. A. Jinnah asked: I want to know, Sir, whether the Government of India are going to act with promptitude in this matter, and whether they are going to act in this matter as a national Government of this country?

Sir Frank Noyce: The Government of India will certainly do their best to act with promptitude.

As regards the second part of the question, I can give the Honourable Member a definite assurance that the Government of India have determined to ensure the autonomy of India in this matter by establishing an All-India Medical Council which will be able to regulate the recognition of medical qualifications on a basis of complete equality and full reciprocity as soon as possible. *Ed. I.R.*

thrown down by the General Medical Council shall be taken up. And the Secretary of State should be pressed to rule that all candidates for admission into the Indian Medical Service should henceforth be Indian Nationals holding Indian Medical Qualifications registrable in India.

The establishment of an Indian Medical Council should be proceeded with as early as possible. As regards provisions in the Indian Medical Council Act for the permission of Foreign Nationals to practise in India, these will need to be modelled on the lines of the Egyptian Medical Act, which make it compulsory for all Foreign Nationals, who desire to practise in Egypt, to pass an examination to be held by a Special Board of Examiners appointed for the purpose by the Minister of Public Health. Such provisions in the Indian Medical Council Act will need to be made as much applicable to the Officers of the R. A. M. C. and of the naval and mercantile marine during the period of their service in India or in the Indian Territorial Waters as to the other nationals. This will be India's reply to the insolence of the General Medical Council.

## The Gurukula University

BY PROF. PRITAM SINGH, M.A.

THE Annual Convocation of the Gurukula University was held on the 15th of March when 18 graduates received their degrees from Major B.D. Basu of the Panani Office, Allahabad, who delivered the Convocation Address. The Ashram Buildings were opened on the 14th of March by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and an Indian Culture Conference was held on the 16th, which was presided over by Lala Ganga Prasad.

The Gurukula University is situated on a very healthy site overlooking the Himalayas, on the banks of the Ganges Canal, and at a distance of about 3½ miles from the city of Hardwar which has been for centuries now the seat of pilgrimage

for the Hindus of Northern India. The older University was washed away by a flood in the year 1924 and since then funds had been raised to rebuild the University on a raised ground and in a pucca form. The site is about 100 acres square, and the two Ashrams, one for the Lower School and another for the High School and College affording accommodation to about 300 Brahmacharis, have already been completed. The School and College blocks will soon be taken in hand and residential quarters for Acharyas are in the course of being built. There will be two Yagya Shalas or temples with a Havankund in each. A special ghat for bathing is also under construction and

the canal side will be used for boating, etc. The rooms in the Ashrams are very well-ventilated and fitted with electricity and laid with water. The old ideal of kachha huts has been practically abandoned in favour of strong and solid buildings of bricks and the whole equipment of the laboratories, libraries and kitchens is modern and up-to-date.

Instruction in all the subjects is imparted through the medium of Hindi and the study of Sanskrit is encouraged in the higher classes. The complete course extends over sixteen years. Teaching of English as a second language begins with the fifth or sixth class and continues right up to the College. Arrangements for post-graduate work and Research in Comparative Religions and Philosophy are in existence and the organisers are contemplating extending research in the subject of Pali and Archæology. Their object is to make this University an attraction for Sanskritists from the East as well as the West. Too much emphasis, however, is laid on the revival of Vedic Culture and the study of Sanskrit, and very little is being done in the way of assimilating all that is noble and good in the Islamic or the Christian cultures.

What impresses one most is the healthy and the open surroundings and a very close and intimate touch among the Acharyas and the Brahmacharis. The University is a happy family free from the unnatural reserve that we find in our own Universities. Rules regarding the students not visiting their homes are gradually being relaxed and the light of modern idealism is permitted to penetrate the lives of the young students. The one great drawback, however, was the extreme narrow nationalism which practically shuts out all ideals of the international or the broader humanitarian type. Times, however, are changing fast, and whatever may be said for the possibilities of a revival of the ancient Aryan culture, no educational institution in India at

present can afford to neglect or ignore the salutary effect which new light or learning of Western arts and crafts is likely to have on the Gurukulas of to-day. In the struggle that is pending, those who will have a hot-house culture of the type imparted in the Gurukulas will find themselves face to face with tremendous difficulties, but if they have had the advantage of a sound and solid education and a moral and a spiritual background, they may not succumb and may exercise a silent influence in leavening the Indian life with the ideals of simplicity and self-sacrifice. While, therefore, wishing success to the experiment, it is hoped, the organisers will not encourage a lop-sided cultural development among the young men entrusted to their charge.

One is felt refreshed by the physical and mental freshness of the Brahmacharis and a spirit of simplicity and willing service seemed to pervade the whole place. The Gurukula Sanatak (Graduate) is in many ways a type by himself having an individuality and an impress of culture, however ancient and archaic it may be. We must make this experiment a success by a whole-hearted co-operation and by active sympathy.



HEAD OFFICE :—ESPLANADE ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY.  
E Sept. '30.

# What the Country Expects of Liberals: An Appeal\*

BY

PROF. J. J. VAKIL, B.A. (OXON).

A very unprecedented situation has been created, in this country, by the Congress-call to Civil Disobedience under the Dictatorship of Mahatma Gandhi. The Liberal Party of India has a great task to perform in this crisis, and according as it comes up to the scratch, or fails so to do, will it set its seal to a future of honour and esteem, or to one very much the reverse of this. It is, to-day, on its trial before the country at large, as perhaps never before in its history, for the country demands of it, in this hour of her trial, a far-seeing statesmanship in very difficult circumstances. A *faux pas* to-day will cost the party dear, and will mean to the country great suffering and a blow in a vital part. For to-day is a movement afoot which threatens a fatal blow at the root of irresponsible government in India, a government whose policy, in vital matters, it is out of the power of the people's representatives to sway by a hair's breadth, a government in which the supreme legislature is a plaything in the hands of the Executive. To maintain this irresponsibility is the *dharma* of very powerful vested interests in Great Britain, and therefore a frantic effort is made to isolate, from this upward movement of national redemption, every other group of men whether founded on political, economic, or religious convictions or interests. The Liberals have their own traditions to safeguard, and they must see to it that they do not, in fact, and not merely in words,

\* While we do not hesitate to discountenance Mr. Gandhi's mass movements of Satyagraha or civil disobedience, particularly at this juncture when owing to the efforts of Mr. Wedgwood Benn and H.E. Lord Irwin, an honest attempt is being made to bring about a Round Table Conference to discuss India's political future, we gladly make room for Mr. Vakil's appeal to the Liberals. It is hoped that our readers would appreciate the presentation of different points of view in the pages of the REVIEW. Ed. I.R.

play into the hands of those who are now playing, for all they are worth, the ancient game of "Divide and Rule."

The Liberals, at present, are represented by men of different shades of political opinion, from Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru at one end, to Sir Chimanlal Setalvad at the other; and different view-points are possessed and professed on a variety of important subjects. But unless I am very much mistaken, the one sure link that binds them all is—I write it without hesitation—the spirit of Gokhale, the man dear to the heart, not only of all Liberals, but of all Indians. As long as the Liberal Party holds to this rock on which the church of their faith is built, all is well with them, but the moment it ceases to be animated with the spirit of this great man, it crumbles into nameless dust.

To me, who am not a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, it seems that the Liberal Party, by its present attitude, is eminently in danger of losing its soul, for neither in aim nor in method, as I shall presently try to show, is Gandhiji violating the spirit of Gokhale. I shall resist a temptation to which I might well succumb, with many to keep me in countenance, that of asserting that Gokhale, were he alive, would do this or that thing. But as every Liberal will claim to know this better than myself, and as this is really an appeal to Liberals, I shall refrain from stepping upon the barren wastes of a debatable stretch and confine myself to reminding them of certain words of Gokhale, which, in the heat of conflict, seem to have receded into the background of their consciousness. The real difference between the present-day Liberals, on the one hand, and Mahatmaji and the Congress, on the other, is not

one of aim and method, as it is falsely made to appear, but really only of method. Psychologically considered, the difference between most advocates of Dominion Status and Independence is that in the minds of the former there is still a faith in Britain's relinquishing her hold on India on the mere statement of her overwhelmingly just claims in conference; while to the main body of the National Congress, (who have really no objection to accepting Dominion Status if guaranteed to-day at the end of a brief period of transition), such a faith has become roofless. The aim, I maintain, both of the Liberal Party and the main body of the Congress (I respect this phraseology because there are certain elements in the Congress to whom 'Dominion Status' is neither an end nor a wayside place lying on the road to the end) is the same, for do not both rally round those memorable words spoken by Gokhale, of 1907?:

*"I recognise no limits to my aspirations for our motherland. I want our people to be in their own country what other people are in theirs."*

To-day, the whole Liberal Party, has endorsed the statement as not merely a working aim, but an objective which if not attained here and now would spell unthinkable disasters to the country, the same 'status', if 'granted' to-day, will satisfy both.

'But what about the difference in method?' The impatient Liberal might well ask, 'how are you going to get over that?' My answer will, no doubt, astound him, for it is this: "If you read your own creed aright, the method is one which any Liberal, were he to apply it to-day—unfortunately there is no such person to-day in a party which can accommodate both Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and those whose mouthpiece is 'The Indian Daily Mail', which a man like Mr. Natarajan finds it no longer possible to edit—might apply in strict accordance with the spirit of Gokhale." For the difference, in the liberal method of to-day and that of Gandhiji, is not one of principle, but one of intellectual disagreement such as may arise among

those who share the same principles...a different matter altogether:—*Passive resistance is a method which any Liberal may employ in strictest conformity with his own creed, in conformity with all the canons of constitutionalism, as laid down by the great Gokhale himself.* He is as explicit, as one might wish, on the constitutionalism of passive resistance. For this is how he describes the elements of constitutionalism: "Roughly speaking, barring these three things"—he had been speaking of rebellion, aiding or abetting a foreign invasion, and crime—"all else was constitutional... Prayers and appeals to justice lay at one end. Passive resistance, including even its extreme form of non-payment of taxes till redress was obtained, lay at the other end."

The Liberal Party as a whole, and individual Liberals, have the right to think that it is not, at this juncture, wise or expedient to employ this method, but neither the Liberal Party, nor any individual while he remains under the discipline of the party, have the moral right to strengthen the hands of the Government in the persecution of those who think it now necessary to use *this method to which liberalism is, in principle, committed: the non-payment of taxes till redress is obtained.* I know that there are individual liberals who would scorn to give the least iota of support to a Government which finds it necessary to punish those who resort to civil disobedience against it, but unless the Liberal Party, as a party, openly proclaim that they can never be a party to such persecution, and unless it warns those within its ranks who stain the fair name of Liberalism by statements to the contrary and by unworthy vilification of Gandhiji, it will have proved itself unworthy of its highest tradition, and sadly wanting in bare and manifest duty to the country. Will the Liberals betray Liberalism?

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# Recent Irish History and Biography

BY

DR. JAMES H. COUSINS.

MISS L. MACMANUS attained some reputation in Ireland and the Ireland outside Ireland for facile stories on the struggle for liberty. Though a contemporary of the writers who made the "revival" of a generation ago in literature and the drama, she had not the gifts to become anything more intimate than a contemporary. But she kept a diary, and has now published it with variations.

The first part of "White Light and Flame" (the flame being red, not white, as we learn from the jacket) tells of Miss MacManus' discovery of, and approach to, the new creative life in Ireland; the people she called on; the banquet she attended and records such as—"Miss Ella Young, the poetess, told me later that she thought Maud Gonne a reincarnation of Maeve. . ."—the said Maeve being a legendary Queen of Western Ireland of marked military prowess.

Miss MacManus' account of the literary and dramatic revival is somewhat tattered. Recounting (not always from her diary) the beginnings of the movement, she says: "The plays were of course in English, but the possibility of one being given in Irish was entertained, a concession to the time-spirit."

The "of course" in this sentence is given a sting by its juxtaposition to the alleged "concession." But I can say, as one who was on the committee of the earliest experiments towards an Irish drama, that there was no thought of concession in regard to drama in the Irish language. It was, rather,

felt to be the ultimate national ideal. But it happened that few of us could, by the unfortunate exigencies of the time, handle the Irish language sufficiently well to put it on the stage. We essayed the next best thing by writing plays of Irish life in English, and in this were no more inconsistent than Miss MacManus, whose stories and this book are in the same language. But it was this use of a foreign though naturalised speech that was regarded by us as the concession to the time spirit, not the future use of Irish. The language revival had begun: I was one of its first recruits: the time-spirit was impelling a renaissance of creative activity, and English happened to be for some of us its line of least resistance.

Miss MacManus leaves the matter of drama in Irish as if it had remained at the point of being only "entertained" by the originators of the theatre movement, without any attempt at fulfilment. As a matter of fact, the third season of the first experimental effort (1901)—which was also the last season—was epoch-making in putting on the ordinary professional stage for the first time a one-act play in Irish by Dr. Douglas Hyde, the founder of The Gaelic League. The piece was entitled (as translated) "The Twisting of the Rope", and was a delightful little comedy of Irish country life. My own record of the event speaks of it as opening up "what must be regarded as the true drama of Ireland, that is, drama dealing with the actual life of the people in the national tongue", and ends "its dressing, its dialogue, and the energy and delight of the actors were irresistible, and a scene of ungovernable enthusiasm followed."

Miss MacManus' diary butts into John M. Synge when he was "waiting for recognition outside the Abbey circle." The Abbey here spoken of is not located at Westminster! It was a small theatre built for the drama movement by an Englishwoman in Dublin. But at the time in Synge's career when he was waiting for recognition, there was no Abbey Theatre. I heard the first reading of the script of his first play, "In the Shadow of the Glen," and saw the first demonstration of protest in a hall in Dublin when its first performance caused the withdrawal from the dramatic company which had followed the original experimental seasons, of a number of important members.

That schism produced another organisation of which I was treasurer—that maintained the "amateur" tradition of the movement when Mr. Yeats and others turned the society into a commercial company. But of these organisations, which were the real builders of the Irish stage, Miss MacManus has nothing to say.

The second part of "White Light and Flame"—two-thirds of the book—summarises the events that culminated in the Irish rebellion of Easter 1916, in some of which Miss MacManus took part. Up to that and to a point later the summary is useful to students of history. After that point the clear issue of a nation's fight for freedom is obscured by the emotional tension of the time, and by that frenzy of the imagination which catalogues everything of one kind as pure and honourable and everything of the opposed kind as diabolical; the frenzy that speaks of Arthur Griffith as showing "irritation, temper, rudeness", in the hectic time after the signing of the treaty with England, but sees no such characteristics in its own statement that Griffith "through his pen and those of his companions brought horror on Ireland infinitely worse than that brought by the Black-and-Tans. . . ." The contribution of the party which Miss MacManus adopted to that

horror is not mentioned; and that omission and others related to it very seriously reduce the value of the book.

Mr. Hugh Art O'Grady's thin sketch of his father's life can only be accepted as an indication towards a future biography. The story of Standish O'Grady was (as those of us who enjoyed his friendship knew) a spiritual adventure translated into terms of time and place and a unique personality. He fired the imagination of his juniors with the vast beings and deeds of the old Irish myths, but he shrank from their embodiment on the stage. He inspired AE; but I remember how, as O'Grady and I walked from the hall in which AE's "Deirdre" had been first performed (I myself was one of its warrior chieftains!) O'Grady protested with as much ferocity as his gentle nature allowed against the degradation of mythical heroes and heroines to the level of the anything but heroically bodied and souled modern Irish men and women.

Yet O'Grady's interests were as realistic as any farmer's. His head was full of schemes for the physical betterment of the people. He knew everybody worth while in Ireland; and a broadcast invitation to them to add their memories of him to available family records would make a more impressive memorial to a very significant life than this slender tribute.

One curious feature of the book is a section given to "Poems of Standish O'Grady." Of the eleven poems, eight are by AE! Is a son of Standish O'Grady so ignorant of the work of the joint head of the Irish literary revival as to have mistaken these for his father's—or is this the first stage of the Irish version of a new Bacon-Shakespeare problem?!

\* White Light and Flame, by L. MacManus. Standish James O'Grady: The Man and the Writer, by Hugh Art O'Grady, with chapters by Alfred Perceval Graves, AE, Alice L. Milligan and David Morton. Talbot Press, Dublin.

# Sir Muhammad Habibullah

ON the 31st March, Sir Muhammad Habibullah relinquished charge of the office of



SIR MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH

ordinary Member of the Governor-General's Council. The event and the man have received the casual notice which the Press generally accords to the retirement from official activity of an exalted servant of the Crown. The chronology of his career and generalisations regarding qualities which, on reflection, would appear to be common to all successful men have been faithfully reproduced. No man, however, who has played an important role in the service of his country or who has attained success above what is the lot of most of us, is really like another.

Sir Muhammad Habibullah has no halo of academic distinction such as adorned or now surrounds some of those who have held or now hold high offices, or who have made their mark in the public life of the country. But he has shrewd judgment, steadfast honesty, and an unique wealth of tolerance. The secret of his success in life must be

traced to these qualities combined with systematic industry.

When he came to the Government of India in 1925, he had to face a set of problems entirely different from those of his earlier experience. Local Self-Government, of which he had first-hand knowledge, and Land Revenue administration with which he became acquainted during his term of office as Member of the Executive Council in Madras, were included in the portfolio of Education, Health and Lands, but, since the inception of the Reforms, both initiative and responsibility in regard to these had passed to provincial Governments. Except the Bardoli agitation which, in its acute stages, became a political problem, Sir Muhammad had no critical issue to handle in the domains of administration with which he had already become familiar. His thorny heritage was the status of Indians in the British Empire overseas. First in South Africa and subsequently in East Africa, he had to deal with situations of unusual difficulty. In 1925, Indians in South Africa were threatened with segregation, expropriation and ultimate expulsion. Anti-Indian feeling was at white-heat. The Nationalist Government which had recently come into office, was by no means reluctant to secure political popularity in Natal, where feeling against the Indian settlers was strongest, by adopting repressive measures. To Sir Muhammad belongs the credit of inaugurating a new method for securing a satisfactory way out of a most menacing situation. He had the supreme merit of foreseeing that a conflict of national *amour propre* could not be appeased by despatches attempting to invoke justice with the aid of correct but somewhat self-righteous and, therefore, to the other party, provocative or irritating logic. For correspondence he sought to substitute conferences; for cold print, warm human converse. The Paddison

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Deputation and the Cape Town Conference were the result. Where two decades of strenuous negotiation by post and cable had failed to yield a satisfactory settlement, the Paddison Deputation prepared the way for the Cape Town Conference and the Conference itself fructified into the Cape Town Agreement. The Areas Reservation, Emigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill was withdrawn by the Union Government. A scheme of assisted emigration, free from any taint of coercion or dishonour, was devised to enable Indians who might wish to return to India to do so. In order that the good understanding between India and South Africa, established after so much anxious effort should be fostered and strengthened, the two Governments concerned agreed that an Indian Agent should be stationed in S. Africa. The new method was suggested by Sir Muhammad's shrewd humanity. The success of the Cape Town Conference was due to the brilliant advocacy of the Indian cause by India's first Agent in South Africa, Mr. Sastri, and by Sir Muhammad's convincing honesty. The Union Ministers realised at once that the leader of the Indian delegation was no professional diplomatist, seeking advantage for his own country at the expense of South Africa, under cover of an urbane manner and simulated righteousness.

The result of Sir Muhammad's efforts on behalf of his fellow-countrymen in East Africa is not yet known. It may be confidently predicted however, that whatever the outcome of the negotiations now in progress, when the correspondence is published, it will be found that Sir Muhammad discharged his own obligations in the matter with sagacity, courage and firm patriotism.

At Geneva, where last year, he had the honour of being the first Indian to lead India's delegation to the Assembly of the League of Nations, Sir Muhammad's dignity and charm made a profound impression. The Interim Report presented by him and his colleagues to the Secretary of

State for India is marked by originality and suggestiveness, and should receive careful attention, not only from the Government of India but also from the non-official public to whom its appeal, for a wider interest in the affairs of the League and for more effective participation in its activities, is primarily addressed.

So far, our survey of Sir Muhammad's career in the Govt. of India has dealt with imperial and international affairs. In the field of internal administration, his two outstanding achievements undoubtedly are the Council of Agricultural Research and the Institute of Public Health, Calcutta. The former, though recommended by the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, embodies, in its present constitution, important changes designed to make it more responsive to non-official Indian opinion. The Public Health Institute owes its establishment at Calcutta to the generosity of the Rockefeller Foundation. Its representatives, when they visited India, were received by Sir Muhammad with a tactful and disinterested courtesy which enlisted their practical sympathy for India more effectively than would have been possible for aloof dignity or over-anxious supplication.

Reference has been made to Sir Muhammad's tolerance. This secured for him, in an era unfortunately charged with communal acrimony, the respect of all rational persons, both Hindus and Muslims.

Amity between Hindus and Muslims, without which the country will never be strong, or prosperous or honoured among the countries of the world, will be achieved only by cultivating the quality of tolerance which distinguishes Sir Muhammad Habibullah. The strain of 40 years' activity and the sorrow of a great bereavement sustained 4 years ago have probably combined to drive from his mind, at least for the present, all thought of a return to public life. Should he ultimately decide to pass the rest of his life in retirement, we shall not grudge him his well-earned rest, though we shall be sorry that the country should lose, at a critical period in its history, the active aid of his long and varied experience and of his wise judgment. But it is both our hope and wish that after a few months' complete holiday, he will enter the teeming arena of affairs and strive to solve the many problems that confront India to-day with the calm judgment and the sapient skill of experience which, in critical times like the present, are perhaps more truly helpful than mere ardent or even militant idealism.

# Dominion Status and India

BY

MR. K. R. R. SASTRY, M.A., B.L.,

*Advocate, Madras.*

THE fight for words is no new thing in the history of struggles for freedom. Nor need one cavil at length at the ultimatum of Independence. After the latest utterance of Sir Chimanlal Setalwad on behalf of the Liberals, there is little difference between the two parties in objective except in the modus. The contention of the present writer is that "Dominion Status" means really much more than what it is believed to stand for. In this view, a correct and full understanding of this constitutional phrase seems to be essential.

Till the outbreak of the Great War, Dominions were not generally consulted in matters of foreign policy. The response of two and a half million men from the Dominions and India to the call of the mother country towards a war in the initiation of which the Dominions had little to do, was bound to have revolutionary effects on the status of the Dominions. The report on Inter-Imperial relations (1926) declared the Dominions "as autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate to one another in any respect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

## DIFFERENT INTERPRETATIONS

In the JOURNAL OF COMPARATIVE LEGISLATION AND INTERNATIONAL LAW (1927) as also in his latest work on "Sovereignty of the British Dominions," (MacMillan's), Dr. Keith opines that this document of 1926 is not to be deemed to have effected any fundamental change in Inter-Imperial relations. No doubt, the report has not

been ratified by any Parliament except South Africa. It has not been communicated to foreign Governments and as J. A. R. Marriott, M.P., has it in the January "NINE CENTURY AND AFTER" it has not been communicated to the League of Nations. There has not been in any sense, an adequate discussion of it in the House of Commons, if one excludes the halting reply given by the Government to the discussion mooted by Mr. J. A. R. Marriott on 29th June, 1927.

As against this weighty opinion of Dr. Keith, one is inclined to state that the report of 1926 did indeed imply momentous constitutional changes. No doubt in a strict legal sense, there is still the subordination of the Dominions to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and to the Crown, the "Key-stone of the Imperial Arch." Viewed constitutionally, it is difficult to under-rate the remarkable change effected. Said General Hertzog in the Union Parliament, "They (Dominions) had received from the last Imperial Conference the acknowledgement by Great Britain of their sovereign national status with full abandonment by the British Government of any claim to control or superior authority." How else to understand Mr. Blyth's (Minister of the Irish Free State) phrase "momentous constitutional development" used on November 20, 1929, and the debate thereon in the House of Lords on December 3rd, 1929?

## DOMINIONS' INTERNATIONAL STATUS

That the Dominions are acquiring international status can hardly be denied. The Imperial Conference of 1926 granted "the right of the Government of each Dominion to advise the Crown in all matters relating to its own affairs." It also held that Great Britain cannot assume responsibility

"for the Dominions without their consent." The signing of the Treaty of Versailles by each Dominion and India, and the likewise signing of the Washington Conference on Naval Disarmament, the successful stand of Canada in the Treaty with U.S.A. regarding Habbat Fisheries in 1923, the appointment of the Canadian Minister at Washington, Canadian Envoy at Paris and of another prospective at Tokio, the invitation to Dominions to sign the Kellogg Pact, and their taking part in the London Conference on Naval Disarmament are significant instances of this phase of development.

## EXISTING ANOMALIES

This rapid progress of the Dominions is not without anomalies. Dr. Dewey writes of a "discretion" which the Dominions "presume to reserve unto themselves as regards Imperial commitments" and foreshadows the "dilemma which would confront the Dominions in the event of a major crisis." Dr. Lowell had put an identical question even before 1914 thus:—"Would the self-governing colonies, at a great loss to themselves cling to England in a war which was not of their making? While canvassing this point, Mr. Marriott draws pointed attention to the fact that the "Dominions were not signatories to the Treaty of Lausanne and its commitments though the Treaty was "supplementary to the Treaty of Versailles." Again, on 1st February, 1924, the Soviet Government was recognised by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald without consulting the Dominions. Though this was ratified later by a Dominion, in Prof. Keith's view that Dominion did an act which was "internationally unnecessary"; for, the act of the Imperial Government is one "which under international law clearly bound the whole of the Empire."

## "KING'S REPUBLICS"

Yet another work has appeared under the caption "The King's Republics" written by H. J. Schlosberg (a Boer advocate of South Africa).

He describes the Dominions as in reality "Republics with the King as their Hereditary President". He makes startling deductions and one of them is that a Dominion might make war independently of the others. As R. Borden puts it in the CANADIAN BAR REVIEW (1929 p. 632) "not less perplexing is Mr. Schlosberg's suggestion that any Dominion has the technical right to remain neutral if a Foreign Power should declare War against the Commonwealth's Crown."

Another writer in the LAW QUARTERLY REVIEW (Jan. 7, 1930 p. 111) commenting on Prof. P. J. Noel-Baker's work opines "the juridical status of the British Commonwealth will remain a matter of speculation until it is tested by the event of one member taking instant action against a Foreign Power without adequate consultation "with the other members." The British Commonwealth is an "astonishing political organism" and logic and legalism alone can never understand aright the Anglo-Saxon "who always knows how to keep the roof weather-tight." The only way to reconcile is suggested by Prof. J. H. Morgan in his Rhodes Lecture on Dominion Status (March 1929):—"The Crown is one and indivisible throughout the Empire," as to foreign affairs, "matters might be external to particular Dominions without being foreign to the whole Empire."

Legal examination and logical deductions apart, "Dominion Status" has come to stand, on very high authority, not merely for absolute internal sovereignty but also for a recognized international status difficult to belittle or curb. Viewed thus, in the present state of India, a demand for immediate Dominion Status is more beneficial than a mere cry for Independence. To vigilantly fight for the substance steering clear of the mirage of independence is the part of statesmanship; and that way should the whole nation concentrate its efforts.

# Mysticism in Bhagavad-Gita

BY PROF. D. S. SARMA, M.A.

THE learned author of this book\* says in his preface, "Mysticism appeals by its simplicity. It also repels because of this simplicity." Probably it would be truer to say at present that mysticism appeals by its vagueness and that it also repels because of this vagueness. Some readers take a great delight in reading religious books which are vague and partly unintelligible, while others who are more critical are merely repelled by fine phrases void of content. The danger of mysticism is that, though it deals with a real and concrete experience, it affords a constant temptation to a writer to say much more than what he really feels or knows. So that in the growing literature on the subject, we often come across books which are too gushy and wordy and in which the authors too readily jump into vacuity. Even Miss Underhill's well-known book on Mysticism is not free from this defect. It often offends the critical reader not only by its tiresome repetitions but also by its extravagances and over-statements. The worst offenders in this respect are, of course, some of the theosophical writers who simply revel in vagueness and extravagance. It is rarely that the light of a writer on mysticism consumes its own smoke and burns with a clear and steady flame. Prof. Sircar's light cannot always be said to be clear. There are many pages where it burns dim amidst a dense smoke of words. Particularly the word "urge" as a noun is repeated so often in this book as to become an irritating mannerism. But in the lucid intervals when the light does shine clear, it is able to illumine some of the most profound teachings of the Bhagavad Gita.

It is well-known that the Gita is a grand work of synthesis. Its divine author views life steadily and as a whole and therefore he accommodates

many types of religion in His teaching. There are unmystical types as well as mystical types. On the one hand we have ritualistic polytheism and sacrificial legalism and on the other we have philosophical mysticism. But the greatness of the Gita lies in that, while it severely condemns all kinds of irreligion, it extends a hand of sympathy towards all unmystical types of religion and tries to unify all mystical types. Rituals, sacrifices and other forms of popular worship are taken and gently led up to a purer and more inward religion. Rituals ought to be observed, but they must serve to purify the heart. Sacrifices may be offered, but they should preferably be the sacrifices of the spirit and not of material objects. Popular deities may be worshipped, but it should be understood that they are only partial manifestations of the One immanent and transcendent Iswara. Similarly, the Gita teaches that Karma, Bhakti and Jnana—the three well-known ways of mystic approach in Indian religious tradition—are not mutually exclusive, but are only different aspects of a single reality, namely spiritual life. At best they are only different stages of the path of light.

Prof. Sircar does not clearly distinguish the unmystical types of religion from the mystical types. He even introduces an element of confusion by speaking of the Mimamsa as sacrificial mysticism and the Samkhya as transcendental mysticism. At this rate every religion, however crude and outward it may be, can be called mysticism. Even the savage who employs magic for the rain to descend and observes his own taboos for the purpose can be called a mystic on "the path of moving the shining forces of nature (Devas)." It is only in recent times that the word mysticism has become a respectable word connoting the higher phases of religious experience. But if it is indiscriminately used for all kinds of man's relations with the unseen world from magic to moksha,

it is bound to become as disreputable as it once was. When Dean Inge is unwilling to call even the author of "Imitation of Christ" a mystic, it is a misuse of language to call the ritualists of the Mimamsa and the analytic philosophers of the Samkhya mystics.

Prof. Sircar is on surer ground when he comes to mysticism proper, and points out the synthetic treatment of the subject given in the Gita. For a long time it was the fashion among critics to speak of the Gita as a gospel of social service, as a scripture that preached 'duty for duty's sake'. But these narrow interpretations of the scope of the great scripture have ceased to prevail, especially after the publication of Sri Aurabindo Ghose's Essays on the Gita. Even now some Christian critics are unable to see the Gita in its proper perspective. For instance, Dr. Macnicol says that it is a weakness of the Gita that, though it is a gospel of love and service, the intellectual tradition of jnana asserts itself in it now and then. Prof. Sircar rightly points out that "the Gita is the gospel of knowledge applied to activity".

The question immediately arises—How are these two ideals to be reconciled, jnana with its quietism and karma with its activity? Are not these as opposed to each other as, to use the traditional simile of the Advaita commentators, light and darkness? Prof. Sircar's explanation of the Gita's reconciliation of these apparently conflicting ideals is the best part of his book. Generally, the "actionlessness" of the illumined self to which the Gita so often refers is explained away by Western critics as a Samkhya doctrine. It is, no doubt, a Samkhya doctrine, but the author of the Gita in His own marvellous way makes it express a profound spiritual experience. It cannot be better explained than in the words of Prof. Sircar:—

"The Gita emphasises the transformation of the ethical life from the crude sense of utility to the highest development of spirituality. The

ethical life is the dedicated life. It is no longer the stirring of the natural man or the imperative of conscience. It becomes the illuminated life which feels the stirring of the undivided life. At this point the soul passes beyond the opposites of predestination and freedom, for they are true of the divided soul and not of the illumined spirit. The soul moves in the rhythm of divine life. It has lost the conceit of agency. It moves with the divine ways. It acts and does not act. It moves and does not move. It works and does not work. Such is the elasticity and mobility of spiritual life".

Again "strictly speaking the mystic does nothing, even when he is seen to move; he is fixed in transcendence and his being is not controlled by the limited laws of life. The fixity in transcendence and the quickening of life by the touch of this transcendence make the mystic life appear a contradiction."

Passages like these show that Prof. Sircar has penetrated to the core of the Gita. For the ideal Yogin of the Gita is, like the Avatar himself, a man of contemplation as well as a man of action, a psalmist as well as a crusader—a practical mystic who has reconciled in his own being incessant action and profound rest.

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WITH THE TEXT IN DEVANAGARI AND AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY DR. ANNIE BESANT.

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\* *Mysticism in Bhagavad-Gita*. By Mahendranath Sircar, Longmans Green & Co., pp. 219.

# Re-construction of Indigenous Banking

By MR. J. S. PONNIAH, M.A.,

*Lecturer in History and Economics, Andhra Christian College, Guntur.*

**I**NDIGENOUS banking—that vague and generic term used to describe all types of banking and banking organisations not modelled on the European system—is the largest single problem awaiting an intelligent solution by our Provincial Banking Inquiry Committees. Indigenous banking is not a system; it is a many-sided and unorganised business in banking. The task of reconstruction is therefore one of regulation, organisation and linking it up with the central money market. Until this is done, real banking development will be greatly retarded.

## MONEY-LENDING

The largest volume of loan business, doubtless, is transacted by the private money-lenders. While the abuses and evils arising from this crude practice are too well known to be described here, it is seldom realised that they are the inevitable concomitants of our peculiar social and rural economy. The salvation for the borrower lies in making co-operative credit more popular, cheaper, and more comprehensive.

The problem has another aspect, which deserves greater sympathetic consideration than before. Now that the co-operative societies are fast growing up, it would mark a tremendous advance if the capital of the money-lenders could be diverted to the development of cottage industries or be pooled and mobilised for organised banking. "In every village and small town, the indigenous money-lenders and bankers may combine themselves on the Joint-Stock principles thus pooling their capital resources and forming themselves into indigenous Joint-Stock Banks."\* At best both these developments are mere pious wishes!

Progress however lies only in those two directions; for mere control of money-lending,

without providing alternative sources of profitable investment does not go to the root of the problem. If co-operative propaganda accompanied by a system of licensing of the professional money-lenders should lead them to subscribe to the shares of the Co-operative Banks, we should be taking the first great step in the solution of an insoluble problem.

## CHIT ASSOCIATIONS

As a method of deposit-and-loan-banking, the chit has a long tradition for efficiency and popularity. One remarkable development in recent times is the incorporation of the chit as an "adjunct" to commercial banking as in the West Coast. There is an unlimited scope for similar adaptations in all the rural and urban co-operative societies, in the Nidhis and Funds and in the Town Banks. Some measure of legislative control along the lines of the Travancore Chitties Regulation III of 1918 should also be introduced in our Presidency. Above all, every encouragement should be given for their extension and consolidation; for, the chit offers the only practicable solution for the promotion of thrift and deposit banking among the masses.

## COMMISSION MERCHANTS

The commission merchants constitute another large class of dealers in capital. The internal agricultural trade and, to some extent, indigenous cottage industries too are largely controlled by them. The abuses arise from combining banking and trading. The ideal solution lies in the evolution of efficient co-operative marketing organisations, financed directly by the Banks.

The establishment of licensed warehouses as a first step in this direction bristles with many difficulties and might even appear to be unnecessary. A beginning may however be attempted by starting a "Warehousing Company" to work in close

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## RECONSTRUCTION OF INDIGENOUS BANKING

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concert with the Co-operative Bank in selected areas or in a District like Guntur, where produce loans from the Joint-Stock Banks has become very popular among the ryots.

## BANKERS AND BANKING FIRMS

Indigenous banking proper is really represented by a particular class of bankers—the Chetties, Marwaries and Shroffs. They transact all kinds of banking business; they take deposits both on current account and for fixed periods; give loans for short as well as long duration; advance money on call; discount Hundies or bills for collection and issue drafts for the purposes of private and trade remittances. Their number is large and the volume of transactions enormous, and certain firms have business connections all over the Presidency and even beyond.

They perform a distinct service to the trading community, and of late, have obtained re-discounting facilities from the Joint-Stock Banks thus bridging the gulf between the small trader and the organised money market. Yet there are many defects to be rectified. There is no specialisation; for, some firms engage themselves in speculative trade. The capital resources of the smaller bankers are very slender and have not been pooled together, so that lower interest may be charged and risks avoided. Instead of closer co-operation there is intense competition amongst them. Above all, they have neither evolved any uniform system of bills or hundies, nor introduced the cheque by popularising deposit banking.

Many remedies have been proposed. The Bombay Chamber of Commerce has suggested that the Shroffs should be appointed as agents of the Imperial Bank of India in all unrepresented areas. In spite of the many restrictions under which these "guaranteeing shroffs" are to work, the proposal is unacceptable for two reasons. In actual practice the safe-guards are bound to prove ineffective, and the provision of these additional special facilities would accentuate the existing

competition between the Joint-Stock Banks and the Imperial Bank of India.

Mr. C. M. Kothary, a banker of Rajkot, has put forward a scheme of "Combine" which possesses the following advantages; the pooling of resources, the enhancement of the credit of the individual banker, the elimination of the unfit and the weaker and finally the provision of greater re-discounting facilities from the Bankers' Bank. This, of course, is an ideal solution, but impracticable under the present conditions. Another proposal, put forward by the Marwadi Chamber of Commerce, Bombay, which has obtained some favour in our Province too is the formation of an "Indigenous Bankers' Association" for mutual regulation and control. While legislation to this effect might supply a long-felt need, it is to be pointed out that it does not go to the root of the problem at all.

The remedy lies in two directions. Special facilities should be provided for the pooling of the resources of these bankers to form "Indigenous Joint-Stock Banks" or for their amalgamation with the independent Town Banks. Or the existing Joint-Stock Banks may appoint the efficient indigenous bankers as Board of Directors to transact business on their behalf in all unrepresented areas. It is, however, in the evolution of co-operative marketing institutions and in the development of Urban Banks to accommodate the small traders that the positive solution should be sought for. A portion of the capital of the indigenous bankers could very well be diverted for investment in industries, and to this end, the formation of "Holding Companies" as adjuncts to efficient Joint-Stock Banks would prove of immense advantage.

## NIDHIS AND FUNDS

The Nidhis and Funds are the nearest approach to organised banking. These associations for mutual credit are based upon the chit

\* Jain: "Indigenous Banking in India,"

principle and are very popular among the urban population. Reasonable accommodation is given to members at favourable rates of interest on the security of their share capital, on pro-notes, or on the security of movable and immovable properties.

But with the growth of Urban Co-operative and Building Societies and the floatation of Mortgage Banks their influence is largely diminishing, and in more than one institution capital lies idle. One doubts whether they have any future at all in view of the absence of any statutory regulation and audit; of the lack of adequate financial assistance in times of stringency; and of their stereotyped methods of business and failure to develop the cheque system.

It must however be pointed out that these institutions enjoy the confidence of the people, and have stood the test of time. There is no case for

their extinction. On the other hand they may be linked up with the new Central Land Mortgage Bank, and be allowed to specialize in the mortgage of urban property including subscription to debenture bonds of small industrial concerns. For this purpose such of those Nidhis and Funds that conform to government requirements regarding reserves and efficient management may be given borrowing facilities on the same terms as those enjoyed by the primary mortgage banks. Free audit may also be extended to them. These measures—rather than any restrictive legislation—are necessary to regulate and improve the efficiency of these institutions. For, they have to play an important part in the evolution of cheques and bills and in popularising gold certificates among the people in co-operation with the other banking organisation of the country.

## THE BALCONY

By Mr. CYRIL MODAK.

As upon Life's road I came  
Singing youth's gay symphony,  
Why did you pronounce my name  
From your hanging balcony,

O Beloved?  
For I turned and glimpsed your face,  
And in trance I stood, stood gazing,  
Till a crowd grew there apace  
Million eyes towards you raising,

O Beloved!  
Then you veiled your smile and vanished,  
Left me to those mocking men;  
Like a jaded exile banished  
From your presence turned I then,

O Beloved!  
But the jeering ceased; for lo  
They had seen you gently coming  
Down your casement soft and slow;  
While I went some sad song humming,

O Beloved!  
Thro' the throng you picked your way  
Speechless, silent, to my side...  
In your hands my *all* I lay,  
Make me cry, I have not cried

'My Beloved!'

# Gandhi's Latest: The March

[In our last Number we published the text of Mahatma Gandhi's letter to H. E. the Viceroy and the latter's reply regretting that he (Gandhi) was "contemplating a cause of action which is clearly bound to involve violation of the law and danger to the public peace." Since then events have marched with startling rapidity. An attempt is made in the following pages to give a connected narrative of events following this correspondence together with a full account of the great march to the salt pans of Surat.—Editor, THE INDIAN REVIEW.]

COMMENTING on the Viceroy's reply Mr. Gandhi wrote in *Young India*:

On bended knees I asked for bread and I received stone instead. The English nation responds only to force and I am not surprised by the Viceregal reply. The only public peace the nation knows is the peace of the public prison. India is a vast prison-house. I repudiate this (British) law and regard it as my sacred duty to break the mournful monotony of compulsory peace that is choking the heart of the nation for want of free vent.

And so Mr. Gandhi prepared himself for immediate Satyagraha.

Our case is strong, our means purest, and God is with us. There is no defeat for the Satyagrahis till they give up the truth. I pray for the success of the battle which begins to-morrow.

In these words Mahatma Gandhi concluded what he termed his last message and testament on the banks of the Sabarmati where thousands had collected to hear him on the 11th March (the day previous to the great march.) He exhorted the people of Gujarat to continue the plan of marching to Jalalpur in order to offer Civil Disobedience through the manufacture of salt, even if he and his party were arrested before reaching the destination. The people of India, he urged, should preserve peace and carry out the instructions of the Working Committee. He laid down only one condition for the people to join what he called the "War of Independence"—and that was "absolute non-violence as an article of faith." Otherwise they could carry out his programme in more ways than one. He once again outlined his programme of triple boycott and urged that those, who had courage, could refuse to pay taxes. Alluding to Civil Disobedience

through breaking of salt monopoly, Mahatma Gandhi suggested three means to achieve the end. First by the manufacture of salt wherever it could be done. Secondly, to remove salt without paying duty thereupon and thirdly to distribute salt. He also referred to the question of leadership in the country and asked people to follow the lead of Pandit Jawaharlal. But where no Congress organisation existed, he asked everyone to be his own leader. "Where could be the question of leadership when the riddle of bravery could only be solved by freedom or death?"

## THE GREAT MARCH

True to his declaration just a little while before day-break on the morning of the 12th Mahatma Gandhi with his 79 Volunteers, (all students of the Vidyapith) left the Ashram on a campaign of civil disobedience. Their destination was the village of Dandi on the sea coast near Jalalpur where Gandhi was to break the law regarding the manufacture of salt. Streams of Khaddar-clad men and women had flowed to the Ashram all night through to have a darshan of Mahatmaji and witness the Great March. Among those were journalists and camera-men from far and near and correspondents of some British papers as well.

"The scenes that preceded, accompanied and followed this great national event" wrote the *Bombay Chronicle*, "were so enthusiastic, magnificent and soul-stirring that indeed they

beggar description. Never was the wave of patriotism so powerful in the hearts of mankind, as it was on this great occasion which is bound to go down to the chapters of the history of India's national freedom as a great beginning of a Great Movement." That was about the tone in which the nationalist press viewed the situation. And there was no doubt the March had appealed to the imagination of multitudes of people who were emotionally swayed by the dramatic turn of events.

Mahatmajī with his usual gentle smile betokening his undying faith in the justice of the cause he was pursuing and in the success of the great campaign he had embarked upon, began at the head of the procession, to march with quick steps and unflinching. The pace was a trifle too fast for his health and age, wrote the correspondent.

He was carrying a long stick in his hand obviously for support. The whole army was marching in a perfectly disciplined manner. The agile general in the front was indeed a source of inspiration to all. The army passed all along the distance of ten miles up to Aslali between the densely packing rows of people who were standing in their places for hours together, eager for the "darshan" of India's great General. Ahmedabad had had on the occasion one of its hugest processions during living memory. With the possible exceptions of children and decrepits every resident of the city must have watched the great procession which was at least two miles in length. Those who could not find a standing place in the streets through which the army marched had made use of house-tops and galleries, open walls and trees and every conceivable place they could get hold of. The whole city seemed to be *en fête* on this historic occasion. The cries of "Gandhi-ki-Jai" were rending the skies all along the march.

"Like the historic march of Ramachandra to Lanka," said Pandit Motilal Nehru, "the march of Gandhi would be memorable and the places he passes through would be sacred".

And so for miles and miles the roads were watered and bestrewn with green leaves and the halting stations were decorated with flags and festoons, and all through, there was a general appearance of a festival.

As the procession marched through village after village, Mahatmajī spoke at all the halting stations, urging the people to take to Khaddar to stop drinking, to give up co operation with Government and join the ranks of the Satyagrahis. At Aslali he told his followers that he would either die on the way or else keep away from the Ashram until Swaraj had been won. "I have no intention of returning to the Ashram until I succeed in getting the salt tax repealed," said Mr. Gandhi. He exhorted the villagers to take to the spinning wheel, to look to the sanitation of the village and to treat the untouchables with brotherly love. He urged them to join his movement to break the salt monopoly of Government, as this would be a step forward on the way to Swaraj. As we write, volunteers are enrolling themselves briskly in the cause of civil disobedience and the headmen of several villages are resigning their jobs and joining the campaign. The arrest of Mr. Gandhi is supposed to be imminent and Mahatmajī is reported to be well prepared for it as he has already instructed that his place should be taken up by Abbas Tyabjee, the aged friend, who has stood by Gandhi through all the years of Non-co-operation. The fight seems to be well nigh grim: and as Sir P. C. Ray said: "Mahatma Gandhi's historic march was like the exodus of Israelites under Moses. Until the Seer seized the promised land, he won't turn his back."

#### SPEECH AT BORSAD

After ten days' march, Gandhi and his party of Satyagrahis reached Gujerat where they camped for the night. Speaking at Borsad, Mr. Gandhi made a full confession of his faith and the ideals for which he stands. In the

course of his appeal to the gathering assembled at Borsad, the Mahatma said:—

The British rule in India has brought about moral, material and cultural, spiritual ruination of this great country. I regard this rule as a curse. I am out to destroy this system of Government.

I have sung the tune of "God Save the King" and have taught others to sing it. I was a believer in the politics of petitions, deputations and friendly negotiations. But all these have gone to dogs. I know that these are not the ways to bring this Government round.

Continuing, Gandhiji said, "sedition has become my religion. Ours is a non-violent battle. We are not out to kill anybody but it is our "dharma" to see that the curse of this Government is blotted out."

And yet, as all the world knows, Mr. Gandhi is singularly free from malice or illwill. He strenuously opposed social boycott of people for political or other reasons. Speaking at a place called Jambusar, Mr. Gandhi denounced the enforcement of social boycott against sub-inspectors of police. It was not religion to starve Government officials, said Mr. Gandhi, and he would suck the poison out of a dying enemy of his if he was bitten by a snake, in order to save his life.

The A.I.C.C. meeting which met at Ahmedabad on Friday the 21st March decided to start Civil Disobedience on the arrest of Mahatmajī or if he directs, before his arrest by April 6.

We have in the pages of this Review made no secret of our disapproval of all forms of mass action—Satyagraha or civil disobedience—in a country distracted with communal and other dissensions. Nor is it necessary to dilate on the futility of all the so-called short cuts to political emancipation. But that does not deter us from appreciating a trait of character at once lofty and lovable. Whatever may be said of their possible influence on the masses, Mr. Gandhi's own precepts and examples have been inspired

by the loftiest of motives. But what in him is a piece of humility (Satyagraha, for instance) might at once become a cry of revenge among the illiterates, who take up the catchword of the leader only to distort it out of all recognition in a way that the result would literally "stink in his own nostrils".

#### SPEECH AT SURAT

"Suck the poison out of a dying enemy"—that was the key-note of Mr. Gandhi's Satyagraha, not a passion for revenge or an ambition to overthrow the enemy. In fact in Mr. Gandhi's theology there could be no such thing as an enemy unless it be an abstract one. Throughout the march which lasted four and twenty days, Mr. Gandhi went on preaching his cult of truth and non-violence to the multitudes that gathered from far and near and he did not hesitate to impose the strictest discipline on the Satyagrahis that flocked to his banner. To him as to his band it was a religious pilgrimage and he would therefore eschew every attempt at making his journey a thing of comfort. At each place he halted, he spoke twice a day and his injunctions to his followers were rigorous in the extreme. He would not countenance any attempt to please the palate of the volunteers with delicacies brought from distant places. He would not bear the sight of a common coolie carrying the heavy burner all through the dark and dusty paths of the country-side. Now and again Mr. Gandhi has the habit of "turning the searchlight inward" and the result is always salutary. He remembered that he had written strongly to the Viceroy on the subject of his enormous salary. In one of his exhortations at Surat on the 29th March, Mr. Gandhi referred to this particular passage in his open letter and went on to observe:

Only this morning at the prayer time I was telling my companions that as we had entered the district in which we were to offer civil disobedience, we should insist on greater purification and intense dedication and warned them that as the district was more organised and contained many intimate co-workers, there was every likelihood of our being pampered. I warned them against succumbing to their pampering. We are not Angels. We are very weak, easily tempted. There are many lapses to our debit. Even to-day some were discovered. One defaulter confessed his lapse himself whilst I was brooding over the lapses of the pilgrims. I discovered that my warning was given none too soon. The total work

had ordered milk from Surat to be brought in a motor lorry and they had incurred other expenses which could not justify. I therefore spoke strongly about them. But that did not allay my grief. On the contrary it increased with the contemplation of the wrong done.

We are marching in the name of God. We profess to act on behalf of the hungry, the naked and the unemployed. I have no right to criticise the Viceregal salary, if we are costing the country, say fifty times seven pice, the average daily income of our people. I have asked the workers to furnish me with an account of the expenses and the way things are going. I should not be surprised if each of us is costing something near fifty times seven pice. What else can be the result if they will fetch for me from whatever source possible, the choicest oranges and grapes, if they will bring 120 when I should want 12 oranges, if when I need one pound of milk, they will produce three? What else can be the result if we would take all the dainties you may place before us under the excuse that we would hurt your feeling, if we did not take them. You give us guavas and grapes and we eat them because they are free gift from a princely farmer. And then imagine me with an easy conscience writing the Viceregal letter on costly glazed paper with a fountain pen, a free gift from some accommodating friend. Will this behave you and me? Can a letter so written produce the slightest effect?

To live thus would be to illustrate the immortal verse of Akhobhagat who says 'stolen food is like eating unprocessed mercury' and to live above the means befitting a poor country is to live on stolen food. This battle can never be won by living on stolen food. Nor did I bargain to set out on this march for living above our means. We expect thousands of volunteers to respond to the call. It will be impossible to keep them on extravagant terms. My life has become so busy that I got little time to come in close touch even with the eighty companions so as to be able to identify them individually. There was therefore no course open to me but to unburden my soul in public. I expect you to understand the central point of my message. If you have not there is no hope of Swaraj through the present effort. We must become real trustees of the dumb millions.

Needless to say the speech produced a tremendous impression on the audience.

#### ADVICE TO PARSIS AT NAVSARI

The whole country-side was awake to the call of the Mahatma. Over two hundred patels had resigned and there was a general stir all round. Mr. Gandhi's own speeches were generally impassioned and always brave and there was a tone of pathos which had gone home to the hearts of the listeners. Addressing the Parsis at Navsari, Gandhi made a pathetic and fervent appeal to them to give up drink and the liquor trade. "If they are successful in doing away with the salt tax and with the liquor traffic from India", added Gandhiji, "there is the victory for ahimsa. And what power on earth is there, then, that would prevent Indians from getting Swaraj?

If there be any such power, I shall like to see it."

"Either I shall return with what I want, or else my dead body will float in the Ocean," concluded Gandhiji.

Thus it would appear, whether the masses understood all the implications of the Mahatma's political programme or not there was a wholesome cleansing of their souls. The tour must have caused a great social upheaval, for there could be little doubt as to Gandhi's powerful appeal as a social and temperance reformer. This is borne out by the impressions of Mr. K. Natarajan, Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer* who is by no means a Satyagrahi but who is wholly in favour of the Mahatma's social gospel. Mr. Natarajan wrote thus soon after visiting Gandhi at one of his halting stations:

The general impression we brought away with us is more important perhaps than a detailed account of our experience. The Satyagraha against the salt laws is the last thing which the people at Chhaprabatha were thinking of when he was among them. They hailed his presence as that of an auspicious guest and during his stay with them they were absorbed in the pride of having him in their midst. He diffuses sweetness and light wherever he goes, and if I were Viceroy I would give him a commission to visit as many villages as possible every year. The *Satyagraha* was so clean out of our minds, even Mahatmajis, for the time being, that when my daughter took leave of him, he affectionately said: "Do come to the Ashram." Then correcting himself: "Go" I should have said, as I will not be there. No, I shall not go back."

#### GANDHI'S STATEMENT AT DANDI

Mr. Gandhi and his party reached Dandi on the morning of the 5th April. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu had also gone there to see the Mahatma. Interviewed by the Associated Press immediately after his arrival at Dandi, Gandhiji said:—

God be thanked for what may be termed the happy ending of the first stage in this, for me at least, the final struggle for freedom. I cannot withhold my compliments from the Government for the policy of complete non-interference adopted by them throughout the march. After the graceless and childish performance in the matter of Mr. Vallabhai's arrest and imprisonment and equally unprovoked arrest and imprisonment of Mr. Sen Gupta, I was wholly unprepared for this exemplary non-interference. I am not so foolish as to imagine that the Government has suddenly lost their proved capacity for provoking popular resentment and then punishing with frightfulness. I wish I could believe this non-interference was due to any real change of heart or policy. The wonton disregard shown by them to popular feeling in the Legislative

Assembly and their high-handed action leave no room for doubt that the policy of heartless exploitation of India is to be persisted in at any cost, and so the only interpretation I can put upon this non-interference is that the British Government, powerful though it is, is sensitive to world opinion which will not tolerate repression of extreme political agitation which civil disobedience undoubtedly is so long as disobedience remains civil and therefore necessarily non-violent.

#### APPEAL TO THE COUNTRY

It remains to be seen whether the Government will tolerate as they have tolerated the march, the actual breach of the salt laws by countless people from to-morrow. I expect extensive popular response to the resolutions of the Working Committee. I have seen nothing to warrant the cancellation of the notice I have already issued that all Committees and Organisations throughout the length and breadth of the land are free, if they are prepared to commence from to-morrow Civil Disobedience in respect of the salt laws. God willing, I expect with my companions (volunteers) to commence actual Civil Disobedience at 6-30 to-morrow morning. 6th April has been to us since its culmination in Jalianwalla massacre a day for penance and purification. We therefore commence it with prayer and fasting. I hope the whole of India will observe the National Week commencing from to-morrow in the spirit in which it was conceived. I am positive that the greater the dedication to the country's cause and the greater the purification, the speedier will be the glorious end for which millions of India consciously or unconsciously are striving.

#### THE "LAW-BREAKER"

Mr. Gandhi's prayer on the morning of the 6th was more than usually solemn. In the course of his solemn speech he gave advice to the volunteers on many points of conduct and character and proceeded to observe that if he was arrested, they should take orders from Mr. Abbas Tyabjee and if he too was removed, from Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. He paid a tribute to both these leaders and asked the volunteers implicitly to obey them.

Gandhiji concluded his address by asking the visitors not to offer Satyagraha that day, but to do so the next day. He considered his offer of Civil Disobedience as a great Yagna and he evidently did not want demonstrations, proceeding out of motives other than spiritual, to be associated with his great movement.

Soon after prayers, Mr. Gandhi with his 84 volunteers of the Gujerat Vidyapith and Saheth Punjabhai of Ahmedabad, proceeded exactly at 6 in the morning for a bath in the sea. A large crowd accompanied the party. Mr. Gandhi was walking at a slow pace in grave solemnity. Mr. Gandhi and his volun-

teers entered the water of the sea amidst loud cries of "Mahatma Gandhi-ki-Jai." Then Mr. Gandhi and his volunteers proceeded to break the salt law.

Mr. Gandhi was leaning on Miss Abbas Tyabji's shoulder, and was accompanied by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

Mr. Gandhi and his volunteers picked up the salt lying on the sea-shore. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu hailed Mr. Gandhi by calling him 'law-breaker.'

No policemen appeared on the scene when Mr. Gandhi and his volunteers broke the salt law.

#### GANDHI'S STATEMENT

Immediately after breaking the salt law, Mr. Gandhi issued the following press statement:—

Now that the technical of ceremonial breach of the salt law has been committed, it is now open to any one who would take the risk of prosecution under the salt law to manufacture salt wherever he wishes and wherever it is convenient. My advice is that workers should everywhere manufacture salt, and where they know how to prepare clean salt, make use of it and instruct the villagers likewise, telling the villager at the same time that he runs the risk of being prosecuted. In other words, the villagers should be fully instructed as to the incidence of the salt tax, and the manner of breaking the laws and regulations connected with it so as to have the salt tax repealed.

It should be made absolutely clear to the villagers that the breach is open, and in no way stealthy. This condition being known, they may manufacture salt or help themselves to the salt manufactured by Nature in creek and pits near the sea-shore, use it for themselves and their cattle, and sell it to those who will buy it, it being well understood that all such people are committing a breach of the salt law and running the risk of a prosecution, or even without a prosecution, are to be subjected by so-called salt officers to harassment.

This war against the salt tax should be continued during the National Week, that is, up to the 13th April. Those who are not engaged in this sacred work should themselves do vigorous propaganda for the boycott of foreign cloth and the use of Khaddar. They should also endeavour to manufacture as much Khaddar as possible. As to this and the Prohibition of liquor, I am preparing a message for the women of India who, I am becoming more and more convinced, can make a larger contribution than men, towards the attainment of Independence. I feel that they will be worthier interpreters of non-violence than men, not because they are weak as men in their arrogance, believe them to be, but because they have greater courage of the right type, and immeasurably greater spirit of self-sacrifice.

Being asked what he would do during the national week, Mr. Gandhi said, "I have a lot of work to do." He however laughingly

added "I shall encourage illicit manufacture of salt."

#### THE ARRESTS

Gandhi's law-breaking was only a signal for a series of acts of civil disobedience in hundreds of places in different parts of the country. Groups of Satyagrahis at different points in Bombay and Calcutta were making striking demonstrations of civil disobedience. The sequel was the arrest of the Mahatma's lieutenants. First came the arrest of Sardar Vallabhai Patel; then Mr. Manilal Kothari who was leading a batch of salt Satyagrahis. He was followed by Messrs. Nariman and Jamnalal Bajaj; then Ramdas Gandhi and Devadas (sons of the Mahatma). Messrs. Deshpande and Durbar Gopaldas came next. Mr. Sen Gupta, on his release from Burma, sought arrest again by defying the law of Sedition in Calcutta. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Congress, was arrested and convicted on the 13th. These arrests were followed by the usual trial and varying sentences, and by the end of the "national week", some 200 had courted imprisonment. Mr. Gandhi felt gratified at the result:

From information available up to now, I gather that the striking manifestation of mass Civil Disobedience in Gujarat has had its effect on the Government, who have lost no time in arresting the chief men. But I know that similar attention must have been bestowed by the Government on the workers in the other Provinces. This is a matter of congratulation.

It should have been surprising if the Government had allowed civil resisters to have their own way. It would have been barbarous if they had violated the persons and property of civil resisters without judicial process.

No exception can be taken to orderly prosecutions and penalties thereunder. After all, this is the logical outcome of civil resistance. Imprisonment and the like is the test through which the civil resister has to pass. He gains his end when he himself is found not to flinch and those whom he represents do not betray any nervousness where the leader is put away. Now is the time for every one to be both chief and follower.

It would pain me if even after these imprisonments, students, who are in Government or Government-controlled schools, and colleges do not respond by giving up their schools and colleges.

In another message issued to Gujarat Mr. Gandhi pointed out that "Gujarat has fulfilled the hope expressed by Pandit Motilal Nehru at Jambusar."

The first day of the National Week has begun auspiciously. I congratulate all those brave warriors who are arrested. They have enhanced the glory of Gujarat and India. But what will the remaining workers in greater Gujarat do. I hope that uninvited, they will come down from all places and take the places of those arrested. Now is the time of test for students, pleaders and Government servants.

#### A CONSISTENT LIFE

When all is said there is a singular consistency in his life as in his teachings. One will notice a singular uniformity in all his statements and answers to the trying Magistrates in India to-day or a score of years ago in South Africa. There is then the same tone of firmness combined with considerateness in his letters to Lord Chelmsford or Lord Reading or Lord Irwin, the same stern logic, the same resolute pursuit of a self-determined aim, the same unflinching adherence to a self-chosen discipline. Fearless, following the truth as he sees it, with love abounding, Mr. Gandhi has walked the way of reformers, unmindful of their own travail. Like the saints of the Middle Ages he has scorned the pleasures of the earth and pursued the path strewn with thorns. Above all, Mr. Gandhi is magnanimous to a degree rarely known to political adversaries in other lands.

But then it is impossible to ignore the fact that he is leading a movement that is likely to result in danger to public peace. More than once has it been proved that a mass movement, however well organised and trained to non-violence, could hardly be smooth sailing. At any moment it may go out of hand and the advocates of civil obedience will find themselves in hot water, for the pliant mass of to-day may become the monster of the morrow. The mass of the people who so readily hearken to civil disobedience will have so forgotten the rule of law that they might take the law into their own hands and attempt to disobey their own master. That has been the unfortunate experience of the past. And that is the reason why men of practical statesmanship have been chary of applying direct action to the redress of political wrongs.

# The East and West in Religion

BY

PROF. S. RADHAKRISHNAN, M.A.

[Prof. Radhakrishnan who went to England in connection with the Hibbert lecture in the Manchester University delivered the Jowett lecture on the East and West in Religion, at the Mary Ward Settlement in London, on March 18. Dr. Jacks, Chairman, made a few remarks explaining how he and the late Lord Haldane were together responsible for the presence of Prof. Radhakrishnan in this country, and how helpful his presence was in interpreting the ideals of his country to the West. Prof. Radhakrishnan said that he was honoured in being asked to give the Jowett lecture this year, and how grateful he always was for any opportunity of helping East and West to understand each other better.]

MY subject is the East and the West in Religion. The subject is a vast one, and I am not so foolish as to think it can be treated in a single lecture with any approach to adequacy. I am not going to deal with the temperamental characteristics of East and West in matters of

become more close and frequent in the future, for both have found they cannot afford to part. In matters of spiritual discovery, there is indeed, no such distinction as East and West. Every nation has its own contributions to make in regard to matters spiritual, the distinctions between them are only relative distinctions and their special dogmas are only occasioned by the exigencies of time and exposition. There are no qualities exclusive to the East or the West: if there is any distinction it is in the matter of emphasis and not in the matter of any exclusive monopoly of ideas.

#### THE EAST: SEAT OF ALL RELIGIONS

It is important to remember that almost all the existing religions are eastern in origin. Some arose in the East and spread to the West, some have remained distinctively eastern. Some eastern religions transplanted into the West have acquired particular aspects and forms when so transplanted, but the origin of all the great religions is to be traced to the East. Some are more Eastern in origin and development, others are Eastern in origin and Western in development. Such a distinction it is possible to make, but with religions such as Hinduism and Buddhism which arose and developed on Eastern soil, such influence as the West has had upon them has been insignificant and incidental only.

Judaism, on the other hand, received much Western influence in the days of the Alexandrian school, where it met with Greek influence from the West and Hindu from the East. Islam grew



PROF. S. RADHAKRISHNAN

culture and spirit; it is too big a problem. The most important point to remember is that East and West have met, and they can never more part at heart, for under modern conditions it is a difficult, —almost impossible matter, for them to live apart. Contracts in the past were occasional and brief, now they have become permanent and they will

out of Judaism. Christianity is characteristically Western in its development, whilst Hinduism and Buddhism are eastern both in origin and growth. The distinction between the pure and simple teaching of Jesus and the development of the form the Christian religion assumed is a striking example of the influence of the West upon Eastern religion.

#### WEST AND EAST: DIFFERENCES IN OUTLOOK

The West is more scientific in its outlook on life, more outward-minded, more pragmatic, more concerned with the outward environment; the East on the other hand is more brooding, more inward, more or less revelling in mysticism. The one gives us the practical and the intellectual; the other the theoretical and intuitional. In the past the West looked to the East for light; now the East is dazzled by the more material glitter of the West. Dr. Bridges has well expressed this in his recent "Testament of Beauty," when he says:

Our fathers travelled eastward to revel in wonders

Where pyramid, pagoda and picturesque attire  
Glow in the fading sunset of antiquity;

And now will the orientals make hither in return.

Outlandish pilgrimage; their wisecracks have seen

The electric light in the west, and come to worship;

Tasting romance in our unsightly novelties

And scientific tricks; for all things in their day

May have opinion of glory: Glory is opinion,

The vain doxology wherewith men would praise God.

The characteristic development of thought in the West has been to place more emphasis on reason and rationality. Modern thinkers want to reduce everything to mathematical formulae. But there is something transcending rationality, something akin to insight or penetrating vision, some-

thing which eludes logical analysis; and this you cannot express in linguistic propositions.

#### SPIRITUAL SENSE TRANSCENDS DOGMA

Man is more than a bundle of mind and reason, he has some spiritual sense which transcends the distinctions and limitations of the intellect and those who recognise this place the right value on dogmas, recognizing them as pictures not proofs, as symbols which point to the divine, but which do not exhaust its nature. That attitude of mind follows immediately from the recognition that intellectual formulas are subordinate to the experience of reality. Those who insist upon the supremacy of the intellectual form mistake metaphor for dogma or doctrine. They forget the circumscribed character of the dogma and come to think that dogma is reality, and that leads to a belief that if they ignore it, they will lose their grip upon the real itself.

Another point comes out in Western systems of thought: it was very prominent in both the Greek and the Roman concepts of religion. Religion was with them first and foremost a means of political efficiency, a means of promoting the idea of citizenship. The priest was a state official and religion was not so much a question of the relation of man to God as a question of the relation between man and the State. Any religious ideas were tolerated as long as they did not interfere with political efficiency. Extravagance of any kind especially extravagance tending towards asceticism as the golden mean, was discouraged; decorum, decency and propriety came before piety. Even to-day in the West this idea is still strongly upheld; if a Bishop is told he is no Christian, his meekness will not be much affected, but if he is told he is no gentleman, he will probably lose his meekness entirely.

#### TRUE RELIGION, THE EXPERIENCE OF INNER LIFE

So long as we are thus outward-minded, we cannot get down into the depths of our own

beings, and we are not truly religious. The truly religious man can stand above these external things, can look down upon them from his higher plane of life and sense the freedom of the life unfettered by external and personal things. That is why criminals sometimes are nearer to salvation than is the ordinary cautiously correct man. They show that they can rise above convention and live a life from the very depths of themselves.

Those who emphasise the spiritual life believe that dogmas are subordinate to religion, that religion is not conventionality but the real experience of the inner life. If you believe this, whatever form of religion you may practise will follow these lines and you will ignore dogma and concentrate on spiritual values.

#### IMPORTANCE OF "INNER LIFE" IN INDIVIDUAL

The religion of Jesus was a purely Eastern cult, its attitude was an inner one: it was subjective, experimental. It speaks in metaphors and images, not ideas and propositions. Jesus reveals the God-lived life through his own life and example, and he tells us how the person who lives in God in his daily life will uphold that attitude of universality. This inner life of the soul is the real life: nothing matters but that: what shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul? He says to us. The supremacy of the spiritual life is the key-note of the religion of Jesus and it is the key-note of the Eastern view also. All this world is dross as compared to the soul, and it is the duty of every man to find his own soul, to tread the path of spiritual experience which will bring him to that goal, the discovery of the nature of his own soul.

Mr. Hatch, in his interesting work on the 'Influence of Greek Ideas on Christianity', has shown how Greek speculation influenced primitive Christianity, and how the simple life, as taught by Jesus, was taken hold of by the subtle Greek

mind and developed into official theological Christianity; with its antipathy against other systems which did not formulate their creeds in precisely the same formulas.

The emphasis laid on dogma gives the church temporal power, and it becomes an efficient instrument for the control of the political community. In the Bible, the wisdom of the world is counted as foolishness with God, but in these times, dogmatic theology is the straight pathway to heaven.

The dualism between spirit and matter was the great problem for the Greeks. On the one side lay the world of God or noumenon, on the other, the world of the sense or the phenomenal; how to bridge this gulf was the great problem. Jesus, the Incarnation of the Divine, was the living solution.

Even in these modern times, this spirit still prevails in the churches, religion for them is concerned more with formulated doctrines and dogmas than with the spiritual truths of which they are limited expressions.

#### NEED FOR RELIGIOUS TOLERATION

The Bishop of London said a short time ago something to the effect that I have been round the world and have found in other religions no candle of truth to light them on their way."

This is an example of the intolerant attitude which believes that God has revealed himself to one particular people, and has left the others in spiritual darkness.

Hegel represented Christianity as the ultimate and absolute religion, and there are still many people who believe this. If this were not so widely accepted, it would not be possible to have any strong and efficient missionary enterprise. One must hold the superiority of one's own religion before one can go about telling other people they are not in the light.

### THE "ABSOLUTE" THE LIMITLESS AND THE INDEFINABLE

We must realize that all creeds and dogmas are but limited expressions of form. There is no finality in religious experience. The Absolute is something beyond all limit, all finality, always to be still sought. Every religion is an expression of some pursuit of God, some living example of that ceaseless search. The time, environment and psychical environment determine the parable, the symbol, the metaphor in which are clothed the conceptions of the divine truths.

The time has come for us to go behind these formulated doctrines and to seek the Truths of which they are feeble expressions. East and West must join in that search. If the East and the West are to come together and to understand each other, it must be through a recognition of this fact. It cannot be achieved on the assumption of the superiority of one religion over another. Both the religions of the East and of the West represent the historical development of the search for Truth, the evolution of the religious experience. The tendency to-day is to assert that religions are hindrances to the expression of the religious consciousness, and that they might well be abolished altogether. This tendency has been interpreted as anti-religious and godless, but the idea behind it must be understood; so long as man is trying to discover ideals of true beauty and goodness, it is not possible to bring about a basis of true religion, or to condemn the world as irreligious and godless.

#### A PLEA FOR MUTUAL GOODWILL

Combating or destroying the ideals of another will not achieve this object. Mutual ill-will, bickering, misunderstanding and suspicion must be abolished: the culture of the East and the culture of the West must be retained and each must respect the other and learn from it. The ideals of each must be respected. You will find, for example, that millions have been inspired to

graver, purer and nobler living, by the influence the Buddha has exerted on human lives, and yet there are men who are eagerly and anxiously working to destroy the memory of that immortal life, and who are under the mistaken impression that thereby they are working for the good of the world. And now the Soviet people in Russia are adding Christianity to the list of religions to be destroyed. I am not justifying their attitude, but why so much agitation against it?

There are people who are trying to bring the world under one Buddha, to bring the world under one Christ. The truth-seeker protests against this; no one aspect of Truth can satisfy every type of mind and suit every environment.

He who is not able to enter into communion with the mind of another man is not a truly religious man. True religion consists in love, not in spiritual megalomania. Recognising every individual as a spark of the Divine, it is the duty of every true man to assist the individual to fulfil himself and not to reduce the world to a spiritual monotony. Those who stand for true religion stand for universality of spirit, for strenuousness of the search, for freedom in the approach to God. As far as there is any possibility of universal religion being achieved, it will have to take its stand on the basis of these fundamental principles.

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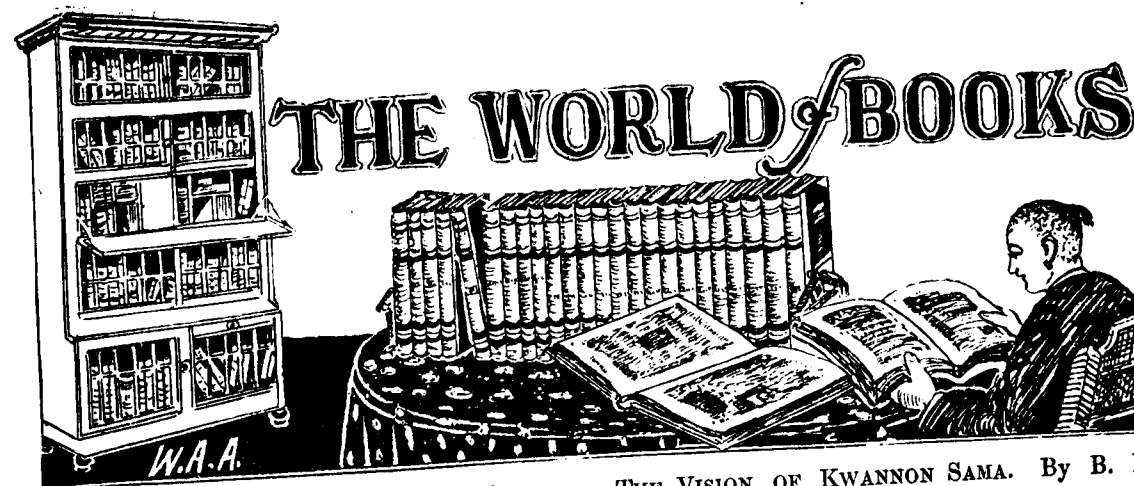
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JAYA AND JAYANTI. By Nanalal Dalpatram Kavi, translated by U. K. Oza. Heath Ganton, Ltd., London. Rs. 3.

Nanalal is the foremost poet of Gujarat and this poem was written by him in 1914 in the Gujarati language. Mr. U. K. Oza by his translating into English has given the poet a wider publicity which his genius greatly deserves. We have not the material to compare the translation with the original, but we must say that the translation completely satisfies us. Mr. Oza observes that Nanalal is more of a teacher than a poet and in saying that he does not mean that the poetical qualities of his works are not of a high order.

The theme of this poem, is the question that has often been asked 'whether love is not possible without physical contact.' Jaya evinces a love for Jayanti, the victorious son of the prime minister to her father. But the father has other views on the matter; he has intended a diplomatic marriage for his daughter which will add to the prestige of his dynasty. Jaya is banished and Jayanti leaves the palace and goes in search after him. Many are the pitfalls that come in the way of the young maiden, but she escapes from each with her virtue unstained. Jayanti meets Jaya in the end, but their love is spiritual in quality.

"Love craves not for carnation  
'Wherever the soul, the body has to be'  
Is not a syllogism  
Of the science of the world."

THE VISION OF KWANNON SAMA. By B. L. Broughton, M.A., (Oxon), Luzac, London.

Kwannon Sama; Sanskrit, Avalokiteswara—is the Bodhisat of infinite compassion. In the preface, the author tells us, that a bhikku named P'u Ming composed the popular history of Kwanyin. The radiant vision of Kwanyin and the drama of her life, P'u Ming beheld by the gift of a deva. Similarly we owe our good fortune to behold this vision to Mr. Broughton. 'Her face of a perfect vision to Mr. Broughton. 'Her face of a perfect oval was fairer than ivory, her hair like the dark clouds of night for beauty was crowned by a tiara of golden stars. Stainless purity, infinite pity, the pain of all the sorrows in all the worlds were mirrored in the starry depths of her eyes.'

Kwanyin was Miao Shan in her former life and was the daughter of Miao Chaung, emperor of China. The emperor was known for his prowess, cruelty and utter disregard of human lives. Between the daughter and the emperor there could be no understanding. Matters came to a crisis and the emperor ordered his daughter to be strangled. But she was of celestial origin, and lives. By the sacrifice of her limbs she rescues the father from death-bed and disease. He becomes a firm convert to the creed of compassion. But the greatest sacrifice of Kwanyin is to refuse the peace of Nirvana and her election to remain by the River of Time and help the suffering throughout the universe.

OBLMOV. By Ivan Goncharov. Pub. by George Allen & Unwin Ltd. Price. 10/6 net.

If any fiction can claim to reflect the life of a people, "Oblomov" can do it in a remarkable measure. It delineates a type of the decadent aristocracy of the middle of the nineteenth century which ages of wealth and opulence had reduced into an indolent, weak and lazy class. OBLMOV belongs to such a group. Though high and noble character was his right by birth, lack of will power, apathy towards life and all its concerns and a feebleness in acts as well as thoughts marred all that was good in him. The slow stages by which such natures descend to their fateful end, and lead a life more alike to death than life, is admirably told. The fire of ambition does not enter the portals of their mind. The needs of every day life find them unequal, not even the sacred fire of passionate love could infuse a speck into their lives. Indecision, surrender and resignation even of the inalienable prizes of life marks the key-note of their character. Ivan Goncharov, with a remarkable ability, places such a type on his anvil, turns it over on all sides, explores every phase and reveals all the doubts, and submission that inhabit there. In sharp and striking contrast however emerges the picture of the German Stolz, an ardent and faithful friend of OBLMOV—one to whom life had a meaning and a mission and who found in what lay about him a task worth doing and a duty to which he was called. His good will was a treasure from which all honest souls had their fill. He renders all help to OBLMOV by managing his ruined Estate, and attempts to bring light, hope, and activity into the dull monotony of his life. But the forces of darkness were too strong even for him.

The passionate Olga who starts by stirring up OBLMOV and who by her passionate love is able to some extent to turn his path was soon to learn with bitter disappointment that OBLMOV

was unworthy of her and that she learns from OBLMOV himself, whose noble nature forces him to make the revelation of his inadequacy and point to a man greater than he in whom her love should be centred. And that prophetic he was Stolz, who finally marries her. The figure of Zahar, not so high as Caleb Balderstone, but nevertheless approaching it, is a comic relief to the pathetic tale.

The novel has already become a classic in Russian and well deserves the high place among the first-rate fictions of the world.

#### POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF RABINDRANATH.—

By Sochin Sen, M.A., B.L., with a foreword by Pramatha Chaudhuri, M.A. Published by Asher & Co., 36, Simla Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-8 available of G. A. Natesan & Co.

Numerous enthusiastic readers who have sufficiently acquainted themselves with Tagore's books dealing with diverse aspects of philosophic outlook will not be unwary of the publication of a book styled the "Political Philosophy of Rabindranath". Mr. Sochin Sen, the author of this beautiful brochure, has spared no pains in bringing before us and presenting to us in such a candid and appealing manner the scattered views relating to the political philosophy of Rabindranath, as to arrest the minds of all who are Politically-minded. At a time when every question affecting India's aspirations is not entirely devoid of, but possesses, a tinge of politics about it, it is quite opportune that this book is brought out, which deals with many of those questions which seem to retard and vitally affect the rapid growth of India, also suggesting here and there certain solutions as correctives to those evils. We whole-heartedly commend this book to the public and warmly appreciate the labours of the author in bringing out this book when India is to be disillusioned of certain thin veils which seem to blind her goal.

BALADITYA. By A. S. P. Ayyar, M.A., (Oxon), I.C.S. Taraporevala, Bombay, 1930. Rs. 4.

It is a far cry from droll stories to serious historical romance, but Mr. Ayyar has succeeded in producing a first class historical romance. In trenching upon the history of our country for his materials, Mr. Ayyar has to be accounted for as a pioneer, for with few exceptions, Indian writers have left unexplored that vast field. After reading this book, we even doubt if historical romance is not the natural home of Mr. Ayyar's genius.

The story is laid during the decadent Gupta period. The Huns have established themselves on the throne of the Guptas. The golden age of the Guptas has given place to a reign of terror. To Baladitya, a descendant of Samudragupta, the sorry plight of his countrymen and the vision of the former greatness of his dynasty, were like spurs on his side urging him to reconquer the country. But his sole source of optimism is his trusted friend Yasodharman, and these two set about planning a campaign against the Huns. Meantime Baladitya meets Saraswati and after a delightful period of romance they marry. Yasodharman unaware of this union, sought the hand of Princess Charumathi at the Swayamvara on behalf of Baladitya. Some one announces his marriage with Swraswati. "Why can't you plead on your behalf now that Baladitya is already wedded, asked the companion of Charumathi. Yasodharman dispraises himself, but the garland has been placed on his neck by Charumathi. With the help of other Kings, the reign of the Huns is put an end to. But the credit in the final battle belongs to Yasodharman. A rift had sprung in the friendship of Baladitya and Yasodharman. The former King's death under tragic circumstances however helps to restore the friendship at least in the memory of Yasodharman.

Mr. Ayyar is a reformer and that has made him stress his purpose somewhat. We however venture to say that the reforms that he has in

mind need no conscious justification in our history. Didacticism has properly no place in an historical romance. But we have nothing but high praise and admiration for Mr. Ayyar's art. We await with much eagerness more of this type from his pen.

THE SALE. By Joan Conquest. T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., 1930. 7/6.

The seeker after the curious and exotic in literature will derive ample gratification from a reading of this book. There are typhoons, twins and rubber trees. The descriptions of the typhoons are grim and vivid; the emotional appeal of twin psychology is very powerful and the writer's justification of unconventional episode is both eloquent and pathetic.

HOW THEOSOPHY CAME TO ME. By C. W. Leadbeater. T. P. H., Adyar, Madras, 1930.

Readers of this book will easily recognise the clear, simple and yet forceful style of the author. From cover to cover, interest is steadily maintained. Mr. Leadbeater was at first a clergyman who took some interest in spiritualism. He was introduced to Theosophy by Mr. A. P. Sinnett's great book "The Occult World" and later he came under the direct influence of Madame Blavatsky. The pen pictures of the Founder of the Theosophical Society that are given in the book are some of the most vivid and intimate ever written. Leaving London, he came to Ceylon where he became a Buddhist and thence to Adyar. Experiences in Egypt on the way to India and subsequently in Burma are pictured with great descriptive power. Incidentally the wonderful personality of Madame Blavatsky is brought out through a number of illustrative incidents. And the book closes with the attainment by Mr. Leadbeater of some initial superphysical powers pointing out the way to his further spiritual development.

THE NEXT RUNG. By K. S. Venkataramani.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Re. 1-8.

Time was when some of Indian reformers admired everything in the Western civilisation, and wanted our country to march on the path of Western civilisation. The pendulum has now swung back to the other side, and there are not wanting Indians who feel that Western civilisation is an evil which should be shunned, if possible, by India. Mr. K. S. Venkataramani belongs to this school of thought and in the book under review describes in a delightfully pleasing language the present stage of culture and civilisation and in the ladder of progress evaluates the present rung of development with reference to the next rung.

A GLIMPSE OF ASSAM (Past and Present). By Upendra Nath Barooah. To be had of the author at Jorhat. Price Re. 1-10.

This book is an attempt to trace the history of Assam in brief outline from the establishment of Ahom rule down to the British annexation of Assam in 1826, and in greater detail, during the period of the mutiny when Maniram Dewan was executed on a charge of treason and disloyalty, believed in by the British officials and historians like Sir Edward Gait. Maniram was supposed to have incited the Saring Raja, a scion of the Ahom royal family to revolt. The province has been enjoying peace except for occasional expeditions against hill-tribes. The author gives a brief account of the Ahom system of administration and of the improvements effected under British rule. He devotes one chapter to the consideration of the effects of opium-eating among the people and another to an account of the tea-industry built on the life-blood of the coolie-labourers. Also he takes care to point out the many things that exist in common between the Bengalis and the Assamese and the chief religious sects among them, Vaishnava and Sakta, both mingled to a large extent with pre-Aryan beliefs.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED

CHEIRO'S YEAR BOOK, 1930. By "Cheiro," The London Publishing Co., London.

FEDERAL FINANCE IN INDIA. By K. T. Shah, D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.

VENUS ON WHEELS. By Maurice Dekobra, T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London.

PROVINCIAL FINANCE. By Pramathanatha Banerjee, M.A., D.S.C., Macmillan & Co., Calcutta.

THE EURASIAN PROBLEM. By Kenneth E. Wallace, Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta.

A HISTORY OF INDIAN TAXATION. By Pramatha Nath Banerjee, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., Calcutta.

REPORT OF THE RAILWAY BOARD ON INDIAN RAILWAYS FOR 1928-29. Vol. II. Government of India Book Depot, Calcutta.

VEILED MYSTERIES OF INDIA. By Mrs. Walter Tibbits, Eveleigh, Nash and Grayson, London.

THE SPLENDOR THAT WAS 'IND. By Prof. K. T. Shah, B.A., B.S.C., D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.

OUR VILLAGE. By Norah Richards. The Orient Publishing Co., Lahore.

MOHAMMED TUGHLAQ. By R. S. Gupta, B.A., LL.B., J. W. Arrowsmith, Ltd., Bristol.

BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS INDIAN STATES. By K. M. Panikkar, S. K. Lahiri & Co., Calcutta.

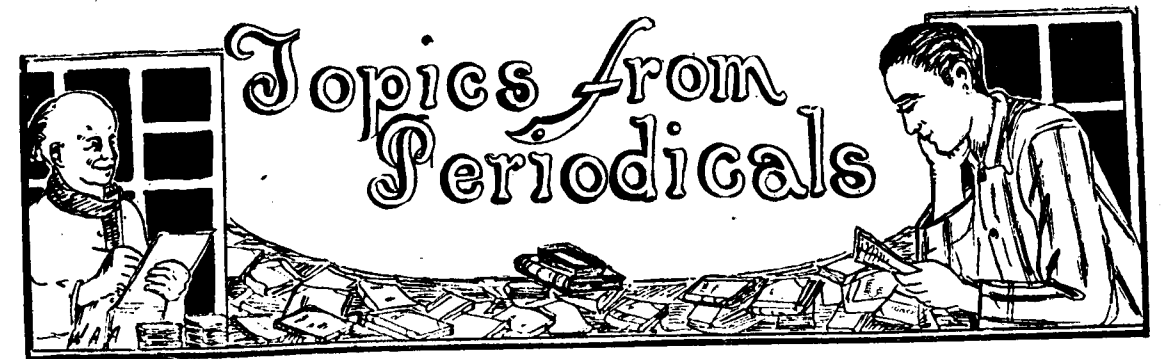
HOW THEOSOPHY CAME TO ME. By the Rt. Rev. C. W. Leadbeater, T. P. H., Adyar, Madras.

MYSTICISM IN BHAGAVAD-GITA. By Mahendranath Sircar, Longmans Green & Co., Madras.

THE UNITED STATES OF THE WORLD. By Oscar Newfang, G. P. Putnam's Sons, London.

HUMOROUS STORIES. By Barry Pain, T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London.

THE INDIAN COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRIES. By M. P. Gandhi, Book Company, Calcutta.



#### INDIA AND WORLD PEACE

Under the heading, "India—Symbol of Eastern Aspiration", Mr. C. F. Andrews contributes an article to the March Number of *WORLD TOMORROW*. If war is wholly to be renounced as an instrument of national policy, says Mr. Andrews, then the suppression of weaker races by force of arms must be given up with it. This is true of India's case. Mr. Andrews pleads for a World Commission to inquire into race relations in the various parts of the world. The controversy between Great Britain and India can hardly be settled by isolated action because it is part of a much greater conflict of ideals dividing the East and the West. Just as naval disarmament cannot be undertaken by any one power alone in isolation, so what I may venture to call "racial disarmament" requires a world conference, or at least a world commission. For the racial adjustment needed throughout the world cannot be effected by the efforts of one Western power alone, however important. In the interests of world peace, the League of Nations must not for its own sake allow this whole issue to run its course, unnoticed and neglected, any longer. If it does, it will certainly be regarded by the East as a mere tool in the hands of the stronger Western powers. . . . Merely to let each Western nation go on doing just what it likes in a special corner of its own, which is called its "colonial empire," is really to go back once more to the old selfish view of absolute national sovereignty. It also keeps alive the fallacy that one country can be the "possession" of another. All that is meant by the World Court, the League of Nations, and the Kellogg Pact, is stultified by such an attitude of mind. Historically, it belongs to our pre-war mentality.

#### INDIA'S RESOURCES

"Modernity has to be paid for and if India wants to take her place amongst the nations of the world, the leaders of our Social life, both Hindus and Mussulmans, must be prepared not to allow a policy of drift and demoralisation to continue, but to eliminate all wasteful and parasitic overgrowths and to train the public to discriminate the manner in which what they have earned, they will spend", writes Mr. Manu Subedar in the April Number of the *MODERN REVIEW*. Mr. Subedar has appropriately given a title to his article as "waste not, want not", and says that it is trite to say that India is a poor country. The great waste in India is not merely in money as Mahatma Gandhi has characterised it in his recent letter to the Viceroy but in the unit of time and labour. Mr. Subedar writes:—

There is a larger number of men who are not fully employed throughout the year, and there is a still large number of dependents, who have nothing useful to do all the time. This waste has gone on to such an extent that a man thinks nothing of having been away from regular work for a long period. In fact other people are jealous of him, if he has managed to stay out of work for a long stretch and has managed to exist in a reasonable standard. The unemployed in India are after all, a burden on the community, and it would be better if the burden were assumed directly so as to enable the leaders of the community to know what is going on, instead of the burden being imposed without any appreciation of the problem by anybody and without any effort at the remedy for the situation.

## THE INDIAN PROBLEM

Writing in the NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER, Lord Lytton deplores the recent Parliamentary debates on India. The debates, he says, have done nothing but harm. The fact is, some of those who pretend to know India are merely repeating in the House all the questionable news that interested malicious reporters are cabling to the British press. They are seldom inspired by real knowledge or sympathy with the Indian stand-point.

"To understand the action of different groups in India, it is necessary to remember certain features which are at times characteristic of the Indian problem. In the first place, it is important to bear in mind that the aspiration to see established an Indian State, politically free, governed from within itself, independent of outside control, controlling its own administrative machine, responsible for its own defence, and able to speak for itself among the other States of the world, is not merely the claim of a small group of Congress extremists, but is common to all sections of Indian opinion—Swarajists, Liberals, Hindus and Moslems alike. The ideal, therefore, which has been proclaimed by the Indian National Congress for about fifty years, however unrepresentative that body may be shown to be, has evoked a certain measure of sympathy in the minds of all educated Indians, even when their proposals or their methods have been condemned."

New a representative system implies the confidence of the larger body in the individuals selected "and the willingness of the selected few to exercise responsibility and act according to their own judgment in the interests of those by whom they have been selected." These necessary conditions, says Lord Lytton, are rarely satisfied in India. For the welding of India's diverse elements into a single political State, a

spirit of conciliation is required and a readiness to co-operate for a common good. This spirit is at present conspicuous by its absence in India. Co-operation is what the Indian finds it hardest to concede. Therefore, he has made a political virtue out of a temperamental necessity, and non-co-operation is now proclaimed as the test of true patriotism. The Swarajist politician professes that it is only with a "satanic" Government that he will not co-operate. In practice, it is not so. He finds it just as difficult to co-operate with his own countrymen. Every Indian claims to speak in the name of India, but there are few subjects on which other Indians will accept his authority. In the Legislative Council, Ministers are selected from the majority, and find, after their appointment, that their followers expect to give instructions, not to receive them. The representative in India is, in fact, never more than a delegate.

If India, continues Lord Lytton, were prepared to accept the good offices of a mediator between her conflicting interests, Mr. Gandhi could have rendered immense services to his country in that capacity.

"As a social reformer, he is a genuine idealist. As a politician, he is impotent, being easily duped by astute party managers. His dislike of violence is sincere, but he is readily persuaded that conciliation or compromise will drive the uncompromising elements into violent action as a counsel of despair, and that the best way to prevent violence is for him to champion the most extreme demands."

Lord Lytton concludes that the realisation of India's national ideal would also be the triumph of British statesmanship, "but if practical difficulties, which are enormous, are to be overcome, Indians will have to show greater confidence in each other and realise that a nation cannot be created out of criticism alone."

## THE TASK OF THE PUBLISHER'S READER

Frank Swinnerton has an interesting article in the March FORTNIGHTLY on "the Task of the Publisher's Reader". He pays a well-deserved tribute to that unknown person, "the reader", whose qualifications for success in the line are portrayed at some length. Now, a love of books is by no means a sufficient preparation for the "reader's" task. The really good professional "reader" is a rare type. His task is very different from that of the reviewer and much less simple. The reviewer has his likes and dislikes which account for the vagaries of printed criticism.

But the publisher's reader must have no vagaries. His prejudices must all be sunk when he takes up a manuscript. A dislike of the author must not influence him. Neither may he allow himself the satisfaction of refusing a book which attacks his idols. He must not have idols, in fact. He must combine enthusiasm with calm; caution with boldness. He must be patient, wary, shrewd; he must know something upon every subject; he must be acquainted with all literatures, and, preferably, with several languages. He must understand the book trade, must have a very easy familiarity with the work of all living authors, so that he knows how they are "ranked" by critics and how they are "rated" by the libraries. He must himself be a critic able to appreciate both the unfamiliar and the conventional. And he must never make a mistake.

He is expected to mark down a best-seller at sight, and to distinguish between work that is immature through excess of genius and work that is crude through congenital incapacity. He is to be a hack and an explorer, the brains of a publishing business and the anonymous and frequently ill-paid servant of his employers. At all times, in all circumstances, he should have his stethoscope pressed close to the heart of the public, so as to know when that heart jumps a beat. If it

jumps a beat, or if the beat quickens or slackens, a change in literary fashion is imminent, and the professional reader must be ready to anticipate any change of fashion, and ready to discount mere fluctuations of pulse."

The reader must have the power to submit a clear and accurate *precis* of the book he has just read and the skill to make his verdict upon the book convincing to the publisher. He does not decide but suggests the decision. And that decision is based on the reader's conclusions. The fortune of the publisher is always made by the correct judgment of the reader. What is wanted in him is not merely literary ability of a kind to understand good literature. "He must be the natural man, the critic and the commercial gentleman, one by one and all together."

The publishers' reader must have, above all, a *flair* for the right thing, and his judgment must be sure. How does he do it.

"I say, by his unique variety of genius. He has had, as a rule, a lengthy experience of the publishing trade. He has observed the sales of books published over the whole of the period of his experience. He has read widely, and has been alert to the form and pressure of the time. Being an extremely shrewd person, he has learned to disregard reviews and publishers' advertisements, except in so far as they communicate to his private understanding messages which he could never transmit to other and amateur observers. Taste, experience, and a subtle enjoyment of drudgery for the sake of its occasional rewards (purely spiritual since he rarely experiences gratitude), go to form the publisher's reader."

INDIAN INDEPENDENCE. By C. F. Andrews. Mr. Andrews, the well-known friend of India, is discussing this subject in his book "The Indian Problem." Re. 1. Given at half price or 8 As, TO Subscribers of the Indian Review. G. A. NATESAN & CO. PUBLISHERS, MADRAS.

## INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO RELIGION

Under the above caption, Mr. S. G. Pandit, Attorney, Los Angeles, U.S.A., contributes a thoughtful article to the latest number of *WORLD UNITY*. The writer says that Hinduism is the only religion that has been never, in all its history, spilled one drop of human blood with the fancied object of extending God's Kingdom or saving other people's souls. For, Hinduism includes in its technic for spiritual growth the rational of idolatry, polytheism, monotheism, atheism, agnosticism and numerous variants and each of these is regarded as a method suited to some particular stage of spiritual stature for its further growth and development, without at the same time entertaining any bad idea of the different method adopted by the neighbour \* \* \* The Hindu regards the different religions of the world, or the various aspects of his own religion, as different roads all leading to God from different stages or directions, corresponding to the varieties of spiritual growth. He regards each religion as most valuable for the individual adapted to it by birth, environment, education, etc. Hence, he considers any effort towards converting a man to another religion as futile and even mischievous. The only conversion he believes in is of oneself and of no one else, and it has to come from within and is a continuing process.

"Religion, to the Hindu mind, is not essentially a matter of the dead bones of formulated beliefs, but it is pre-eminently a living and dynamic process of fundamental growth leading to ever greater heights of self-unfoldment and mellowness of spirit. The religious or spiritual status of a man is determinable not by the labels placed on him by himself or by others—such as Hindu, Buddhist, Christian, Muhammadan, atheist, agnostic etc.—nor by the burden of self-imposed religiosity under which he may be bowed to his misplaced satisfaction. It is to be determined rather by the natural simplicity of his living and by the measure in which there shines out through him, without the least affectation or self-consciousness, the free radiance of the Deity who "maketh His sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust."

## THE INDIAN REFORMS

Sir Mark Hunter contributes an article headed, 'The alternatives for India' to the *ENGLISH REVIEW*.

Sir Mark Hunter says that with the Reforms of 1919 the whole outlook is changed. The reforms rest on the assumption that, politically considered, what suits Great Britain suits, or will now suit, India as well; and as for the services, their position, the whole environment in which they work, has been in part and will be altogether, transformed—as a first step towards ultimate extinction. Sir Mark continues:—

"There is nothing to deter and everything to recommend the increasing association of the best type of Indians in the government of the dependency. There are many loyal Indians capable of wielding influence in the Council Chamber and of worthily filling high and responsible office. They may be found readily enough outside the ranks of the politically-minded, though the majority of these, too, will speedily reconcile themselves to reasserted authority. Political advancement of this kind, which indeed was steadily proceeding before 1917, would be an honest fulfilment of the royal promise of 1858, and would be welcomed by all men of goodwill. If, on the other hand, the British people are really satisfied that the faith that was in Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford is essentially the true faith, and in consequence insist on the rapid transplanting in India of constitutional machinery in slavish imitation of the machinery with which we in this country are familiar; if, strong in that faith, they seek to disturb the contentment which Queen Victoria looked to as her "great reward," it would be well for them to recognize that, as Indian conditions are now, and as far ahead as the longest-sighted can picture them, good government is compatible with self-government. They must choose one or the other, for they cannot have it both ways."

## INDIA'S FORMIDABLE COMPETITORS

The Government of India have decided to adopt Imperial Preference as far as cotton piece-goods imports are concerned. It is of interest therefore, to see how the trade in that line of Great Britain stands.

That will give an idea as to whether Britain is really in need of preference or whether the adoption of it by India simply means her helping Lancashire in her campaign of crushing the Japanese competition, writes the "*Indian Textile Journal*" in a recent issue.

The index numbers of business activity prepared by the "*London Economist*" (for which 1924 has been taken to be the basic year, and therefore the index number of that year is 100), show that the consumption of cotton in Great Britain in 1927 was 113, in 1928 it was 103, and in 1929 it was 106.

That is to say, during the last year the consumption went up in comparison with the previous year. On the whole the British export trade in 1929 was somewhat better than the immediately preceding years.

Coming to the figures for actual cotton goods exports, we find the position of cotton yarns and piecegoods as follows:—

| Year | Quantity (000's omitted.) |                        |
|------|---------------------------|------------------------|
|      | Yarns<br>lbs.             | Piecegoods<br>sq. yds. |
| 1924 | 163,506                   | 4,443,959              |
| 1925 | 189,532                   | 4,435,618              |
| 1927 | 200,465                   | 4,116,883              |
| 1928 | 169,207                   | 3,866,500              |
| 1929 | 166,637                   | 3,671,687              |

As for as piecegoods go, the figures are progressively deteriorating, and it is quite clear that Lancashire has been finding it increasingly difficult to sell her goods in foreign markets. The position of yarn improved from 1924 to 1927.

But during the last two years, it has again become weak. So, on the whole, the export position of cotton goods manufactured in Great Britain is distinctly unhappy. And thus the so-called protection to the Indian cotton industry coupled with Imperial preference is equally a protection to Lancashire.

## BRITISH AND AMERICAN SYSTEMS

Mr. Oswald G. Villard, the well-known Editor of the New York *NATION*, contributes a thoughtful article to the *HARPER'S MAGAZINE* in which he compares the Parliamentary systems of Great Britain and the United States. The result of the discussion is obviously to the advantage of the British system. "If Mr. Ramsay MacDonald were an American", could he have risen to his present eminent position in the counsels of the Government?

To a remarkable degree, MacDonald's case invites a comparison between American and British political institutions, their comparative flexibility and the relative opportunity they give to the political dissenter, to the holder of unpopular views, who is ahead of his times, to enter political life and to take a prominent part in the government of his country.

The advantages are, it is plain, largely, if not wholly, on the side of the British system. Thus the intending candidate for Parliament does not have to stand in the district in which he lives, as is the case usually in this country, where few have ever lived in one district and represented another. He does not have to go hat in hand to a party boss for permission to run.

A career in the Commons is a fair and open contest for reputation and leadership, and no one who fails can blame his failure upon party bonds or the rules of the House. It must be his own fault, if he fails. How different is the situation in America.

"An American Ramsay MacDonald with a similar war record would never again have been given a Democratic or Republican party nomination for the House of Representatives. Whoever offends against party regularity either in peacetime or war-time is pretty sure to find himself for ever without the breastworks. For this, this domination of the parties by their bosses is largely responsible, as it is for the decadence of the quality of the Representatives from all sections."

## INDUSTRIAL FUTURE OF INDIA

THE HINDUSTHAN REVIEW for March contains an article on the "Industrial future of India: its possibilities and postulates" by Prof. C. V. Hanumantha Rao. Mr. Rao is of opinion that the problem of industrial development in India cannot be solved easily and in a very short time as it requires intense efforts, immense initiative and patriotic co-operation. He says:—

For protecting Indian industries by the imposition of import duties, we have to seek the assistance of the state; for expanding the Banking facilities and encouraging Industrial Banking and Indian Banking generally, we look up to the state; for lending financial and other help to the tottering indigenous industries for encouraging the policy of village reorganization and the development of village handicrafts, we require government initiative; for providing educational facilities and to dispel the vast mass of ignorance that pervades the people, we again have to depend upon the state and so on. But, if in spite of the necessity for all these reforms, the Government do not follow a consistent and comprehensive line of policy of national advancement, it is but inevitable that progress should either be very slow or that there should be complete stagnation all over. The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Wedgwood Benn, spoke sometime back of raising the standard of living of the people—not for the purpose of securing a market for British goods but as a good thing in itself—and the inducement in them of a spirit of hopefulness; but there is little scope for the fulfilment of these hopes, if there is not a full-fledged National Government pledged to a national programme.

The economic prosperity of India is bound up inseparably, says the writer, with her industrial development; and it is the duty of the Government to do everything to bring about the latter and the duty of the people to press for the necessity of bringing it about before everything else.

## INDIAN STATES AND BRITISH INDIA

Mr. A. Ramaiya contributes a thoughtful article under the above title to the March Number of the EMPIRE REVIEW. Whether the political relations between British India and the States are capable of a satisfactory adjustment or not, the harmonization of their economic and financial relations, says the writer, is vital to the efficient administration and prosperity of both, and must be attained. The main heads of revenue in which, according to the Princes, they are entitled to claim a share, are customs duties, profits from the railways, posts, and telegraphs, salt, currency and coinage, opium and Savings Banks. The contention of the Princes that the States should also have a voice in the determination of the tariff policies of the country has much force behind it. The writer concludes:—

"Provision will have to be made in the future Constitution of India for effective representation of the States in the Indian Legislature when matters of common concern for the whole of India are sought to be dealt with. The Tariff Board should be made an all-India body with provision for receiving representations from the States. But a Chamber or other representative body of the Princes or their nominees cannot, any more than the Legislative Assembly in British India, claim to be consulted in regard to such changes in the tariff rates as may be introduced by the Finance Member in his annual proposals for taxation. These changes will have to be kept strictly confidential till the moment of the publication of the Budget, and it would be futile to take any public body into confidence before the Finance Bill is actually introduced in the Legislature. Whether, and to what extent and in what manner, the States should be given representation in the Indian Legislature for safe-guarding their interests from being prejudicially affected by British Indian legislation raises political issues which may well be considered by the expert body suggested by the States Committee for dealing with the question of financial settlement.

## POSITION OF INDIAN STATES

Professor Berriedale Keith is apparently not very assertive in his view that the rights of paramountcy vesting in the British Government cannot be transferred to a self-governing British India without the agreement of the States. For in the February Number of the JOURNAL OF COMPARATIVE LEGISLATION AND INTERNATIONAL LAW, while claiming that the doctrine itself is justified, he says it "might be pushed to absurd lengths." Further, he challenges the contention of Sir Leslie Scott that treaties alone are the source of the transfer of any part of the sovereign powers of the States to the British Government. He says:

Why, it is asked, should usage and prerogative be permitted to derogate from the express terms of compacts such as that between the Nizam and the (East India) Company in 1800, which excludes the Company from any concern with the subjects of the ruler? Even if a treaty has been in practice disregarded, the weaker party having yielded to *force majeure*, can it not now be relied upon and its literal terms demanded?

The answer to such suggestions appears clear. A compact of any sort can be interpreted correctly only by reference to the system of law, which must be deemed to have been in the mind of the contracting parties, the proper law of the contract. Now it is clear that the treaties of the East India Company were not contracted under the European system of international law, which had never been extended to Indian Princes *inter se*, and of which they were ignorant. The compacts, therefore, must be judged on the basis of the international law of contemporary India, and this law was dominated by the conception of paramount power. To the position of paramount power the Company attained by its conquests; and it proceeded to exercise *vis a vis* the States with which it had agreements the rights arising from paramount power. If this fundamental fact is not accepted, then the proceedings of the Company and of the Crown in succession to it become unintelligible. It was possible to allow the treaties to stand unaltered, in lieu of denouncing them with changed circumstances, simply because it was recognised by all parties that the position of paramount authority carried with it overriding rights.

## THE FUTURE OF INDIA

We congratulate Sir Albion Banerji on the publication of his excellent Quarterly—INDIAN AFFAIRS—in London. The first Number which is before us contains a number of weighty contributions on different topics of Indian interest. There are articles on Marriage reform and the Economics of Khaddar, Women's education and the Financial system. Sir Albion's own contribution is a powerful plea for "a Re-orientation of Indian politics." He writes:—

"The administration of British India, by pursuing the rigid idea of efficiency and following principles and ideas which were applicable more than a hundred years ago, has now become in many respects unsuited to existing conditions. It is only under a National Government that the administration can be so remodelled as to bring it in line with the present-day needs and the insistent demands of the people for greater political and economic expansion.

"The administrative authority of the country which is mainly in the hands of the Indian Civil Service, can no longer be retained by that body in its present form.

"In these days of specialisation there appears to be no place for the Indian civilian of average ability, who, through no fault of his own, has become a mere machine. India must no longer be denied the fullest discretion to recruit her own public servants from the Indian people, irrespective of community, caste or creed, and for that matter from any part of the Empire after exhausting the resources of India itself.

"If Persia can appoint a Millspaugh from America to administer her finances, why cannot India be given the freedom to do likewise? India wants the best of Englishmen to fill positions of responsibility requiring expert knowledge and experience, but there is no reason why such men should not be recruited under special contracts, as is done in many cases by the ruling Princes in respect of their State services. Nationalisation of the services on the basis of efficiency and fitness must be the aim once the educational policy is so expanded that equal opportunities are given to all."

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## LAUGHTER

"Laughter gives a holiday both to the virtues and to the vices," writes Mr. Robert Lynd in the ATLANTIC MONTHLY, "and takes the imagination on its travels into a country in which the only principle is the principle of comic incongruity. Here man can resign himself to the enjoyment of life as a topsy-turvy wonderland as strange as any that Alice ever visited, and can see his dullest neighbours as a gallery of caricatures."

"It is a land of happy accidents, of large noses and blown-off hats, where words are misspelt and mispronounced, where men wear spats on their wrists instead of cuffs, the land of paradoxes and bulls and the things that could not happen. Whether it is worth visiting, nobody will ever know for certain till the Day of Judgment."

"The worst thing that can be said against laughter is that, by putting us in a good humour, it enables us to tolerate ourselves. The best thing that can be said for it is that for the same reason it enables us to tolerate each other."

## WESTERN IMPRESSION OF THE EAST

Mr. Reginald A. Reynolds writes in VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY about the opinion of modern Indian thinkers on the modern West. He begins his article with some observations on the hurry with which all nations make generalisations about foreigners. There is a story told about an Englishman who went to France for the first time, and encountered on the quay at Calais a man with red hair, lame in one leg, and wearing a purple waistcoat. He thereupon wrote home to his friends that Frenchmen had red hair, were lame in one leg, and wore purple waistcoats. To a certain extent, this story is peculiarly typical of the English mind. But it is also to some extent typical of the universal mind. This is how the West judges the East, and the East judges the West.

## INDIA IN PERIODICALS.

SECOND CHAMBERS FOR INDIA. By Mr. S. K. Sarma, B.A., B.L. ["The Hindustan Review", Feb. 1930.]

TRADE OF BENGAL IN THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. Kali Kinkar Datta, M.A. ["The Calcutta Review," March, 1930.]

REIGN OF REALISM IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY. By Prof. R. Nagaraja Sarma, M.A. [Review of Philosophy of Religion", March, 1930.]

THE MUSSALMANS OF MYSORE. By Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananta Krishna Aiyar, B.A., L.T. ["The Madras Christian College Magazine", April, 1930.]

"THE RING FENCE SYSTEM" AND THE MARATHAS. By K. M. Panikkar, ["Journal of Indian History", Dec. 1929.]

INDIA-SYMBOL OF EASTERN ASPIRATION. By C. F. Andrews. ["The World To-morrow", March, 1930.]

THE ECONOMICS OF MAHATMA GANDHI. By Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L. ["Indian Affairs", March 1930.]

THE NOONTIDE OF MARATHA POWER. By Sir Jadunath Sarkar, ["The Modern Review", April 1930.]

## The Vaishnavite Reformers of India

## SKETCHES OF THEIR LIVES AND WRITINGS

By PROF. T. RAJAGOPALA CHARARI

CONTENTS:—Nathamuni; Pundarikaksha; Yamunacharya; Sri Ramanujacharya; Sri Vedanta Desika; Manavala Maha Muni; and Chaitanya.

Re. One. To Subs. of "Indian Review." As. 12.

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

## Questions of Importance

## THE A. I. C. C.'s DECISION

The All-India Congress Committee met at Ahmedabad on the 21st March and unanimously adopted a lengthy resolution, approving the Working Committee resolution of Feb. 14, authorising Mr. Gandhi to initiate control of civil disobedience, and congratulating him and his companions on the march begun on March 12 in pursuit of his plan of civil disobedience.

The Committee hoped the whole country would respond and speed the campaign for Purna Swaraj to a successful issue.

The Committee authorised the Provincial Congress Committees to organise and undertake such civil disobedience as seemed suitable, adding that the provinces as far as possible should concentrate on civil breach of the salt laws.

The Committee trusted that while full preparations would be carried on despite any Governmental interference, civil disobedience would not be started till Mr. Gandhi had reached his destination and had actually committed a breach of the salt laws and given word.

In the event of Mr. Gandhi's earlier arrest, the Provinces would have full liberty to start civil disobedience immediately after.

The Committee concluded by congratulating Mr. Patel and Mr. Sen Gupta on their arrests, which, instead of weakening, strengthened the national resolve to reach its goal without any delay, and appreciating the example set by those village officials who had resigned from Government service in order to help the national campaign.

## PROGRAMME OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Speaking at Umber Camp on the 15th April, Mr. Gandhi outlined a more intense programme.

"Hitherto I have asked you to resist snatching of salt by the Police from your closed fists and suffer mutely and meekly whatever injuries the Police might inflict upon you. If you have got strength for suffering and faith in your mission, I want to go many steps further."

Pointing to the salt pans prepared by volunteers, Mr. Gandhi said: "I would like henceforth to regard yourselves trustees or guardians not merely of the precious national wealth locked up in your fists but of the whole treasure now being prepared in salt pans. Defend that treasure with your life if that be the price you have to pay for it. When the police come and raid these pans, surround them and not let the police touch them till they have overpowered you by sheer brute force. From your sufferings will rise into being not only Purna Swaraj but a non-violent army for its defence. Women ought not to take part alongside of men in defence of salt pans. I still give credit to the Government that it will not make war upon our women. It will be wrong on our part to provoke them into so doing. This is men's fight so long as the Government will confine their attention to men. There will be time enough for women to court assaults when the Government has crossed the limit. Let it not be said of us that men sought shelter behind women, well knowing they will be safe if they took women with them in what may be called, for want of a better name, aggressive non-violence. Women have in the programme I ventured to place before them enough work and to spare and all adventure and risk they may be capable of undertaking. The Labour Association of Ahmedabad has undertaken to picket liquor shops. Selling of contraband salt which was going on in Ahmedabad is now stopped. It will be done in villages by sending batches of volunteers."

## THE VICEROY ON "READING"

Lord Irwin as Chancellor of Delhi University delivered a thoughtful address at the eighth annual Convocation held on the 21st March. He chose for his subject the habit of reading. We reproduce a few passages from this admirable address: "Let us begin by the elementary enquiry of why we desire to read and ask what are the advantages that we derive from reading. I do not here speak of the more laborious kind of reading which we all know too well and which, in the case of the young I suppose, at times involves reading rather uninspiring text-books and, in my own, consists in reading through even less inspiring official files. It may be that for us both, the principal value of such study is that of a moral discipline, of training our mind to work with resolution and perseverance upon subjects that make no powerful appeal to our feelings at the particular moment when our task has to be performed. And it is perhaps the more necessary for those who are constrained to devote a good deal of their time to this kind of reading to seek refreshment when they may by recourse to reading of a more general character.

'Such wider reading is the means by which we may at once increase our knowledge and, even more important, supply an often much-needed stimulus to a sordid imagination. We are able at any moment to take our place upon the magic carpet and fly where fancy wills acquiring new experience, hearing and seeing new things, so that as our reading leads us through fields hitherto unexplored, we find that our vision widens and all the things of life assume for us new meaning and significance. It is through books and through reading them that we are able to give satisfaction to one of the most instinctive impulses of human nature.

'For many people this presentment in the form of their own inarticulate emotions is the great charm of all writing, whether poetry or prose. How often

are we not brought up sharply as we read by a passage or a line, 'a jewel five words long,' in which we are almost startled to see crystallised in language some dumb sensation of her own which we had never succeeded in bringing to such precise definition. In sheer joy how we read and re-read until we know by heart the lines that so wonderfully as it seems reflect or bring to light something of our very selves of which we had scarcely been aware. For those to whom music speaks clearly the sensation obtained through hearing must be analogous to that which I have described. And even if we are not musical, there is much for us all to gain and enjoy from observance of language and style. We had not perhaps been accustomed to pay much heed to this sort of thing until one day as we read, our ear was caught by the rhythm and sound of words. We suddenly detected a design for which we were not prepared, and once we had the clue we saw how the author chose language, now majestic, deliberate, restrained and calm, now rapid, impetuous, rushing like a mountain stream in space according to his subject and the effect he was seeking to create.

[As the years pass, much of the pleasure of our reading will lie in association. We meet our old friends repeatedly and though we like to make new ones, most people are intellectually conservative enough to keep a specially warm corner for those which were our first comrades and helped us to grow up. And one of the precious qualities of this pursuit of reading which I commend to you to-day is that it offers us so infinite a choice from which we can select as the spirit moves us.

Moreover, everyone will have his own favourites, both of subject and treatment, so that each must decide for himself what books he is going to make his companions. We must each make our own anthology and learn by heart the passages of our own choice. But there can be no doubt that by so doing we build for ourselves a store-house from which mind and soul can freely draw.

## BRITISH INDIA AND INDIAN STATES

The conversations between the Indian Princes and the political leaders have led to the appointment of an informal committee consisting of Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Mr. Mahomed Ali, Col. Haskar and Sir Chunibhai Mehta to sketch out the issues of common interest to British India and Indian States and suggest proposals before the next session of the Legislative Assembly in Simla.

The Princes gave an assurance of the sympathy with Dominion Status and said that their desire really was to have a proper interpretation of their treaty rights and that the course of action they were taking was not due to the fears of political movements in India.

British Indian political leaders assured them of non-interference in their internal autonomy and the ideal of a Federal India.

## THE NIZAM AND THE N. G. S. RAILWAY

The Nizam's Government has completed negotiations for the purchase of the N. G. S. Railway Company. It has been decided that the existing contract will be terminated at the end of the month. The purchase price is £8,300,000.

Deducting the share of the Government in the sinking and reserve funds and their rights as part owners of the capital, the net amount which the State will pay for the purchase will be £4,570,000. Of the net purchase amount, £1,500,000 was paid on April 1, and the balance will be issued in debentures payable in three years.

The future management of the Railway will be on the lines of State-Owned Railways in India. It will be managed by an Agent, a Railway Board, of which the Finance Member will be "ex-officio" President, and the Executive Council of the Government. The Government has offered the employees a continuance of service, provident fund, gratuity and all other privileges hitherto enjoyed by them.

## MALERKOTLA SAPPERS

In the course of his speech at the banquet at Malerkotla, H. E. the Viceroy recounted the services rendered to the Empire during the War by the Malerkotla State in the following striking words:—

"The services which the Malerkotla Sappers rendered to Great Britain during the Great War and the part they played in the second Battle of Ypres and the Battles of Nauve Chapelle Loos and La Bassee can never be forgotten. From 1914 to the last days of the War, this Force was constantly on active service, and suffered heavy casualties which were made good by reinforcements from the State. I believe that the total number of Your Highness's subjects who served during the War was over 50 per cent. of the eligible population of Malerkotla, a figure which was, I understand, surpassed only by two British districts and by no other Indian State. That generous contribution, moreover, which the State made towards the various War Funds earned the grateful thanks of the Government in those times of stress."

## NEW BARODA WATER WORKS

H. H. the Gaekwar formally opened on March 8, the Pratappura Lake, which is intended to supplement the water supply from the Sayaj Sarovar or Lake Ajwa. There were present a large and distinguished gathering including H. H. the Maharani Saheb, Lt.-Col. Wilson the Resident, Rao Bahadur V. T. Krishnamachari the Dewan, Mr. R. H. Desai, and prominent officers, Sardars and citizens.

On arrival, Their Highnesses were received by the Dewan and Mr. S. K. Gurtu, the Chief Engineer, and conducted round the dam.

After the ceremony, His Highness delivered a speech in which he reviewed the progress of public works in Baroda.

Rao Bahadur Krishnamachari presented to Their Highnesses Mr. S. K. Gurtu and Mr. Sathe, the Irrigation Engineer in charge of the works.

## Indians Outside India

### INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA

Mr. Hirday Nath Kunzru, in an interview he gave to a representative of the *MANCHESTER GUARDIAN*, in London, put in a vigorous plea for the Indian claims in Kenya. He approached the question from the Imperial aspect and justified the Indian demands.

"The Indian demands are not unreasonable. We ask for nothing which is not in the interest of the natives themselves. His Majesty's Government declared in 1923 that they were the trustees for native welfare in Kenya, and the Hilton-Young Commission strongly endorses the policy of native trusteeship. Indians strongly support this view. If native interests are held to be supreme in practice, the fear of Kenya, with its 2,500,000 Africans and about 25,000 Indians, being dominated by some 12,000 Europeans, of whom only about 2,000 are settled in the land, will be effectually removed.

The policy of trusteeship requires that the ultimate control over native and inter-racial affairs should remain in the hands of the British Government. It follows from this that the official majority in the Kenya Legislature shall be retained until the natives are able to look after their own interests. If racial conflicts are to be avoided, means must be found of enabling natives living in settled areas to enjoy civic rights. The Hilton-Young Commission came to the conclusion that the only way of doing this without allowing the other communities to be suddenly overwhelmed by the Africans is to have a civilisation franchise which would be a test of fitness and effectively control the number of electors and apply equally to Europeans, Indians, Arabs, and natives. They recommend that an inquiry should be made to determine a suitable civilisation test and that the starting-point of the inquiry should be the system prevailing in Northern Rhodesia, where there is a common roll or all British subjects.

Indians are whole-heartedly in favour of a civilisation franchise and a common roll. In their opinion and that of the Government of India the existing communal electorates for Indians and Europeans lower the status of Indians and foster racial animosities. In order to satisfy Europeans that a common roll would not endanger their interests Indians have agreed that the number of Indian electors should be limited to 10 per cent. of the population, that seats in the Legislative Council should be reserved for the two communities so that there may be no inter-racial contests, and that Europeans should have more representatives than Indians. Indians have thus provided reasonable guarantees for the protection of Europeans, and they expect His Majesty's Government to do justice to them undeterred by unreasonable opposition. They ask for no privileges, but they would be satisfied with nothing less than absolute equality of status with Europeans and the full recognition of their Imperial citizenship.

If the declaration of 1923 regarding the responsibility of His Majesty's Government for native welfare has any binding force, proposals should be held to be totally inadmissible. This is bound to have dangerous repercussions throughout the Empire. I sincerely hope (Mr. Kunzru concluded) that His Majesty's Government will arrive at no decision inconsistent with their recent recognition of the political status of India."

### INDIANS IN KENYA

It is learnt from reliable sources, reports the Mombasa correspondent of *"THE INDIAN DAILY MAIL"* on April 16, that the Kenya Government are contemplating drastic reduction of Indians in the Government service in all departments, particularly the railway.

## Industrial and Commercial Section

### BOMBAY MILL COMBINE

Sir Ness Wadia and other prominent millowners have been, for some time past, negotiating with the Government of India and the Local Government in connection with their scheme to bring about a merger of some of the big groups of mills with a view to facing outside competition. The greatest handicap of the local mills is that they are not in a position to stand the competition of Lancashire and Japanese mills—particularly of the latter—and it is therefore with the object of removing this long-standing handicap that the merger is being planned by the mill-owners.

The Chairman and Secretary of the Bombay Millowners' Association are carrying on negotiations with the Finance Member and the Commerce Member in connection with the scheme.

The merger, we understand would be on a very large scale and that it would be on the lines of the "Lancashire Combine" which is being assisted by the Bank of England. "No fewer than 50 mills will be merged into one big company which will be run on modern lines, every care being taken to see that it is run as efficiently and economically as possible. Latest and most up-to-date machinery will be purchased in order that good cloth at least as good as, if not better than, the cloth manufactured in England may be produced."

The new "Combine" will also pay great attention to the efficiency of Indian labour. The reason why the Japanese mills have been able to compete with Indian mills is that their labour is efficient. Highly paid and full-time directors will be appointed to look after the management of the proposed Combine.

The Imperial Bank of India, at the instance of the Government of India, is carrying on negotiations with Sir Ness Wadia and others with regard to rendering financial assistance to the mills. It is understood that the Bank has agreed to advance a loan of about Rs. 10 crores at a very favourable rate of interest.

### "SWADESHI" MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND

In an attempt to help the Cotton Industry of Lancashire, women are being asked to buy and wear at least three cotton dresses in the coming summer and wear red roses (made of cotton) as a sign of determination to buy Lancashire goods wherever possible. Mannequin parades are being arranged with the same object in view.

### BOYCOTT OF FOREIGN GOODS

The Bombay English Bleached and Plain Piecegoods Merchants' Association have decided "on account of the continued economic exploitation of India under the British Government's policy and with a view to extend support to Mr. Gandhi's movement" to observe a complete boycott of all foreign cloth for three months forthwith.

### LANCASHIRE'S POSITION

*THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN* says that whatever may be thought of the Government of India's manner of fulfilling their responsibilities, the masses of Lancashire cannot and must not trust the efficiency of any measure of retaliation to secure to them the Indian and Chinese markets. The future of Lancashire lies in hard and steady work in internal re-organisation.

### FISCAL AUTONOMY

Sir George Rainy, speaking on the Tariff Bill in the Assembly, declared that the fiscal autonomy convention operated only when the Government of India and the Legislature were in agreement. When this agreement was not possible, the Government of India were responsible to the Secretary of State for India and could not accept the vote of the House against the Government's own judgment.

### PYKARA SCHEME

The Secretary of State has, it is reported, sanctioned the continuance of the appointments for about two years from the beginning of this month of the personal assistant to the Chief Engineer for hydro-electric schemes in the Presidency, the Civil Engineer, the Electrical Engineer and the Engineer-in-Charge, Pykara Hydro-Electric Scheme.

## INDIAN EGGS

An organised attempt is to be made to persuade the British housewife to buy Indian in preference to Chinese eggs. In pursuance of this proposal, the first consignment of 21,600 eggs was shipped by the Ranchi. They came in 15 cases from the United Provinces, one of the largest egg-producing Provinces in India. The United Provinces Poultry Association is sponsoring the venture. The original idea was to collect eggs at Lucknow and forward them to Calcutta for shipment to London. This was subsequently given up and the Bombay port was chosen. It is expected that there will be regular weekly shipments of 72,000 eggs.

## MADRAS AGRICULTURAL SERVICES

The Government of Madras have, it is understood, passed the following orders on the reorganisation of the Agricultural and Veterinary Departments:

The Royal Commission on Superior Services recommended that no further recruitment should be made to the Indian Agricultural Service and the Indian Veterinary Service and that the personnel required therefor should in future be recruited and appointed by local Governments. In accordance with the above recommendation, recruitment to these Services was stopped in 1924 and vacancies were filled up by the creation of temporary posts in the Madras Agricultural Service pending the creation of the new Provincial Service.

The Royal Commission on Agriculture, which examined the question, recommended that the Provincial Agricultural Service might be constituted into two classes—class I replacing the Indian Agricultural Service, and class II the existing Provincial Service with the corresponding scales of pay. The chances of recruitment of non-Asiatics to Provincial Services are small, and future recruits will ordinarily be from local men. The demand of Indians in the past for high salaries was based on the claim that they should get the same salary as the majority of the service.]

## MODERN METHODS OF AGRICULTURE

Sardar Sir Jogendra Singh, Minister for Agriculture, Punjab, performed the opening ceremony of the Ferozepore Farm last month. In the course of his speech, he said:

"The Department is still young, so young that I am opening this farm as the starting point of modernising agriculture only to-day in your district. Other countries have been busy, for long years, gathering an immense amount of knowledge and increasing yields, so much so that we have lost some of our markets. It is the ambition of the Agricultural Department to get first the results obtained elsewhere and to improve them, and then to show you how to use them."

Proceeding, he said that, by means of experiments, the Department had been able to secure very good results in some districts—as much as 30 maunds of cotton to the acre, 40 maunds of barley and 100 to 120 maunds of *gur*. The object of opening the farm was to see to what extent progressive methods of agriculture would improve the district of Ferozepore. He would be satisfied, he said, if in the next ten years, they raised their average yield of cotton to 15 maunds per acre and of *gur* to at least 50 maunds per acre.

"You can imagine the possibilities of development when I tell you that Java not more than fifty years ago produced the same amount of *gur* per acre which we are doing to-day," he continued.

"Java had improved its sugar-canes to such an extent that every acre now produced about 150 maunds of white sugar and levies a tribute from India, which is more than all the land revenue we pay in the Punjab."

## BAN ON INDIAN MEDICAL DEGREES

Prominent members of the Medical Profession in Bombay are preparing themselves to take up the challenge that has been flung at them by the British Medical Council who have refused to recognise Indian Medical degrees. An urgent meeting of the Bombay Medical Council was held last month at the Secretariat to consider, among other things, the decision of the British Medical Council, the Surgeon-General with the Government of Bombay presiding. The proceedings were "in camera."

Interviewed on the subject, the Hon. Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmed, Minister of Education, declared that the attitude of the Government of Bombay was wholly dependent upon the action that was taken by the Government of India in the matter. "The whole question is that the British Medical Council has not yet informed us officially of its decision. We cannot rely upon mere newspaper reports."

The following resolutions have been passed by the South Indian Medical Union (the organisation of the independent medical profession):—

The South Indian Medical Union (Madras) welcomes the decision of the General Medical Council of Great Britain withdrawing the recognition of the degrees of the Indian Universities as this enables the country to develop medical education in India on lines best suited to Indian conditions, without being hampered by the dictates of the General Medical Council of Great Britain.

The South Indian Medical Union requests the Government to remove the disabilities of medical graduates of Indian Universities consequent on the decision of the General Medical Council withdrawing recognition of Indian degrees.

The South Indian Medical Union requests the Government of India to take early steps to establish a General Medical Council in India to control and develop medical education in India.

## CANCER AMONG ANIMALS

Remarkable facts regarding cancer distribution and the prevalence of the disease among animals are contained in a preliminary report of the Westmoreland Field Commission for Cancer Research published in the BRITISH MEDICAL JOURNAL.

Dr. Lois Sambon, under whose guidance the investigation was carried out, says the Commission, discovered that certain villages in Westmoreland were entirely free of cancer, while others suffered heavily. The same condition applied to single streets and houses, but perhaps the most striking discovery was the great prevalence of all types of malignant and other neoplasms among wild and domestic animals. This has opened up a wide field of possibilities which the Commission is exploiting.

The report points out that, without knowledge of animal sources of infection, it is impossible to understand, much less control, outbreaks of the disease in man. A memorable example is that of the Russian artillery which was sent to destroy all inhabitants of a plague-stricken border village in order to stay the epidemic. Unfortunately, the people were sacrificed, but nobody troubled about the rats, and the disease soon spread like wild-fire.

## AERO-PLANE SURGERY

A New type aero-plane, which is virtually a flying operating theatre, is now undergoing tests in Great Britain. This new flying surgery is intended for use in the remote parts of the Empire, where medical aid is usually difficult to obtain. The body of the machine is so arranged that a stretcher can be placed on board without disturbing the patient, and racks for surgical instruments are fitted, with an ice chest and fresh water tanks. There is accommodation for a doctor and two nurses, in addition to the crew and the patient.

## THE CASE FOR SCIENCE

"Science has knit the world more closely together than treaties. War is no longer well adapted to secure national needs. The recent War was not the sin of science, it was the last struggle of the militarists to escape from the new order," says Dr. Robert A. Millikan, the Nobel prize-winner.

"The worst disasters in the world have come from a panic born of ignorance. Great explosions, like the World War, have been mental, not physical. Science is influencing men to replace panicky action by reason. War was the chief occupation of man before science was understood, and every scientific advance shows ten times as many peaceful uses as those supplying warlike needs. We might as well find out the facts, for we have to live with them."

## ARTIFICIAL RADIUM RAYS

"Artificial radium rays produced by 1,600,000 volts of electricity in special vacuum tubes, have now been achieved by physicists at the Department of Terrestrial Magnetism of the Carnegie Institution annual of Washington. At the Institution's annual exhibit of its research activities, the tubes for producing these rays were shown.

The tubes are really X-ray tubes, and by applying voltages of from one half to several million, rays similar to the gamma rays of radium are emitted. The other kinds of radium rays, known as alpha and beta rays, can be produced by suitably modifying such a tube. With the aid of these rays the Carnegie physicists are studying the structure of the heart of the atom.

The tube is composed of many separate X-ray tubes with the rays of feeding from one into the next. The entire battery of tubes is immersed in oil, while each one is individually shielded from the others. This makes possible smaller tubes, and higher voltages, than Dr. W. D. Coolidge, of the General Electric Co., needs in a somewhat similar expression.

## MILLION YEARS HENCE

What would happen to the world after a million million years hence? The inquiry may not be profitable but all the same does not cease to be interesting. Scientists tell us that matter was evolved from crystallized units of electricity which in turn evolved the atom. Evolution presupposes involution: but at what stage it is to begin or whether it has already begun, it is difficult and almost impossible to say. That which had a beginning must have an end. Lord Kelvin says "it is almost certain that the sun has not illuminated the Earth for 500,000,000 years. As for the future we may say with equal certainty that inhabitants cannot continue to enjoy the light and heat essential to their life for many million years longer, unless sources now unknown to us are prepared in the great store-house of creation." Sir J. H. Jeans, a distinguished astronomer, writes that "after a million million years hence the inevitable course of events will have reduced the Earth's temperature by about 30 degrees centigrade." Whether terrestrial life would continue in this temperature it would be rash to conclude. But as the writer says, "the inevitable wastage of the sun's weight is likely to drive all life out of Earth." This gloomy outlook is relieved by the assertion that the Venus may step into the place of Earth, when Earth fails, as fail it must one day.

## HIGHER THAN EVEREST?

It is reported that Dr. Joseph Rock, Director of the National Geographic Society's expedition to South-West China and Tibet, who has just returned to America, has discovered a mountain higher than Everest in the Himalaya Range.

## THE INDIAN DAILY MAIL

Mr. K. Natarajan relinquished the editorship of the INDIAN DAILY MAIL, on the 15th March after filling that responsible position for nearly five years. He accepted the chair in 1925 at a



MR. K. NATARAJAN

critical stage in the history of the paper, and during these five years, this journal though comparatively young rose rapidly in public estimation. "His capacity to view questions in a detached and a dispassionate manner, his sense of justice and impartiality, even criticising opinions opposed to his own, and his knowledge of human nature have earned for him the respect of the public, and the loyalty of his co-workers and subordinates." He has now resumed the Editorship of the INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

Mr. F. W. Wilson, the new Editor, was lately editor of the PIONEER. Of him the DAILY MAIL writes:

"Although Mr. F. W. Wilson has only been two and a half years in India, he has already made a name for himself throughout the country as a skilled and sympathetic writer on Indian politics. Alone, among English journalists in India, he has

championed the cause of Indian nationalism, strongly advocating Dominion Status, and pleading incessantly for the policy of the Round Table Conference announced by the Viceroy at the end of last year. It is no secret that his views incurred the strongest disapproval in certain official quarters and that his refusal to trim his opinions on the fundamentals of the present political problems in India cost him the editorship of the PIONEER."

## LATE MR. VATCHAGANDHI

The late Mr. Vatchagandhi was the first to start a Gujarati evening newspaper in Bombay. The late Mr. Ardesher Patel, a veteran Parsi journalist and for many years the editor of the "Jam-e-Jamshed", conceived the idea of starting a Gujarati evening newspaper. He approached Mr. Vatchagandhi who supplied the capital. Shortly after the venture had been launched, Mr. Patel died and the brunt of the work fell on his surviving partner who had no knowledge or experience of journalism. Mr. Vatchagandhi was, however, a shrewd business-man and his enterprising nature and sound commonsense came to his aid. He made the venture not only a financial success but he made his newspaper a powerful organ of Indian public opinion.

A short time after his return from Europe, his popular newspaper celebrated its silver jubilee in 1927.

## TRIVENI

The monthly journal, THE NEW ERA, is incorporated with TRIVENI, journal of Indian renaissance, published once in two months. To assist Mr. K. Ramakotiswara Rao, Editor, TRIVENI, in the conduct of the journal, a new Advisory Board has been formed consisting of Prof. S. Radhakrishnan, Prof. K. T. Shah, Mr. C. Jinarajadasa, Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, and Mr. M. S. Chelapati (formerly Editor, THE NEW ERA.) The January-February Number contains a number of useful articles.

## THE FUNCTIONS OF UNIVERSITIES

Emphasising the need for a wider outlook in the educational policy of the country, at a meeting held on the 13th of last month in the Senate Hall of the Calcutta University in connection with the



SIR C. V. RAMAN

Students' Day celebration under the auspices of All-Bengal Students' Association, Sir C. V. Raman said: "The Indian Universities are producing stereotyped graduates devoid of interest in wider spheres of life outside the college curricula with the result that in practical life their contribution is not commensurate with their potentialities. Brawn must not be sacrificed to brain, athletics should be given a place of honour".

Illustrating the point, the speaker referred to his experience in Cambridge where scholars are found indulging in all sorts of manly games all hours of the day which led Sir Earnest Rutherford to retort, "Our universities do not seek to produce mere book-worms, but Governors able to rule an empire," when a Cambridge life was criticised.

Continuing, Sir C. V. Raman said: "We in India have no empires or colonies to govern but we inherit from our forefathers a cultural domain whose boundaries we may legitimately seek to extend and make fresh annexation thereto."

## EUROPEAN EDUCATION

Addressing the Madras Diocesan Council, the Bishop of Madras dealt with European education and pointed out that with the growing Indianisation of the services, the places once occupied by the domiciled community were no longer theirs exclusively, and that they must consider whether they received the proper education to equip them to take their place in life in this country, and make suggestions boldly to make the education more efficient. Inefficiency due to want of funds, His Lordship remarked, might spell disaster. There were a large number of small institutions here and there, and they should be concentrated in one place. In the course of a discussion that followed, Mr. A. R. Rebeiro stated that poor Anglo-Indian children were not sufficiently provided for. Dr. H. S. Hensman was of opinion that Anglo-Indian schools should be thrown open to Indian children in order to create better understanding between the pupils of the two communities. Miss de la Hey referred to the great value of the education given in European schools. Rev. Mr. Flynn suggested the consideration of the question of creating a Provident Fund for teachers, and the Rev. H. J. Edmonds expressed the view that poor schools might be brought closer together and a correspondent appointed for all the schools.

## THE MATRICULATION TEST

Matriculation was debated at the Headmasters' Conference in England, which passed the following resolution:—

"That this conference regrets the growing tendency to make the passing of the school certificate examination, or even of university matriculation, the only chief test of a boy's educational success or failure at school, and considers that the examinations are being applied as a test of education in a way that was not contemplated when they were established."

## FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

The Nair Committee are of opinion that it is essential to embody in the Government of India Act a declaration of certain fundamental rights to the following effect:—

"No subject of the King-Emperor shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or caste, or any of them, be disabled from, or prejudiced for the purpose of, holding or being recruited for any office or post paid out of public funds; or of adopting freely any profession, trade or calling or engaging in any industry; or acquiring any right, title or interest in any property; or finding admission to any educational institution supported out of funds in the hands of the Central or Provincial Government or a local body; or entering or using public roads, public wells and other places whatsoever so maintained; and all orders and enactments placing any such disability now in force are null and void. Provided that this provision shall not affect the Punjab Land Alienation Act or any similar Act for the protection of agriculturists in India."

## INTERNATIONAL LAW

Sir Eric Drummond, who attended the Conference on Codification of International Law, speaking at a non-official gathering at which he was entertained, expressed the opinion that members of the League would have to make considerable financial sacrifices in future years to enable the League to carry on its work.

Another meeting discussed the vexed question of nationality of married women. The demonstration began with the march past of girls. The depth of hue in the dresses indicated legislative progress made in various countries towards satisfying the women's claim to be permitted (if she so desires) to retain her own nationality when she marries a foreigner.

## THE "G. O. M" OF THE BAR

Sir Edward Clarke entered on his ninetieth year last February, for he was born on February 15, 1841—a year which has often been described as a "good vintage," King Edward VII., the late Sir Squire Bancroft, and many other celebrities having chosen it.

The "Grand Old Man" of the Bar is in excellent health (says an EVENING STANDARD writer), and when I had a talk with him—he was of course, wearing his famous grey frock-coat—during a garden party given in Albany last summer, he had the physical and mental vigour of a man of quarter of a century his junior.

He chuckled over his discovery that a popular novelist had used a speech he made in a case forty years ago.

Born in the City of London, Sir Edward also went to school in the City, at Dr. Pinch's, where Sir Henry Irving was a fellow-pupil. Before being called to the Bar in 1864 he was for some time—a fact I have rarely seen mentioned—the editor of a monthly magazine. There were youthful editors in those days, for he was only 18.

## THE ENGLISH BAR AND AMERICA

It is proposed that representatives of the English Bar should visit America in August next, as the guests of Canada and the United States. It is anticipated that the invitation would include members of the Bars of Scotland, Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State, and that the French Bar, together with the solicitors' profession and benches of these countries would also be represented. The delegation will have the privilege to be the guests of the Canadian Bar Association at Quebec; to attend the annual meeting of the Canadian Bar Association at Toronto; to be received by the American Bar Association at Buffalo or Detroit and to proceed to Chicago for the annual meeting of the American Bar. Time would also be found for visiting Boston, where the third centenary of the foundation of the city would be in progress.

## SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN

A Gazette of India Extraordinary dated April 1, says:—

Whereas the Honourable Khan Bahadur Sir Muhammad Habibullah Sahib Bahadur, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., KT., has, on the afternoon on the 31st



SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN

March, 1930, vacated the office of a Member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India, and whereas His Majesty the King Emperor of India has been graciously pleased to appoint the Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain, K.C.I.E., KT., Barrister-at-Law, to be a Member of the said Council in the room and place of the said Khan Bahadur Sir Muhammad Habibullah Sahib Bahadur, it is hereby notified that the Honourable Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain has, on the forenoon of this day, taken upon himself the execution of his office.

## [MIRABAI'S STORY

\* \* \* Mirabai, (Miss Madeline Slade,) the Englishwoman in Mr. Gandhi's Ashram, is a daughter of the late Admiral Sir Edmund Slade, one time C.-in-C. of the East Indies Squadron. Five years ago, Miss Slade, who was then living



MISS M. SLADE

in Paris, became attached to Mr. Gandhi's teachings, according to an account which she herself is said to have given to an interviewer, by reading the life of him by Romain Rolland, the author of "Jean-Christophe". She immediately decided to write to Mr. Gandhi, asking him to take her in his Ashram. He replied welcoming her, although he is said to have asked her to think over her decision before making a final choice. In any case, she spent some time in preparations, including the acquisition of a complete khaddar outfit, before she sailed for India. She has renounced her private fortune, and, according to the report of a recent visitor, is burned "almost black" by the sun.

## DARBHANGA'S ENGLISH ESTATE

Sir Rameshwar Singh Bahadur, Maharajah of Darbhanga, of Darbhanga Raj Bahia, and of Orissa, India, a member of the Viceroy's Council of State, and owner of immense properties in India, left, exclusive of Indian property, personal estate in England of the net value of £167,804. He died intestate.

## DR. BESANT'S CABLE

Dr. Besant has sent the following cable to Mr. Wedgwood Benn:—

"Increasing restlessness in India while English policy is uncertain. A definite declaration that



DR. ANNIE BESANT

the work of the Round Table Conference is to outline a Dominion Status Constitution will place matters on a right foundation and direction."

## PANDIT MALAVIYA'S RESIGNATION

Pandit Malaviya, leader of the Opposition in the Assembly, in an elaborate letter of resignation of membership of the Assembly addressed to the Viceroy recalls his record of a quarter of a century in the Legislatures, of his opposition to the boycott of Legislatures at the Lahore Congress, and successful persuasion of a number of Congressmen to seek re-election, and the evils inherent in the present system of government and declares that, under the Reforms, the power of the Government of India to exploit India in British interests has very little diminished and that they have used it almost as freely as they used to do, and in certain respects much more freely than before the inauguration of the Reforms. He enumerates his charges against the Government

including the continuance of the oppressively high military expenditure, non-appointment of a single Indian to the Railway Board, the ruinous financial administration, especially the currency and exchange policy of the Government, and its use of the *bloc* of 40 official and nominated votes to force through the House unpopular measures.

Adverting to the Viceroy's Announcement, which he welcomed, he says one of the conditions for offering help to the proposed Round Table Conference was that the Government should begin to act as if Dominion Status had come into existence. A very important occasion arose to show this when taxation and fiscal proposals were put forward, but the fiscal autonomy convention, as explained in the Selborne, Crewe and Fiscal Commission reports, was violated by the Government. Even the clear opinion of the Chair was disregarded and the Government practically coerced the House to accept their imperial preference scheme. He could therefore no longer work a system under which such atrocious wrongs were perpetrated on the people.



MR. J. W. BHOLE

who succeeds Sir B. N. Mitra in the Viceroy's Executive Council.

## FIRST INDIAN TO FLY TO ENGLAND

The following Communique has been issued :—

The Governor-General in Council is pleased to grant a sum of Rs. 7,500 to Mr. R. N. Chawla in recognition of his successful flight from Karachi to England. The flight complied with all the conditions laid down with regard to the Aga Khan's prize except that Mr. Chawla flew in company with Mr. Engineer, a son of Mr. H. M. Irani of Karachi, who very kindly provided the aero-plane whereas, to be eligible for the Aga Khan's prize, a solo flight must be carried out. Mr. Chawla's flight was undertaken on a D. H. Moth air-craft fitted with a Gipsy engine. Mr. Chawla originally learnt to fly in October 1928 at the Nottingham Aero-Club. He returned to India in 1929 and his training has been continued by the Karachi Aero-Club since October last. This further training was rendered possible by the generosity of a keen supporter of aviation, who placed funds for the purpose at the disposal of the Director of Civil Aviation. Mr. Chawla is the first pilot to fly in a light aero-plane from India to England.

His Excellency the Viceroy has telegraphed to Mr. R. N. Chawla at London as follows :—

"I send you and Mr. Engineer my hearty congratulations on the successful accomplishment of the first flight by an Indian pilot from India to England."

## LURE OF CINEMA TO INDIANS

Mr. A. M. Green, Acting Trade Commissioner for India, at a lecture at the Royal Society of Arts on cinema industry in India, said that despite great technical inferiority of Indian films, they were infinitely more popular with Indian audiences than imported films. He was convinced that the cinema was an influence for good in India.

Although at present it only touched the merest fringe of India's millions, it was undoubtedly educating them in some measure and drawing the lowest classes from the grogshop, and others from less desirable entertainments.

In the course of a discussion that ensued, Mr. Bruce Woolfe, Managing Director of British Instructional Films, expressed the opinion that India should concentrate on producing films for international exhibition rather than internal.

Sir Atul Chatterjee supported Mr. Bruce Woolfe and stressed the need for cultural films which, he hoped, would help completely to transform Indian village life.

Dr. Drummond Shiels advocated the travelling cinema on the lines adopted by the Railway Board and the show of health films for the prevention of epidemics. He hoped in places where illiteracy prevailed, talkies would become most useful.

## INDIA vs. ENGLAND

Intimation has been received from England by the Indian Hockey Federation that an invitation from the English Hockey Association for a team from India to tour in England in 1932 and to play an international match against England which is now on its way out to this country. This news will doubtless be received with much interest and satisfaction in hockey circles in India, and justifies the policy of the Federation in taking early steps to discover likely players. Further details will be notified in due course.

It is hoped that those provinces which are not already affiliated to the Indian Hockey Federation will now redouble their efforts to form associations and get them affiliated in order that the team to be selected may be the strongest which the country can produce.

## THE COTTON TARIFF BILL

On March 31st the Assembly rejected Pandit Malaviya's amendment to the Cotton Tariff Bill by 44 votes to 60 and carried Mr. Chetty's amendment by 62 votes to 42. The Bill as thus



PUNDIT MALAVIYA

amended was passed. The Nationalist Party led by Pandit Malaviya thereupon walked out in protest.

The President in his ruling held that Pandit Malaviya's points were points of order. As for the first point, he did not hold that any specific interpretation of fiscal convention was necessary for any specific purpose connected with the debate and it was therefore unnecessary for him to interpret the convention at this stage. As regards the second point, he said whether the interpretation of Pandit Malaviya or of the Commerce Member be correct, the Government had taken up an attitude which they had no right to do and which had created the impression in the minds of members that if they did not accept the Government's proposals, the mill industry would go without protection resulting in its total destruction. Even according to the Commerce Member's interpretation, the Secretary of State would resume his powers in a case of disagreement between the Government and Legislature's views, but if the House was deprived of free vote, it would, by accepting the Government's proposal, be also deprived of having the matter

examined by the Secretary of State. The statement, therefore, that the Government would not proceed with the Bill, was not warranted by the constitutional position and was calculated to seriously interfere with the free vote of the House. There was also the power of recommendation and certification. The Government were not, therefore, fair to themselves or to the Secretary of State when they conveyed the impression that if the House did not accept their proposals, they would allow the mill industry to go to wreck and ruin. He asked the Government even at this late stage to reconsider their attitude and tell the House if they had an open mind, because by their attitude they had rendered the whole debate unreal and farcical and violated the spirit of the convention.

As for the third point, if the convention was to be worked in the spirit of the Selborne Report, the official members should not vote, but by no stretch of language was it open to the Chair to rule that officials or nominated non-officials shall not vote.

Sir B. N. Mitra, Leader of the House, said the Government had given considerable thought with an open mind to the various amendments, and had decided to accept Mr. Chetty's amendment. Sir George Rainy wished the House to know clearly the Government's position and his statement had been made after the fullest consideration. He regretted, therefore, that the Government were unable to accept the Chair's suggestion and to resile in any way from their position.

Before putting Pandit Malaviya's amendment to the vote of the Assembly, President Patel said in view of the fact that Government were unable to accept his suggestion, he had decided to place on record that any final decision by the Assembly on this question would not be by the free vote of this House.

## Diary of the Month

March 18. Earl Balfour is dead.  
 March 19. Trial of Mr. Sen Gupta begins at Rangoon.  
 March 20. Satin Sen is convicted and sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment.  
 March 21. Sir Hugh Stephenson is appointed Acting Governor of Bengal.



MR. R. S. BAJPAI

March 22. Mr. R. S. Bajpai succeeds Mr. Coatman as Director of Public Information.  
 March 23. Mr. Sen Gupta has been sentenced to 10 days' simple imprisonment.  
 March 24. Government of India awards Rs. 7,500 to Mr. Chawla, the Indian Aviator, who reached London by Air.  
 March 25. A. I. C. C. approves Gandhi's programme.  
 March 26. Trial of Prof. Indra begins in Delhi.  
 March 27. Indian teachers of Sastri College leave Bombay for Durban.  
 March 28. Council of State passes Finance Bill.  
 March 29. Mr. Langford James, Senior Counsel in the Meerut Conspiracy Case, is dead.  
 March 30. Assembly passes the Tariff Bill as amended by Mr. Chetti.  
 March 31. Mr. Sen Gupta is released.  
 April 1. Bengal Council passes the Criminal Law Amendment Bill.  
 April 2. Pandit Malaviya and seven nationalists walk out from the Assembly.  
 April 3. Council of State passes the Tariff Bill.  
 April 4. Mr. Cosgrave is re-elected President of the Irish Free State.  
 April 5. Prof. Indra is awarded 9 months' rigorous imprisonment by the Delhi Magistrate.  
 April 6. Mr. Gandhi and 84 volunteers break the Salt Law at Dandi and manufacture salt.

April 7. Messrs. Kothari, Ramdas Gandhi and several other Salt Satyagrahis throughout India are arrested and convicted.  
 April 8. Messrs. Nariman and Mr. G. Desai have been sentenced for breaking Salt Law.  
 April 9. Mr. Deva Das Gandhi is arrested and convicted for breaking salt law.  
 April 10. Sir K. V. Reddi leaves Madras for Simla en route to South Africa.  
 April 11. Mrs. and Mr. Motilal Nehru re-name Ananda Bhawan as Swarajya Bhawan and dedicate it to the public.  
 April 12. Mr. Sen Gupta is convicted for 6 months' R. I. for reading proscribed literature.  
 April 13. Pandit Malaviya launches the campaign of boycott of foreign cloth in the Punjab.  
 April 14. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is sentenced to 6 months' S. I. for breaking Salt Law.  
 April 15. Messrs. Prakasam and Nageswara Rao are fined Rs. 500 each and their cars are attached on their refusal to pay the same.



SIR DENYS BRAY

April 16. Sir Denys Bray is appointed member of the India Council.  
 April 17. An Anglo-Soviet Trade Agreement is signed.

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As Sir John Foster Fraser writes: "Pelmanism quickens Perception; it stimulates the Imagination; it develops Concentration. It will not make the dunderhead into a statesman, but it will and does provide a plan whereby we can make the best of our qualities."

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Here are a few extracts taken at random from letters written to the Pelman Institute in India from readers who are training their minds by means of Pelmanism, describing some of the benefits they have received.

A COMPANY SECRETARY writes: "I have learnt to school myself to do the disagreeable job to-day instead of to-morrow. Have noticed things more than before. Have more confidence to follow my own judgment, and consequently feel increasingly reliant and am conscious of a mental growth."

A STUDENT writes that Pelmanism has given her a clear aim and greater self-control, and has enabled her to concentrate on her studies in such a way as to help her to remember what she has learnt.

A CIVIL SERVANT (I. C. S.) writes:—"I have gained self-confidence and energy. I am disposing of my daily duties more easily and smoothly."

A CIVIL SURGEON writes:—"I have never for a moment regretted taking my course of Pelmanism. It has taught me much. Auto-suggestion, concentration, recollection and enthusiasm in all matters, a greater interest in life in general, and in my profession in particular, are among the benefits I can attribute to my course, and if I have any regrets, it is that the course has now come to a close."

A CAPTAIN (I. M. S.) writes:—"I have developed interest in life and work, both of which had nearly died out of me. My senses are getting acuter again and I am acquiring knowledge by their continued use. "I can't do this" no more occurs to me now, for I have confidence in myself. In short, the course has given me an impetus for general improvement."

A PLANTER writes:—"There are two benefits that I have derived from the course, and these are a considerable gain in confidence, and the acquisition of a greater tendency to tackle a job immediately, instead of delaying until the last moment."

P. T. O.

A BARRISTER writes:—"In lucid and interesting language Pelmanism teaches every one how to take an interest in life so that they may live their lives to the fullest extent, and get the best out of it."

A MERCANTILE ASSISTANT writes:—"I have learnt how to think; my memory is good, and I am less self-conscious. I am not sure whether the position to which I am proceeding at the end of the month is directly attributable to Pelmanism; but Pelmanism will make me succeed in it."

AN ARCHITECT writes:—"I have developed concentration, attention and interest powers which I lacked before, and I have now a good knowledge of my professional requirements as a result of training my senses on Pelman lines. My will and power for effort has been considerably improved."

A Writer says that Pelmanism has enabled him to conquer his old absent-mindedness, forgetfulness and carelessness. Also, owing to the mental alertness and confidence developed by Pelmanism, he has been able to secure a good job.

A MUSICIAN writes: "I have experienced an all-round improvement. Concentration, Will-Power, and Memory are improved beyond recognition. The pleasure of possessing these abilities has made my life happier. It was the best day's work I ever did when I sent for this Course."

A NURSE writes: It has given me an aim in life, and has shown me how I can carry it out. It has made the world seem a much more interesting place to live in, and I feel more Self-Confident, with a more reliable Memory."

A LABORATORY ASSISTANT writes:—"Pelmanism has been for me a remarkable method of individual unfoldment, bringing out abilities I

never dreamt I possessed, quite apart from being an investment that has paid for itself time and again. It has given me courage and enterprise to strike out on my own and has changed my environment and general outlook on life more than I should have thought possible."

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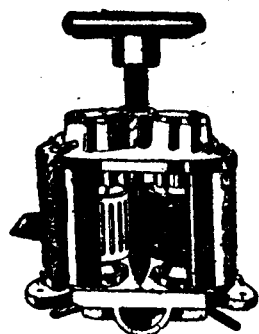
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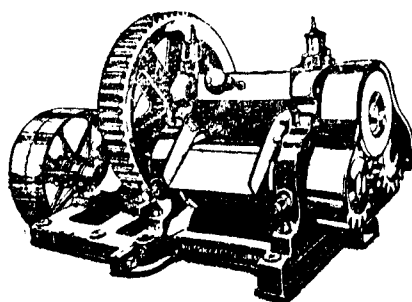
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### PENINSULAR AND ORIENTAL SAILINGS—BOMBAY TO LONDON.

| Steamers.           | Tons.  | Sailing About    | Steamers.                | Tons.  | Sailing About |
|---------------------|--------|------------------|--------------------------|--------|---------------|
| S. S. "Rawalpir di" | 16,614 | 12th April. 1930 | S. S. "Viceroy of India" | 19,648 | 3rd May 1930  |
| " " Morea " @       | 10,954 | 17th " "         | " " Raiputana "          | 16,568 | 10th " "      |
| " " Razmak "        | 10,602 | 19th " "         | " " Kaiser-i-Hind "      | 11,518 | 17th " "      |
| " " Malwa " @       | 11,000 | 25th " "         | " " Mooltan "†           | 20,847 | 24th " "      |
| " " Narkunda †      | 16,572 | 26th " "         | " " Macedonia "          | 11,120 | 31st " "      |

@ Extra Steamers. † Through Steamers from Australia. \* From China.

### PENINSULAR AND ORIENTAL SAILINGS—CALCUTTA TO LONDON.

| STEAMER        | TONS  | SAILING ABOUT   |
|----------------|-------|-----------------|
| S. S. "Novara" | 7,000 | 14th June 1930. |
| " " Nankin "   | 7,000 | 28th " "        |

### BRITISH INDIA SAILINGS FROM CALCUTTA & MADRAS TO LONDON.

| Steamers        | Tons. | Sailing About   |
|-----------------|-------|-----------------|
|                 |       | From Calcutta   |
| S. S. "Mantola" | 9,065 | 12th April 1930 |
| " " Mandala "   | 8,248 | 26th " "        |
| " " Manela "    | 8,303 | 10th May " "    |
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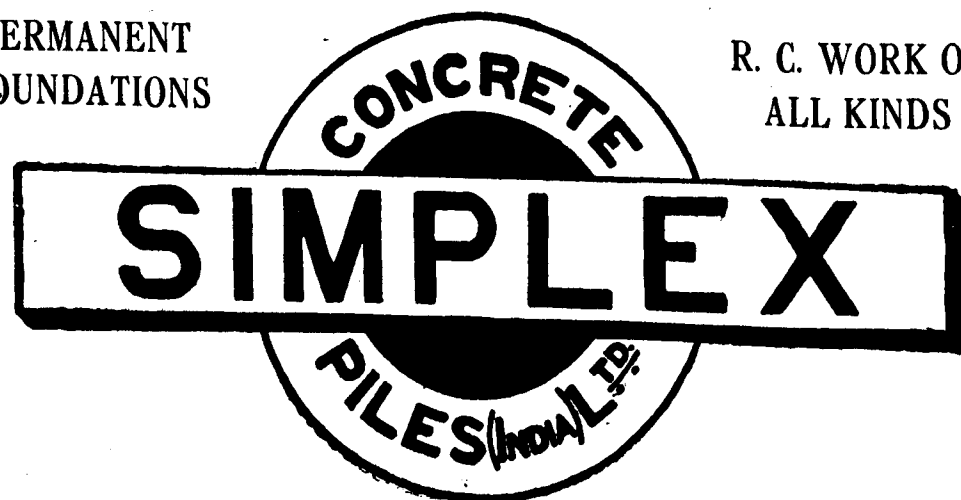
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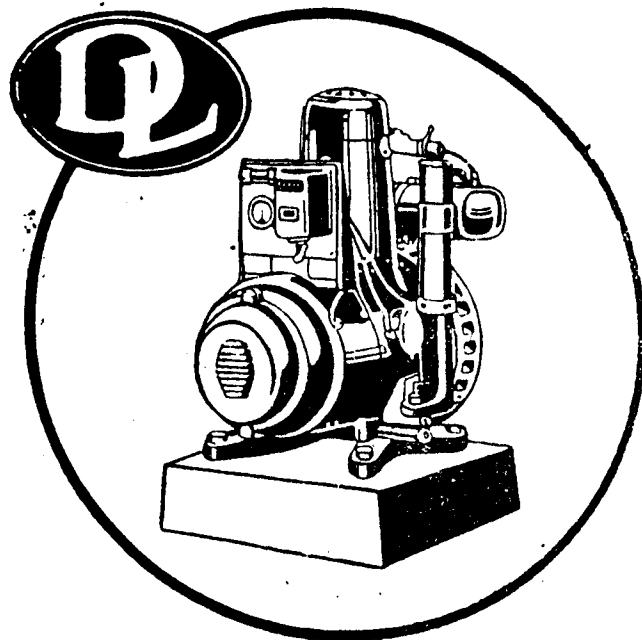
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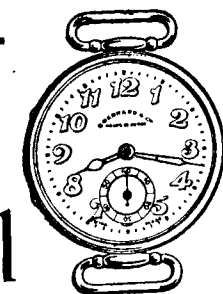
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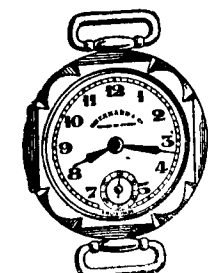
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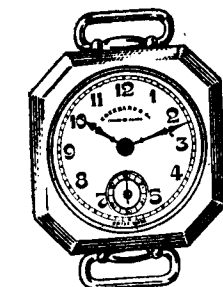
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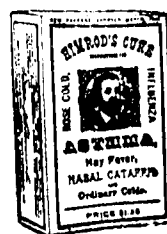
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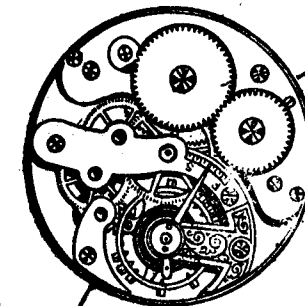
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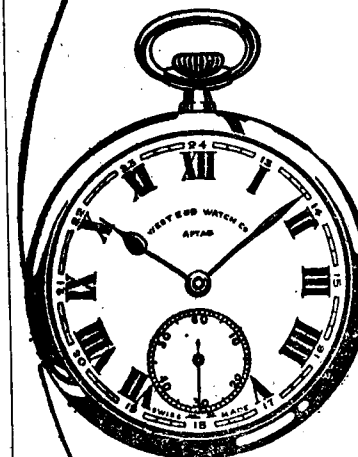
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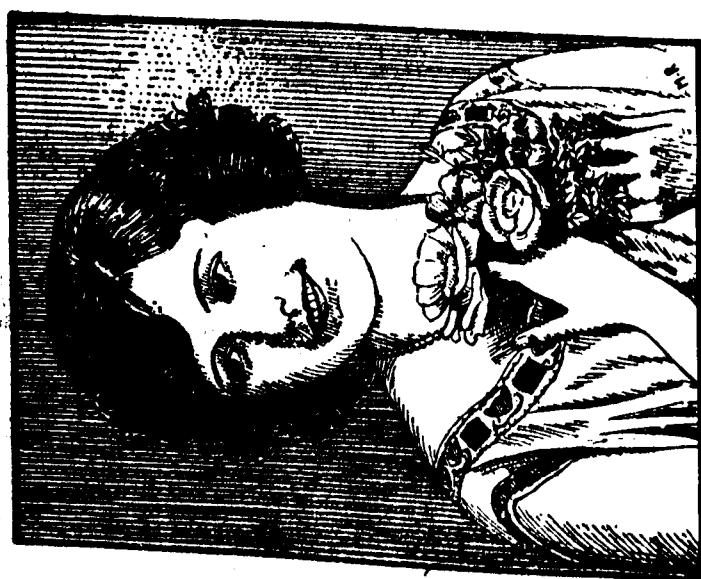
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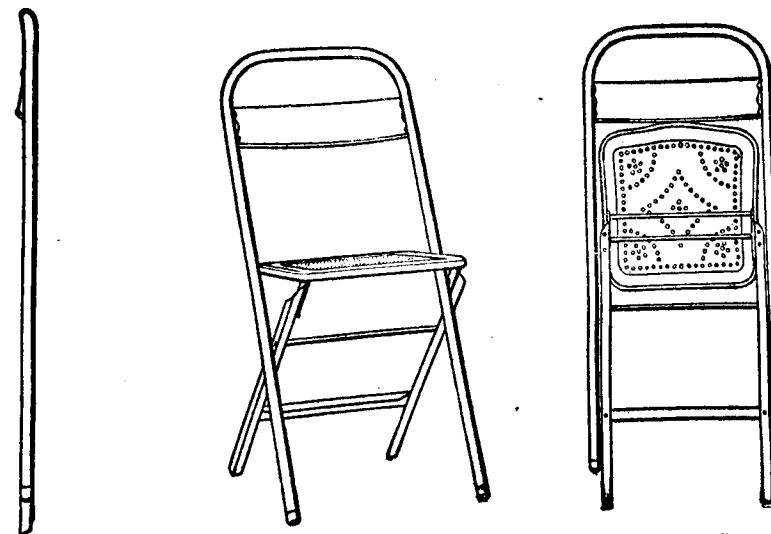
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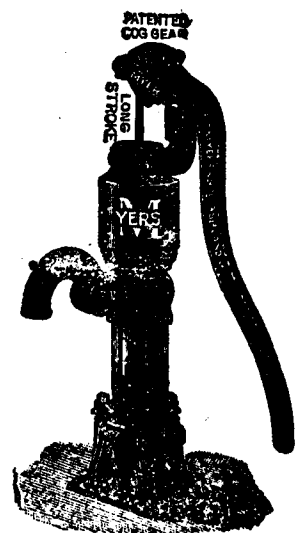
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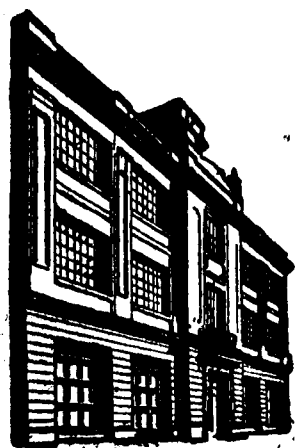
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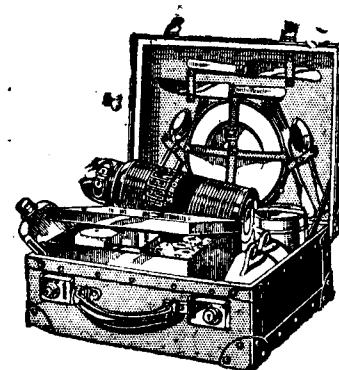
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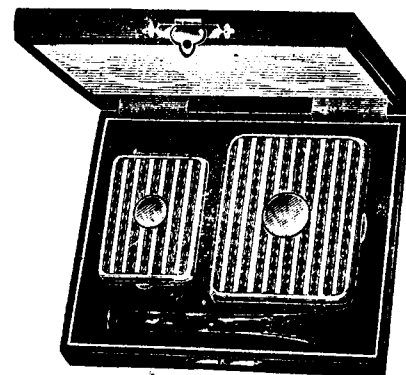
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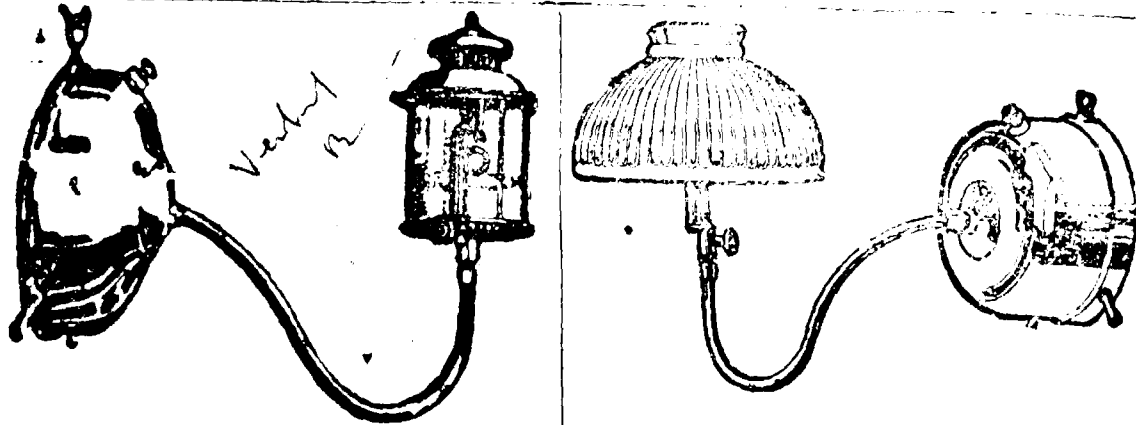


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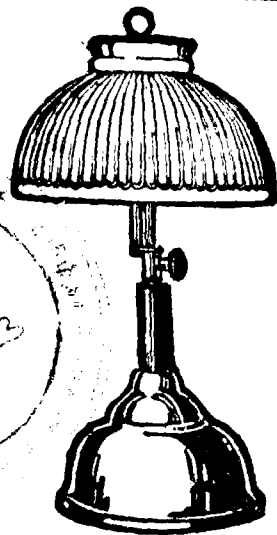
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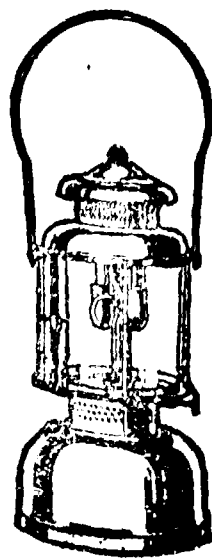
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