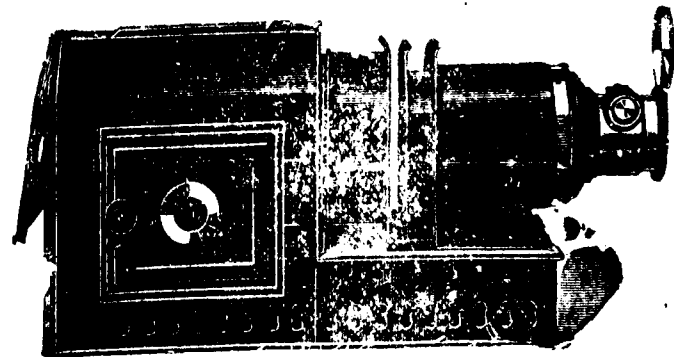


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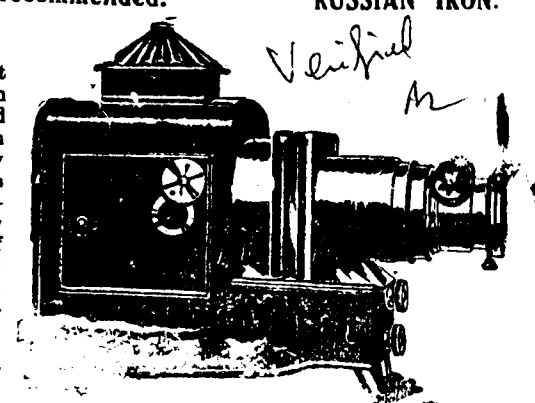
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[NO. 9]

## The British Empire and the World

BY SIR ROBERT HADFIELD, BT., F.R.S.

THE economic development of the British Empire—the British Commonwealth of Nations—and India will eventually and automatically benefit the whole world. One of the revelations of the post-War world is that economically the nations of the earth are almost entirely interdependent, and therefore any development which affects several of the nations, as in the case of the British Commonwealth, will affect the rest of the nations.

As the post-War years advance, and we are in a better position to measure and react to international changes, it is obvious to the student of international economics that the next great development must be within the British Empire. The slow development of to-day must be accelerated in view of the persistent progress in all countries. It is now an open secret that there is a determined opinion among the leaders in commerce, industry, labour, finance and economics within the Empire that organized development must be commenced without unreasoned delay. Indeed, there is a growing impatience among these leaders at the slow rate of imperial economic progress.

Development works in all parts of the Empire Commonwealth will be bound to be undertaken at no distant date. But this should give rise to no misapprehension among the other nations in the world that their individual or collective fortunes will be affected adversely. Indeed, the added economic prosperity which is bound to

attend the efforts of organized British development on the part of the British will be in a great measure shared by the rest of the world.

For material proof of this statement let us ask ourselves the question: "Are the peoples of the world any better off by the organized development and subsequent rise to great prosperity of the United States of America?" The answer is too obvious. One hundred years ago the United States stood for very little in the economic fortunes of the rest of the world. To-day it is the commercial, industrial and financial activities have founded a dominating and highly creative place in the life of every other nation; the world at large, is richer beyond calculation by the rise of modern America. It will be the same with the rise of the British Commonwealth of Nations. A very similar development will take place. The United States is a most important economic unit in the world, and so is the British Commonwealth. It is hoped the latter will further grow and develop, and the world in consequence will be infinitely richer in material and civilization.

The British Commonwealth exerts a very considerable constructive influence upon international finance; the War, too, proved the operative solidarity of Empire economics. As in the modern world economic questions of every description are at the base of all international affairs. Indeed, all political struggles in the post-War world have been caused by and through economic struggles, or suggested

struggles toward greater economic prosperity. I mention this to show that other nations need have no fear that an acceleration of Empire development on the part of the British has any political significance; it is consistent with the economic progress and changes in the modern world.

Take another line of argument. Great Britain and Europe are making increasing demands upon the rest of the world for more food and greater quantities of raw material. There is probably no other part of the world which can supply these new demands with adequacy except the British Dominions, and then only after considerable research and subsequent organized development. The food and raw material will then be exchanged for manufactured goods, machinery and services of various kinds, which will come from the nations of Europe as well as from Great Britain.

Keep pace with these great new demands, as the world progresses, there will be like great demands for capital investment in the Dominions for railroads, roads, docks, harbours, electrical plants, irrigation works and agricultural requirements. As it is now well known in the post-War world that finance was one of the first to become internationalized, it is obvious that extensive capital investments in the development schemes of the Dominions, Crown Colonies and India would have to be met by capital advances from international concerns and co-operations. In this way the development of the British Empire becomes in no small degree an international investment, controlled by the British people through some such organization as a dominion development board. It is clear, then, that all nations participating in the capital advances would themselves benefit in the added prosperity which would come from Empire development.

A further consideration presents itself for careful study of the nations outside the British Empire. It is the many new potential markets which would be created by the organized deve-

lopment of these vast new countries. In Africa and India, the latter especially, are the greatest potential markets in the world; teeming millions of people with a low purchasing power await at the moment for commercial, industrial and agricultural development to give them increased economic prosperity. Anything which adds to the trade of Africa and India adds to the world's trade.

Great Britain and Europe are overcrowded. There is great need of outlets for surplus population of the right kind. In developing the British Empire, while it is naturally expected to provide work and homes for British settlers, it is not unreasonable to expect that many of the new settlers will come from the overcrowded countries in Europe. Here again we find that Empire development will be a direct gain to almost every nation in the world, besides forming commercial and industrial links through these new settlers which will be a source of permanent and increasing prosperity to all the nations concerned.

Viewed from every conceivable point, it is impossible to look upon British Empire organized development as other than a great boon to mankind, whose vast super-economic ramifications will add very considerably to the general wealth of the world. Indeed, it will be the greatest co-operative contribution toward world economic prosperity ever contemplated by any group of nations.

#### A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT FOR ENGLAND

The following statement was issued, from 10, Downing Street, on August 24.

"The Prime Minister this afternoon tendered to His Majesty resignation of Ministry which was accepted by His Majesty who entrusted Mr. Ramsay MacDonald with the task of forming a National Government on a comprehensive basis for the purpose of meeting the present financial emergency. Mr. MacDonald has accepted the commission and is now in conference with Mr. Stanley Baldwin and Sir Herbert Samuel who are co-operating with him in the constitution of such an administration."

## Inequality: Natural and Unnatural

BY RAJA BAHADUR SINGH

HERE are classes and communities even to this day who preach and are even attempting to practise what is called "Equality". In my view "Inequality" is a thing that is necessary and that must be got rid of. I am, however, of opinion that by its very nature the universe itself is, and must continue to be, composed of parts which cannot all be uniform, and humanity being but a part of that universe, cannot but share the very quality of the universe itself.

How is it then that such inequalities constitute the causes of our misery? Let me begin with "Unnatural Inequality" and show how far it is a source of trouble and how, further, an attempt to replace it by equality has not solved human miseries. In about the second half of the 18th century, France experienced a great revolution when the peasant class rose in revolt against their oppressors—the kings and nobles. Their action was justifiable from circumstances then existing, but to what did it lead? In fact, what were the ideals that induced the peasantry of France to rise against their superiors? True, they had been oppressed to the utmost extent for many centuries past, and it was therefore necessary that they should have liberty from their cruel masters. But, did the French peasantry obtain liberty at all? Did they not, in the very name of liberty which they claimed, shed in profusion the blood of the innocent, of orphans and widows; and, at the same time, did they not subject themselves later to a monarchic system of government under the militarist leadership of Napoleon? The peasantry desired to do away with the nobles and kings and thereby obtain liberty; but instead they practised cruelty of the utmost kind, and subsequently subjected themselves to a worse form of monarchic government.

Why? Because their ideal of liberty was vitiated by an ideal of false equality. They thought

that, if everyone were reduced to the same level of possession of power and wealth, then there would be no more room for oppression on the one hand, for poverty and misery on the other. Therefore they coupled Equality with Liberty, and in order to show to the world that they were being backed up by moral necessity, or rather to show to the world that their ideals were justifiable from a higher purpose, they said that they were acting to establish in this world a brotherhood of humanity, where none would suffer, none would be proud, everyone would enjoy, everyone feel satisfied. Therefore they created and added a third ideal: Fraternity.

Liberty, Equality and Fraternity constituted the cry of the revolutionists; and to what extent they succeeded in establishing these three principles by their cruel modes of doing away with authority which then existed, is a matter of subsequent history. In their own land, though for the time being they succeeded, there arose subsequently several militaristic monarchic governments and finally the republican. Not only in France, but everywhere else, the very same idea has operated. Even recently the Russian Tzar and the German Kaiser have been deprived of their crowns. People want equality to-day, equality for the purpose of liberty and for the sake of universal brotherhood.

Has equality ever been established anywhere? Monarchic form of government is very often attacked . . . Why should the members of a particular family alone be the rulers? is the question often raised. Therefore attempts are made to pull down the Crown. But has this put an end to the monarchic form of government? Even in the republican governments, in the United States of America, for instance, which is believed to be the most republican country of the world, they have a president in place of a king, and there are



as many high and low civil and military officers as there are in a monarchic country. Hence, everywhere in the world there must be some to exercise authority and others to obey that authority, which brings the question of the necessity for inequality.

Similarly with regard to wealth. There must be rich men and there must be poor men. In ancient Athens, it is said, there was no poverty at all. Pericles is pointed out as the greatest reformer who reduced poverty to the utmost extent and removed it. He did not do away with the rich, nor with the poor; but by amplifying the trade of his city, he created a middle class, thereby bringing about an equitable distribution of wealth so as to prevent its accumulation in the hands of a few. But even then, even in that golden Periclean Age of Athens, there were slaves uncared for, suffering silent miseries that never came to the notice of the upper classes.

If all were to be of the same class, rich or poor, there would be what is called uniformity, and uniformity is the one thing that is opposed to all principles of evolution that depends for its progress upon emulation, arising out of distinctions. But for the poor, the rich would not find a value for their wealth, either economical or morally, and but for the rich, the poor would not find means for their livelihood. Money is intended for and obtains its value for distribution; and distribution means concentration, at least to some extent, in the hands of some and circulation thence to the hands of others.

Equality, therefore, is out of question; and liberty can be obtained, not through a dead level of equality but by establishing *inequality*—inequality where there would be no greed, no oppression, no slavishness, no hatred and no suspicion.

Inequality is essential. The earth, for instance, is not the sun, nor is the sun the moon, and yet each is essential for the very being and the very

going on of the universe. Each keeps to its particular function, to its particular location and yet all are kept by means of gravitation that subsists among and operates in them all. This is *natural inequality*. Natural inequality is where there is difference, a difference that brings about co-operation and inter-dependence. Naturally these, co-operation and mutual dependence, bring about tolerance towards others, forbearance and forgiveness and such noble qualities that lead to the highest ethical standard that man has ever conceived.

Unfortunately human society has not yet fully understood this underlying co-operative basis of the universe. Some of its members do create unnatural inequalities which are the sources of heart-burning, suffering, and ruin. They are the persons who either being rich, or occupying high social position, or assuming an air of superiority, utilize their power to exploit the weaker for the satisfaction of their greed, lust, avarice and whims. Only the inequalities of such nature being harmful, are to be condemned. The persons creating such inequalities are still in the animalistic stage. It is only among the animals of the forest that there is no kind of organisation.

Humanity is above animality; and in fact has got within itself every possibility of reaching a still higher stage that is divinity. Divinity is that stage of existence where each is found to be essential, where distinction among members are discovered, and yet, through the necessity for mutual dependence, the value of each and the unity of all are recognised. Unity in Diversity is the principle of the universe and not a dead Uniformity. Tolerance and mutual dependence bring about that unity; whereas several grades or states of society bring about diversity. Evolution needs them, the very basis of the universe affirms them, and the divinity in man impels him to realise them.

## World Depression : Causes and Cures

BY MR. P. R. SRINIVAS, M.A.,

Editor, "The Indian Finance".

THE title of this article may suggest amazing effrontery. At one stage the doctors felt convinced that they had diagnosed the world's financial ills properly, formulated the *recipes* and provided for their proving effective in the space of a few months. The diseases have proved chronic, infectious, and malignant; and, that is worse, they have baffled diagnosis. This does not mean that the doctors have realised their impotence or the need for less aggressive assertion of their own standpoints. While physicians are legion, and the views they have so far expressed would run into volumes, even whole helves, it is ludicrous that I should hope to treat of the causes and cures with authority, knowledge and judgment. I should rather aim at a classification of the various opinions held, both as to cause and as to cure, and suggest remedies which are less in my own ingenious brain wave than the result of the co-ordination of those which have already held the field.

It is necessary, in order to understand the variety of views that are expressed from day to day, to comprehend the chief characteristics of that manifold phenomenon which is inadequately conveyed by the term "trade depression". A trade depression has, as a rule, an elusive identity and is recognised only by its effects. The agriculturist experiences more difficulty than usual in disposing of his produce. The industrialist sees a fall in the rate of off-take of goods from his factory. Turnover of every kind becomes less. Volume and value of foreign trade alike suffer a decline. Incomes of the business classes follow suit. The revenues of federal and local governments begin to dwindle. Men are thrown out of work. Unemployment stalks the land. Prices fall, taking old-established business houses in their train. Demand sinks to its lowest ebb. The smooth currents of economic life are impeded at every point. In the place of organisation comes disorganisation and, in many a respect, the world has to start, not repair, but rebuilding.

There is no chronological order in which these effects of the depression may be said to occur. But if one were to attempt to trace such an order, one might say that the industrialist sees the slowing down in the clearing of stocks and begins to restrict his purchases of raw material. The makers of raw produce are thus the first to feel the fall in demand and the

weakness of the market in which they have to deal. Their price realisations are distinctly less; and as the great consuming markets of the world are the agricultural classes the depression is passed on to others from this central pool. If the resistance to the normal economic laws is not considerable, the forces that bring about the depression set up their own correctives; and recovery is an automatic process. Such resistance depends on the nature of the economic organisation, the strength of each factor to escape the effects of the depression on itself, to postpone or minimise them, to pass on as much of them to other factors as possible. To the extent such resistance is offered, recovery will be delayed.

The place of monetary factors must also be recognised. An inevitable concomitant of every trade depression is the fall in the general price level. The volume of credit and advances needed to finance trade would be distinctly less, even if the turnover in each market should suffer no diminution. Low prices mean low profits. Unemployment is the negation of any purchasing power, except such as may be given to the unemployed by the numerous varieties of the "dole". The volume of currency in circulation suffers an inevitable shrinkage; and banks are left with larger balances, return or cease their drawings on the central banking institution and the end of it all is deflation. Then arises the controversy whether deflation was the result of lower prices and sluggish trade, or whether, forced by some exterior cause, it did not create or at least accentuate the trend towards the depression. It may seem strange that opinions on matters, which apparently should admit of objective judgment, could be so diametrically opposed. But the explanation lies in the difficulty of tracing the chronological sequence of the events that together make up a trade depression.

It should be clear from the above that a depression during a period of modern industrialism has three distinct aspects: (1) of finance or the monetary aspect; (2) of goods, that is, the equilibrium or disequilibrium of demand and supply; and (3) of the nature of the economic organisation or, in other words, the general health of the body economic, as I often like to put it. And one opinion differs from another according as it lays the emphasis on one aspect or another. Of the various schools of thought, that which

attributes the depression to changes in the monetary factor is the earliest. Headed by Prof. Gustav Cassel, this school has argued to this day that the fall in prices, and all the disorganisation incident thereto, have been caused by the restriction of credit which the central banks effected during the greater part of 1929 in obedience to the pressure of the Federal Reserve Banks in America. A ready answer to this view is that before the depression thickened the high money rate policy had run its course, and the banks were only too anxious to grasp every opportunity of making sound advances, that, in a word, the large balances with banks were the effect rather than the cause of the fall in prices.

A variant of this monetary theory in regard to the depression is, that it has been caused by the restriction of credit resulting from the maldistribution of the world's gold resources. The U. S. A. and France keep disproportionately large stocks of gold, without any obligation to encourage investment in countries which are in need of capital either for direct investment or as the means of expansion of credit. Though the maldistribution of gold can, no doubt, account for many of the ills of business during recent times, it cannot by itself be held to account adequately for the entire depression. As a theory, it has the defect of not taking the whole position into account.

Conspicuous for its avoidance of this defect is the latest thesis of Mr. Keynes that monetary equilibrium is attained when the rate of savings is equal to the rate of new investment. Mr. Keynes has worked out his theory elaborately as one of permanent value rather than as an explanation of the present crisis. But the application of that theory to the economic conditions of the last two years is too obvious to escape anybody's attention. It is difficult to offer any criticism of this theory in the limited space available to me. But suffice it to say that no purely monetary theory, however brilliantly conceived, or elaborately worked out, can possibly explain such a many-sided phenomenon as a trade depression. The three aspects which we distinguished in an earlier stage have each a distinct importance. Considered from the standpoint of each commodity market—and this is what the average businessman understands more than any other—the conditions in the autumn of 1929 were such that even if there had been no change in the monetary factor, such as Prof. Cassel and his friends emphasise as the sole cause of the depression, the heavy stocks in each market would have forced down prices. Practi-

cally all the staples of the world were in a state of over-production, that is, as compared with the customary demand. And on the side of demand, important consuming markets like India and China were torn by civil unrest; and the consequent depression in these countries and the chief manufacturing countries acted and reacted on one another in a way that is explicable only by the fundamental perversity of things on this planet. As regards the foreign countries, the abatement of general consumption arises from that broad movement towards greater economy in production which is called "rationalisation". Rationalisation, judging by its short-range effects, has had a doubly adverse effect on trade conditions. On the one hand, by its economy of labour it increased unemployment and curtailed the possible demand for the products of industry. On the other, the rationalised processes of industry were responsible for an increase of production, twice-cursed because it is ill-timed.

These are the basic factors which should perforce be at work, if modern industry develops on the lines on which it has developed all along. Add to this the evils which the economic settlement (?) after the War has heaped on the hapless peoples of the world. The settlement was the work of the politicians who neither understood nor respected the laws of economics. In a machine which works chiefly by the resiliency of its parts, it introduced undue rigidity. The machine creaked in its parts; and the world shut its eyes to all the signs of strain till, lo! the breakdown actually was on us. I shall give only a few instances. Germany is required to make enormous payments to the allied nations by way of reparations, the greater part of which is ultimately to find its way to the United States. Now these States have a surfeit of gold, are not prepared to take payment in the only form in which it can be made, namely, goods, rather seek to develop an export trade with people who are heavily indebted to them. The allied nations would also insist on having payments in kind, but must also find employment for the home industries which are engaged in a similar manufacture. The Eastern peoples in India and China must be good and wealthy customers for the industries of the West; but an improved standard of life should not involve a higher price for the raw materials which Western industry needs. Then there is the failing, common to all nations, of trying to shut out foreign goods without affecting the markets abroad for their indigenous goods.

Of these, I can do no more than make a mention. On the top of them all, is the purblind economist—and in this respect there is practically no one who is a layman—who refuses to see the place of distribution in a sound economy. That the present trouble is one not of over-production, but under consumption, everyone is prepared to agree. But who follows up the logical consequence of this admission, that the depression cannot be lifted except by attempts at directly increasing consumption? Who realises that employment is not only an instrument of production, but also the only means of equitable distribution? When rationalisation reduces the labour force, production is no doubt maintained, but the channels of distribution are checked, and there is no means of maintaining the unemployed except the demoralising dole. As Professor Soddy remarks in his little but fascinating book on "Man and Money", 'people get less and less as of right and more and more out of charity'. To make a mockery of employment, to degrade man and glorify the machine, to treat unemployment with quack remedies rather than try to devise any preventives, to perpetuate the strife for the economic surplus between man and man, class and class and country and country, these are the besetting sin of modern economy. Let us start from this point, that

the technique of production has advanced so far that every man can not only be maintained, but maintained in comfort, clothed, fed, and housed properly, with all the comforts and conveniences which Science has made possible, with leisure and other facilities for education, for a life of the mind, which the "dismal science" has all along taken little account of. The machinery of production is by no means lacking. In fact, we suffer from glut not scarcity. And in such a situation what we require is, not elaborate theses on the behaviour of the monetary factor, or pleas for inflation, for inflation gives a fillip to the production of capital goods and not to the strength of consumptive demand. The need of the hour is concrete measures calculated to establish modern economy on the broad and sure basis of popular purchasing power. And in the conditions in which each business unit finds itself to-day there is no way to achieve the end but that of cutting salaries and emoluments at the top and devoting them to increasing those on the lower rungs, as also to create new employment. Those who advocate any other way, such as increased spending on the part of all classes, expose themselves to the glib that they "attempt to lift themselves up by pulling at their boot straps".

## WORLD EVENTS

BY PROF. A. J. SAUNDERS, M.A., PH.D.

### THE MORATORIUM AND AFTER

IN the midst of serious world conditions we should not lose our sense of humour. Every situation has its funny side, if we have eyes to see. The following story apropos to the moratorium comes from a Southern State of the United States where the population is largely negro. A collector of debts was making his rounds trying to collect money from negro debtors, but he was not making much of a success in collecting money. One old negro gave the reason for not paying up in this way: "Massa Hoover say not pay debts for one year, so I not pay you."

The Hoover moratorium announcement means that for one year war-debts payments shall not be collected by the creditor nations. Germany will be the greatest beneficiary, while Great Britain will surrender about £11,000,000, France £20,000,000, and the United States a much larger sum, about £50 M. The real purpose is to allow Germany an opportunity of recovering

from a state of collapse and almost certain bankruptcy. Germany is not publishing particulars, but the news that is coming through is startling in the extreme, and the whole nation is in a fearful economic and financial condition. \* \*

The question is being asked by many, Will a year's exemption from war-debt payments be sufficient to enable Germany to recover? No, it will not. And a further question is, Will the moratorium method be able to solve our economic and financial troubles? Again I am forced to answer No. The disease is too-deep seated, and more radical and drastic measures must be used before the world will recover. \* \* \*

I think without doubt there must be called a general conference of both the creditor and debtor nations to review the effects of the year's moratorium and consider what next to do. Three possible courses should receive the closest attention: The first is a general cancellation of all the war-debts of 1914-18. We

have already had enough evidence to show that the provision for, and the collection of, those debts are becoming more and more impracticable; everybody suffers, even America, and the gain that France may receive does not compensate for the economic troubles caused to the rest of Europe; I venture to predict that the moratorium year will bring out very clearly the truth of this statement. Then again, to reimpose war-debts payments after a year's holiday will be a very difficult thing; I cannot help thinking that this is the beginning of the end of war-debt payments, and the moratorium year will be used to test the actual effects of cancellation. The second course that might be followed is to float a large international loan under the aegis of the Bank for International Settlements to be distributed according to need to the impoverished countries of the world, for the purpose of getting them on their feet again. I am one who believes that much of our economic trouble is due to the hoarding of gold by such countries as the United States and France. If their gold hoards were circulated and put to work, it would relieve the situation greatly. Then in the third place is the pressing need for tariff revision; if 50 per cent. of our tariff barriers to trade were removed, we would feel the relief immediately. We all want to trade, and yet we put up barriers which prevent the exchange of goods. Give any one of these possible courses of policy and action, or better still all three of them, a trial and we shall see immediately the beginnings of a permanent economic recovery. \* \* \*

#### TROUBLE IN ITALY

Two years ago an important forward move was made in Italy to settle irritating problems between the Pope and the Duce by clearly demarcating the territory and sovereign rights of the Papal Kingdom. But fresh troubles have arisen, and they may yet assume large proportions. One source of the trouble is the strong and aggressive personalities of the two men concerned—the Pope and the Duce. Another question is the all-important conflict between the Church and the State. The crux of the present trouble, however, is education, and the stakes in the game are for the youth of Italy.

Mussolini and the Fascist policy is to take education out of the control of the Church, and make the educational system an agency of the State for training Fascist citizens. The Duce wants to glorify the State and make it supreme in Italy, and to do that he must build up a loyalty from the youth, using the educational

system for his purpose. The Pope characterises this ideal as "a regular and veritable pagan worship of the State", and as "in complete conflict with the natural right of the family, and the supernatural right of the Church". Mussolini has banned the *Azione Cattolica*, and is dissolving all the young people's associations working under that society. The Pope interprets this action as an effort to get "the young people out of the reach of the Church". And so the conflict goes on. The questions at issue are very real: They are: to limit the power of the Church; to build up a strong loyalty to the Fascist State; and to do that there must be control of the youth of the country who are to be the future citizens through education. We shall hear more of this.

#### THE SPANISH REPUBLIC

As was expected Spain registered a very definite vote last month for the continuance of the republican form of government. It is an achievement of great importance that the Provisional Government has been able to hold the situation and the people of the country with so little of national disorder. The Constitution, as one would naturally expect, is organised on a middle-of-the-way policy. It is being assailed by both Left and Right extremes, but it would seem that the middle course is the one to take for the present. It has demolished a good deal of the old order, but has not yet built up very much; that is left for the future to do.

Two important decisions have been made: they are: Spain is to be a unitary and not a federal State; we probably will hear a good deal more about this proposal from Catalonia and Barcelona. Then there are drastic reforms proposed concerning the War Ministry, and the position and power of the Generals. The Church is not pleased with its deal in the proposals. Provision is made for two chambers in the draft Constitution. The new Spanish Cortes has plenty of material here for discussion and legislation.

The socialists generally, and the communists in particular, find Spain an inviting field for propaganda during this upheaval time. Some years ago when Trotsky was in Spain, he made the prophecy that Spain would yet be a second Russia. Part of that prophecy has been fulfilled in the revolution which has changed Spain from monarchy to a republican government. It is now a question of considerable moment: Will Spain also follow Russia and adopt a socialistic regime? It is a fair question, and forces are at work to try and do that very thing. \* \* \*

## Indian States in the Federal Structure

BY RAO BAHADUR SARDAR M. V. KIBE, M.A.

**A**MPLE material is now available to place before the Federal Structure Committee, strengthened as it will now be by the presence of the representative members of the Indian National Congress, the terms on which a Federal structure can be framed for the Indian Empire.

At present at any rate there are three partners in the Federation whose interests have to be safeguarded and on whose co-operation a harmonious constitution is to be set in motion. The partners are: the British Government, India *minus* the Indian States and the latter.

The British Government have now solemnly agreed that any safeguards on which it will insist will be for the benefit of India. The Nehru Report, which is a weighty pronouncement to be always reckoned with, both for the opinion at its back as well as its intrinsic merits, has declared,

It would be in our opinion a most one-sided arrangement if the Indian States desire to join the Federation, so as to influence by their votes and otherwise the policy and legislation of the Indian legislature without committing themselves to common legislation passed by it. It would be a travesty of the idea of Federation."

To judge from the utterances of their Highnesses the Rulers of Indian States, like the Maharaja of Bikaner and the Chief of Sangli, what the Indian States understood by their declaration in London at the Round Table Conference, is as follows:—

The Federation is to be a politico-economic federation based on equality of federative States and peace between them. There is to be no interference in the internal affairs of any State by the federation. The autonomy of the States in their political and financial organization is to be fully recognized. Matters of foreign policy and defence, and of common economic interests, are chiefly to be guided and controlled from the federal centre. This may be putting the claims

too high, but if full weight is to be given to the reiterated reference to Treaty rights, it cannot be pitched in a lower key.

The declaration of the Imperial Government that all safeguards are to be in the interests of India, does not make the case so simple as it might look on the surface, because the question as to who is to judge what is in the interest of India remains. With mutual good-will and co-operation the edge of the question will be blunted. The British Indian claim for a full-fledged federation embracing all India, cannot but trample upon the claim of the Indian States to full internal economy and the strict observance of the Treaty rights. As has been observed by Mahatma Gandhi, "An undiluted autocracy, however benevolent it might be, and an almost undiluted democracy, are an incompatible mixture and bound to result in an explosion." Even the Butler Committee noted, "We believe that the lines on which Princes and Sir Leslie Scott are working, cannot lead to any kind of federation in its well-understood sense."

The question now is, how far the attitude of the Princes has changed since the time the Butler Committee wrote its report? It is clear that what the Princes at present desire is to have a politico-economic federation with India. To judge from their utterances already referred to, they desire to have weightage in the Council of State or the future Senate and an equal number of members in the lower house. Their delegates or members will not take part in the matters affecting British India alone. They want full internal autonomy, except perhaps the question of disputed succession being left to the decision of the paramount power, *i.e.*, the British Government, since their cardinal condition for joining the federation is that the future federation in India should continue as an integral part of the British Empire. Questions of dispute in every other matter, even including gross

misrule, either between the federal states or the paramount power, are to be referred to a supreme court for decision. Who is to enforce that decision is not for one thing clear.

His Excellency the Viceroy, in his speech before the holding of the Round Table Conference, envisaged a federation in which British India and the Indian States in common will have powers of decision in matters of common economic interests only. The question of interference in the internal affairs of the Indian States under well-defined conditions, such as the disputed succession or gross misrule and questions of foreign policy and defence are to be reserved for decision by the paramount power. The matters relating to political and financial regulations in the internal economy of the States is to be reserved to them, subject to the proviso already made.

The reservations in the scheme do not seem to appeal either to the Indian States or British India. No less a person than Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru appears to be of the opinion that the subjects of the States should have power to approach the supreme court of federal India for the redress of their individual grievances. Apparently even acts of State are to be subject to this jurisdiction. To judge from the communique issued by the Government of India as a result of the memorable Irwin-Gandhi agreement, among the reserved subjects only foreign relations are mentioned. Whether these cover the relations with the Indian States is a question.

In their claim for a Federation, the Indian States ought to remember that the position in India is unique. Therefore, a sort of federation not yet evolved anywhere in the world will have to be fashioned.

The fact that the British Government has certain vested rights in India, and a power behind to enforce them, has to be recognised. While in British India, the British Government are rulers subject only at present to the influence of the

public opinion; in the Indian States they exercise the rights of suzerainty of more or less undefined nature.

Whether led by its own democratic instincts to a certain extent or yielding to the force of public demand, the British Government appears to be willing to divest itself of certain of its powers and to invest the Indian people with them in respect of British India. How far will it yield or can yield in respect of its supervisory or suzerain powers over the Indian States is not clear, but it is difficult to say. But since British Indians are in the majority and in spite of their inherent loyalty to the States, their subjects are, and will be, fired by the same feelings of having a decisive voice in the government of the States, it is obvious that wisdom will consist in timely advance.

Mahatma Gandhi's appeal to them is as follows:

It is, I think, necessary for them not to take up an uncompromising attitude and impatiently refuse to listen to an appeal from, or on behalf of, the would-be partner. If they refused any such appeal, they would make the position of the Congress untenable and even awkward. Congress represents or endeavours to represent the whole of the people of India which recognises no distinction between those who reside in British India or in Indian States. The Congress has with great wisdom and equally with great restraint abstained from interfering with the doings and affairs of the States, and it has done so in order not to unnecessarily wound the susceptibility of States but also in order, by reason of the self-imposed restraint, to make its voice heard on a suitable occasion. I think that the occasion has arisen.

The key of the situation is thus held by the Indian States. They have been acclaimed by all parties for their bold declaration to join the federation. Now what sort of federation is that to be, is the task before the delegates and the public.

What the States would like to have is, an equality of all the States in the federation and peace between them. The latter condition is now observed, because of the paramountcy of the British Government or the separate treaties made by it with the bigger Indian States. Equality can only be maintained if there is no resort to war. Arbitration can take the place of the para-

mountainy in questions arising between the constituent States in their mutual relations. But will it be resorted to in matters affecting the decisions of the paramount power. At present it may reserve certain well-defined powers to itself as regards all the States in the federation. In this it may be assisted by a body like the existing Princes Chamber. In British India the reservation will be different in some respects from that in Indian States. Some groups of the latter according to their means to enforce good government will have to be made. Equality to individual States or such groups can be secured. The next claim of the Indian States is that there should be no interference in their internal affairs. Pitched so high it is untenable, because of the usage between them and the paramount power and the facts alluded to by Mahatma Gandhi. But if the States allow their subjects to elect representatives in a popular federal legislature on a population basis but retain the right of sending delegates to the higher central federal body, their desire behind this demand may be satisfied. Individual States may have to submit to the interference of the federation in certain defined matters but it will mean the voice of their equals, which their subjects in the lower house will be able to influence. How far the Indian States are politically autonomous in their internal affairs could have been very well tested if any of them had attempted to seek entrance in the League of Nations, when this question could have been tested by the public opinion of the world. The Princes went before a wrong tribunal. It is an opportunity gone for ever, since they had not the vision or boldness to raise the question either before the assembly of the league itself or the League Tribunal.

The next claim is for the full recognition of their autonomy in their political and economic organizations. By the former it appears is meant the continuance of the dynastic principle so long as other conditions of good as well as self-

government are fulfilled. This principle will be an item of strength to the federation. As regards the financial autonomy, the matter stands on a different footing. Even now their financial and economic interests are affected by the policy pursued by the Government of India. The States have a sort of financial independence in the way of currency, customs, etc.; they are individually consulting as regards other fiscal and commercial-financial matters by which they are affected. Unless they give up the latter autonomy and agree to abide by the decision of the common body, they cannot have an effective voice in the management of these, but if they agree to join with others in these matters, then they will have an equally good voice in the regulation of other commercial even financial matters, such as posts, railways, telegraphs and, not the least, exchange and currency.

As regards matters of foreign policy and defence, if by the former is meant purely external relations, they will for some time continue to be outside the scope of the federation, and when they will eventually devolve on it, the predominant partner, as in the German Empire federation, cannot but have the decisive voice. But if by foreign relations is meant the relations of the States with those among themselves, safeguards already indicated or other matters of detail will guard and guarantee them so far as common vision can go. As regards the defence, the States are consulted by the paramount power and either voluntarily or by persuasion and even under treaties have given up any claim to independent armies. The future disposition of the subject can not be much different from the existing one. Even in the United States of America which are a hybrid between a confederation and federation, the right to declare war and control over the army is reserved to be exercised by the chosen head of the people, namely, the President.

The reports of the Federal Structure Committee reveal the two fundamental principles which would have to be borne in mind in framing a federal constitution which would include the Indian States. The first is that the Treaties etc. are with the Crown, and consequently these relations cannot be entered into with a third party without the consent of the high contracting parties. The second principle is that the States can only federate with a self-governing British India, the

matters of paramountcy being left to the British Crown. There is also one corollary to the latter, viz., that beyond matters covered by the federation the States will have direct relations with the British Crown. Their position being like this even in matters in which a federal government should have power to make laws for all the federative States, the States will undertake to implement them in their States with such modifications as may be required by local circumstances, the same being not repugnant to the main principles and provisions of the Act. There is nothing startling in this proviso since Provincial legislatures may also have to be given this power. Although not conclusive, these reports raise points which will require not only further consideration as suggested in the body of these reports but also a detailed treatment at length. It is reserved for another occasion.

#### SUMMARY PARAMOUNTCY

1. India will be an integral part of the British Commonwealth, recognising His Majesty The King-Emperor as its head.

#### INDIAN COMMONWEALTH

2. British India and such States or groups of them, governed by Indian Rulers, as will join it, will form a Federation on a strictly defined constitution, provided that questions of Treaty rights etc. and questions of paramountcy shall be dealt with directly by the Indian States or groups of them with the British Crown, so long as the high contracting parties do not make separate agreements with any third party.

#### FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN INDIA

3. There will be two houses of representatives of the federative States and Provinces.

4. The upper house will consist of delegates of the Governments governing the federation, and the lower house of peoples.

5. The British Crown will appoint a Governor-General and Viceroy to preside over the federated executive and to decide questions affecting the States in agreement with the British Crown.

6. The members of the lower house will be elected on the population basis, embracing the whole of India as defined in the Government of India Act. In order, however, to maintain the individuality of States, a State of the requisite population or a group of States amounting to that unit will elect a member or members. The suffrage shall be the same as in British India.

7. The Federal Executive Government will consist of a Cabinet, formed out of the members of the Upper House and the Lower House. The Governor-General either himself or by nominating one or two members will be represented in the Cabinet as regards and so long as there are reserved subjects. In forming a Government, the Governor-General will choose the Prime Minister. It will be incumbent upon the latter to have at least one-third members from the representative delegates of the Indian States in his Cabinet. The nominee of the Governor-General may not resign with the Cabinet.

#### PROVINCES

8. The Provinces will be formed on the linguistic and regional basis.

9. Each Province will have a Governor. He will select the Prime Minister from among the members of the Provincial Legislative Council. There may be more than one house in a Province.

#### STATES

10. States with Treaty rights on the basis of equality may directly federate with the Federal Government. Others with restrictive powers or as a matter of convenience to them singly or in groups may also federate with a province, in which case they will have proportional representation in the legislative house or houses in the Province.

#### THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES

11. The Chamber of Princes will continue to be an Advisory body for such matters as shall continue to remain outside the scope of the Federal Government or for such States as may remain outside of the Federation itself.

#### STATES OUTSIDE THE FEDERATION

12. The relations of such States as would not like to join the Federation will continue to be dealt with through the political channel as hitherto either with the British Crown or in the case of the Federal Government of India through their medium.

#### ARBITRATION AND JUSTICE

13. A Court of Arbitration will be established to decide disputes between constituent and other Indian States of a non-justiciable nature.

14. A Supreme Court will be established in India to decide cases arising out of the interpretation of the constitution and other non-political rights of the parties concerned.

# The Basis of Italo-Vatican Controversy

BY

MR. JAGADISAN M. KUMARAPPA, M.A., Ph.D.

THE present controversy at Rome over the functions of the Church and State really revolves around the question of education. Should the Roman Church or the Fascist State be sovereign in the realm of the education of its youth? The Fascist theory is that the individual is first a citizen; he exists for the State and society is a sum-total of such individuals. In place of the modern democratic formula "society for the individual", we have the Fascist formula "individuals for society". Consequently individual rights are recognised only in so far as they are claimed in the interests of the State. From this point of view it seems reasonable that the individual should be educated or trained according to the demands and requirements of the State. Hence Premier Mussolini maintains that the education of the young must come under the control of the State. The doctrine of the Church, on the other hand, is that the citizen is first a man, and that the individual and the family being the unit of society, are supreme, and not the State. They do not exist for the State but the State exists for them. On these grounds Pope Pius XI disputes the Fascist theory and denounces the Premier's assumption of sovereignty in the education of young people.

Since the inception of Fascism this is the one real issue that has continually arisen between the Holy See and the Fascist Government. Though the Pope exalts Premier Mussolini and speaks of him as "a man sent by Providence", he has never remained an indifferent spectator of all Fascist activities involving the education of youth. However, it is interesting to note that in spite of the claim of the Fascist State to be the sovereign teacher of the youth, it has never upheld religious neutrality in its

declared purpose of giving material and moral greatness to the people of Italy. In fact, Premier Mussolini has always been quite friendly to the Catholic religion. When he heard that Mgr. Ratti—now Pope Pius XI—was, as head of the Vatican Library, desirous of purchasing the historic Chigi library, collected by a Chigi Pope, Mussolini made the graceful gesture of presenting it as a gift from the Fascist Government to the librarian Pontiff. Besides, the Premier not only upheld religion but preached it. He went to Church at the head of his Cabinet. He had the crucifix restored to the schools, and required that the Catechism be taught in the first five grades and that such instruction be imparted by priests or teachers of professed Catholic faith. True to the declaration in Article 36 of the Concordat, the Fascist State considered "the teaching of the Christian doctrine according to the forms received from Catholic tradition as the foundation and crown of public education", and made instruction in Christian doctrine an integral part of the Fascist educational system. Nevertheless, divergence of view on this matter of education was inevitable. The practical application of this Article threw in bold relief the points of difference in its interpretation by the Pope and the Premier. The latter asserts that the State cannot surrender the education of the young to the Church. "In this sphere," declares Mussolini, "we are intractable. Education must be ours. These children must be educated in our religious faith, but we must integrate this education, must give to these young people the sense of virility, of power, of conquest; above all we must inspire them with our faith, our hope."

In answer to the above statement, the Pope maintained that Christian education of the young



could come only from the Church. "We can never agree," asserted the Pope, "to anything that compresses, decreases or denies the rights which nature and God gave the family and the Church in the field of education. On this point... we are intransigent." Further, in criticism of the professed aims of Fascism, he stated: "We cannot say that to perform its duty in the field of education it is necessary, opportune or even advisable for the State to raise conquerors and to train youth for conquest. What one particular State does might be done by the whole world. If all States raised their youths to be conquerors, what would happen? Would the State in this way be contributing to general pacifications?"

Any one following recent events must be struck by the increased emphasis which the Fascist party is placing upon the various youth organizations. All the curricular and extra-curricular activities of the youth of the nation have become integral parts of the Fascist State. And the fundamental contest is here, in the struggle for the mind and soul of the child. "It is necessary," says Mussolini, "to begin at the beginning of every life." The purpose of creating a Fascist generation is as single-mindedly pursued in Italy as is the development of a Soviet generation in Russia; the latter tries to make militant Communists without God, and the former to make militant Fascists with God. The very essence of Fascism from its inception has been a careful supervision of the human fabric in weaving the structure of the Fascist State. In the formative work the whole civil educational system was one of the first things to be reorganized by the regime.

The Fascist State, planning for the youth whose ideas will be accentuated in the next generation, is laying the far-reaching foundation of its structure. "Youth enters in large masses," says Mussolini, "into our party and receives membership which is something, and a rifle which is infinitely more... It is thus that one forms

Fascist armies; it is thus that one prepares a generation of warriors,—from the bottom upwards." There are several graded organizations for the young where they are prepared for membership of the Fascist party. From year to year, according to their age, the youths move forward from the Balilla (8-14) years, to the Avanguardista (14-18), and then to the Young Fascists (18-21). From the last group the lives are enrolled in the militia,—the right arm of the regime. The above are organizations for boys; for girls there are two grades: Piccole Italiane (8-14) and Giovani Italiane. The total enrolment of boys and girls in these various organizations is 2,003,816. Recently the Government officially announced that boys between the ages of 6 and 8 would be enrolled in a pre-Balilla organization. All the members of these organizations are allowed to use the black shirt.

The perfect Fascist formula is "Book and Rifle", and "Better to live one day as a lion than 100 years as a sheep" is the motto inscribed on some of the new Fascist coins,—these are the slogans of the youth of Italy. Belonging to a "black shirt" organization under the leadership of Mussolini himself, is what every youth of the Fascist Italy looks forward to with pride. "I swear to obey," runs the oath, "without discussion the orders of the Duce and to serve with all my strength, and if necessary with all my blood the cause of the Fascist Revolution." The youth organizations constitute, in all the regions of Italy down to the smallest hamlet, the most vital organism of Fascism, the most "Fascista" of the new life of Italy. In every part of the kingdom this movement is pushed, and in this breed of young Fascists, Mussolini has his nation,—over 2,000,000 eager, ardent and, as far as possible, faithful copies of Mussolini.

But the training of youth is also the chief concern of the Church. Here then is the disputed territory. The Church is not without its own

organizations for the training of its young. The Catholic Church has four different types of institutions for the training, and directing of the activities of its young people. The first is an organization which is purely religious, and has to do with preaching, administering Church affairs and the like. The next is a Civic organization which includes such activities as preserving civic liberties, and other such interests as may benefit the citizens. The third is political which is, of course, self-explanatory. But the last and most important of them all is what is known as the "Catholic Action". It is supposed to concern itself with efforts to bring back society to the Catholic ideal of Western civilization. Its object is also to encourage the study of educational, sociological, literary and artistic activities which look toward reconstructing society on a Catholic basis. It is, in fact, a propaganda organization to urge laymen to preserve and further the Catholic ideal; it is very influential in Italy, having on its roll about 500,000 members.

But the members of this organization cannot take part in politics. In February 1929, the treaty between the Vatican and Italian Government clearly stated that "Italy recognizes Catholic organization forming part of the 'Italian Catholic Action' which, according to the instruction of the Holy See, must keep their activity outside of any political party and under the immediate hierarchy of the Church for spreading and applying Catholic principles." It is really this association which is the immediate cause of the present conflict. Late in April, the Secretary of the Fascist Party reported that at a general meeting of the Catholic Action violent speeches were made against the present regime, that the organization was pursuing political ends and that such activities could not be tolerated by Fascism, because of the integral nature of the Fascist regime. The entrance of the Catholic Action into the political field enraged the Fascists and brought about the present conflict

between the Church and the State. Mussolini has suspended the organization and has closed down temporarily some 15,000 branches of the Catholic Action.

The Pope used this occasion to take the Fascists to task for what he considered interference of the Fascist Government with religion. "In the field of education," he declared, "the Church has full competence and authority, and the regime has the duty not only of following her guidance but also assisting her. Certainly not this but the contrary is in evidence. The youth are exposed to the inspiration of hate and irreverence, rendering difficult and almost impossible the practice of religious duties, because of other contemporaneous exercises, permitting publicly women's athletic meets, of whose dangers even paganism was aware." The Pope has never hesitated to denounce in no uncertain terms the Fascist claim of State Supremacy. If the Fascist accuse the Church of taking to political activity, the Pope accuses the Fascist of interfering with religion. The controversy which is now raging in Rome, is generally described in headlines as one between the Pope and Mussolini, and it aptly brings out a distinction. Though so little alike, the disputants have characteristics in common; both are fighters, preachers, workers. Thus the present clash throws into limelight two powerful personalities; neither Mussolini nor the Pope has the habit of backing out on issues in which they have become involved. This Italo-Vatican conflict is all the more interesting, because the old historical question of the functions of the Church and State is now being faced in all seriousness in the most important Church centre,—the Vatican City, and that, by rulers who symbolize temporal and spiritual powers at their highest. No conflict is as fundamental as this, and seldom has it been waged with such dramatic simplicity as now.

# Madame Blavatsky and India

BY

MR. C. JINARAJADASA

(On August 12th Theosophists all over the world celebrated the centenary of the birthday of Madame Blavatsky.)

THE significance of the work of H. P. Blavatsky is manifold. For the West, it was largely to stem the tide of Materialism, and to show that the ancient teachings of the Mysteries contained the true clue to an understanding of the universe. For India, however, the significance of her work is somewhat different. In the great traditions of Hinduism and Buddhism, we had much instruction concerning the spiritual basis of things; these were all written down in sacred books and the commentaries on them were numerous. But one thing was lacking, and that was the voice of a living Teacher who could explain the true drift of the teachings.

We all know that though India still possesses hundreds of thousands of Sadhus and Yogis, very few indeed are those who deserve the great name of "Rishi". And the Rishis are difficult to find, search as we may. Moreover, the tradition of the Rishis is now so vague, that every one takes for granted that in this Kali Yuga the living voice of a Rishi can no longer be heard. It is this deadening scepticism which was counteracted by H. P. Blavatsky.

She gave proof to those who had an open mind that the ancient "Razor-edge Path" to the Rishis was still being trodden, and that at the end of that Path were great Teachers who ever stand to help mankind on its way to Liberation. To the aspiring Hindu—and what Hindu is there who is not, in one part of his secret nature, all the time aspiring?—the proclamation of H. P. Blavatsky that, even in these degenerate days, the Rishis stand behind the life of India, gave not only new vision but a powerful inspiration for

every kind of social service. Again and again she showed how the Masters of the Wisdom were planning the regeneration of India, not for India's sake alone, but also for that of the whole world. For, on the revival of India's spirituality hinged the establishment of a new World Order. It was this proclamation which inspired men like Narendro Nath Sen, S. Subramania Iyer, and hundreds of other Theosophists whom I could name, who threw themselves with vigour to purify and strengthen India in all aspects of her life.

When all is said and done, the real strength of India is not from anything material; her true strength is not to be judged by any standard of Purna Swaraj or "Complete Independence," or Dominion Status within the British Empire, or any other kind of Nationhood. India's strength—her true strength—comes from the hidden reservoir of spiritual forces which were once made by the Rishis of old, and from which the living waters are steadily flowing into every nook and cranny of India.

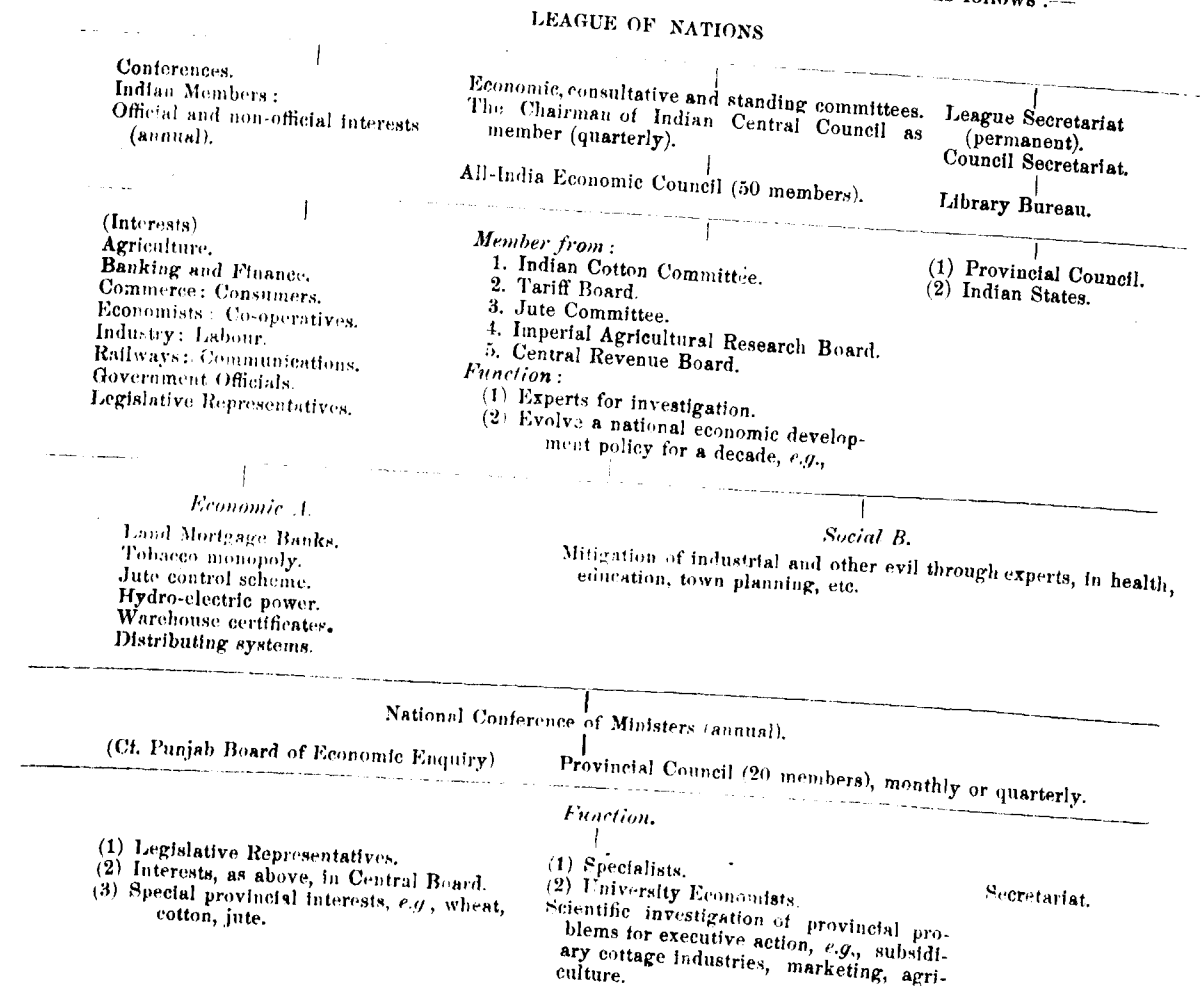
H. P. Blavatsky ushered in a new era for India, of which the outer manifestation of Swaraj is but one indication of the future for her. For the true future of India is once again to have among her sons and daughters hundreds, if not thousands, who can contact directly for themselves (and not through any tradition) the spiritual world, and bring its forces to bear on all the activities of life. H. P. Blavatsky gave, to us in Hinduism and Buddhism, our Rishis and Arhats back once again. For these reasons we in India owe her a profound gratitude.

## A SUPREME ECONOMIC COUNCIL FOR INDIA SIR ARTHUR SALTER'S PROPOSALS

By MR. J. D. S. PAUL, Ph.D. (LONDON)

MR. BENN, in deputing Sir Arthur, clearly enunciated the purposes of his mission: "the creation of some organisation for the study of economic questions, including both the continuous interpretation of current developments and the consideration of plans designed to achieve particular purposes." As he is the Economist of the

League of Nations, Sir Arthur's tentative scheme naturally has to stand the test of international scrutiny as to his motives and methods. The organisation he proposes is a parliament of national opinion on that most controversial issue, the economic life and the economic destiny of a nation. The outline is as follows:—





The most obvious criticism that strikes any one in this important issue is the place of Indian Legislatures in shaping national destiny. The second thing that seems extraordinary is the omission of the most expensive existing official machinery, provincial and central, that furnish valuable economic data and which demand scientific criticism for the improvement of its standards in conformity with countries like Germany and America. On the material these Government Departments furnish, most of the economic investigations made so far, have had their basis. The co-ordination of these departments, central and provincial, through the Imperial Central Publicity Bureau is no small achievement. The summary statements, *e.g.*, "India in 1930 etc." published by the Director of Information, are models of their kind. But these cannot be a presentation of economic dynamics of a nation or its interpretation. A new department is therefore a necessity.

Sir Arthur's scheme errs on the side of caution and characteristically shows the British virtue of a compromise in choosing between the Legislature, the official machinery and the powerful pressure of non-official interests. The only thing that one can do, therefore, is to venture an interpretation of "the Arthunian Mind".

#### INDIA AND THE LEAGUE

Sir Arthur reveals only one obsession, the League of Nations and India's place in it as a rising economic power or economic menace: "India, like every other great exporting and importing country, is an integral part of the world economic system, profoundly affecting world conditions and affected by them . . . . She will doubtless desire to temper her action by consideration of its effects upon the interests and consequently upon the action of the rest of the world". . . . "Reciprocal concession and restraints"! In spite of India's ancient commercial and political history for over a century, Indian

nationalists' opinion has been "protectionist". Tibet is the ideal of the orthodox, or the U. S. A. and the Monroe doctrine the hope of the modernist. Sir Arthur's tentative suggestion will fail in its objective unless enlightened public opinion educates Young India that modern science has reduced the world to small proportions. The wireless, aeroplanes, oil, steamships, railways and other triumphs of applied science are not simple economics but arouse profound questions of international law, involving political boundaries, company laws, *e.g.*, patents, port trusts, coaling stations, freight rates, labour standards and cosmopolitan capitalism which also requires police regulations. International arbitration is superior to international warfare.

India was once international. "Greater India" is not merely a scholar's myth. She covered South America in the West and the Isles of the Pacific in the East, with her religious sculpture and her commerce. Indian cotton is India's economic history. Modern Indian cotton duties affect not merely Lancashire but the weavers in Lyons, France, Northampton, Mass, U. S. A., the American cotton growers and our Eastern wonder Japan. Modern economic forces are world wide in their repercussions. India, if so minded, is destined to play a great part in science and art and world politics, for the world forces cannot be ignored. The League of Nations has steadily gained public opinion through its method of "Conferences", scientific investigations of economic and political problems in their international bearings and ceaseless advocacy of humane principles in spite of Mussolini, Churchill, Poincare, Briand, Stresemann, Hitler and all the War and peace lords of the last decade. If "non-violence" is the genuine creed of Young India, we gain the whole world by our unique contribution to the league in economic and political spheres. But official and non-official opinion has been spasmodic in the task of educat-

ing India with regard to the practical achievements of the league and for good reasons. India is centred to-day on itself. After Mr. Gandhi, What? "Lo deluge"? Is it a legitimate suspicion that Sir Arthur's scheme adroitly draws non-official opinion through linking closely the Central Economic Council and the Council Secretariat with the Secretariat of the League of Nations? Should India fight shy of an "Impartial tribunal" predominantly Indian and appealing to the mind and heart of representative Indians.

#### 6 THE PLACE OF INDIAN LEGISLATURE

In modern constitutions the legislature initiates and enacts public "Bills" for public weal. Party machine and not the voters have become the final authority in our party Government. The Arthurian scheme is a moral obligation depending upon public opinion and not an encroachment into the functions of the legislature. Its committee system including ministers and the representatives of the legislature is a clever device for coercing the Government from shelving the recommendations of the Economic Council as untimely. It is the most effective reply to the criticism that "The Royal Commissions", "Governmental enquiries", have been an "eye wash" and throws the entire weight of responsibility in economic sphere on Indians themselves in initiating a scientific investigation and piloting the policy of the State. A conference of ministers negotiate All-India economic policy. Provincially a minister may be the chairman. University products, specialists under expert direction, are to carry out scientific research in a manner as would meet political expediency.

No legislature in the world could ever claim to be the supreme arbiter of national, economic or political interest or destiny, apart from their relation to the rest of the world. Chambers of Commerce, or the federation of manufacturers cannot decide the destiny of the tillers of the soil or of the organised or unorganised labour.

All are in some measure consumers and producers and the leisured class are the few. Politicians produced the Monroe doctrine and the American tariff wall, with the perpetual battle royal between agrarian interests and the manufacturing interest, capital and labour, the money barons vs. the rest, in the paradise of millionaires. Anti-Trust Acts, Sherman Act, Volstead Acts and the amendments to the constitution are the inevitable outcome of the lack of national policy. "Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" is not a pleasant job in the land of high wages, restricted immigration, interlocking of directorates, vertical and horizontal combination, intense industrialisation, standard mass production, and mechanical agriculture. Politics stifled the freedom of a great people destined for greater things with nature's concentration of variety of stimulating climate, flora and fauna and mineral resources. Not politics, but finance, commerce and industry draw their best brains for the money lottery. Big business is the centre of civilization and bankers grease the economic treadmill. The tariff history of U. S. A. is the weightiest argument against the legislature ever having the final power over a national economic destiny and for impartial economic solution. A compromise of some sort is necessary, and Sir Arthur has aptly chosen the German model and the continental committee system. The Germans are the most methodic race in the world, efficient in classification and in organisation, thorough in statistical detail, comprehensive in their national programme.

The Legislature invariably have to consider their constituency first and their chances at the next election. So long as the Legislatures have to pass the recommendations of the Economic Council, party politics will play a leading part in retarding even the most beneficent measure. Realising this fact, economic consultative committees of experts are now part of the organisation

of the Governments of the West and function regardless of the party in power.

#### EXISTING OFFICIAL MACHINERY

Sir Arthur relies on the Secretariat, Central and Provincial, to manage the Committees, effect the correspondence between Liaison-Officers, International, Central and Provincial, collect all the economic data from the existing official sources, Royal Commissions and etc., besides the investigation of experts and economists. It is on the question of data that Sir Arthur's proposals do not go deep enough "for the continuous interpretations of current developments". In attempting to be comprehensive and in his zeal for co-ordinating official and non-official expert opinion for a national economic policy, the existing official sources that have so far furnished all our economic data have been overlooked. Plans for improving their scientific efficiency and presentation of statistical material have not been considered. The Secretariat should formulate such plans, so that the statistical section could obtain what are suitable from such bodies as Central or Provincial Departments of Agriculture,

Land Revenue, Labour, Commerce, Industry, Census, Commercial Intelligence etc. The officials who furnish the economic data, naturally collect facts and figures with regard to their particular departmental point of views. The Revenue Department which is a very important source, hardly gives the clue to peasants' indebtedness. Germany is superior to America in their compilation and classification of economic data. Indian village ignorance is at the bottom of the unreliable character of much of the official data, and we have not America's resources in men or money for the investigation and publication of economic and statistical material in bulky volumes. Sir Arthur has revealed great ingenuity in the adroitness with which he has roped in the Government, the Legislature and the non-official, lest the recommendations share the usual fate. The suggestion of a new organisation, if supported by public opinion and granting the goodwill of those whose co-operation is sought in writing in economic council, will go a long way in promoting national ideas in the public mind, unbiassed by the sectional interests.

## PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE.

BY MR. N. A. PERUMAL.

IN the East, the Indians are not the only people who are fighting for freedom from their foreign masters. There are the Filipinos who are every day waging a silent war against the Americans and in recent years the slogan of Independence is on the lips of everybody in the Philippine Islands. It has become the watchword of candidates seeking election to public bodies and every Filipino says that he needs Independence—and that immediately. Towards attaining this end the Filipinos are using all their energy to persuade the United States Congress to accede to their demand, and rumour has it that they will succeed within the next two years as the result of the pressure which the Democrat

and Progressive politicians will exercise at the forthcoming Congress Sessions in the States.

I have not been able to see things for myself in the Philippines, apparently having never been able to be there, but from what I gather from reliable sources I know that the Filipinos enjoyed a much better status than the Malays under British rule, the Annamites under the French, or the Javanese under the Dutch, who are all neighbours to the Filipinos. Except a few reserved high appointments, all other fields are open to the Filipinos and certainly they have everything but independence. That is what I understand from men who have studied the Filipino question from an impartial point of

view. Still, that is no reason why they should not demand their birthright for a rule of their own.

The demand for independence has become all the more acute these days, since the Americans are said to be hostile to the steady influx of the Filipino immigrants on the Pacific coast. The States of California, Oregon and Washington are said to be bringing pressure on the U.S.A. authorities to ban such immigration, but how could that be done while the Filipinos are under American rule? Dr. Hilario C. Monacado, the President of the Filipino Federation of America, believes that either the Americans will have to leave the islands into the hands of the natives or the volume of Filipino immigration will continue to rise.

The U.S.A. Congress is thus faced with a serious problem, and it will have to choose the one or the other, and in certain quarters it is believed that the American evacuation of the Philippines will be the choice.

The American opinion on the subject is quite different as it should be. Speaking at a Rotary meeting at Manila recently, Dr. Herbert Adams Gibbons, the reputed international jurist, observed:

If the Filipinos think that our thirty odd years here are in vain and have been destructive rather than constructive we certainly don't want to remain another thirty. Have we failed for the reason that only an Asiatic power could treat the Filipinos well?

Japan is the logical successor to the United States as the mentor of the Filipinos. Japan could develop these lands better than we have done. Japan would be more enthusiastically received, I have no doubt, than we have been. If the Filipinos want to get rid of the Americans, the Japanese succession is the only alternative I can see. It would be impossible for the Filipinos to maintain complete independence against Japan. Let us talk facts. We all know that to be true.

Mr. Gibbons expresses the fear that the Filipinos would become a subject race again—a fear which the average American entertains as a plausible excuse to delay the Philippine independence. To this "fear", Mr. K. K. Kawakami, a well-known Japanese journalist in Washington, gives an explanation. He says:

When the American opponents of Philippine independence harp upon the Japanese peril they ignore the changed conditions and changed ideas of international

relations. They ignore that the new world order with its League covenant, its peace pact, its arbitration treaties, its condemnation of militarism, permits no nation to practise with impunity such international free-booting as was perpetrated by the Powers up to the eve of the World War.

To this new world sentiment few nations have turned so sensitive an ear as Japan. Nor is this a new trait. Ever since Japan came in contact with the Western powers, she has been noted for her receptivity and docility, paying the utmost heed to foreign estimate of her conduct as a civilised nation. To her statesmen nothing is so serious as to see the world think ill of their country.

This sensitiveness to world sentiment is a sure guarantee that Japan under the existing world order will never concoct sinister designs against the Philippines. The only thing she wants in the territory is the ordinary privileges of trade and economic enterprise such as may be extended to her nationals on equal terms with the nationals of other countries.

\* \* \*

The Filipinos, however, do not seem to be bothered about the security of their land after the Americans had gone. They say that if they become a free nation, they could enter the League whose protection they could secure under Article 16 of the League Covenant which is as follows:

Should any member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13, or 15, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nations and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a member of the League or not.

It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval, or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

With all these arguments on both sides, there remains the solid fact that the Americans are not the people who are going to give away their precious possession in the East for a song. Any student of politics knows that. The Americans are willing to grant the Filipinos anything but independence. In the meantime, the U.S.A. Congress decision on the subject is awaited with the keenest anxiety by all those who are interested in the fate of the Filipinos.

military operations, the slow burning powder is generally more advantageous than the more powerful dynamite. Mining powders possessing differing degrees of explosive power are now made by varying the proportions of the constituents. Instead of nitre, potassium chlorate is sometimes used as an ingredient. But the latter is more expensive and more dangerous owing to its sensibility to shocks. The 'amide-powder' made in Germany, is a mixture of potassium nitrate and ammonium nitrate, and the most noteworthy feature of this explosive is that it forms very little smoke or flame.

Among the various coal-tar explosives, picric acid is one of the most important. Though it was in use for many years as a dye stuff, the discovery of its explosive property is however a matter of comparatively recent date. In 1871, it was discovered that picric acid could be detonated with a fulminate of mercury cap. It has been recently estimated that the energy liberated in the explosion of 20lbs. of picric acid is sufficient to raise one ton, well over a mile in the air. The importance of picric acid as an explosive, however, diminished appreciably during the late war, and it was superseded by more suitable explosives.

The discovery of gun cotton as well as nitro-glycerine in 1846, marked an epoch-making development in chemical science. These two substances form the basis of modern smokeless powder and dynamite. It may be noted in this connection that smokeless powders, though they are very important for military and sporting purposes, are too expensive to be used in blasting and mining operations. Following the discovery of nitro-glycerine, Nobel established a factory and began its manufacture. But the immediate results were almost disastrous. Numerous explosions occurred while handling and transporting the liquid. Research experiments were, therefore, conducted with a view to render nitro-glycerine

less dangerous and more useful. In 1866, Nobel's attempt was crowned with success. By absorbing liquid nitro-glycerine in diatomaceous earth, he obtained dynamite, the form in which most nitro-glycerine is now utilised. Great care is necessary in the manufacture of nitro-glycerine, as it explodes easily even on shock. Its transportation is dangerous, and usually it is made where it is to be used. On explosion its volume is increased 12,000 times by gas formation, and the high temperature formed multiplies this nearly eight times.

Prior to the world war, a large variety of smokeless powders were used as military explosives. The credit of having discovered the first military smokeless powder goes to the French. It was made in France in 1886, by forming a dough of nitro-cotton with alcohol and ether, rolling it out into sheets, cutting strips and drying them. Two years later, ballistite was prepared by Nobel, and almost at the same time the British Government introduced cordite. The latter explosive is made by gelatinizing insoluble nitro-cotton of high nitration with nitro-glycerine and acetone.

T. N. T. (trinitrotoluol) and other nitrated bodies were largely used during the late war. It was discovered during the war, that both economy and efficiency were considerably enhanced by mixing T. N. T. and dinitro-benzene with several times their weight of ammonium-nitrate. One of the best known and interesting explosives of this kind, which was largely used during the war, is amatol which explodes with tremendous force. Ammonium-nitrate is itself an explosive, and it is safely handled in shells exploding with a detonating cap. This substance was also largely used during the late war.

Thus then we see that the science of modern chemistry, which has played a conspicuous part in introducing the many wonderful amenities of our present-day civilisation, contains nevertheless tremendous potentialities for destruction. That it works as effectively in peace as in war, serves only to emphasise its importance as a fundamental science. As a famous scientist once remarked, "Chemistry, the constructive agency in peaceful industry, becomes upon order the indispensable ally of Mars." We cannot possibly predict what startling and revolutionary discovery may come out any moment from the chemist's closet, his test tube, his furnace, or his catalytic-bomb.

# Hand-Spun and Hand-Woven Cloth

BY DR. B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA.

[In the last number Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya traced the rapid "Decay of our Ancient Handicrafts" following the introduction of European and machine-made fabrics into this country. He pointed out how in two centuries of vigorous exploitation the economic domination of England over India has become as complete as her political domination. In the following article Dr. Pattabhi details the recent efforts made by the Congress under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi to resuscitate home industries, particularly hand-spun and hand-woven cloth.—ED. I. R.]

It is to counteract the tremendous drain from India that Gandhi has made a beginning in devising the resuscitation of hand-spun and hand-woven cloth. The proposal was not taken seriously when it was foreshadowed at the Special Congress in Calcutta in September 1920, but at Nagpur in December of that year, it was forced upon the Congress although other varieties of Swadeshi cloth including Mill-spun Hand-woven, Mill-spun Mill-woven, mill woven with foreign yarn, were all included under the heading of Swadeshi. By a huge moral upheaval the country has now been got to recognise that Khaddar means Hand-spun Hand-woven cloth, that it is the hall-mark of every patriot and that a Congressman dressed in other than Khaddar habiliments is a target of attack not only by his fellow-Congressmen but by politicians of other schools of thought who have learnt to look upon him as a betrayer of the Congress cause. This development of public opinion has not indeed come in a day; slowly and steadily had the Congress atmosphere been permeated with this cult of khaddar and in the space of four years, i.e., by the 1st of January 1925, we had made the wearing of khaddar compulsory, obligatory spinning a condition of membership to the Congress executive and finally a quota of self-spun yarn, the one subscription for being or becoming a Congressman. It has been borne in upon the people that the Charka is only alternative to the sword, that sword and wreckage which the Congress and the country have once for all abjured. The cult of khaddar has elevated manual labour again to that dignity which has been associated with it in the West and was, even in East from time immemorial. Labour in West includes all sundry occupations

from the penny-liner's to that of the Parliamentary member. With us it is not so. We have taken it one step further. It means to us a contribution of human effort which helps in the augmentation of food and raiment unto man. The import of cloth into India has drained away India's food, India's wealth and India's self-respect. It has brought unemployment into India. The Congress session at Belgaum marked an era in the progress of the cult of khaddar. The men and women of India that were assembled at that Congress swore before God and man that they would make the new franchise a success and ever since have come into existence a series of workers and institutions wedded to the cause of khaddar. \* \* \* The simple philosophy of buying cotton for money, slivers for cotton, yarn for slivers, cloth for yarn and money for cloth, the yet simpler processes of growing the cotton in the backyard, spinning it in the parlour and weaving it in the frontage and wearing it on the person,—these have been brought home to every member of the Congress and thousands of sympathisers with the cause from outside. It is hardly necessary to speak of the amount of leisure that people have in villages which unfortunately they are beguiling in cards-play, vain gossip or pernicious gambling at home or in law courts. All this must be put an end to. Administrators like Sir M. Visweswaraya have been hard put to it to discover some collateral occupation for the agriculturists and the women, without being drawn away from the privacy as well as the sanctity of their homes. The genius of man has not been able to discover any such occupation until the resourcefulness of Gandhi hit upon the restoration of this happy craft of Khaddar manufacture. Hand-spinning is a

simple process which requires no more capital than a quarter of a rupee worth of spindles or cotton for the instruments are already there and on the lowest computation there must be in India about 50 million Charkas. Even the blind, the maimed, the disabled and the crippled can spin. It has been said that spinning is not a paying occupation. It is not. It has never been claimed to be such. At best it cannot fetch more than one anna eight pies a day but what is the average income of the Indian? It is one anna nine pies per day and that including the millions of the millionaire, the crores of the Koteswara and the lakhs of the Lakshadikari. They yield the average of one anna nine pies for these millions, and there must be millions of population indeed who are earning nothing. Is it wrong then for these millions who are earning nothing to be provided with an occupation which yields them as much as the average income of a man in India without dislodging them from their homes and families? What India must take notice of is her immense man-power. It is the total out-put of yarn produced, or capable of being produced by the unnumbered numbers of her population that can make India hold her own against any other country, against all machinery and against the onslaughts of the new-fangled industrialism of the West.

It is not cotton alone that was spun in olden days and provided an occupation to the people of the villages. Gunny in Bengal was one other substance and the spinning and weaving of silk is equally well-known. Professor Ray points out that the hand-woven jute was a great subsidiary industry of Bengal and in 1850-51, Gunny Bags and cloth exported from Calcutta were valued at Rs. 2,159,782. In Patna City in Bihar District alone there were 3,30,426 spinners and the average estimate of the thread spun by each spinner in a year was Rs. 7-2-8 and the total value in the District was Rs. 2,367,277. If out of this amount a half—to be more exact Rs. 1,286,272—was taken away for raw material there remained a profit of Rs. 1,081,005 for the spinners. Nor was there any distinction of caste, for in Behar the

spinners are Hindus and the weavers are Mussalmans. They are the complements of each other in life. Imagine a village with a population of 4,000 all told being self-contained in regard to its clothing and if the average of each individual's requirements is 13 yards as has been estimated, the village would require in the year 54,000 yards of cloth costing roughly Rs. 27,000. If a third of this is equated to the price of cotton which in any case is being grown in our country, there is a balance of Rs. 18,000 representing the profits of trade, transport charges, spinning and weaving wages and so on, left in the village, and this by engaging the leisure hours not of all the people in the village, but only 200 spinners in that village. Would you call it a crime? Would you call it bad economics or worse patriotism? Imagine this village being richer every year by an addition of Rs. 27,000 and it is only when you are able to visualise such a condition that you can also picture to yourself the extent of ancient wealth for which this country was noted and the depths of modern poverty from which this country is now suffering. Food and raiment are the two essentials of life and whatever luxuries a country may possess that which cannot grow its own food and manufacture its own raiment cannot lay title to civilization. The Empire Marketing Board in a pamphlet that has recently been circulated advertising Bengal and Burma rice, has claimed for India that she possesses an ancient civilization and that the rice plant was known so early as 349 B.C. But India's capacity for weaving her own fabrics has been shown to be even older than that and the instruments with which she has been able to achieve her magnificent results are the simple Hand-Loom and the still simpler Charka of to-day. Only the Fly Shuttle which was invented about the year 1733 in the West has been incorporated into the Hand-Loom of India in the beginning of this century and has helped to double or even to treble the out-put of the unsophisticated loom. The tragedy of a country's incompetence to supply its own needs by way of clothing was witnessed by India during the

Great War when the prices of all fabrics rose prohibitively high so much so that stories of suicide for want of clothing were to be heard now and again during those years of tribulation. The Hand-loom industry is indeed an ancient one in India and does not own its resuscitation to the Non-Co-operation Movement as indeed Hand-Spinning does. When the fly-shuttle was introduced even earlier than the Anti Partition agitation in Bengal in 1905 men like E. B. Havell estimated that there were 60 lakhs of weavers in this country and South India has the honour of possessing nearly a quarter of them. To estimate the number of Charkas in the country then even at 500 lakhs would be no exaggeration. On the average a trained spinner is easily able to spin 300 yards of uniform yarn per hour with good twist and of counts between 10 and 15 or even 10 and 20. Reckoning five hours as the period of such work a person is easily able to spin 1,680 yards a day which comes to about 4 lbs. per month or 48 lbs. per annum. A pound yields 4 square yards of cloth and 48 lbs. would yield 192 square yards. If that is so the 5 million Charkas in the country should yield 96 crores of square yards of cloth or roughly 100 crores. We know that in 1906 the cloth that was imported into India was only 107 crores of yards. In 1914 the year of the commencement of the Great War it was 320 crores of yards while in 1922 it fell to 167 crores of yards of cloth. It is evident then that by mobilising the charkas in the country, we can eliminate almost the whole of the imported cloth from this woe-begone land and the capital we require is easily managed. What we want is the will to spin,—the will to conquer.

That even to-day, a third of the clothing of India is supplied by her own Hand-loom industry is admitted on all hands. Indeed it was Mr. E. B. Havell that contended in 1905 that hand-loom industry any day could hold its own against the Mill industry in India as well as in England.

What sustains and is sustained by the Hand-loom industry is the collateral crafts of

printing and dyeing by which alone you can subserve the tastes and fashions of people which vary from caste to caste and from District to District. And in a country having a population of 35 crores and an area of 18 lakhs of square miles, you can easily imagine what a real variety of taste and temperament, what variations of form and beauty, what glories of colour and design must have come into existence during the past 5,000 years. Indeed, it has been well said that the index of a country's civilisation is furnished by its arts and crafts and the craft of cloth-making has attained in the hands of the Indian weaver and printer a degree of skill and eminence and beauty which is inconceivable to the Westerner. If only we are able to conserve the wages of spinners and weaving involved in the cloth necessary for the whole country we can avoid a drain of 40 crores of rupees annually, for the cloth imported into India amounts to Rs. 66 crores and the yarn to 6 crores. Out of the 72 crores a third represents cotton which we ourselves supply mostly. Therefore, the imports may be reckoned strictly at 48 crores. Out of this we shall not be far wrong in reckoning 8 crores as trade profits and transport charges, leaving 40 crores as the net value of the imports. As against this we export rice to other countries to the extent of exactly 40 crores. The Empire Marketing Board in the pamphlet already referred to has stated, while praising the quality of Bengal and Burma rice, that India grows more rice than she needs. This is incorrect because men like Sir Charles Elliot and Sir William Wilson Hunter have estimated that a fifth of the population goes with one meal a day which means that six crores of people have no second meal. Imagine a town like Rajahmundry-Rajamahendravaram—situated on the banks of the Godavary with the waters of the river with their unnumbered gallons simply flowing to the ocean while the 68 thousand people of the town have not a drop of water to drink. Why? Because the Municipality has not brought water to the doors of the inhabitants. So it is with the stream of rice that flows away to foreign countries while the crores of people

living on the banks are left to starve. Why? Because there is no Government that puts enough money into the hands of the people to buy the rice with. Of rice there is plenty in the country, of hungry men there are enough, yet there is no means of bringing the starving stomachs the food that is next door to them but cannot be taken in because there is no money to purchase the food with. If only the 40 crores that is being drained away by the cloth imported could be conserved by the support of the Hand-spun, Hand-woven cloth industry, then the Indian people would not be starving and rice would not be finding its way abroad. And too, out of Rs. 100 worth of mill cloth, Rs. 71 goes to the capitalist while Rs. 29 goes to labour. But out of Rs. 100 worth of Hand-spun, Hand-woven cloth Rs. 79 goes to the craftsmen while Rs. 21 covers the remaining expenses. In a Rupee of Khaddar 3 as. 9 p. goes to spinning, 4 as. 9 p. goes to weaving, 3 as. 9 p. goes to cotton, 2 as. for carding,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a. for bleaching, 1 anna for salesmanship,  $\frac{1}{4}$  a. for transport. Thus the Hand-loom industry conserves the collateral industries of spinning, printing and dyeing and bleaching, and through them conserves the food of the country and puts it into the mouths of craftsmen. These are simple propositions in Indian economics. Indeed these constitute the new economics of India of which the writers in the West are woefully ignorant. We do not study them nor does the Government.

All crafts receive support only from a co-operative organisation that finances them but it is singularly sad to note that for a million people and 3,30,000 weavers dependent on this Industry in Madras Presidency there should be only 63 co-operative societies exclusively for weavers while the credit societies of which more than 60 per cent. are weavers are only 76 in number. The working capital covered by these societies is Rs. 1,32,632 yielding a divisible profit of Rs. 3,442 in the year 1927-28. The Townshend Report on Co-operation has stated that steps so far taken to help the weavers' community are not adequate.

Only recently the 1929 Provincial Co-operative Conference assembled in Madras exhorted co-operative central banks to afford special facilities to Khaddar societies and to weaving societies in particular and to primary rural credit societies in general, to help this Handicraft. Public opinion is day by day consolidating in favour of the patronage of cottage industries, people are fast realising in the East, and it is hoped, they in the West are also alive to the fact, that machine industries have their own limitations and while power is quite good enough to crush stones, to lift weights and to abridge space and time it cannot and ought not to encroach upon artistic crafts.

The next argument that we have to deal with in regard to the manufacture of Khaddar is the argument relating to cheapness. People complain that Khaddar is not sufficiently cheap and that they would gladly buy it if that were not as dear as it is. It is really astonishing to see how simple these critics are. If Khaddar were as cheap as or cheaper than Lancashire cloth, would you require Gandhi, the National Congress and a patriotic cult, to spend their time and talents in propagating the cult of Khaddar? Water flows from a higher level to a lower level and the purchase side of economics always flows from the dearer to the cheaper. Our whole complaint is that our goods are made so dear in England that they could not be purchased by the English people in the 18th and 19th centuries. Our whole grievance is that our goods have been made so dear in India that they have been made to disappear in the face of the competition with those imported from Lancashire. While that is the position, to say that you will wear Khaddar provided it is cheap is to beg to question. Indeed it is not evident to the meanest understanding that things become cheap only when they are produced on a large scale? Have we not made Khaddar appreciably and considerably cheaper during the past eight years? When we started the manufacture of Khaddar, we were selling 25 counts at Re.  $1\frac{1}{3}$  per yard. To-day, we are able to sell it at 11 as. per yard. The price

has come down by more than 33 per cent. The more you use khaddar, the greater will be the fall in its price. That is a proposition which few will dare to controvert. You do not care to use the article yourself and you will not allow it to be used by others. It is required to be manufactured by somebody at his own cost and at his own peril and you want to wait till the day comes when by some magical process the cloth becomes sufficiently cheap to tempt you to buy it. If it is cheap enough to tempt you where is your conscious effort? Where is your sacrifice? Where is your patriotism? Really the argument of cheapness is not sincere for the very man that advances it is dressed in a turban that costs 10 to 20 rupees, a coat made of Marino or Crevia-nette costing 20 to 25 rupees and which is charged Rs. 6 to 12 for tailoring, in a silk shirt costing about 6 to 10 rupees with gold studs and links costing a couple of Sovereigns. He has an Uttareeyam of Salem Silk costing 30 to 40 rupees and a Dhoti costing about 8 to 10 rupees. If we put the man to auction or even the mere habiliments though not the man, you can easily get a couple of hundreds for he has a gold wrist watch with a goldband not to speak of his diamond ear-rings and diamond finger rings. The argument of cheapness is an intellectual one. At best it can be conceived in the interests of those unfortunate men who are less well placed than we in life and for whose well being, we do not care two raps except when we viciously and perversely argue against Khaddar, nor is cheapness to be dismissed from our minds when we speak of Khaddar. Khaddar is really cheap in the long run. The initial investment may be somewhat expensive and may look even prohibitive but considering the durability of the cloth, the minimum requirements to which you will be soon habituated, the Khaddar mentality that would ere long be developed in you and limit your wants and your fashions to the irreducible minimum of comfort and decency, there is little doubt that over an average of three years the investment in a family budget of Khaddar, would be considerably less than upon other

kinds of cloth. Costly silks are dispensed with; expensive flannels are no longer required; a simplicity of dress and demeanour is soon cultivated and much is saved in the quantity of cloth no less than in quality and only a couple of years' experience can convince the cynic and critic who is not willing to try the experiment but who is free with his arguments of a purely intellectual nature.

The question of cheapness is really an unworthy issue to be raised in this connection as it is an unreal issue.\*

When we exalt the question of Khaddar on to the pedestal of a patriotic plank in the Congress platform and the platform of Swaraj, people will turn round and ask whether it is not the duty of the country to carry on an effective boycott of British cloth instead of making that boycott extensive and apply to foreign cloth and whether it will not be a sufficient retaliation against Britain to abandon the purchase of its goods (cloth) in favour of the cloth imported from other countries like Japan, Germany and America. Really that is the danger with which the country is confronted at the present moment. There is no doubt that the boycott of foreign cloth has had its own telling effect upon the production and trade of cloth in England.†

Congress Committees and those interested in the boycott of foreign cloth will read with interest the following remarks made by a British correspondent on the last day of the last year (1929), relating to the conditions of Lancashire cotton industries:—

"Traders will not be sorry to see the last of 1929, for it has been one of the most depressing periods on record.‡ The trade stagnation has left in its trail bankrupt firms, old-established concerns gone

\* This paper was written in 1930. It is being published in 1931. And now as feared, a quantity of Japanese rice has come to Bombay and upset the level of prices in India—as has been complained against by the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

† And upon the politics of India.

‡ All this is nothing compared to the catastrophe created in Lancashire and the rest of England by the Satyagraha movement of 1930-31 in India.



out of business and balance sheets which are anything but healthy.

The spinning section remains in a deplorable position. The production of American yarns is in excess of demand and prices are weak. Egyptian spinners are in hardly a better position.

From a financial point of view, the past year has been a period of anxiety.

\* \* \* \*

While this is so this depression in English trade is no consolation or comfort to us because side by side with it we have the story from Japan and its aggressive invasion of the Indian market both by its yarn and its cloth. In the beginning of this century the Japanese trade in fabric or yarn with India was practically negligible. In 1914, says a magazine, Japan exported 940 bales of yarn into India. These were valued at 216,850 yens. Twelve years later, in 1926, the amount of Japanese yarn imported into India increased to 216,850 bales and their value to 28,086,000 yens (about 42 million rupees). The ratio of Japanese yarn to the total imported yarn of India was a little over 2 per cent. in 1914-15, nearly 45 per cent. in 1922-23, and 65 per cent. in 1925-26.

Out of the total of 50 million lbs. weight of yarn consumed every year in India her mills are calculated to produce not more than half the quantity. The major portion of imported yarn of India comes from Japan and England. It is remarkable that, while the proportion of Japanese yarn export to India increased more than thirty-fold in twelve years' period, that of England decreased from 87 per cent. in 1914-15, to 52 per cent. in 1922-23 and to only 31 per cent. in 1925-26.

The large bulk of yarn imported into India either from Lancashire or Japan is of counts between 30 and 60.

The value of British cotton yarn imported into India in the commercial year

ending 31st December, 1924, was estimated at four crores of rupees; while that of British cotton piece-goods was nearly 54 crores of rupees.

Japanese greys have now predominated. They have ousted English makes and the condition of the mills in Japan made it possible for the goods to steadily gain ground. It is reported that about 800/900 bales are being cleared every month."

Then again the latest report from Japan shows how that little country has invaded not only India but England herself. "Not only did Japan threaten Lancashire in her exports of piece-goods, but she bids well to capture the Indian raw cotton market so that Lancashire might have to depend on Japan for Indian cotton" declared Mr. Barnard Ellinger, reading a paper prepared by himself and Mr. Hugh Ellinger, cotton spinners of Manchester, on Japanese competition in Cotton Trade at the Royal Statistical Society, London.

The paper pointed out how Japan is satisfied with the world's demand for cheap bulk cotton by using a type of raw material which, although not so good as that used in Britain, was sufficiently good to satisfy requirements. Japanese spinners also were very clever in mixing cotton. Each mill had its own mixing which is kept a secret. Mr. Ellinger stressed the advantage Japan held in organisation, for in the British industry it was only the fringe, the finishing sections and subsidiary trade, that was organised whereas Japan had organised the heart of the industry, cotton buying, distributing and chief productive sections.

The paper concluded thus: "No problem confronting the British cotton industry was more urgent than that of solidifying small firms into larger units while the rationalisation of trade must include the distributing section." Advocating the formation of a series of big combines interlocked by the financial community of interests, Mr. Ellinger recalled that Lancashire still exported even now approxi-

mately half the cotton goods that were exported from all the countries in the world and expressed the belief that if she had the will and power so to organise as to meet the requirements of the present century, she would regain her former prosperity.

Meanwhile *The Morning Post* draws attention to the sale, in Lancashire cotton-spinning towns, of shirts manufactured in Ireland from cloth imported from Japan which, it says, were sold at lower prices than locally made garments. Cheap Japanese vests are also selling readily. The paper asks if Lancashire is going to submit to the penetration of that home market by cottons of the Orient and opines there is probably little profit on imported shirts which probably represent the dumping of the Japanese surplus.

Shall we transfer our allegiance from England to Japan? Let it be remembered now at least that it was through cloth that we lost our kingdom. Lord Birkenhead in his Statement to the Commons in 1927 said: "We went to India in that commercial guise which has frequently in history been our earliest approach to future dominions." Shall we knowingly this time and deliberately allow Japan to make a similar approach to India in a commercial guise in order to establish a future dominion or act with the grim determination to get rid of England's domination?

Great efforts are being made by the Indian princes and the people in order to make India self-contained and restore the self-respect of this ancient country. The Mysore Government has achieved through Khaddar in the year 1928 the task of finding a supplementary occupation for 1,000 families of agriculturists without losing in the attempt a rupee of the State Treasury. We make no apology for inviting the reader to peruse the whole of the scheme and its description as given by the Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee's Pamphlet No. 2. It is fortunate that Indian States have become awakened to the importance of the problem.

In this great process of rehabilitation of Khaddar, every man, woman and child in

India can render adequate assistance. Yet the very mill-owners have an opportunity of serving the country through Khaddar, and Gandhi has prescribed the following six methods in which they can render that assistance:

1. They can sell Khaddar through their agencies.
2. They can lend their talents to the movement.
3. They can by a Conference with the All-India Spinners' Association determine the varieties they should manufacture in terms of boycott.
4. They can cease to manufacture Khaddar whether in that name or in any other.
5. They can standardise their prices so as neither to suffer loss nor to increase their profits.
6. They can render financial assistance to the movement.\*

Yes, the Khadi movement is a patriotic movement. Indeed it is a national movement and it is a Swaraj movement. Khadi easily brings the movement into touch with every living soul in India. In speaking of the national movement we often exhort every citizen to do his or her duty by the country. It may not be given to everyone of these to play some part in Non-Co-operation but where is the man, woman or child that is not clad and may not be clad in home-spun fabrics? They may be coarse to look at but they are soft to feel. They may excite the pity of the observer but they fill the wearer with joy and satisfaction. They are durable. They keep the body warm in winter and cool in summer. A recent discovery by Dr. J. C. Bose has attributed to them the additional power of minimising sound. They solve the problem of unemployment in India. They raise the standard of self-respect in the country. They constitute the uniform of every soldier of the Non-violent Army of India in the warfare for the recovery

\*Some of these have been accepted by the mill-owners who have subscribed to the declaration formulated by the Congress during the great struggle of 1930-31.



of Swaraj. Nay, the constructive programme chiefly consisting of the manufacture and propagation of Khaddar has been well described as the drill and discipline which this non-violent army has to undergo from day to day in its preparation for civil disobedience. The process of spinning is a process that engages your mind, occupies your time, composes your thoughts and subdues your passions. Try it when you are in a bad temper. Have a foretaste of it when you are perturbed in mind and you will find half an hour's spinning has softened your *Tamsik* feelings and transformed you into a *Satvik* creature. It is not given to everyone to be the commander of an army or be the builder of a temple. But even as a soldier that is truly patriotic would no more complain against the outpost where he is charged with the duties of being a sentinel than the humble devotee against the sort of tabernacle wherein he may have a chance to worship, even so the humble Khadi worker may not complain against the absence

of limelight irradiating his sphere of work, for he is contributing to the nation's recovery of its self-sufficiency and self-respect and to the removal of starvation from the hungry stomachs that are helpless. India is truly at the parting of ways. She has to choose between the spinning wheel and the steering wheel, between Khadi and Kaki and to her to-day there is little doubt that her salvation rests in her adherence to the Charka and Khaddar. The last battle has revealed that if only people are serious about Khaddar, they need not lose a single life or shed a single drop of blood in emancipating their country, for an army of 70,000 men, women and children clad in Khaddar has won a notable victory for Sathya over Asathya, for dharma over adharma, for ahimsa over himsa, for unarmed India over mighty England with her puissant armies running into lakhs, finances running into crores with her ~~battleships~~ aeroplanes, cruisers, submarines and dreadnoughts.

## LOSS AND GAIN

BY "J".

Visions of Beauty that cease,  
Being glimps'd in a flash, then lost,  
Like the fleeting look of peace,  
On a countenance passion-tost;  
Loveliness poised on the edge  
Of a trembling, transient hour,  
Are to me the passionate pledge  
Of a peerless, infinite dower.  
Sunbeams resting awhile,  
On waters translucent, deep.  
The fitting mysterious smile  
On the lips of a child asleep;  
Songs entrancingly sweet  
From the soft-leaved boughs of spring,

The resonant rhythmic beat  
Of startled birds awing;  
Are visions as strange and swift  
That amazed my heart stands still,  
Ere I leap to hold the gift  
To retain the fugitive thrill.  
But things that surely were  
Cannot utterly cease to be.  
In an ultimate world fore'er  
Gathered, they wait for me.  
Hence I garner no lasting pain  
As the fruit of my baffled embrace  
Losing, that instant I gain,  
The promise of God's dear Face.

# INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

## THE AGREEMENT: CONGRESS AND THE R. T. C.

**M**AHATMA Gandhi has at last sailed for England to attend the Round Table Conference. With him are sailing two veteran leaders of the Congress—Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu—as also Sir Prabhaskar Pattani who has been so assiduous in the recent parleys in Simla. Congress participation in the proceedings of the Conference marks a definite stage in the progress of negotiations for a satisfactory settlement of India's constitutional problem. The success of the conversations which led to this happy result is the triumph of goodwill and statesmanship on either side. It will be seen from the extracts published on another page, how keenly Gandhiji was feeling the force of circumstances compelling him to withdraw from the Conference. At one time it almost appeared as if there would be no further hope of the Congress participating, and the publication of what is known as the charge-sheet against the Government, followed by the rebutting of the charges by the latter, threatened to extinguish what little chance there was of a settlement. It would have been disastrous if the talks had failed, for, that would have meant the continuance of the Congress boycott of the Round Table Conference and the possible revival of civil disobedience with all its attendant evils. But the will to peace was there, and His Excellency's tactful and statesman-like handling of the situation, coupled with Mahatmaji's undoubted sincerity and his fine spirit of accommodation, have won in the end. "I do not consider the Viceroy's reply to be at all bad or disappointing," said Mr. Gandhi and straightway sought an interview with H. E. Lord Willingdon to bring about an understanding. Igniting on "The Real Issue", he pointed out *Young India*:

"In spite, however, of my belief that Provincial Governments had committed serious breaches of the settlement, I was prepared, so far as my departure for London was concerned, to be satisfied merely with securing relief in the matter of the Bardoli collection under coercion.

That has been conceded by the Agreement, and an enquiry into the Bardoli affair has been ordered. The Delhi Pact thus remains operative, and Congress is duly represented at the Round

Table Conference. Thus the good work so well begun by Lord Irwin is bearing fruit, thanks to the wisdom of his successor.

## THE R. T. C. AND THE NEW GOVERNMENT

So far so good. But there is yet considerable work ahead. For the Labour Government which was responsible for initiating the Round Table Conference, and has so far been directing its work, has been displaced by a new Government (though the Prime Minister remains). It is a great satisfaction that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald will yet preside over the Conference and Lord Sankey over the Federal Structure Committee, though the good Mr. Benn who was so assiduously, yet unostentatiously, working behind the scenes, will no more assist in the deliberations of either.

It is officially announced that the work of the Conference will go on as before. So the further stages in the immediate future of the Round Table Conference will be the concern of the new "National" Government. Sir Samuel Hoare, the new Secretary of State for India, is a good man but a Conservative who has been emphasising unduly on "safeguards". He has, however, sent out a message of goodwill to India and expressed his desire to do his best for India. He and other British representatives at the Conference will find, in Mahatma Gandhi, a collaborator of infinite patience and goodwill, deep in understanding and tolerant of opposing opinions, inspired by high faith in the ultimate goodness of human nature and the victory of truth. The Churchills who dread "the half naked fakir", will be thoroughly disillusioned by the suavity of his manners and his disarming smile. They will find in him not a fanatic but a shrewd diplomat, distinguished not by cunning but by abundant charity.

## THE LIBERAL FEDERATION

The Liberal Federation did not meet last December as most of the leading Liberals were away in England in connection with the Round Table Conference. The postponed session should have met in Poona, but for reasons into which it is unnecessary to enter here, it was held in Bombay on the 31st July. The first session of the Round Table Conference was over by the third week of January, and since then the

reports of the Sub-Committees have been published embodying the results of the labours of the Conference and the respective Committees. The Federation thus met at an important juncture on the eve of the resumption of the Round Table Conference to attend which the Indian delegation sailed on the 15th August. There was therefore ample material for examination, and an attempt was made at the session to give a lead to the delegation in regard to the work before the ensuing session of the Round Table Conference.

Mr. Chintamani, the President of the Session, is one of the most active members of the Round Table Conference. It is not to be supposed that all Liberals think alike on all subjects any more than all Congressmen do. In fact there could be no such regimentation of ideas in any live party, and the Liberals, as becomes a party of 'progressists', are not all of 'one mind in all matters.' There are advanced Liberals who are one with Congressmen in all their demands, save on the question of separation from the Empire and allegiance to civil disobedience. Barring these two exceptions they are as critical of British policy and intentions and as insistent on their demands as Congressmen. Mr. Chintamani was unsparing in his criticism of the recommendations of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee and his trenchant observations show how far they fall short of the National Demand. "Federation or no federation," he said, "we must have responsible government, not less at the centre than in the provinces, and we must have it without any more delay." He wanted the reality of responsible government. If that is denied, he would wait for true federation in a more propitious time and go forward with his demand for responsible government for British India.

The Federation confined itself to a consideration of the momentous constitutional issues before the country. Of course, there are other questions of equal importance demanding urgent attention; but the session was specially called to deal with the findings of the Round Table Conference and suggest ways of making the provisional scheme acceptable to the nation. The Liberal Federation defined its attitude towards the proposed Federation of India and outlined its policy regarding the next Round Table Conference. It declared the proposals of the Sub-Committee to be altogether defective and was unhesitating in its declaration,

that the executive must be responsible only to the popular chamber of the legislature; that there should be

no two-thirds majority required for the success of motions of no-confidence; that the representatives of States should not take part by speech or vote in such motions when their subject-matter is exclusively British Indian; that although in the beginning all the representatives of the States may not be elected, the principle of election should be recognised from the very outset while, after the expiry of a transitional period, statutorily limited, the method of election should be identical in the case of States and provinces; that the representation of the provinces should be direct from the very start, and alike in the case of States and provinces the quantum of representation should be determined by the test of population.

The work of the Defence Committee was subjected to severe criticism and the Federation repeated the proposals it made in former years "to ensure the rapid Indianization of the Army and reasonable, if partial, control by the legislature during the period of transition".

As the full text of the Resolutions is printed elsewhere in this issue, we refrain from further comments on them.

#### THE RAILWAY DISPUTE

The Government of India have at last appointed a Court of Enquiry into the dispute between the Railway Board and the Railway Administrations on the one hand and the Railwaymen's Federation on the other. It will be remembered that the Federation protested against the sudden retrenchment in railways and threatened a general strike if their demands were not sympathetically considered. They asked for a Board of Conciliation to adjudicate the matters under dispute. But the Government of India, in their reply to the Railwaymen's Federation, pointed out that the time for negotiations had passed and that an impartial Court of Enquiry would serve the purpose better than a Board of Conciliation. The Government also expressed their desire to meet workers though they would not be coerced by threat of strike.

The Railwaymen's Federation requested that the Court of Enquiry should find out whether the retrenchment methods adopted by the Railway Department and the Railway Administrations were the best for the purpose or whether there were better alternatives.

The Government of India in their reply pointed out that the acceptance of this term of reference

would bring within the purview of the Court of Enquiry questions of policy which must be decided by the Administrations alone.

Hence they could not agree to the demand for widening the terms of reference, but the proposed enquiry will, they say, enable them to ascertain whether the Railway Board and Railway Administrations have dealt fairly with their employees in carrying out retrenchment. The personnel of the Committee which consists of Mr. Justice Murphy, Mr. T. R. Venkatrama Sastri, C.I.E., and Mr. Ross Masood, which has since been announced, must give general satisfaction.

## The Jaffna Boycott

BY MR. JOHN COATES

IN a recent speech, the Governor of Ceylon expressed his willingness to appoint another nomination day for the four Jaffna constituencies which a political boycott has hitherto precluded from representation in the new Ceylon State Council, though the offer was qualified by being made conditional upon the complete removal of the ban.

When news of the boycott first came through, it appeared to the impartial political observer that such an attitude was intended to convey a gesture of censure from a small minority, which hoped to sow the seeds of a united campaign of passive resistance to the new regime; as such, the policy was immediately characterised as misguided in the extreme, for it was apparent that the dictates of the Jaffna Tamils of the North would never win wide adherence amongst the more populous Sinhalese. At that time, when there were many indications to suggest that this was the motive of the boycott, it was hazarded that, when the Jaffna constituents discovered that their ineffective scheme had resulted in unrepresented Jaffna, it would not be long before they decided to play their part in the new Constitution.

From subsequent events, it is apparent that the boycott was founded on much deeper political feeling and that the accusation of spectacular jugglery was, with the possible exception of a small minority, quite unwarranted. Yet, although doubts are no longer cast on the conscientiousness of Jaffna opinion, there are several views as to its origin.

For many years the Jaffna people have viewed the increasing power of the Sinhalese with

The Council of Action of the Federation which is meeting in Madras as we go to press, is considering the desirability of asking the Court of Enquiry whether it will be possible for it to interpret the terms of reference so as to enable it to go into the particular questions raised by them. If the Court should reply in the negative, there will probably be a general strike which would mean terrible hardship to the public and at a time like this when business is nervous and there is a slump all round, the country should be spared this additional catastrophe on the top of it all. It is yet hoped that some way would be found to reconcile divergent interests.

considerable anxiety and have apprehensively looked forward to the day when their interests will receive scant attention from the enormous majority of a community with which they have little in common. Sinhalese dominance is a bogey that has daily acquired more gigantic and sinister proportions in Jaffna eyes, and a certain section of responsible opinion suggests that this is the solution of Jaffna's refusal to play any part in a political system that throws such a preponderance of power into the hands of the Sinhalese community.

While this disinclination to be a pawn in the political game of the Sinhalese is as laudable as it is natural, it is difficult to see how the refusal to take any part whatsoever in the game will avail Jaffna Tamils in their struggle against domination. If this feeling was in reality the dictator of Jaffna's political policy, it is incredible to suggest that the leaders of opinion in the North, who are men of considerable experience and sagacity, would not have realised that, however strong the opponents might be, the dangers of the position could not but be lessened if four able representatives occupied seats in a Council, where it is personality that counts and where, owing to the foresight of the Donoughmore Commission, racial feeling and prejudices must inevitably be reduced to the minimum.

Another view that has been advanced in explanation, traces the boycott to the more pronounced caste distinctions that exist in the Northern constituencies. Briefly, it is suggested

that caste rivalry and the continual clashing of the accompanying interests rendered it impossible for any degree of political unity to be achieved and that, as compromise was impossible, the electors preferred to refrain from taking part in a ballot that could only result in the election of a candidate who represented but a minor section of the community.

In criticism of this theory, it must be pointed out that, although it is undoubtedly true that caste does play a big part in the lives of the Jaffna people, the degree of unanimity reached in the universal decision to boycott the elections is in itself a contradiction of the usual procedure in connection with matters of caste rivalry. In clashes of this nature, the spirit of passive resignation to a united decision is, to say the least of it, extremely rare.

It, therefore, appears likely that this factor can have played only a minor part in the boycott and that the decision primarily arose from a consideration that gained universal support amongst every shade of opinion, irrespective of caste: such a

subject for unanimity is provided by Jaffna's considered opinion of the chances of success of the new Constitution. Believing, as the writer is of the opinion they do, that the experiment cannot prove to be anything but a humiliating failure, it is not surprising that the Jaffna people are unwilling to have their names and reputations associated with the disaster. This attitude is by no means unreasonable; it is in fact exactly analogous to the attitude that would be assumed by a business man if invited to become the director of a company which, in his view, must soon be confronted with bankruptcy.

This then, in the writer's opinion, is the real solution of the boycott. Its acceptance entitles Jaffna to a clean acquittal on the charge of wilful obstruction and, in place of condemnation, considerable credit is due to those who have had the courage of their convictions. Whether Jaffna's pessimistic forecast of the failure of the Donoughmore Constitution is justified or not is quite beside the point; no man can do more than obey the dictates of his judgment.

## Trade and Finance

By "SRIVAS"

### AN EVENTFUL PERIOD

IF fifteenth to fifteenth is the month I cover in these columns, then the period of the first review of this series is the most eventful any chronicler or correspondent could desire. It opened with the discussion of Mr. Hoover's proposal regarding a moratorium for inter-governmental debts; it saw the development of the financial crisis in Germany, the convening of the Seven-Power Conference, the rapid efflux of gold from London, the publication of the MacMillan Committee Report, and a gradual recovery in Europe from the critical conditions of mid-July. At home, we had the report of the publication of the report of the Congress Select Committee on the financial relations between India and Great Britain, the emergence into full view of the uglier and more disheartening features of our economic and financial position with the crowning misfortune of a rupture between the Congress and the Government and consequent withdrawal of Mahatma Gandhi\* from the Round Table Conference. Thus

\* Mahatma Gandhi has since left for London to attend the Round Table Conference.

both within and without we have had stirring times; and who can say that at the end of it there is more reason for hope than at the beginning?

### THE BURDEN OF REPARATIONS

The crisis in Germany is interesting, in that it combines in one country all the features which we have associated with the present trade depression. The fall in prices, regretted by one and all from China and Peru, hit no country harder than Germany. For that unfortunate country has large obligations to meet, fixed not in terms of goods or violent fluctuations but in terms of gold. At the time the Dawes Plan was formulated, it contained the very salutary clause that if gold prices should fall, then the annuity payable by Germany would be reduced to a similar extent. The Young Plan, framed with the express purpose of lightening the load on Germany, reduced the amount payable each year, but removed the clause which made the extent of the burden dependent on the level of prices. It is, indeed, surprising that the German representatives at the Hague Conference of 1929, well known for their economic study and business shrewdness, should

have agreed to forego this protection without any recognisable advantage. But the fact is there; that under the Young Plan, Germany is not entitled to the readjustment of the reparations burden on the ground of the fall in the price level; and as prices are falling, the loan on Germany becomes heavier and heavier. The economic life of the nation is sapped to the root; unemployment totals to more than 4 million and a budget which calculates its unemployment expenditure on the basis of a much smaller number of workless is naturally easily upset. There was a deficit of 1,283.7 million marks accumulated over a period of five years ending with 1929-30. 1930-31 opened with the prospect of an addition of another 760 million. The result was the first Emergency Decree which attempted to balance the budget by the double process of increase in taxation and cut in expenditure. The number of unemployed defied all previous estimates; and by the time the crisis occurred, Germany had three Emergency decrees in all, each of them grinding the tax-payer in a relentless manner. The national finances alone should have sufficed to open the eyes of the powers to the impossibility of the position in Germany. But this was not all. Large payments were due on July 15 on account of reparations. The bulk of the short credits which Germany enjoyed from the money markets also fell due for payment at about the same time.

### THE CRISIS

There was little or nothing to sustain the confidence of foreign investors in the stability of the German economic system. Rumours regarding the position of the chief German business institutions were the first to set the whole in motion. These rumours were unfortunately not untrue; as before that time the difficulties of the Austrian Credit Anstalt, and the practical failure of the smaller institutions which it embraced, had hit German banks very hard. Large business corporations had to be kept going only by the guarantee of the Reich. Though the German Government had, by means of informal conferences, fully acquainted other Governments with the gravity of the situation, relief was slow in coming. As the event has shown, Mr. Hoover's attempt was a race against time for saving Germany and with her the rest of the world, and a race, too, which was almost lost. The inexorable trade depression is no respecter of the tortuous diplomacies of Europe. Down came the crash on Germany. Foreign credits were withdrawn.

The mark dropped like a falling rocket. The Darmstadt and National Bank closed its doors. The Government guaranteed its deposits, declared a virtual moratorium, rationed out foreign exchange, regulated bank withdrawals like water in a desert, closed the Bourses all over the country and took the bank rate by giant strides to the dizzy height of 15 per cent.

### GREAT BRITAIN IN THE CURRENT

Great Britain, too, was drawn into the current. Not that there was anything in her position to warrant loss of confidence. But during a single week she was subject to such withdrawal of foreign credits that sterling dropped down in relation to the principal currencies and the Bank of England lost nearly £30 million of gold within less than a fortnight. One can find no adequate reason for this except that France, offended by Great Britain's enthusiasm for relief to Germany, was bent on showing her the insecurity of the position in the city. Thus London was also obliged to put up the Bank rate from 2½ per cent. to 3½ per cent. and thence to 4½ per cent.

### SEVEN-POWER CONFERENCE

All these were sufficient to sting the Governments of the world to meet together to devise measures by which stability in international finance could be restored. Though the prime inspiration of the Conference was the Hoover moratorium, it was content to give a formal consent to it without allowing the moratorium to raise the broader issue of the readjustment of reparations and war debts. The work of the Conference lies in the agreement by which the chief nations have agreed to maintain the short credits with Germany at the level at which they stood before the crisis began. It went further and authorised the Bank for International Settlements to appoint a Committee to examine the further credit needs of Germany, as also the possibilities of converting a portion of the short term credits into a long term loan. That Committee had barely begun its work before it decided to await the upshot of the present negotiations between London, New York, Berlin, Paris and Zurich for proceeding with their work. Thus the Seven-Power Conference has done a little patchwork where, by all signs, a strengthening of the foundations is the clear need.

### REPERCUSSIONS OF GERMAN CRISIS ON INDIA

It is impossible, constituted as the world now is, that these landslides in Europe could have no effect on India. The banking crisis in Germany was dreaded as a bad blow on a large section of

businessmen in India. The principal commodities suffered a set-back in rates; and when normal conditions were restored in Germany, businessmen felt as though a big load was off their mind. But the temporary anxiety is nothing compared to the effects of the rise in the Bank of England rate on our money market and on the financial programme of the Government of India. The instability of short-term credits, which we saw was the principal source of disturbance in Germany and England, has also its place in our present financial situation.

#### TREASURY BILLS: A RETROSPECT

It would probably be useful here to point out how India drifted into the position in which she has to watch the course of money rates abroad with more concern than is justified by the general interlinking and interdependence of the world's money markets. It is a commonplace of financial criticism in India that the eighteenpence ratio is the veritable Pandora's box out of which have come all the ills of our finance and trade. Whether it is true or not in that unrestricted sense, it is unquestionable that it is the obsession of the ratio that led Government on and on into what has now proved to be a blind alley. The virtual failure since 1927 of the Government of India Loans—into all the reasons of that failure we can hardly enter now—obliged them to make up by means of short-term bills what they could not acquire in the shape of loans or bonds. The Government were then not altogether sorry about the failure of the loans. For while there was a rigorous limit to the amount that could be got by loan issues, treasury bills had apparently no such rigidity. If the yield is adjusted to conditions, the volume of surplus credits in the market and their flow into the treasury could alike be regulated. The rupee rate, the favourite wife of the Government of India, would be properly looked after; and treasury bills could serve the double purpose of maintaining the ways and means position and regulating the volume of surplus credits in the market in the interests of exchange. And once surplus credits are swooped in, contractions of currency are also easy to effect. With the failure of the Government new loans, increased the importance of treasury bills. So long as the Finance Member is not responsible to an intelligent and public-spirited legislature, so long as he has not to worry about his own political future, or even the effects of his operations on the general budgetary position, he can be fascinated by the way in which treasury bills suited his immediate needs and require-

ments. Rates were inevitably on the ascent. And naturally enough at a time when trade was most slack, and the channels of remunerative investment all too few, when gilt-edge was falling and seemed, so to say, to warn everybody off, treasury bills at attractive rates were fully availed of. The rate was so high that foreign investors, too, were attracted. But the greatest fillip to this development was the Irwin-Gandhi Pact which gave just the assurance of political quiet which London was looking for. And since then foreign funds have flowed in a heady stream into treasury bills which has now swollen to the high level of Rs. 81 crores. The weakness of the position is that, if anything should happen to dissuade foreigners from renewing the bills as and when they mature, the Government would be obliged to pay out large sums week after week; and this is obviously impossible in the present state of the Government's ways and means.

#### FUNDING vs. FLOATING

The most natural way out would be to fund as large a portion of the floating debt as possible. And to issue the new loan for funding the debt, it would be necessary to suspend the treasury bills and reduce the bank rate. And if these were done, the current maturities could not be paid. It is as if one were suffering from the malignant diseases, the treatment for one of which would have the effect of worsening the other. And even if the Government had the will to make a start, the developments in the international markets compelled them to put up the bank rate from 6 per cent. to 7 per cent. and to raise the yield on treasury bills; for the essential condition of the retention of foreign funds is a certain disparity between money rates in, say, London, and money rates in India. With the change in the bank rate, the last hope of a successful new loan is gone. Space does not permit any enquiry into the resulting financial situation. Suffice it to say here that with deficits all round and, railways and provincial governments making demands on the Central Government as their bankers, with foreign funds in treasury bills extremely precarious, with 1931 bonds maturing shortly, the new money needed cannot be put at less than 75 crores. And who can say that this amount would be forthcoming. Add to this the latest decision of the Mahatma not to go to the Round Table Conference, remember the place of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact in the success of the treasury bills issue, and we have a fair idea of the dark clouds that have spread over our financial sky.

## Gandhiji on Current Events

[In view of Mr. Gandhi's pre-eminent position in the public life of this country and of the weight and authority of his pronouncements, it is proposed in these pages to present from time to time his views on the leading topics of the day.—EDITOR, *The Indian Review*.]

### THE CULT OF MURDER

COMMENTING in *Young India* on the attempt on the life of H. E. Sir Ernest Hotson, Acting Governor of Bombay, at the Poona College, Mr. Gandhi says:

It would be well if the believers in violence will take a lesson from this happy tragedy—happy, because no one has suffered but the assailant.

Has he suffered, is he suffering or is he deluding himself with the belief that he is hero. Let this event be a warning for the students. After all a school or a college is a sanctuary where there should be nothing that is base or unholy. Schools and colleges are factories for the making of character. Parents send their boys and girls to them so that they may become good men and women. It would be an evil day for the nation if every student is suspected as a would-be assassin capable of any treachery.

The Bhagat Singh worship has done and is doing incalculable harm to the country. Bhagat Singh's character about which I had heard so much from reliable sources, the intimate connection I had with the attempts that were being made to secure commutation of the death sentence carried me away and identified me with the cautious and balanced resolution passed at Karachi. I regret to observe that that the caution has been thrown to the winds. The deed itself is being worshipped as if it was worthy of emulation. The result is *goondaism* and degradation wherever this mad worship is being performed.

The Congress is a power in the land but I warn Congressmen that it will soon lose all its charm if they betray their trust and encourage the Bhagat Singh cult whether in thought, word or deed.

After explaining how the Congress adopted the policy and creed of non-violence in spite of the so-called provocation offered by Government servants, Mr. Gandhi proceeds:

The reported hostile demonstration by some students has made the ugly uglier still. I hope that the students and the teachers throughout India will seriously beatir themselves and put the educational house in order. And in my opinion it is the peremptory duty of the forthcoming meeting of the All-India Congress Committee to condemn the treacherous outrage and reiterate its policy in unequivocal terms.

One word to the Government and the administrators. Retribution and repression will not do. These violent outbreaks are portents. They may judge those who are immediately guilty. But they can deal with the disease only by dealing with the cause. If they have neither the will nor the courage to do so, let them leave the rest to the nation. It has progressed past repression and retribution. It will deal with violence in its own ranks in its own way. Any Government action in excess of the demands of the common law will simply intensify the madness, and make the task of believers in non-violence more difficult than it already is.

### PUBLIC DEBT REPORT

The report of the Committee appointed by the Congress on the obligations between Great Britain and India is a document of very great importance, especially at the present moment, writes Mr. Gandhi in *Young India*.

Gandhiji adds:

Let no one regard the report as the final Congress demand. The report is a valuable document for the guidance of the Congress and those who would study the history of the financial transactions of the British Government in India. It is open to the Congress either to waive any of the terms of the demand, framed by authors or to add to them if need be. Then, too, it has never been the Congress position that whatever demand the Congress makes, must be accepted. The Congress position has always been and to-day, is that if the British Government did not accept the Congress claim, the items in the dispute should be referred to an impartial tribunal. Surely nothing more reasonable can be accepted from the Congress, and anything less will be a betrayal of trust on the part of the Congress.

### GANDHIJI AND THE DELHI PACT

After the announcement of the Working Committee's decision (published elsewhere) Mr. Gandhi gave an interview to a group of pressmen explaining the Working Committee's resolution. He said:

I need hardly say that it has been a great blow to me, that I am not to go to London. I know what it will mean to Lord Irwin and I know also what severe disappointment it will be to the numerous English friends I have in England. But a decision not to go became inevitable. I had hoped against hope that justice will be done even at the eleventh hour. My request was, in my opinion, incredibly simple. If there was a contract between the Government and the Congress, and if there was a dispute as to the interpretation of the contract or if there was a breach on either side, surely the rules governing all contracts must be applicable to this contract, and this in my opinion was the more so, because it is a contract between a great Government and a great organisation claiming to represent the whole nation. That the contract is not legally enforceable imposes a double obligation upon the Government, to submit to an impartial tribunal questions in dispute between the contracting parties if they cannot agree. The Government in their wisdom have rejected a very simple and very natural suggestion of the Congress, that such matters in dispute should be referred to an impartial tribunal.

In the circumstances it would have been highly improper if the Congress had allowed itself to be represented at the Round Table Conference. More than this I must not say at the present moment.



## CONGRESS AND THE R. T. C.

"All believed that I would start for London on the 15th. Many here, in England and in other parts of the world were anxious that I should proceed to London, but God's will be done," wrote Mr. Gandhi in the *Navajivan*. Gandhiji added:

I see the hand of God in the reply of His Excellency the Viceroy. This much, however, I can say with certainty, that I had employed, by thought, word and deed, all the means which a human being could employ for ensuring my participation in the Round Table Conference. Still if I have not been able to go to London, I firmly believe the interest of India lies in it.

I for myself do not distinguish between British politicians and Indian Civilians; and if for securing justice here in small matters, all energies have to be spent, and even then sometimes justice is not secured, it is impossible to expect justice in England in the so-called big affairs. Experience obtained here is the echo of what is going to happen in England. If this view-point is correct, it was proper for me not to go to London as the representative of the Congress; but responsibility on the shoulders of the people has thereby increased. People have to do greater work now.

## THE REAL ISSUE

Interviewed by a representative of the Associated Press in connection with the statement made by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in which the latter expressed his optimism that Mr. Gandhi, himself, and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu may still sail for London, Mr. Gandhi said:

It is perfectly correct for Pandit Malaviya to say that the issue has been narrowed down to one single matter. It is so narrowed only for the purpose of enabling me to sail for England, but there is no doubt that, underlying the issue, there is the big principle which the Government has to face. In my opinion that principle is an integral part of the Settlement, namely, that between the people and the Government, the Congress is the intermediary. If that fact is not recognized the Settlement is a nullity, and I fear that it is because Government do not wish to recognise this natural consequence of the Settlement, that Government has broken it in respect of Bardoli. Whether relief is granted through a Board of Arbitration or an impartial acceptable enquiry, there is not the slightest desire to humiliate or embarrass the Government or anybody. The only desire is to get justice somehow or other. Let it be after the Government's manner, but it must be justice that would be acknowledged as such by those who are striving for it.

This was done by the Agreement and Gandhiji started for England forthwith.

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## THE AGREEMENT

The following is the text of the *Communique* embodying the results of the Gandhi-Willington talks:

As a result of the conversations between His Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi, the Congress will now be

represented by Mr. Gandhi at the Round Table Conference.

The Settlement of March 5, 1931, remains operative. The Government of India and the local Governments will secure the observance of the specific provisions of the Settlement in those cases, if any, in which a breach is established and will give their careful consideration to any representation that may be made in this respect. The Congress will fulfil their obligations under the Settlement.

In regard to collections of land revenue in the Surat District, the point in issue is whether in those villages of Bardoli Taluk and Valod Mahal which were visited by Revenue officials accompanied by a party of police during the month of July 1931, more severe demands, having regard to their material circumstances, were made from revenue payer and enforced by coercion exercised through the police than were made from and met by revenue payers of other villages of the Bardoli Taluka. The Government of India, in consultation and full agreement with the Government of Bombay, have decided that an inquiry shall be held into this issue in accordance with the following terms of reference: To inquire into the allegations that khatedars in the villages in question were compelled by means of coercion exercised through the police to pay revenue, in excess of what would have been demanded if the standard had been applied which was adopted in other villages of the Bardoli Taluka, where collections were effected after March 5, 1931, without the assistance of the police and to ascertain what sum, if any, was so paid.

Within the terms of reference, evidence may be produced on any matter in dispute. The Government of Bombay have appointed Mr. R. G. Gordon, I.C.S., Collector of Nasik, to hold the inquiry. In regard to other matters hitherto raised by the Congress, the Government of India and the local Governments concerned are not prepared to order any enquiry.



HEAD OFFICE:—ESPLANADE ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY.  
E Sept '31.

## SIR GOOROODASS BANERJEE

BY MR. V. NARAYANAN, M.A., M.L.

## A GREAT CHARACTER

WHEN I first arrived in Calcutta, I was informed that there was on the Bench of the High Court an Indian Judge who to personal high character and the intellectual aptitudes of his race added a profound acquaintance with the principles of Western Jurisprudence and in whose mind and speech might be observed a quite remarkable blend of the best that Asia can give or Europe teach.

In these words, Lord Curzon was referring to Sir Gooroodass Banerjee, the story of whose life was "the story of the life of an honest, upright and brilliant career unblemished by a single dark spot either in public or in private life, and of success resulting from the constant domination of higher over lower springs of action".

## BIRTH AND EARLY YEARS

Sir Gooroodass was born at Narikel Danga on the 26th January 1844. He came from a Brahmin family, highly respectable and cultured but of limited means. His grandfather, Babu Manik Chandra Banerjee, had come to Calcutta in search of service and secured an appointment in a merchant's office. The ancestral dwelling house at Narikel Danga wherein Sir Gooroodass was born and which he afterwards enlarged and embellished was built by Babu Manick Chandra. Gooroodass's father, Babu Ramachandra was a clerk in the office of Karr and Tagore till his early death in 1847, when Gooroodass was barely three years old. The care of Sir Gooroodass consequently rested solely on his mother who was an ideal Hindu woman of the old school, simple, austere, unostentatious and possessing such strength of character and determination as not to give way to the severe calamity that befell her. Sir Gooroodass owed not a little of his greatness to his good mother, who wisely decided to give him an English education and at the same time by her watchful care brought him up in the orthodox traditions of Hinduism. The mother died to see her son a High Court Judge; and was written by Prinsep, J., and Petheram, J., that Sir Gooroodass on the occasion of his mother's death reveal to us the great regard, respect and love that Sir Gooroodass bore for her.

Sir Gooroodass received his first lessons in a Pathasala close by his house. From the Pathasala he passed on to the General Assembly Institution. But his real education began when he was admitted into the 8th class of the Hare School, then known as the Colloo Tola Branch School. Here he read for five years covering eight classes in that time by double and triple promotions and

passed the University entrance examination in 1859 standing first from his school. Sir Gooroodass then joined the Presidency College. As in the school, so in the College, Sir Gooroodass was a very intelligent and hardworking student and secured for himself the first place not only in his class but also in all the University examinations. He passed his F. A. examination in 1862 standing first in order of merit; his B. A. examination in 1864 occupying the first place of honour. He appeared in the M. A. examination one year after his graduation and secured the University Gold Medal awarded to the first place in Mathematics. After obtaining his M. A. degree in 1865, he passed the B. L. examination in 1866, again standing first in order of merit. In the interval between his M. A. and B. L. examinations he acted as Assistant Lecturer in Mathematics at the Presidency College.

In Sir Gooroodass was found a rare combination of memory and intelligence. He could cite off-hand and faultlessly English, Bengali and Sanskrit passages, prose and poetry, from books which he had read in his school and college days. At one of the annual re-unions, held before his death, of the old and new boys of the Scottish Church's College where Sir Gooroodass received his first education, Sir Gooroodass, we are told, gave a recitation of the good old poem "The spider and the fly" which he read while he was in that school. Sir Gooroodass received his early Sanskrit education under a learned pandit at home and while yet a boy he made good use of his memory by committing to heart the whole of the *Amarakosha*. His father Babu Ramachandra, we are told, could lay claim to Sanskrit culture and had a great regard for the *Bhagavat Gita*. It is related that during Gooroodass's childhood his father would often take him on his lap and recite the sacred verses of the *Gita*, and it was not long before the little child learnt to lip the sacred numbers. Sir Andrew Fraser speaking on the occasion of handing over the Letters Patent of Knighthood to Sir Gooroodass, referring to this incident, said:

The picture of a pious old father teaching his infant son to chant the sacred verses of the *Gita* is very attractive. That father died when the boy was only three years old, but the training of the boy was undertaken by a worthy mother. She lived to see her son rise to the Bench and occupying the highest place in the esteem and affection of his fellow-citizens of Calcutta and of the many far beyond the confines of this City.



His mother not only kept before her son high ideals of virtue and piety but her daily actions were living examples of a pure, pious and disinterested life. Sir Gooroodass never forgot the debt he owed to his mother's loving care and guidance. It was a great joy to him to adore her as his household Goddess; her death, though in advanced years, gave such a shock to him that it brought on him physical prostration from which it took him long to recover.

#### AS A LAWYER

Sir Gooroodass was enrolled as a Vakil of the Calcutta High Court in the year in which he passed his B.L. examination; but he did not remain in Calcutta long. Soon after, he was appointed as a Law Lecturer in the Berhampore College with liberty to practise and went to Berhampore and joined the local Bar. At the College, he had to teach Law daily for an hour and also Mathematics for a similar period three days in a week.

The first fee that Sir Gooroodass received as a Lawyer was through the patronage of Babu Matilal Banerjee, the first man in the profession at Berhampore at that time; Sir Gooroodass has told us of the way in which he obtained the brief. The case related to succession in a rich Mohammedan family and Sir Gooroodass while reading his brief with Babu Matilal brought out a point of law which had a most important bearing on the issue in the case. Babu Matilal was so much struck with the discovery that he at once gave up his right as a senior man and allowed Gooroodass, with the permission of the Court, to argue the case on the ground that the point was his discovery and that the senior man ought not to take credit for it.

From the very beginning of his career as a lawyer Sir Gooroodass was most punctilious in observing the rules of conduct of the profession. The incident mentioned in his address on "The Moral Aspects of the Legal Profession" (which he delivered later on in Calcutta) illustrates how he discouraged vexatious cases. What is recorded in Babu Chuni Lal Bose's biography is also worth noting. Sir Gooroodass had accepted the brief in a certain case and the fee marked was Rs. 50. On the day immediately preceding that of the hearing of the case he was offered a fee of Rupees one thousand five hundred for going to Berhampore from Calcutta where he was then practising. It was late in the evening when the offer came, the first client would not agree to Sir Gooroodass's handing over the brief to another

practitioner and there was no time to apply for an adjournment of the case. Under the circumstances, Sir Gooroodass told the Berhampore clients that he could not accept their offer.

Although fortune favoured Sir Gooroodass in every way when he was at Berhampore, his mother was anxious that he should come back to the family house at Calcutta. She reminded him of his promise to leave Berhampore and come back to Calcutta as soon as he could command a small but fixed monthly income for the support of the family. Sir Gooroodass could not put off his mother's command, and he left Berhampore in 1872 for Calcutta. His reputation as a sound, conscientious and able lawyer preceded him, and the experience acquired at Berhampore made his early struggle at the High Court much easier; and not long afterwards, he was established in the front rank of the Calcutta Bar. In 1876, he passed the Honours examination in Law and wrote a thesis on "The Necessity of the Religious Ceremonies in Adoption" and another on "The Hindu Law of Endowments". These obtained for him a Doctorate in Law in 1877 and he was appointed Tagore Law Lecturer in 1878 to deliver lectures on "The Hindu Law of Marriage and Stridhanam"—lectures which still remain the standard authority on the subject. Dr. Gooroodass Banerjee became a Fellow of the University in 1879 and was elected and continued to be a member of the Syndicate for five years from 1885. In 1886, he became an Honorary Presidency Magistrate and in 1887, he was nominated as a Member of the Bengal Legislative Council.

#### JUDGE OF THE CALCUTTA HIGH COURT

When Mr. Justice Cunningham retired in 1888, Sir Gooroodass was appointed temporarily for six months as a puisne Judge of the Calcutta High Court, and was soon made permanent. "During his sixteen years' work on the Bench, he endeared himself to everybody by his unvarying kindness, consideration and unfailing courtesy. He was held by all in high regard as a Judge to his strong sense of justice, his great learning and the conscientious discharge of his duties." Sir Francis Maclean, C. J., had such a high opinion of Sir Gooroodass that he never sat if he could without Sir Gooroodass during the whole period of his service. The Advocate-General, speaking on the eve of Sir Gooroodass's retirement on the 29th of January 1904, said:

I will only say so far as my experience goes which extends to the whole time of your Lordship's career as a Judge, never have I heard a single suitor complain that

full justice had not been done to him by Mr. Justice Gooroodass Banerjee, that his case has not been listened to with attention, all the arguments weighed and every effort made to understand what it was, and he felt that if the case was decided against him, it was rightly decided. You have also shown a character of independence; you have spoken when silence might have pointed out a line of least resistance. You have been throughout your career as a pleader and a Judge, if I may be permitted to say so, most eminently straightforward, honest and conscientious.

Sir Gooroodass sat on the High Court Bench for sixteen years and the reports of those years abound in his judgments; not only in topics of Hindu law but also in the law of Procedure and in Criminal law, he has been responsible for several masterly judgments.

#### RETIREMENT AND HONOURS

It was but fitting that knighthood should be conferred on him immediately after his retirement. On that occasion the *Calcutta Weekly Notes* said:—

During his long public life he played many parts and played them well, doing credit to the best traditions of the old Oriental race to which he belongs and the new Occidental civilisation. The order of knighthood is honoured by the membership of such men as he.

Sir Gooroodass was permeated by a high sense of duty which showed itself in all the great and small affairs of his life and came out most conspicuously in his work as a Judge. He was hardly, if ever, absent from the Court, during the sixteen years of his work on the Bench; his idea was that his absence even for a day would cause much inconvenience to the parties and their pleaders besides loss to the Government. When his son Jatindra Chandra who died at an early age of 15 was in a precarious condition in the morning, Sir Gooroodass attended the High Court at the usual hour and went on with his work with no outward show of anxiety or disturbance, and it was only later in the day when the Chief Justice came to know of the serious illness of Jatindra and interviewed Sir Gooroodass and made him dismiss his Court, that the loving father yielded to the death-bed of his son. Sir Gooroodass's reply to the Addresses of the Bar on the occasion of his retirement reveals his innate modesty and magnanimity. He disclaimed all personal credit for the success that attended his work as a Judge. "I must also freely own," he said,

that out of what may apparently stand to my credit for any good work done, a very large share belongs to you for the help you have always rendered me in doing that work. I must not here forget what the Gita in a somewhat different connection reminds us of, when it says, "deluded by self-conceit we often consider our-

selves the authors of work which is really done by the agencies of nature". I say this, not from any affectation of humility but from a conviction of its truth, for though intolerance of inopportune contradiction or impatience of unnecessary delay may sometimes make us look with disfavour upon forensic arguments, it is beyond question that the help which the Bar renders to the Bench is simply invaluable.

#### ADDRESS ON LAW AND MORALS

Sir Gooroodass's high opinion of the profession of law is found best expressed in the admirable address delivered at the Calcutta University Institute on "The Moral Aspects of the Legal Profession". In the course of that address he pointed out:—

Law is the ultimate arbiter of all contests between man and man in civilised society. They who come to you come with a sense of real or supposed wrong, and ask your advice to have their wrongs righted; and it is for you to see that the best advice is given to vindicate what is right. Your business places you in charge of the life, property and reputation of your clients. Such are the noble functions of the legal profession, and such is the position of grave trust and responsibility in which every practising lawyer places himself; and it is your paramount duty to see that you do everything to qualify yourselves for such a position. For the day you make up your mind to enter the legal profession, you dedicate your time to the service of humanity, and you have no right to waste any time which well spent may better qualify you for such service. The day of such resolution ought to be a solemn day in your life, as solemn as used to be the day of initiation of a Brahmin in the Vedas, when that ceremony was intelligently performed.

His parting words of advice to the lawyer ring high and true:

Nor need you fear that if the lawyer acts the part of a moralist and gives his client not only legal but also moral advice, the prospects of the profession will be injured. However much we may, as we all should, devoutly wish that unhealthy litigation should be put down, our combined efforts in that direction would only be a drop in an ocean. We can never expect to be able completely to calm the troubled sea of human affairs. The vain bickerings and contentions of men will never cease, and there will always remain enough work for the legal profession; and if the millennium indeed be so near, and if our efforts are so likely to be crowned with success, still where is the apprehension? By the time the fierce animosities of the litigant are appeased, will not the ambition and avarice of the lawyer also be gone? And you, my countrymen, who are born in that land where the immortal Buddha renounced the crown and kingdom to bring peace on earth, and where the sage Sankara devoted his glorious life and unrivalled powers of intellect to the work of spiritualising humanity and subduing the selfish principles of our nature you should never hesitate to incur any amount of self-sacrifice in doing good.

Do your duty to the best of your ability, knowledge and judgment, and then though you may not earn wealth and distinction, you shall have earned that self-satisfaction, that peace of mind, which is the crown of

crowns, which no wealth can buy, no patronage can bestow, and which no calamity, not death itself can take away.

#### EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Sir Gooroodass from the very beginning took a keen interest in education. Immediately he left college after graduation, he worked for sometime as Lecturer in Mathematics. At Berhampore, he taught both Law and Mathematics for some years. For nearly 14 years he exercised considerable influence on the character, system and policy of the education as imparted to his countrymen through the agency of the Calcutta University and other educational organisations. His ideal of a teacher was the Guru of ancient India who, in his own person, combined the functions of the preceptor, the father and guardian of his pupil during the latter's stay in his house for study. Although he knew that these conditions were not attainable in the modern circumstances, he aimed at assimilating the work of the modern teacher as much as possible towards that ideal. In his book "A few thoughts on education" (published by Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1904) he deals in detail with the problems of modern education, with special reference to the circumstances in India. The sum and substance of Sir Gooroodass' advice in this matter is that any one set of faculties must not be cultivated to the neglect and exclusion of others and that it should be the aim of true education to allow legitimate latitude for expansion and development to each and every faculty in accordance with its importance in the economy of life. In a word, true education should create a well-balanced condition of the body, the mind and the spirit.

Sir Gooroodass was the author of a number of valuable books on law, education, mathematics and culture. His work "Jnan O Karma" in Bengali enunciates the noble principles laid down in the Gita and considers their practical application to the affairs of every day life. It sums up his own experience in life and lays down rules of conduct which he himself followed and which he believed would help others in minimising the sufferings and disappointments inseparable from life and would secure for every man a fair amount of peace and of happiness. His books on Arithmetic, Algebra and Geometry, both in English and Bengali, are text books on the subject. He was a member of the Indian Association for the cultivation of science from its very foundation and afterwards became one of its Vice-Presidents. He was on the Committees of the Hindu and Hare Schools for many years and many important

reforms in both the schools in respect of teaching, discipline and sanitary matters were introduced on his recommendations. Sir Gooroodass was one of the founders of the Calcutta Institute and the paternal interest he took in its welfare was well known. His work in the Calcutta Universities both in the Senate and in the Faculties of Art and Law for forty long years is writ large in the records of the University. Off and on, he served on the Syndicate; and in 1912, he was Dean of the Faculty of Law. He was the first Indian to be appointed as the Vice-Chancellor of the University and he held that high office for three years from 1890 to 1892. Sir Gooroodass' change in the constitution of the University. The election system was first introduced in the appointment of fellows. The Syndicate adopted a rule, ever since in practice in the University, that no one should be appointed to set questions in any subject which he taught whole or in part.

He served as a Member of the Indian Universities Commission in 1902; and in his note of dissent to the report he stated his own views on the several topics dealt with, which show that he was an original thinker building upon the sure foundations of experience and differing wherever necessary with the boldness of one who knew.

The following paragraph explains his courageous note of dissent to the Report of the Commission:

My learned colleagues have aimed exclusively at raising the standard of University education and college discipline, and some of the measures of reform they have advocated for the attainment of that exclusive object, naturally enough tend to place education under the control of Government and small bodies of experts, and to reduce the control of what is known as the popular element, to repress imperfectly equipped ability and humble means from the pursuit of average knowledge, and in short, to sacrifice surface in order to secure height. While yielding to none in my appreciation and discipline, I have ventured to think that the solution arrived at is only a partial solution, and that we should aim not only at raising the height, but also at broadening the base, of our educational fabric. And where I have differed from my learned colleagues, I have done so mainly with a view to see that our educational system is so adjusted that, while the gifted few shall receive the highest training, the bulk of the less gifted, but earnest, seekers after knowledge may have every facility afforded to them for deriving the benefits of high education.

#### CONCLUSION

Sir Gooroodass was a man of high principles. When he was a Judge of the High Court, his old

Sanskrit teacher of the Berhampore Pathasala wrote to him asking him if he would see the then Director of Public Instruction on the matter of his pension as by a mistake of the authorities he was made a loser by Rs. 30 per month. Now Sir Gooroodass had made it a principle not to ask a favour from any person for anybody. Consequently he sent Rs. 30 to the Pandit and promised the Pandit a regular remittance of the same amount every month during the tenure of his service in the High Court. We are told that the Pandit too rose equal to the occasion; and though he did not refuse the first instalment for fear of wounding Sir Gooroodass' feelings, he refused to accept further instalments.

To his children, Sir Gooroodass was a most affectionate father, discreetly indulgent, but a strict disciplinarian in all matters relating to their physical, moral, intellectual and spiritual advancement. Disregard of personal comforts and conveniences for the sake of religious belief is another striking feature of his character. He would not touch any food in the morning before he had finished his Pooja, and when as Member of the University Commission he had to travel great distances, he often passed a day or two in fasting when he could not get food prepared according to the orthodox Hindu style. He had very great faith in the sanctity of the Ganges water, and even when he was a Judge he could be seen on Sundays walking all the way to the river for his bath. An amusing incident is reported in this connection. An elderly Hindu woman looking out from the door of her house for a Poojari, as her priest was ill, invited Sir Gooroodass not knowing who he was, and we are told that Sir Gooroodass went in with a smile and sat before her family God and performed the worship in all its details and left the cottage with a homely bundle of rice and fruits in his napkin as a reward for performing the Pooja. And we are told that Sir Gooroodass looked upon this incident as a bit of adventure but as part of his duty as a Brahmin. It was not mere extravagant praise that Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary bestowed on him: "It will be for the generations that come after us to take up the story of his life and the greater story, I say deliberately, of his death. Inspired with the underlying thoughts they go forth to the world and the stories will be invaluable as national assets, as few stories of life and death have been." For the manner of Sir Gooroodass' death was as remarkable as the manner of his

life. While suffering from agonising pain during his last illness, he never betrayed it in his looks or in his movements lest it would cause pain and anxiety to those who were nursing him. Nobody, not even the physicians, could prevent him from talking to his friends and relations who came in numbers to pay their last respects to the great man after his removal to the river side. The shadow of death was hovering on his face; still without fear or despondency, Sir Gooroodass conversed on religion and philosophy and life after death. As death was approaching, instead of any signs of struggle, his face appeared to be illumined with a heavenly radiance. He died the coveted death of a true Hindu at a ripe old age in the presence of his sons and daughters gazing on the holy waves of Ganges and with the words of the Gita (chanted by his sons) ringing in his ears. In the manner of his death, the prayer of Valmiki to Mother Ganga was fulfilled:

Living on thy bank, drinking thy waters, with my mind resting in devotion on thy waves, remembering thy name and with my eyes directed towards thee let my body perish.

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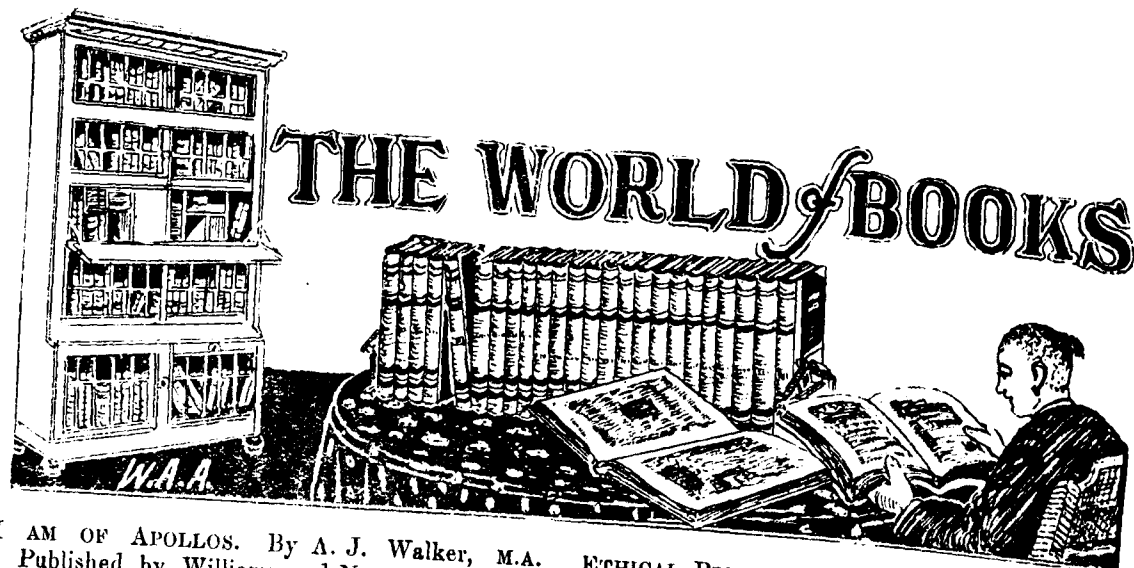
24th July 1931.

K. K. SRINIVASAN,

Branch Manager,

Nos. 4 & 5, 1st Line Beach, Madras.

E. May '32.



I AM OF APOLLOS. By A. J. Walker, M.A. Published by Williams and Norgate, London. Price 6 sh.

Apollos, a learned Jew of Alexandria, "mighty in the scriptures", was baptised with St. John's baptism. He was convinced that the word of God had come to John. And from the standpoint of the disciples of John, he studied and "taught carefully the thing concerning Jesus". But after a discussion with Aquila and Priscilla, who heard him speaking in the synagogue at Ephesus, there was a change in the outlook of Apollos. He began to preach that "Jesus was the Christ". In this lies the difference between the views of John's disciples and those of the followers of Jesus. The former felt that Jesus sealed the truth of the teaching of John; they did not deify Jesus, as the latter did. In the words of Mr. Walker: "John did prepare the way for our Lord, but he did not do so *consciously*: he did believe in Jesus, but not in the same way as St. Paul believed in Jesus. Somewhere between the Baptist and St. Paul stood for a time Apollos."

Mr. Walker in the book under review puts forward the hypothesis that behind St. Mark's gospel and incorporated in Mathew and Luke there is a teaching about Jesus from the point of view of Apollos. As Canon Raven observes in his introduction, the author "has established a *prima facie* case for the examination of an undiscovered sequence of events in the ministry, visible in Mathew and Luke, and discernible behind Mark's redaction of the source which contained that sequence of events". The book is interesting and is well worth study by scholars.

ETHICAL PRINCIPLES IN THEORY AND PRACTICE. By Hans Driesch, Ph.D. Published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.

This book aims at investigating the source of the moral sense in man. The author gives a test of his own which, however, does not imply any special original contribution to the large mass of ideas on the subject. He says: "Act in such a way that you can believe that your action is promoting a future state of mankind accepted by you and approved in its nature, which state is perhaps the goal of a supra-personal evolution." Till now man has rested ethics on religion and has connected spiritual sanctions with ethical motives and actions. The aim at shifting the origin and the sanction of the moral sense to an internal source and authority is persistent to-day but cannot be said to have had a successful accomplishment. The real metaphysical foundation for goodness is the true and essential unity of being. It alone can resolve conflict into harmony and reintegrate diversity into unity. The author says: "Kant's imperative is wholly inadequate to the solution of this problem." But he has not offered any better solution. He tries to relate ethics to values. He says that "no moral obligations exist towards the non-living as such". He then discusses our duties towards the body, our duties towards the soul, our duties towards our neighbours, and our duties towards groups. He rightly urges the value of the body as an instrument of the soul and the even greater value of the purity of the soul. This is in perfect accord with Indian thought on the question. He says again: "The ideal is always best to have minimising state regulation. ...Accordingly, that state is best which is least noticeable."

CO-OPERATIVE MARKETING OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS. By Newel H. Comish. D. Appleton & Company, New York, London.

Co-operative marketing is a subject on which there has been much output of informing literature during the last decade, specially in the United States of America. Boyle, Mears and Tobriner and others wrote standard books on the subject. Mr. N. H. Comish nevertheless had made a further valuable contribution to the subject. For several years the author has been giving courses in co-operative marketing at the Oregon State College (U. S. A.) He is not a mere teacher of theory, for he has also been acting as a director and technical adviser to co-operative associations, besides having had experience in the organisation of co-operatives. The book is largely confined to co-operative marketing in the United States. Nevertheless there is much that is common to the problems, methods and results of co-operative associations all the world over, and the book will be of great theoretical and practical help to Indian co-operators and others who are engaged in solving the question of orderly marketing of agricultural produce which is one of vital importance to the economic betterment of the Indian producers.

The sections dealing with unbalanced production in agriculture, sale of unstandardised products and confusion in marketing are of peculiar interest to India, for these ills afflict Indian producers no less than the Americans.

Another portion of the book which will prove of immense practical value to Indian readers is, that dealing with the common difficulties facing co-operators such as ensuring the loyalty of members, the efficacy of contracts, and penalties to prevent disloyalty, questionable business interference, pooling, etc., etc.

In India, the difficulties of grading agricultural products and pooling them are said to be almost insurmountable. They were found no less difficult in America to start with. The difficulties were overcome there chiefly by educating farmers in the benefits that will accrue to them by pooling. Mr. Comish defines pooling as a plan by which farmers commingle their products and market them together during a definite period, for the primary purpose of giving each farmer a price for his products that is based upon average price obtained for all the products during the pooling period. The problem of pooling is a highly technical one and is well worth studying if Indian farmers are to be made to realise its advantages.

THE POWER OF INDIA. By Michael Pym. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, London. G. A. Natesan & Co. Price Rs. 11-4.

It is always interesting to read a foreigner's impression of India. Very often India refuses to be understood by the foreigner who habitually never hits the mark. And one indeed is a master-bowman among foreigners who really hits at the truth about India.

The book is doubtless written with experience and in a mental frame of impartial adjudication. And yet there are in it things which move a gentle smile in Indian circles. Nevertheless it is a book of high value to India, especially when mischievous propagandists are sketching India in black.

The author's style is fine and coupled with a delicate sense of humour, she has written a book which has much to teach both the Indian and the foreigner. Errors of judgment caused by reliance on hearsay evidence are no defects to the book when one finds that the most sincere attempt has been made to give a true picture of India and Indians; and the attempt is very highly successful. The book, if popular in America and Europe, is sure to counteract the mischievous works of Miss Mayo.

THE SUBJECT AS FREEDOM. By Krishnachandra Bhattacharya, M.A., Principal, Hooghly College, Bengal. Published by G. R. Malkani: The Indian Institute of Philosophy, Amalner, Bombay.

The author is a keen critic of metaphysical thought. The book under review is a collection of his lectures (revised and amplified) delivered at the Indian Institute of Philosophy in 1929. The title of the book "The Subject as Freedom" is significant. The concepts of "subject," of "subjectivity" and "freedom", are highly controversial. The author, in his preface, says that he has dealt with subject or subjectivity after Vedanta. The author deals with subjectivity purely from the psychologist's standpoint and broadly classifies subjectivity (in terms of three stages) into bodily, psychical and spiritual. Hence he does not take up the wider question of the "reality" of subjectivity which can be attempted for solution only in terms of a preliminary acceptance of Maya as the foundation of the existence of Anthakkarana and self-distinction or suicide of that Anthakkarana as its only freedom.

But the work as a whole is highly thought-provoking.

[SEPTEMBER 1931]

**HOW TO COMPETE WITH FOREIGN CLOTH.** By M. P. Gandhi, Secretary, Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, with a Foreword by Sir P. C. Ray. The Book Company, Ltd., Calcutta.

This monograph is on the position of hand-spinning, hand-weaving and cotton mills in the economics of cloth production in India and explains the methods of combating successfully the evil of importation of foreign cloth. It is a complement to his previous monograph on The Indian Cotton Textile Industry: its Past, Present and Future—which was published last year. The title of the book was suggested and its proofs were read by Mahatma Gandhi; and its publication is appropriate just at this time when the question of making the country self-sufficient in respect of cloth is being seriously tackled by the Nationalist Movement.

**CHRIST AND SATYAGRAHA.** By Verrier Elwin. Published by Rev. Fr. Verrier Elwin, Poona.

This small book of about fifty pages is an endeavour to divert the outlook of some misguided Christian hearts in the right path. Some of the many pleas that have been put forward by Christians such as that Christianity has no connection with politics, and that the followers of Christ have no justification to enter into politics, have been shown here to be flimsy and unfounded. The author with a wealth of detail at his command points out that Christ as well as Gandhi, though entirely spiritualistic, are the ablest of politicians. In both the task of spiritualising politics lay deep and it is this that we must grasp. The author exhorts Christians to join the Satyagraha movement, and this book is a repudiation of those arguments which are advanced by some Indian Christians who see no basis in Christ's teaching for such a political uprising.

**A BEGINNER'S GUIDE TO PRACTICAL ASTROLOGY.** By Vivian E. Robson, B.Sc. T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London. 7/6.

This book is a complete treatise in Astrology enabling a layman to cast and judge his own and his friends' horoscopes. The first three sections of the book contain the methods of casting a horoscope, the influence of the planets, signs, houses and aspects, and the method of reading a horoscope and of judging of character, health and marriage prospects, etc., of life. The final section is concerned with the determination of the current influences during life, and the method of ascertaining the time and nature of future events.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

**YESTERDAY'S TOMORROW.** By Spencer Watts. Elkin Mathews & Marrot, London.

**EDWARD CARPENTER: APPRECIATIONS.** Edited by Gilbert Beith. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

**THE JAPANESE POPULATION PROBLEM.** By W. R. Crocker. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

**MONEY WRITES.** By Upton Sinclair. T. Werner Laurie Ltd., London.

**THE ELIZA BOOKS.** By Barry Pain. T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London.

**EDINBURGH GUIDE.** Issued by the Corporation, Edinburgh.

**THE PROVINCE OF THE LAW OF TORT.** By Percy H. Winfield. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

**HEART OF INDIA.** By S. N. Garimelle-Satyanarayan. Sri Vas Hotel, Esplanade, Madras.

**YOGA AND PERFECTION.** By Swami Purnananda. Published by Motilal Sen, Barisal.

**INDIA IN CRISIS.** By Arthur Duncan. Putnam.

**KEY TO THEOSOPHY.** By H. P. Blavatsky. Theosophy Company (India) Ltd., Bombay.

**WANDERINGS IN THE WORLD.** (Rhymes and Lyrics.) By Dr. K. M. Hiranandani, Hyderabad, Sind.

**THE TARKA SAMGRAHA OF ANNAMBHATTA** By S. Parthasarathy, Madras.

**THE INDIAN FEDERATION AND THE STATES.** By A. M. Arora, Gwalior.

**AMSU BODHINI SHASTRA.** By Maharishi Bharadwaja. Subblah & Sons, Bangalore City.

**INDIA IN 1929-30.** Government of India, Calcutta.

**GLEANINGS FROM RADIO NOTES.** By Ess-KE-GU. Radio Association of India, Ltd., Calcutta.

**THE KADAMBA KULA.** By George M. Moraes. Published by B. X. Furtado & Sons, Bombay.

**CREATIVE WORSHIP.** By Dr. Howard H. Brinton. George Allen & Unwin.

**THE GREEK SLAVE.** By Douglas Sladen. T. Werner Laurie.

**MR. LIFE: Autobiography of Nawab Server-El-Mulk Bahadur.** Arthur H. Stockwell, London.

**PERSONAL HYGIENE.** By Shri Yogendra Yoga, P. O. Box 481, Bombay.

**THE FIVE LAWS OF LIBRARY SCIENCE.** By S. R. Ranganathan, M.A., L.T., F.L.A., Madras Library Association.

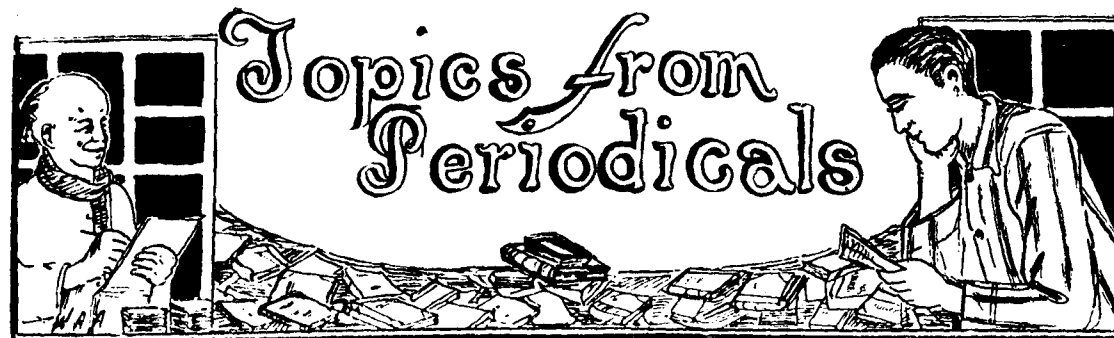
**FLUTE TUNES.** By V. N. Bhushan. The Ananda Academy, Masulipatam.

**COTTON CHART FOR 1930-31.** Chunilal Mehta & Co., 51, Marwar Bazaar, Bombay.

**THE ORIENTAL LOVE.** By T. M. Tulp and J. M. Roberts, 103, Canning Street, Calcutta.

**UTILISATION OF COMMON PRODUCTS.** By an "Industrialist". Industry Book Depot, Calcutta.

**MANUFACTURE OF SOAP.** By an Industrialist. Industry Book Depot, Calcutta.



## THE HOUSE OF LORDS

The case of the House of Lords is as controversial and insistent in England as the communal question in India. That institution has been attacked unceasingly, and every Government during the last two decades has attempted in vain to tackle the question of its reform or abolition. The Prime Minister has once again made it a living question. The *Fortnightly Review* for July has therefore done well to present the case for and against it in a very illuminating fashion.

Mr. J. H. Harley who advocates its abolition, quotes Lord Morley and says that, "as the House of Lords by the suffrages of its friends has never been satisfactorily mended, there can be no conclusion left but that kindly and painlessly it should be ended". He goes on to say:—

"The Preamble to the Parliament Act anticipated an eventual Second Chamber on an elective basis, and it was known at the time that the Liberal leaders desired a Second Chamber selected by exactly the same electors as functioned for the House of Commons. But the spirit of the age has gone steadily against the hereditary idea. Democratic America gazes on our House of Lords as it would on an ancient monument. The Dominions have no love for our titles. European Constituent Assemblies \* \* \* would have nothing to do with the theory which attributes legislative competency from father to son. In fact, unless we are going to become a kind of museum among the nations, our plain course is drastically to end the House of Lords by abolishing all kinds of hereditary titles whatsoever."

The case for its reform and retention is put forth with a copious array of arguments by that well known writer on constitutions, Sir John Marriott. At the outset he frankly admits that as at present constituted, the institution is indefensible. But he holds it could be reformed and used to great advantage as an effective Second Chamber. He recalls the ideal suggested by the late Marquis of Landsdowne as one best suited to the present times:

"We desire," said the Marquis, "to have a Second Chamber so composed that it will command the confidence of the country by its ability, its experience, its authority, and above all by its independence. We desire that it should be in close touch with public opinion, but not that it should be at the mercy of popular caprice. We desire that it should not be strong enough to resist the House of Commons when the House of Commons represents the deliberate judgment of the country, but that it should be strong enough to make a stand where there is reason to believe that the country has not had an opportunity of expressing its will clearly and deliberately; such a House we have endeavoured to construct—not upon a site from which every shred and vestige of the old structure has been removed, but preserving the soundest materials which we can find on that site, strengthened and rearranged so that the new Chamber, while faithfully serving the democracy, will be strong enough to resist the gusts of passion and prejudice with which all democracies are necessarily familiar."



## EQUALITY AND PROGRESS

This is the subject of a thoughtful article by Dhurjati Prasad Mukherjee in the current issue of the *Visvabharati Quarterly*. The idea of equality has differed in different countries and in different times. Indeed, it has varied with the varying vicissitudes of group suffering.

For the concept of equality has usually been determined by the reaction against the particular form of disabilities imposed upon the sufferers. Sometimes it has been the exclusive political privileges, sometimes the tyranny of the priestly classes, or at other times the economic exploitation of one class by another which would become galling and oppressive. Discontent spreads among the exploited class, and usually the conscience of a few rare individuals of the exploiting class is also aroused; the social equilibrium is perturbed, and the forces of revolution rally round a newly forged concept of equality.

Mr. Mukherjee traces the various stages through which the fight for equality has gone on through the ages. But every fight meant some progress in the direction of human enfranchisement from the thralldom of custom and convention. In Greek and Roman days equality was confined to the ruling race only.

In the meantime, the Republic had changed into an Empire. Rome had now become the centre of the world's trade and commerce. Foreigners were settling in great numbers in Rome. Their presence increased the wealth of the city. The task of colonial government and the problem of the alien introduced the principles of equity in Roman jurisprudence. The growth of equity succeeded in throwing open to all the inhabitants of the Empire the rights and duties of being governed by the *Jus Civile* of Rome.

Historically, the idea of legal equality could not be carried to its logical conclusion in the Imperial Rome of later days, mainly for the reason that the secular State had become transformed into the Holy Roman Empire.

The church displaced the city in later times, and created a division between the laity and the clergy. Naturally, the object of popular opposition was not so much the legal inequalities that prevailed as the clerical supremacy in theological and intellectual matters and the clerical tyranny in the moral affairs of men.

\* \* \* \* The growth of a new humanism initiated a new phase in European civilization. The idea of moral and economic equality practised by the leaders of early Christianity gained fresh significance. Martin Luther denied the authority of the Pope and his clergy, while the German peasants denied the claims of the princes

(but Luther was not conscious of the parallelism between the two movements). Men were the same before God, and had equal rights in His gifts. Therefore men were entitled to attain the same status before the Father and no priests were needed to put them on the same level.

The idea of economic equality did not, however, develop for a long time. It had to wait for the transformation from an agricultural to an industrial condition of society. Political equality was the dominant idea of the 19th century. It was the product of the ideas of the French Revolution, and it expressed itself in the demand for the extension of franchise. And then came socialism.

Socialism in demanding economic equality feels certain that all other forms of equality, social and political, would follow inevitably. That is, from the point of view of freedom, the socialist maintains that once economic needs are adjusted, other aspirations and creative activities of individuals would find a free and natural outlet. Under capitalism, he says, creative efforts are possible for a small class of people, the rich; for the rest such activities are practically impossible or only possible under the greatest difficulties.

The communism in Russia is a new faith which inspires confidence in many in Eastern Europe, but has the spirit of equality, liberated by the shock of wide-spread destruction, found free expression in the new scheme of things? The writer says No.

Civic equality which postulates the right capacity and practice of taking continuous initiative is confined to the executive of the party. Even individuals who have energy to survive this process of surrender to the collective whole emerge as colourless, uniform quantities whose value, logically, is one. There can be no equality in uniformity. The value of equality consists in variety which is possible only when individuals have the right to differ from one another and be respected for the sake of such very differences.

Progress requires the growth of personality, and it is the task of social justice to remove all restrictions which hamper the development of personality.

Herein lies the value of the idea of equality, for it emphasizes the need of providing adequate environmental stimuli to enable potential capacities to develop. If the actual response is small, even then something will have been achieved by the removal of repressions. If the response is large the whole of society is benefited. Rightly understood, equality is not only a valuable instrument of social justice, but is a necessary and fundamental condition of social progress.

## THE FUTURE OF INDIAN GOVERNMENT

The *English Review* for July publishes an interesting article on "India: A breathing space," by Mr. C. Forbes Adam, C.S.I. The writer says that Federation is to be the ultimate goal of British policy in India, but it is a goal which can only be reached by the expenditure of much patient toil. Mr. Adam says that there are certain obstacles which should be overcome by India before she goes in for a federation:

We have not even yet got the autonomous units which are the first requisites towards Federation. When these constituent units have been formed and are functioning successfully, the next difficulty will be to secure agreement among them all in regard to the amount of their autonomy which they are each prepared to surrender in order to achieve Federal unity. And by that time it may be hoped that the immense difficulties which surround the entry of the States into any practicable Federation, and the burning question of Communal hostility, will have reached a stage at which some glimpse of a road ahead will be visible. If the Provinces can show themselves capable of providing a Government which can maintain order and uphold the law which is just and sympathetic towards the rights of minority communities and of the backward classes and able to maintain a sound financial position, then there will be solid ground for believing that present anxieties and fears can be discarded and also some real justification for experimenting with responsible government at the centre.

The writer contends that to set up new governments all at once would be to do a grave wrong to India's future. No real progress is possible until those governments are set up in the provinces and are functioning smoothly and firmly. He sums up the British attitude towards India in the following words:

The policy of self-effacement has continued long enough. To all who are willing to see, it has demonstrated beyond the possibility of doubt that we intend to abide by our promises and are fully sympathetic to Indian aspirations. We have paid sincere and close attention to the sentiments. \* \* \* The work of conferences is done; we have discovered the objective—Federation—to which all desire to work; we have universal agreement that the first constitutional step—Provincial autonomy—can now be taken towards that objective. If conferences and discussions continue, they can only serve to delay the inauguration of that step and to delay also the restoration of administrative government, without which that step can never be successful.

Let us proceed to build upon the measure of agreement which we have. In order to do this successfully, it is essential that hostilities should be allayed, differences composed, and order and lawful authority restored.

## GANDHI AND MACHINERY

The *Calcutta Review* for July publishes an interesting article on "Gandhi and Machinery", by Mr. K. Srinivasa Acharlu. The writer has drawn freely from Gandhi's writings in *Young India* in support of his statements. He says that the present-day evils in society are due to the wide application of modern machinery everywhere in the world.

"At the present day, the function of machinery has been to crush human labour and 'help the few to ride on the back of millions'. The machine has led to the concentration of material power and immense wealth in the hands of a few capitalists with the consequent strangling of the nobler springs of conduct in man. The breaking up of the peaceful family life resulting in the menace to virtue and integrity to family solidarity; the increased death-rate, specially of infants in slum areas; the disease and degradation of congested slums leading to a lowering of the tone of domestic life and to criminality and vice; the economic disparity between the producer and the labourer due to a mushroom growth of middlemen and social parasites, are some of the rampant evils which even the apostles of modern industrial civilization are constrained to admit. The worker, instead of singing the song of life, suffers devitalisation in the monotonous, joyless round of existence from morning till eve. His hours of leisure, instead of being converted into factors of social and personal value, have become unwholesome by his being drowned in drink and vice."

Gandhiji is so pained at the mental, moral and physical destruction, the inordinate thirst, rush and ultimate chaos that has resulted out of modern machinery that he says, "If by some sudden catastrophe all these instruments were to be destroyed, I would not shed a single tear. I would say it is a proper storm and a proper cleansing."



## A GLIMPSE OF OLD JAPAN

In the July number of the *Japan Magazine*, Mr. Y. Aruma gives a fascinating account of the climate and scenery of Japan in summer time. Summer in Japan is extremely hot; but spring and autumn are delightfully temperate and salubrious.

"And these are the seasons when tourists abound in the land; but the summer is no less pleasant if one knows where to go and what to do; for Japan, like California, has all the climates and temperatures of the world, even in July and August, if one cares to find them. In the higher altitudes, especially the Alpine regions, snow is found even in mid-summer; and so a descending temperature may be found all the way down to the hot and humid plains."

But the summer evenings are pleasant, especially for seeing something of the inner life of the people. A popular diversion is to dine at a restaurant—"one overlooking a beautiful garden, or the river".

And so we come to the night life of the capital which is most fascinating to the foreigner. And to stand in the heart of Tokyo at sunset "and gaze from Maru Nouchi across the mote to the Imperial Palace is to get a glimpse of old Japan".

"One there turns from the imposing array of modern structures and keeps one's eye on Nijubashi, and the old moats with their emerald green waters reflecting the contorted shapes of ancient pines, as they have done through the centuries past. Beyond are the ancient turf-clad ramparts with their snow-white battlements just as the Tokugawa-shoguns saw them centuries ago. It is then that one feels the magic of the Sacred Treasures: the Jewel, the Sword and the Mirror, handed down from the gods to the successive rulers of Japan through more than two thousand five hundred years. It is the old Japan which symbolizes a youth that never ages, instinct with permanent youth."

## BRITISH TRUSTEESHIP IN AFRICA

Mr. R. C. F. Maugham, C.B.E., writing in the July number of the *Empire Review*, invites our attention to the distinctive interpretation of the word "Trusteeship" applied to the governance of Africa by England. "Trusteeship is the office of a person to whom the management of a property is committed in trust for the benefit of others. A trustee is thus a guardian whose task it is to hand back upon the attainment of his majority the estate of a minor." This interpretation of England's obligation to Africa was forced upon the writer as he listened to the evidence before the recent Joint Parliamentary Committee.

"It was very clearly intimated in evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee that, in all human probability, Africans in our Eastern Divisions would reach, after no more than three generations, an educational and intellectual standard which would entitle them to receive a full measure of representation in the counsels of the respective colonies. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that, if our conception of the trusteeship we are said to exercise is the ordinary one, we should proceed on the principle that our African colonies will be handed back to their respective peoples and our flag hauled down not later than about a century hence, and probably earlier."

He contrasts this attitude with France's attitude to her possessions in Africa. French solicitude for the present welfare and future destiny of her subject races is not one whit inferior to the British. And yet the writer points out it is not one of trusteeship in the sense in which Britain has proclaimed her responsibilities. He further points out certain distinctive features of the French system which is well worth careful study:

"To begin with, in the French colonies there is no colour bar. Africans who, benefiting by the extremely liberal and comprehensive methods of

education followed, have reached, as many of them have, positions of eminence in political, administrative or professional spheres of life, are everywhere received, both officially and socially, on terms of absolute equality. It is fresh in our recollection that, quite recently, a full-blooded Senegalese attained, in Paris, to the distinction of Ministerial rank, while in that capital several French colonies are represented in the Chamber of Deputies by very able coloured Parliamentary representatives. Moreover, in certain French possessions the dignity and privileges of full French citizenship are very liberally conferred upon Africans, who are taught to regard themselves as French citizens first and Africans afterwards. By such means as these, France has consolidated a position in her Colonial Empire which is as efficacious as it is unshakable."

## GANDHIJI AND CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

Commenting on the *Daily Mail's* interpretation of Mahatma Gandhi's views on Christian Missions in India, Rev. Nicol Macnicol points out in the *Bombay Chronicle Weekly* that the Mahatma has been thoroughly misunderstood and misjudged by people who do not know him. The Mahatma's attitude to life is essentially Christian, and those who can probe into his mind can have no difficulty in identifying his views with the best Christian thought:

The personality of Mr. Gandhi is at the present time a ground which fierce passions gather. To one group of enthusiasts he is just a "half-naked fanatic" and "a violent anti-British agitator"; to another he is a saint who can do no wrong, a semi-divine avatar. To others, who try to see him with honest and unprejudiced eyes, he seems a man of true sincerity and great courage, deeply concerned for the poor and the oppressed. At the same time he seems to them far from being perfectly wise, far from being wholly impartial, and, indeed, in recent years as Swami Vivekananda used to say of himself, to have "become entangled". His religion might be described, somewhat paradoxically as that of a devout agnostic theist. He believes in, and practises, prayer and certainly to him life is more than meat and body than raiment. Much, very much, in his life and character—whatever the bases of his belief may be—greatly attracts the Christian, so Christian does it appear.

What, then, is the attitude of a man, so worthy of respect and honour, to the work of Christian

Missions in the land? Here is Gandhiji's own explanation which deserves to be carefully weighed:

I hold that proselytising under the cloak of humanitarian work is, to say the least, unhealthy. It is most certainly resented by the people here. Religion is after all a deeply personal matter; it touches the heart. Why should I change my religion because a doctor who professes Christianity as his religion has cured me of some disease, or why should the doctor expect or suggest such a change while I am under his influence? Is not medical relief its own reward and satisfaction? Or why should I, whilst I am in a missionary educational institution, have Christian teaching thrust upon me? In my opinion these practices are not uplifting and give rise to suspicion, if not even secret hostility. The methods of conversion must be like Caesar's wife above suspicion. Faith is not imparted like secular subjects. It is given through the language of the heart. If a man has a living faith in him it spreads its aroma like the rose its scent. Because of its invisibility the extent of its influence is far wider than that of the visible beauty of the colour of the petals.

Incidentally the writer points out that neither Gandhiji nor the Missionaries are unaware of the many defects of Hindu society as of any other society. The objection to Miss Mayo's book is not because she points out the defects of Indian life and society. In fact many Indians would welcome such criticism. But they dislike the tone of contempt underlying the so-called exposure of Indian character, and generalising from the characters picked up in prisons and the slums of Indian cities which are no more typical of India than East End represents London:

The dislike that many Indian Missionaries feel for Miss Mayo's books does not come from any doubt that in the main her facts are true. They dissociate themselves from her because the tone of her books conveys the impression that she is more concerned to humiliate India than to help her to redress the wrongs done to the oppressed among her people. All of us have to be very careful in such matters lest we make our conscience our accomplice and not our judge.

**Mahatma Gandhi: The Man and his Mission.** An enlarged and up-to-date Edition of his life and teachings with an account of his activities in South Africa and India. Re. One. To Subscribers of the "I. R." As. 12.

**An Indian Patriot in South Africa: M. K. Gandhi.** By Rev. J. Doke. With an introduction by Lord Ampthill. Re. One. To Subscribers of "Indian Review," As. 12.

**Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule.** By Mahatma Gandhi. 3rd and New Edn. As. 8. To Subs. of "I. R." As. 6.

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

## THE ITALIAN CORPORATE STATE

The *Political Science Quarterly* examines the actual working of the Italian National Council of Corporations which Mussolini has created as the crowning measure in the realisation of State syndicalism. Fascist syndicalism differs from all other labour doctrines in three fundamental points, viz., the acceptance of the capitalist class as socially productive; the outlawry of social warfare in favour of class collaboration; and the inclusion of the producers' organisation in the national state. The Fascists regard labour as a social duty; and the capitalist class is responsible to the State for the efficient control of production. All citizens are grouped into syndicate associations; and for every profession there is one legally recognised by the State. Employees of State and public utility enterprises may also form organisations; but these cannot acquire any legal personality. The State has the right of supervision and control and of approving statutes and budgets as well as the appointment of the syndicate officials. Within the professional group the syndicates of employers and of manual and intellectual workers are inter-connected by so-called corporations which are State organs entrusted with the study of national production and with the promotion of conciliation in all disputes between employers and workers. If the corporation fails to bring about a settlement, the case must be submitted to the labour court from whose decision there is no appeal and which are rendered according to equity. No syndicate should have any international affiliations unless specifically authorised by Government; and all international collaboration must be kept within the limits of technical co-operation. The syndicates have the additional purpose of proposing candidates for Parliament; the Government draws up the final list of delegates and a national plebiscite approves or rejects the list. There are 13 national confederations: 6 for employers, 6 for workers and

one for the professionals and artists. These are to co-ordinate and discipline the federations and syndicates and propose candidates for the Chamber of Deputies. They are made up of regional associations, provincial unions and national federations. Government control over the syndicate structure is not merely restricted to official intervention; and the entire structure is built on the passivity of the masses and is used by the State to discipline individuals, groups and masses.

## INDIA AND THE EMPIRE

In the course of an article reviewing the Congress Report on the Financial Relations between Britain and India, *The Indian Social Reformer* recalls the following passage from a speech of the late Lord Curzon at the Mansion House in London:

"If you want to save your colony of Natal from being overrun by a formidable enemy, you ask India for help, and she gives it; if you want to rescue the white men's Legations from massacre at Peking, and the need is urgent, you ask the Government of India to despatch an expedition, and they despatch it; if you are fighting the Mad Mullah in Somaliland, you soon discover that Indian troops and Indian Generals are best qualified for the task, and you ask the Government of India to send them; if you desire to defend any of your extreme outposts or coaling-stations of the Empire in Mauritius, Singapore, Hongkong, even Tientsin or Shan-haikwan, it is to the Indian Army that you turn; if you want to build a railway in Uganda or in the Sudan, you ask the Indian Labor. When the late Mr. Rhodes was engaged in developing your recent acquisition of Rhodesia, he turned to me for assistance, with Indian coolie labor that you exploit the plantations equally of Demerara and Natal; it is with Indian trained officers that you irrigate Egypt and dam the Nile; with the Indian Forest Officers that you tap the resources of Central Africa and Siam; with Indian Surveyors that you explore all the hidden places of the earth."

## WOMEN IN TURKEY

"The position of women in Turkey to-day" is the subject of an interesting article, by Mrs. Nilama Desai, in the *Modern Review* for August. Mrs. Desai traces the history of the economic and political struggle waged by the Turkish women during the last quarter of a century.

"Women of Turkey in those days were suffering from a terrible mental torpor and were surging with an inner feeling of revolt—a longing to free themselves from the shackles of social and economic bondage which they dared not express but could not entirely stifle, and consequently a wide gulf separated them from their mothers."

It was the Revolution, the birth of a New Turkey, that brought the question of women's emancipation to the forefront.

"The young leaders realizing that with their women tied down to the age-old traditions of social bondage, they would not be able to work out their country's liberation, tried to tackle the problem in a liberal spirit and saw with a deep foresight that education was the premier requisite in securing the liberation of women. Schools were opened and women like Halide and Nakkie Hanoum played an important role in moulding the future of their unlucky sisters and in bringing forth a new awakening. Yet this was a far off way to the realization of the lofty ideal that the Young Turks had set before them."

When Mustafa Kamal Pasha's Government gave a new status to the modern Turkish woman both socially and politically.

The Turkish woman in Turkey became economically independent and was on a footing of equality with men. A radical change was also made in the marriage laws. The girl chooses her own life-partner instead of 'being given away', and divorce is only permissible under the strict adherence of the Swiss Code which was made compulsory in Turkey. The courts of law, and not the whims of a man, decided henceforth such a grave

issue. This was an indirect blow to the harem system. Girls were allowed to attend public schools and co-education was advocated. This was a distinct step towards democracy. New Turkey required her sons as well as her daughters to bear these responsibilities, and the far-sighted policy of Mustafa Kamal Pasha made Turkey what it is to-day. The women look upon their past as a shadow which has disappeared for ever. All shackles are broken, and they are doing all they can to justify their newly acquired freedom."

## THE MADURA ACADEMIES

Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan, in the course of an article in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, endeavours to estimate the light that the legends of Madura throw on the growth of tradition in the Tamil country, particularly with reference to the notions now current in the land about the Tamil Sanghams (or Academies) having been founded at Madura for fostering the growth of Tamil literature. Such notions are based less on the Sanskrit chronicles than on their Tamil translations or counterparts. The Sanskrit works like the *Halasya Mahatmya* and the *Kadambavana Purana* are not very valuable for the historian, but they are the sources for the various Tamil *sthala-puranas* of Madura being probably translations or adaptations. The *Kadambavana Purana* was done into Tamil verse by a poet of probably the 16th century. The *Sundara-Pandya* was done into excellent Tamil verse by an able poet in 1563 A.D. The *Sara Samuchhaya* which is said to be a section of the *Uttana Maha Purana* but which is not traceable now, was translated into Tamil verse by Puliyur Nambi; and the *Halasya Mahatmya* has its counterpart in Tamil in Paranjoti's work known as the 64 Tiruvilaiyadal Puranam. The work of Puliyur Nambi was earlier than that of Paranjoti most probably; but it has somehow or other receded into the background possibly on account of its severe restraint.

## THE PRESS AND PUBLIC OPINION

Mr. Walter Lippmann, late Editor of the *New York World*, gave expression to the following ideas in his address delivered on the occasion of a dinner held in his honour by the Academy of Political Science of Columbia University at the Hotel Astor and published in the *Political Science Quarterly*. He stressed on the increased complication of the material of journalism and on the fact that, owing to lack of will or preparation to exercise it, the Americans had become a world factor in spite of themselves, and the journalistic interpretation of world politics from an American point of view must remain a continual groping experiment. In domestic affairs also, a mechanical and industrial revolution has altered the whole pattern of American life and thrust millions into a rapidly changing environment. The new objectives are not to fight old shibboleths and not to forsake standards in order to achieve the result. The national objectives in times of external peace and internal sanity are beyond the power of any group, leader or party to formulate and declare. No single concrete policy or principle like tariff, prohibition, the Monroe doctrine, the New Nationalism and the New Freedom of Roosevelt and Wilson respectively, can be now defended with the clearest conscience as being positively advantageous to the national life. But Lippmann would say that the most fundamental concern is the importance of remaining free in mind and in action before changing circumstances and of pursuing the unceasing discovery of truth. Lenin, Mussolini and many American reformers have declared that to be thus liberal is to lack positive conviction and to have no positive purpose. But at any cost men must keep open the channels of understanding and preserve unclouded their receptiveness of truth; and they should not allow material things to persuade them to rationalise their self-interest in glorious abstractions and not allow their convictions and pride overcome their desire for truth.

## THE PROBLEM OF ARMAMENTS

The peace treaties which followed the Great War provided for the limitation of the land armaments of the vanquished States "in order to render possible the general limitation of the armed forces of all nations". The military forces of Germany were reduced to 100,000 men; conscription was abolished and certain restrictions were put on the manufacture of armaments. Similar provisions, says Mr. Dexter Perkins in the *World Unity* for June, were written into the compacts with Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria. These various limitations were to be part of a general process and the Council of the League was charged with the preparation of plans for general reduction.

Towards the end of 1925 was constituted the Preparatory Disarmament Commission. This body was composed, not only of representatives of the principal European members of the League, but also of representatives of the United States and Germany, and, after December 1927, of Soviet Russia. It has held a number of sessions extending over a period of five years, and at the end of last year produced a draft convention.

The delays incident to the drafting of this convention are not difficult to understand. It must be conceded that the draft convention of last December, in spite of important reservations, has afforded a basis for definite move towards world peace.

## INDIA IN PERIODICALS

- THE FUTURE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA. By Prafulla Nath Banerjee, M.A., D.Sc. ["The Calcutta Review", July 1931.]
- ORIGIN OF ART AND CULTURE IN INDIA. By Sushil Kumar Chatterjee. ["The Visva-Bharati Review", July 1931.]
- THE HISTORICAL MATERIAL IN THE PRIVATE DIARY OF ANANDA RANGA PILLAI. By Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A. ["Journal of Indian History", Vol. X, Part I.]
- DANDI TO CANNOR. By Major C. M. Enriquez. ["The Empire Review", July 1931.]
- RENASCENT INDIA: INDIA WHERE THE WEST MEETS EAST. By Dr. N. B. Parulekar. ["The Aryan Path", August 1931.]
- THE HINDU CIVILIZATION OF MALAYA. By C. F. Andrews. ["The Modern Review", August 1931.]

## Questions of Importance

## LIBERAL FEDERATION RESOLUTIONS

The following are the main resolutions passed by the All-India Liberal Federation held at Bombay, in the first week of August, with Mr. C. Y. Chintamani in the chair:

## THE FEDERATION SCHEME

While cordially approving of an Indian Federation constituted of States and Provinces, the Liberal Federation is of opinion that the Federal Executive should be made responsible to the Legislature.

The Central Government should be vested with power to deal with any matter affecting the whole country, that may not have been anticipated and put in the Central list of subjects.

The Federation favours the prevention of vexatious motions of "no-confidence" in the Central Legislature and the securing of the stability of the Executive by means of reasonable provisions. It recommends particularly that procedure similar to that applicable to motions of no-confidence obtaining at present in Legislatures in India and in certain other countries should be adopted for the future Constitution.

Members belonging to the States, except Ministers, should have no right of speech or vote on motions of "no-confidence" arising out of matters affecting only British India.

There should be no nomination of British Indian representatives, and the States should allow their representatives to be chosen by some form of election which should, after a fixed transitional period, be uniform with the system obtaining in British India, although in the beginning all of them may not be elected.

The Provinces shall return their representatives to the lower house by direct election.

The Federation is of opinion that in the popular chamber, the distribution of seats should be made strictly on the basis of population.

## DEFENCE

Defence should be a reserved subject under the Governor-General during the transitional period, its duration should be fixed by statute and provision should be made on the following lines regarding defence during such period: (1) Expenditure should be fixed for five years and revised every five years by a Committee of an equal number of experts nominated by the Governor-General and of members elected by the Legislature; (2) the amount so fixed should be at the disposal of the Governor-General without a vote of the Legislative Assembly in this behalf, but without prejudice to its right of discussion; (3) any excess over that amount should be subject to a demand for grant which will have to be voted by the Assembly; (4) the Governor-General should, in the event of hostilities on the Frontier, have the further power of declaring an emergency and appropriating supply to meet it without a prior reference to the Legislature, but he should report his action to it and it should have the right of discussion; (5) a definite scheme for the Indianization of the Defence forces including officers and men, within a specified time as far as practicable, should be immediately propounded; and the provision of facilities for the training of Indians for service in all arms of Defence, so as to complete the process within a specified period, should be in charge of a Minister responsible to the Legislature.

## SAFEGUARDS

(1) The Federation is of opinion that the Governor-General's special powers should be confined to cases where there is a breakdown of the Constitution by reason of a serious disturbance of the peace likely to involve the country as a whole; (2) while the service of loans and the salaries and pensions of persons appointed on guarantees by the Secretary of State should be secured along with the supply required for the reserved departments as Consolidated Fund Charges, no power regarding finance should be vested in the Governor-General except that, regarding external loans, provisions similar to those contained in other Dominion Constitutions may be embodied in the Indian Constitution; (3) the Federation disapproves of the safeguards proposed at the Round Table Conference vesting power in the Governor-General to over-ride the Finance Minister in the matter of exchange, currency, borrowing and budgetary arrangements, and is of opinion that the necessary safeguards in this behalf for the transitional period may be secured by the creation, if necessary, of a statutory Financial Council till a Reserve Bank is established; (4) the Federation regrets the policy pursued by the Government of India regarding exchange, resulting in frittering away the gold resources of the country as calculated indefinitely to postpone the establishment of a Reserve Bank.

## TRADING RIGHTS

Regarding trading rights, the Federation is unable to accept the proposal embodied in Clause 14 of the Minorities Committee Report unless it is made clear that the future Government of India will have complete freedom to take measures for the promotion of basic trades and industries.

## FINANCIAL ADJUSTMENTS

On the question of public debts, whilst the Federation unreservedly denounces all suggestions for repudiation of India's public debt by any future Government of India, it is of opinion that in view of the various financial obligations imposed hitherto on India, an impartial and independent Tribunal be appointed to investigate and decide on the nature and extent of adjustment between Britain and India on the eve of the transference of power from the British Parliament to a responsible Indian Government.

## PROVINCIAL CONSTITUTION

The Federation generally approves of the Subcommittee Report thereon, but strongly opposes the conferment of special powers, both legislative and financial, on the Governor, except that he may have emergency power to deal with serious disturbances of the peace. The proposal to establish a second chamber in certain Provinces, in the opinion of the Federation, if carried out, would detract from the autonomy of the Provinces and should be reconsidered.

## ADMINISTRATION IN THE STATES

The Federation, while recognizing the need for the maintenance of internal autonomy and the sovereignty of the States, hopes and trusts that the rulers of the States will seriously consider the desirability of gradually making their administration approximate to the system of administration in British India.

## CIVIL SERVICE AND GOVERNORSHIP

The Federation is strongly of opinion that no member of the permanent Indian Civil Service be hereafter appointed as Governor of any Province. (Contd. P. 605.)

## THE SANKEY SCHEME:

## MR. CHINTAMANI'S CRITICISM

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, in the course of his presidential address to the 13th Liberal Federation, at Bombay, observed:—

The proposals relating to the central government are naturally the most important of all, and the whole scheme stands or falls according as these deserve to be commended or condemned. It is not that we can afford to be indifferent to the nature of the proposals regarding provincial governments or the services, but even if they be altogether unexceptionable, which they unfortunately are not as no one knows better than Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and the respected chairman of the Reception Committee, we shall be bound to treat the result as disappointing and unsatisfactory if India's national demand is not conceded. This demand was and is for what Mr. John Redmond called in respect of his own country 'the full rights of national self-government in all internal affairs', in supersession of a system of government which Mr. Asquith described as 'irrational and indefensible'. Year after year from the platform of the Liberal Federation have we been demanding the complete responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature 'in the whole sphere of internal civil administration'. And in resolutions passed unanimously at several sessions we specified after careful consideration of various points of view what should be the nature and extent of reservation of power, as a transitory arrangement for a period limited by statute, to the Governor-General in respect of the defensive forces. Our proposals were adopted almost *in toto* in the resolution moved by Pandit Motilal Nehru in the Legislative Assembly and accepted by that august body—the resolution which embodied what came to be known as the National Demand. Clear in our mind as to what we wanted, and want, we should see whether the proposals of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference—for that is the body which was seized of the subject—give it to us at least in larger part if not in its entirety.

We shall see. We wanted a responsible central executive—responsible in the technical sense of the term, i.e., removable by the popular house of Legislature, which we demanded should be wholly elected direct by the people. We are offered an executive which will only be removable by a majority of two-thirds of members of both houses of the Legislature sitting together, and we are offered a popular house of which a large part will consist of nominees of individual rulers of States. As there has been some disagreement as to what precisely is the Sub-Committee's recommendation on this point, I had better quote the very words of the report: 'For the purpose of securing greater stability to the Executive,' the report says (para. 35, second report), 'the suggestion was made and found a large measure of support, that Ministers should not be compelled to resign save in the event of a vote of no-confidence passed by a majority of at least two-thirds of the two chambers sitting together.' The British Indian members of the upper chamber are to be elected by the provincial legislatures and to possess qualifications similar to those now in force for the Council of State. 'And the Sub-Committee have no doubt that the rulers of the Indian States, in

selecting their representatives, will ensure that they are persons of similar standing.' You have marked the words 'the rulers'. In selecting their representatives. As regards the distribution of seats between the States and British India, 'the States' representatives on the sub-Committee pressed strongly for equality of distribution as between the States and British India'. In the lower chamber, too, the Indian States' Delegation 'claim some greater representation than they would obtain on a strict population ratio'. This claim was not conceded by a majority of the sub-Committee and therefore, 'the majority wish strongly to urge upon their colleagues the desirability of subordinating theory to expediency in the interests of the members of the British and Indian States' Delegation to the lower chamber, while 'their Highnesses made it clear (Interim report, para. 6) that in their opinion the methods by which the States' representatives should be chosen will be a matter for the States themselves'. The position, so far as I had any knowledge of it, was that their Highnesses were not willing to agree to a statutory provision that the States' representatives should even after the expiry of a certain period. They wanted it to be their prerogative for all time to determine how the States' representatives would be selected; so that, I am on solid ground in inviting your assent to this description of the proposals in this behalf of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee, viz.,

India is to have a central executive responsible to both houses of the Legislature, and not removable except by a vote of no-confidence passed by a majority of at least two-thirds of both houses; and a central legislature, in both houses of which the States' representatives will be selected by the Rulers themselves or in such manner as they may please, while it has not yet been agreed that the representatives of British India will be returned by direct election as at present. The States claim a 50 per cent. representation in the upper chamber and some weightage in the lower.

It was known to us in London that the States' Delegation wanted a 40 per cent. representation in the lower chamber and that at least a large majority of the rulers of States who agreed to Federation would only consent to send their own nominees to the Legislature. The proposed strength of the upper chamber is between 100 and 150 and of the lower, 250. A motion of no-confidence cannot succeed unless 267 votes are given in its support. But of 400 members as many as 165 will be the nominated 'representatives' of the States, leaving only 235 members belonging to British India; so that, whether the motion relates to a federal subject, or to one exclusively affecting British India, the Executive will be able to dig itself in with the support of the votes of the nominated members from the States. Do not forget that these so-called 'representatives' will have the right to vote even when the subject-matter of a motion is purely British Indian. If you call this the 'responsible government' for which India has been struggling, well we do not mean the same thing. But I do not mean to suggest that you will express satisfaction with this camouflage in the place of the real thing to which at session after session of the Federation you have pledged yourselves.

## "IRWIN HALL" IN BIKANER

Speaking at a farewell dinner at the Bikaner palace on August 9, His Highness announced that he had decided, with Lord Irwin's consent, to call the new Bikaner Legislative Assembly Hall as the Irwin Hall. This he did in view of Lord Irwin's great and invaluable services both to the Empire and India, including the States. Lord Irwin was one of the greatest and most popular Viceroys. In his successor Lord Willingdon, they had a Viceroy who had already possessed intimate personal knowledge of the country and who had already proved himself to be a great statesman and administrator and a tried and trusted friend of British India as well as the States. His Highness prayed that the great burden of anxiety which Lord Willingdon shared at present might be considerably lessened by the work at the London Conference. His own motto at the Conference would be "A Federation with the honour, safety and integrity of the States guaranteed".

## RETROCESSION IN INDORE AREA

The Government of India have retroceded the Indore Residency Bazaar area to the Indore Durbar. The actual taking over was without pomp or ceremony. An "At Home" was given by the Indore Prime Minister on the occasion when speeches were made by the Prime Minister and Colonel Heale, A.G.G. in Central India.

The reasons for the retrocession were explained. Certain areas had been given from time to time to the Residency for certain specific purposes. But unexpectedly a colony had grown in that area to such an extent that it was almost a rival trade centre to Indore city. The position had thus become anomalous, and the Government of India had acceded to the request of the Indore Durbar for the retrocession of the area.

The Prime Minister in his speech gave an assurance to the people of the retroceded Residency area that the change would not mean any curtailment of their privileges or amenities.

## MYSORE YUVARAJA'S ADVICE

"Don't cut everything down. Seek new processes, extend your markets and in doing so, raise the standard of living of those about you. That is the spirit in which to meet the present unexampled slump, which sickens Governments and businessmen the world over, and many even fear, portends permanent alteration in values," observed His Highness the Yuvaraja, opening the Mysore Chamber of Commerce buildings before a large gathering of members.

A labour force, well-nourished, educated, working in close co-operation with directorates capable of more efficient service and earning a larger wage was, His Highness thought, the altogether new situation envisaged by the Whitley Commission, a happy ideal for which the Mysore Chamber might work with zeal. Mysore was fast becoming self-sufficient every day. They were attracting visitors whom they should induce to purchase Mysore goods by sterling quality, judicious advertisements and salesmanship. All good Mysoreans must, His Highness pleaded, recognise the duty to patronise Mysore goods.

Incidentally, His Highness referred to the absence of direct facilities for the sea-borne trade and hoped that the Chamber would agitate and secure what he described as a vital link in commerce.

## PRINCES' CONSULTATIONS IN BOMBAY

Some of the Princes in Bombay met in the evening of August 10, at Taj Mahal Hotel. About 30 States, including Jodhpur, Rampur, Indore, Bhawalpur, Jhalwar and Pana were represented. The Maharaja of Dholpur presided. There was a discussion on the Sankey Committee. The sense of the House was that the Federation, as enunciated in the report, was full of dangers and defects and that the States, by federating individually, would be subjected to a uniform method of election which, in effect, would mean a particular form of government.

## Indians Outside India

### INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Mr. Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi gives a list of anti-Indian laws and regulations enacted in South Africa from 1885. They are as follows :

1. Law No. 3, 1885, of Transvaal.
2. Law to provide against the influx of Asiatics (Statute Law of the Orange Free State).
3. Act 17 of 1895 (Natal).
4. Dealers' Licenses Act No. 18, 1897, of Natal.
5. Immigration Restriction Act 1897 (Natal).
6. Law No. 3 of 1897 regulating the marriages of colored persons within the South African Republic.
7. Regulations for towns in the South African Republic, 1899.
8. Act to amend the Immigration Law of Natal (No. 1, 1900).
9. Immigration Restriction Act, 1903, of Natal.
10. Immigration Act of Cape Colony (No. 30, 1906).
11. Johannesburg Municipal Ordinance (2 Private—of 1906).
12. Johannesburg Municipal Tramway Bye-Laws.
13. Cemetery Bye-Law.
14. Immigration Restriction Act No. 3, 1906, of Natal.
15. Transvaal Arms and Ammunition Act (10 of 1907).
16. Transvaal Immigration Act (15 of 1907).
17. Education Act (25 of 1907).
18. Act No. 27 of 1907 (Transvaal).
19. Workmen's Compensation Act (No. 36, 1907) of Transvaal.
20. Immorality Ordinance (No. 46 of 1908, as amended by No. 16 of 1908).
21. Transvaal Townships Amendment Act (34 of 1908).
22. Transvaal Gold Law (Act 35 of 1908).
23. Asiatic Registration Amendment Act No. 36 of 1908.
24. Public Service and Pensions Act (No. 19 of 1908).
25. South Africa Act, 1909.
26. Public Servants' Superannuation Act No. 1, 1910.
27. Education Act No. 6 of 1910.
28. Act No. 31 of 1910 (to provide pensions for teachers in Government-aided Schools).
29. Immigration Regulation Act of 1913.

Some of the above mentioned Acts or Regulations were specially enacted against Asiatics or Indians, while others discriminated against them. There were, however, other enactments that were attempted by the Union Government against Indians after 1914. The Indian Relief Bill of 1914 was supposed to give real relief to Indians, and General Smuts promised as much. But the peace was shortlived. For, on 3rd February 1920, the Union Government appointed an Asiatic Enquiry Commission to report on the provisions of law concerning :

(a) the acquisition of land and rights affecting land in the Union by Asiatics and persons of Asiatic descent for trading and other purposes;

(b) the trading or carrying on of business by such persons generally, or in specified localities.

Thereafter from 1921 to 1925 the South African Government tried to legislate against Indians, forgetting their promise to administer the laws "in a just manner and with due regard to vested interests".

After the Class Areas Bill, the Government introduced the "Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill," better known as the Asiatic Bill of 1925. This Bill, along with the three Provincial Ordinances of Natal—(1) Boroughs Ordinance of 1924; (2) Township Franchise Amendment Ordinance, 1925; (3) Rural Dealers' Licensing Ordinance and the General Dealers' Control Ordinance of Transvaal—was meant to lead the Indian population to absolute ruin. Not only this, but the South African Government, through Mr. Duncan, brought forward a new interpretation of the settlement of 1914. They suggested that the vested rights mentioned in it were those of individuals and certain township rights in Transvaal.

After the Round Table Conference of 1927, says Mr. Sannyasi, it was thought that there would be peace. But that was not to be. The Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Bill and the Immigration Bill have actually been brought forward after the Round Table Conference.

### MADRASSEES IN BURMA

The Madras Legislative Council unanimously passed the following resolution with the consent of the leader of the Opposition :

"This Council recommends to the Government to address the Government of India requesting them to obtain a report on the condition of Madras residents, traders and labourers in Burma and representing to them the urgent need of taking necessary steps effectively to safeguard their person and property and for helping the cultivators by liberal advances and traders by affording adequate credit facilities through the Imperial Bank and otherwise."

The Revenue Member, on behalf of the Government, said that everything possible had been done and promised to forward the expression of the feelings of the House both to the Central and Burma Governments.

## Industrial and Commercial Section

### LANCASHIRE'S TRADE WITH INDIA

A writer in the *Economist* says that the decline in the value of cotton cloth imported into India from 50 crores to 20 crores is due both to the loss of purchasing power of Indians and the boycott movement, and that the object of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was not to revive Lancashire's trade with India. The true inwardness of the situation, he says, can only be gauged by those who have knowledge of the progress of the Swadeshi movement during the last few decades. The correspondent writes :

Despite any temporary checks, political, administrative or economic, to which it may be subjected, the campaign to render India independent of imported cotton goods will go forward, whatever form the new Indian Constitution may take, until it has achieved objective. . . . The movement towards greater self-sufficiency, especially as regards cotton goods, will persist whether *Swaraj*, as Congress leaders conceive it, is withheld or conceded. In the former event, the boycott will be intensified; in the latter event the tariff will be raised high enough and maintained at the higher level long enough, to encourage the establishment in India of mills equipped to manufacture the qualities of goods now imported.

### SIR PURSHOTAMDAS AND THE R. T. C.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, one of the delegates to the Round Table Conference representing Indian commercial interests, has cancelled his visit to London to attend the Conference. This is in pursuance of the decision of the Executive Committee of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, to boycott the Conference as a protest against the Government's refusal to choose all three nominees of the Federation to represent Indian merchants.

### BEDROOMS ON TRAINS

British railways are showing commendable enterprise in improving travel comfort. The latest step forward has been taken by the L.N.E. R., who ran, for the first time in mail week, on the journey from London to Aberdeen, the first two sleeping coaches designed on entirely new plan.

Each compartment—virtually a small hotel bedroom—is provided with a bedstead, the head and foot of walnut: there is a full length mirror, hot and cold water is laid on. Persian rugs cover the floor and the decoration is in soft colours. There are a reading lamp, folding bed-table and trouser-hangers.

A steam radiator is provided, and a small nozzle supplies warm, hot or cold air as is needed. The attendants' car has crockery and an electric water-heater, so that light refreshments can be served. Each car is carried on a steel under-frame.

### INDIAN FACTORIES

In their review of the administration report on the working of the Indian Factories Act for 1929, the Government of India express satisfaction with the general progress made.

The closing of one-fifth of the number of cotton ginning and pressing factories in the Punjab as a result of the formation of pools at almost all the big centres, in disregard of the Factory regulations, is reported to be receiving the attention of the Government.

### STATE AID FOR INDUSTRIES

The Bengal Council has passed the State Aid to Industries Bill 1931 introduced by K. G. M. Farouki, Minister. The object of the Bill is to obtain statutory powers to enable State aid to be given for the purpose of encouraging cottage industries. The Minister congratulated the House upon the adoption of the Bill and stated it would satisfy the popular demand.



## TANJORE MIRASDARS' CONFERENCE

The Tanjore District Mirasdars' Conference was held at Kumbakonam in the last week of July under the presidency of Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, Editor of the *Hindu*. A strong plea for reconsideration of the rates of assessment fixed in connexion with the Land Revenue Settlement was made at the Conference.

Mr. A. Rangaswamy Iyengar observed that the fall in prices was a comparatively stable factor which agriculturists had to face, and that it was an obvious deduction from that fact that the Government who claimed land revenue as a sharer in such agricultural produce of greatly diminished monetary value, should share the depression by a rearrangement of their money rates. The Conference was largely attended by prominent Mirasdars, and appointed a deputation to wait on the Governor and the Revenue Member to represent their grievances regarding the enhancement of assessment and water rate in the delta area.

## PEASANTS' STRIKE IN BAREILLI

A strike by peasants with a view to bringing down rent, that is, to increase their wages, will appear out of the ordinary. Such an extraordinary experiment, however, the first of its kind, says a correspondent, is being made in the district of Rae Bareilli in one of the rack-rented villages.

Suraj Kunda is a village 6 miles south of Rae Bareilli town, and it is the property of Sardar Birpal Singh. It is not a big village. Its area is about a thousand *Bighas* out of which 800 *Bighas* are cultivated. There are four hamlets attached to it. The entire population of the village is about 500; but there are only 85 houses with an average family of 6 persons. The entire population, with the exception of 3 families, is united and is on an agrarian strike.

The main grievance of the tenants is the exorbitant rent.

## VICEROY'S ADVICE TO LANDLORDS

"India will have reason to be thankful to you landholders if you conserve and extend the paternal solicitude for your tenantry which has marked the relationship of the best landlords with their tenants in the past." This was the advice given by His Excellency the Viceroy, in reply to the address of the All-India Landholders' Association, which waited on him recently at Simla, led by the Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Darbhanga.

His Excellency continued:

"In these days of agricultural depression, which I fervently hope are but a passing phase, the need for landlords to maintain friendly relations with their tenants is greater than ever.

"You, as landlords, have inherited a tradition of leadership which, in the rural areas, still exists and it is a possession which you should endeavour to retain and strengthen, as it is sure to be an invaluable asset in ensuring in the future the peace and prosperity of India."

## AGRICULTURE AS A PROFESSION

Addressing new graduates of the year at an "At Home" given by the Loyola College Coimbatore Association in the College Hall on the 7th August, Rev. Fr. Bertram, who presided on the occasion, exhorted the graduates to take to agriculture and improve production of agricultural products to the utmost extent possible. He then said that he had some years back been experimenting on a particular piece of land while he was on the hills and his experiment proved a success. So he asked the graduates not to sell away their lands, if they had any, and said that when the present depression passed away, agricultural products would be the first to recover. Further, educated men taking to agriculture would not only make the yield bigger but would also reap benefits from mother nature. The speaker then spoke about commerce and industry as a suitable field for service.

## TREATMENT OF SKIN DISEASE

In treating diseases of the skin it is important to search for the cause. It is useless to apply a little of this or that lotion and to expect a cure unless the underlying cause of the trouble be found and removed. Each disease must be considered separately according to whether general or local remedies are required. No one form of treatment will cure all kinds of skin disorders; hence "cure-alls" are not only worthless but often do harm.

There are a few points however which will be found useful in most skin troubles. First, the diet must be strictly regulated in conformity with hygienic rules. Alcohol, coffee, and tea must be scrupulously avoided, as also pickles, pepper, and all condiments. Coffee and pepper are especially harmful. In fact, a patient suffering from any form of skin complaint should aim to live as much as possible on a fruit and grain diet, abstaining from all forms of rich and clogging foods. Milk and eggs may be taken in moderation. The chief points to be aimed at are that the diet shall be light, unstimulating, moderate and simple.

## NEW TREATMENT FOR ANAEMIA

Dr. F. J. Wilkinson, director of research at the Manchester Royal Infirmary, has made a discovery of great importance for the treatment of pernicious anaemia, says the *Yorkshire Post*.

In recent years the use of liver as a diet for patients suffering from this complaint has been very successful, but Dr. Wilkinson's method concerns the use of hog's stomach. At first this was used in uncooked desiccated form, and it was found that this could be administered either in milk or chocolate or other cold foodstuffs. Later, in conjunction with a firm of chemists, the preparation was made in the form of a biscuit-coloured powder, insoluble and pleasant to take.

The discovery is of such importance, in the opinion of the Manchester Royal Infirmary and Manchester University, who have financed the

experimental work that they have undertaken to provide greater facilities and more accommodation.

The results have been remarkable. So far 108 cases have been treated, all of them patients of the Manchester Infirmary. Ninety-two per cent. of the patients are perfectly restored to health; another six per cent. are greatly improved; and the majority have been able to return to work. It is claimed that the treatment gives far better and quicker results than liver, and it is stated that 31 of the patients were persons who had relapsed after a course of liver treatment.

## FREE MEDICAL EXAMINATION

The Government of Madras have approved of the Surgeon-General's proposal that Government servants should be examined free of charge at the pathological, bacteriological or bio-chemical laboratories attached to the Government hospitals.

It gently rubs  
the Pain out!

No matter what the ache  
or pain: Neuralgia, Head-  
ache, Rheumatism, Lum-  
bago, Sprains, Strains,  
Chest Cold, Sore Throat.

LITTLE'S  
ORIENTAL  
BALM



just removes  
the pain

India's First  
and Best

Sold at all  
Chemists  
and Stores.

## SIR C. V. RAMAN'S NEW DISCOVERY

Sir C. V. Raman, who came to Bangalore in connection with the last meeting of the Council of the Indian Institute of Science, was presented with a gold commemoration medal with profiles of Alfred Nobel and Sir C. V. Raman on either side and a silver casket mounted on two gold elephants by the South Indian Science Association. Rao Bahadur Venkatesachar of the University Central College paid glowing tributes to the scientist as a man of remarkable genius.

Sir C. V. Raman then gave an interesting lecture, illustrated by lantern slides, on what he described as the Spin of Light to a large gathering of scientists and students. Light, he said, was the source of all activity, the energy, which made the mills of life go round. It was the supreme gift of space. He proceeded to point out the results of his recent experiments with the help of Mr. Bagaranthum at Calcutta, which unmistakably proved that light had always angular momentum. This, he believed, was a valuable discovery and very important one in the field of light and greatly contributed towards the knowledge of the nature and character of light.

Dr. Metcalfe, vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University, who presided, eulogised the services and the enterprise of the distinguished scientist in the cause of progress and humorously remarked that "spinning" had come to be a very popular pastime as even the great light had now been found to be affected by what he thought was a general influence.

## VIDWAN BIDARAM KRISHNAPPA

Lovers of music in Southern India have sustained a great loss in the death of Ganavisharada Bidaram Krishnappa, the famous musician of Mysore, at the age of about 65 years. He was the founder of Sitarama Mandiram in the Mysore city at a cost of about Rs. 40,000 constructed with great artistic beauty out of his private purse and public subscriptions.

## WOOD PRESERVATION

News has been received from Germany that a South Indian has discovered a process for wood preservation costing only a sixth of the creosote process now in vogue.

Mr. S. Kamesam who is responsible for this remarkable discovery, is a graduate of the Madras Engineering College and has served a Wood Preservation Officer in the Dehra Dun Forest College for some years. He has been in America and Germany during the last two years.

A high authority in Germany has, it is reported, described Mr. Kamesam's discovery as a great landmark in the history of wood preservation.

It is expected that this process, when utilised, will save the Government of India several lakhs in regard to provision of wooden sleepers for Indian Railways.

Mr. Kamesam, it may be mentioned, is the brother of Mr. S. V. Ramamurti, I.C.S., Secretary to Madras Government, in the Development Department.

## A MATHEMATICAL PRODIGY

Mr. Somesh Bose, the mathematical prodigy who created a great stir in America, is back to India.

The development of the mathematical life of Mr. Somesh Bose is full of interest. In fact Mr. Bose discovered himself one fine morning, while just a boy of eight at school in his village. Asked by a visitor to the school to multiply four digits figure by another four digits figure, he at once replied correctly without the help of paper and pencil. He was then given an eight digits by eight digits sum. And he solved it.

He was born in 1886. He married at the age of twenty-one and enjoyed a happy conjugal life for seven years. The death of his wife had been the turning point in his intellectual life. And he claims to be more an ascetic to-day than a mathematician, although his mathematical demonstrations are perhaps more wonderful than before.

## TAGORE COMMEMORATION VOLUME

As a part of the forthcoming celebration of the occasion of Rabindranath Tagore completing the seventieth year of his life, a Commemoration



RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Volume, containing contributions from his friends and admirers in the East and the West—poets, authors, scholars and artists—as offerings of their homage and tribute to the Poet, is being brought out. The sponsors of the book are: Mahatma Gandhi, M. Romain Rolland, Sir J. C. Bose, Prof. Albert Einstein, and M. Costis Palamas, the great Greek poet.

## A HIGH CLASS TAMIL MONTHLY

The Vernacular press has made rapid strides in recent years—alike in variety and in the quality of its output. Thus there are journals in Hindi, Bengalee, Marathi and Telugu, more or less modelled on the English illustrated magazines. But no sustained effort has yet been made to produce a similar magazine for the Tamil country. We therefore welcome this new venture *Tamilagam* which in its first number has set a high standard. If the succeeding numbers maintain the standard of this first issue in variety and copiousness, we shall indeed have a really high class magazine for the Tamil country. We congratulate the conductors on the excellence of the coloured plates that adorn this number.

## AUTHORS' INCOMES

Arnold Bennett's income—£16,000 a year—was a modest one compared with the earnings of popular dramatists. Noel Coward was making nearly £50,000 a year when 27. And I understand that he nearly touched that figure again last year, says a writer in the *Daily Herald*.

Freddie Lonsdale, who has been by turn soldier, seaman, deck steward, and farmer, and has now deserted the stage for the screen, is easily second.

And Bernard Shaw has for a long time, I believe, had a yearly income of £20,000.

Somerset Maugham, once a doctor, and always a great traveller, is Shaw's close rival.

H. G. Wells and Hall Caine—whose semi-religious novels have sold by the million—also make about £20,000 a year.

Barrie, Galsworthy, and Michael Arlen used to rank immediately below Bennett.

While one journalist I know once received a cheque for £500 for 400 words—the outline of a film scenario which has never been used!

But remember that Shaw sold only two articles in the first seven years of his literary career while the late W. I. George once told me that he collected 723 rejection slips in three years.

And Conan Doyle nearly starved before success came to him.

## DEATH OF AN ARABIC SCHOLAR

Mr. S. Khuda Buksh died in Calcutta after a brief illness at the age of 54. He was a distinguished Barrister and was regarded as an authority on Islamic history and culture. He was also well known for his scholarship in Arabic and Persian. He was a member of the Calcutta University Senate and a Fellow for many years.

## THE "HINDU HERALD"

Mr. B. G. Horniman has assumed the editorial charge of the "Hindu Herald," Lahore. The paper is now called the "Daily Herald" and is published in an enlarged form.

## FOUR DISTINGUISHED SAVANTS

In the presence of a distinguished gathering of Fellows and Syndics of the Bombay University and visitors, His Excellency Sir Ernest Hotson, Acting Chancellor, conferred the honorary degrees



DR. SIR J. J. MODI

of LL. D. on Sir D. F. Mulla, Sir M. Visveswaraya, Sir J. J. Modi, and Sir C. V. Raman at a special Convocation of the University.

Sir Ernest Hotson, in the course of his speech, said it was a memorable day for Bombay and its University when they were able to welcome four men so different in their work, lives and fame, all of whom starting from the education received wholly in India had attained the first rank in their respective fields representing as they did, four such great branches of human knowledge as Law, Engineering, Letters and Science. He added that not one of those whom they were honouring had started life with any special advantage or promise of advancement. Each alike started his career in a comparatively humble capacity, and each worked his way to the top by unrelenting industry in the use of his natural gifts and by a genuine enthusiasm for the work he had taken up.

Concluding, Sir Ernest Hotson congratulated the recipients on the honour conferred on them, and wished them success in their future labours in the cause of knowledge.

## MISS McDougall's ADDRESS

Miss E. McDougall, M.A., D.Litt., Principal of the Women's Christian College, Madras, in the course of her Convocation Address to the Madras University, described the duties of a University and the corresponding obligations of those who benefited by its teaching, and proceeded to address special words of advice and encouragement to the graduates.

Miss McDougall, very naturally, had a special message for women graduates. "Opportunity has been the great gift of the University to women," she said, "and now that so many have turned it to good effect, we trust that the larger world without will deal with us as the University has dealt. The service which you women graduates will render to your country, will be the reward of the University."

This was the first occasion in the history of the Madras University on which the Convocation Address has been delivered by a woman.

## PROF. SESHADRI'S LECTURING TOUR

After an extensive educational tour in Europe, Prof. P. Seshadri left London for the United States on a month's lecturing tour by S. S. "Aquitania" from Southampton on the 18th July. During his stay in America he will lecture at Denver, Madison, Springfield, New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Washington. He will also tour in Canada visiting Toronto, Ottawa, and Montreal. Prof. Seshadri is expected back in England about the first week of September.

## WOMEN PROFESSORS

The C. P. Women's Educational Conference has adopted a resolution appealing to the C. P. Government to appoint women on the staff of colleges in consideration of the fact that there are so many girl students attending the various colleges in that province, and follow the lead given by Bombay in appointing women professors to colleges.

## "BOYCOTT" OF PLEADER

"Professional boycott of a pleader not only did damage to the pleader concerned in his personal capacity, but also obstructed and impeded the course of administration of justice," observed Justice Graham, who, with Justice Suhrawardy, passed orders suspending two pleaders of Berhampore, Messrs. Shamapada Bhattacharya and Sasanka Shekhar Sanyal, for a period of a month for boycotting a brother pleader of the district.

It was stated that the Berhampore Bar Association decided in 1911 that no member of the Association should accept a criminal brief against any member of the Bar, but on April 20, 1930, Mr. Nagendra K. Bhattacharya accepted a brief on behalf of the Crown to prosecute a brother pleader. Accepting the brief Mr. Nagendra resigned from the Bar Association which boycotted him. Mr. Shamapada and Mr. Sasanka were the proposer and seconder of the boycott resolution.

His Lordship added that if these pleaders had expressed regret for what they had done, the Court might have taken a lenient view, but they had taken up the attitude that they had done nothing wrong. His Lordship held that the Bar Association decision of 1911, as well as the boycott resolution, were both very improper.

## AMERICAN POLICE

The Wickersham Crimes Report on the United States police force says that with few exceptions police forces all over the country are a "general failure".

Units are permeated with graft and incompetence. In every large community there are major criminals well known to the police, yet by reason of the sinister influence exerted by the corrupt politicians they have been allowed to continue their criminal careers, leaving American citizens helpless in their hands.

## THE EX-CONVICTS AND EX-JUDGE

Sir Robert Wallace, K.C., who retired recently after twenty-four years as chairman of London Sessions, has received two remarkable expressions of gratitude from old offenders to whom he once gave a chance to make good.

A woman who would not give her name rang him up and said:

"Nearly twenty years ago I appeared before you on a charge of embezzlement. You gave me another chance and I have never looked back since. I am now in a position of trust in a large City firm. I just want to thank you now that you have retired."

Sir Robert also received the following letter from an ex-convict:

"When I came before you I was not a first offender. I had no hope, no help, no prospect save another bitter spell of prison. Yet you gave me another chance, and ever since I have earned my living honestly. I want you to know that I have never forgotten what you did for me."

These two happy gestures by reformed criminals mean more to Sir Robert than all the high tributes paid him by distinguished colleagues of Bench and Bar.



DR. SIR D. F. MULLA

on whom the honorary degree of Doctorate was conferred by the University of Bombay.

## GANDHIJI AND LORD WILLINGDON

Before his departure to Ahmedabad on the 14th August, Gandhiji addressed a personal letter to H. E. Lord Willingdon, in the course of which he stressed that he never insisted on the board of arbitration nor wished to set up a parallel Government, and continued, after quoting the Working Committee Resolution on the observance of the truce by Congressmen:

The purpose, however, of writing this letter is to inquire whether you regard the Settlement as now at an end or whether it is to be still continued, in spite of the abstention of the Congress from participation in the Round Table Conference.

From this, you will observe that the Working Committee has no desire to embarrass the Government at the present juncture and that, therefore, it is prepared to continue honourably to work the Settlement, but such working must depend upon reciprocal attitude on the part of the provincial Governments, as I have told you so often through correspondence and our conversations. This reciprocity has been found to be progressively missing. Information continues to be received at the office of the Working Committee of Government activity which can only be interpreted to be token of a design to crush the Congress workers and normal Congress activities.

If, therefore, the Settlement is to abide, I venture to think that early relief in the matter of complaints already filed is necessary. More, as I have already said, are coming, and co-workers are insistent that if relief is not had in time, they should at least get permission to adopt defensive measures. May I request an early reply?

The reply of the Government of India, while rebutting the charges, disclaimed any intention of resorting to special measures to deal with the situation.

## GANDHIJI'S TELEGRAM TO LORD WILLINGDON

The following is the text of the wire sent by Mr. Gandhi to His Excellency the Viceroy on 21st August:

I see so many rumours supposed to be authoritative. The last one compels an explanation. It says that the publication of the charge-sheet has upset the Government, and is likely to prevent the grant of an enquiry reported to be under contemplation. This presupposes some indiscretion or discourtesy on my part. I have endeav-

oured scrupulously to avoid both. The charge-sheet was part of the relevant correspondence and was referred to in your letter of the 31st July, and Mr. Emerson's letter of the 30th July published from Simla. Hence I considered it necessary to publish it. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. M. R. Jayakar and other friends are asking me to state my position. I have done so to them, but I feel that in justice to you and to the cause I represent, I must make my position as clear as I can to you personally.

I contend that the appointment of an impartial tribunal is implicit in the Settlement in the event of differences arising between the Government and the Congress regarding the interpretation of the Settlement or its working in practice. I have been prepared, as I am now, to waive such an inquiry if by quiet personal discussion or some such informal means, reasonable satisfaction is given to the Congress. I am most anxious to avoid breaches on side-issues or misunderstanding, and I am therefore prepared even to proceed to Simla if you think a discussion necessary.

I am withholding publication of this, pending your reply.

## VICEROY'S WIRE TO GANDHIJI

The following is the text of the wire which Mr. Gandhi received from Lord Willingdon:

Your telegram of the 21st August. If you consider that further discussion will help to remove your difficulties, I shall be glad to hear from you informing me of what day you will arrive in Simla. \* \* \*

## GANDHIJI'S REPLY

The following is the wire which Gandhiji sent in reply to the Viceroy:

Thanks for your wire. As I want to leave nothing undone, therefore though I have no difficulties not known to you and though my wire left with you the decision regarding the desirability of a personal discussion, I gladly take the burden upon my shoulders, and I am leaving for Simla to-night, reaching there on Tuesday.

I am inviting the President of the Working Committee, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Abdul Gaffar Khan to be with me during my stay in Simla. \* \* \*

Gandhiji accordingly reached Simla on the 25th and interviewed the Viceroy on the 26th and 27th. It was late in the evening when Mr. Gandhi and Lord Willingdon came to an understanding, the latter agreeing to the appointment of a Committee to enquire into the Bardoli question. Mr. Gandhi left Simla the same night for Bombay, to catch the boat which left for London on the 29th.

## THE NEW BRITISH MINISTRY

The following are the chief members of the new National Government in England:

Premier: Mr. Ramsay MacDonald.

Lord President of Council: Mr. Baldwin.

Chancellor of Exchequer: Mr. Snowden.

Home Secretary: Sir Herbert Samuel.

Lord Chancellor: Lord Sankey.

Foreign Affairs: Lord Reading.

India: Sir Samuel Hoare.

Dominions and Colonies: Mr. J. H. Thomas.

Health: Mr. Neville Chamberlain.

Board of Trade: Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister.

## LIBERAL FEDERATION RESOLUTIONS

The full text of the Federation Resolutions on the Constitutional issue is printed on page 593.

The following are other Resolutions:

## THE MINORITIES ISSUE

(a) Separate electorates should be done away with and they should be replaced by joint electorates with reservation of seats for minorities. (b) There should not be a statutory fixation of majority. (c) The position of all important minorities should be equitably considered in the determination of weightage. (d) There should be no statutory recognition of communal representation in the All-India, Provincial, or Executive services, but by convention fair and adequate representation should be secured for the various communities consistently with the consideration of efficiency qualifications. (e) All necessary, reasonable and practicable guarantees should be given to all communities regarding religion, culture, language and special laws.

## FUTURE OF BURMA

The Federation is of the opinion that the Secretary of State's declaration in Parliament on the separation of Burma from India was premature as the Round Table Conference had left the question open for further consideration. The Federation urges that this question should be decided on its merits after the fullest opportunity had been given to that section of opinion in Burma, which is opposed to such separation, to state its case.

## RECRUITMENT TO THE SERVICES

The Federation is of opinion that the Indian Judicial Services should be recruited entirely from the members of the Bar, and that the members of the Indian Civil Service should not be eligible for the same; that the Provincial Governments should have freedom in respect of recruitment to their Medical Services, and that their control over the police in their respective Provinces, both legislative and administrative, should not be less complete than over any other departments.

## FRANCHISE QUESTION

The Federation approved of the extension of franchise for men and women alike, and strongly supported the recommendations of the Franchise Sub-Committee.

## THE A. I. C. C. RESOLUTIONS

After a prolonged debate lasting five hours, the All-India Congress Committee which met at Bombay, on the 6th August, adopted by an overwhelming majority the following resolution moved by Gandhiji:

The All-India Congress Committee deplores the attempted assassination of Sir Ernest Hotson, the acting Governor of Bombay, and the assassination of Mr. R. R. Garlick of Bengal.

While condemning all political murders, the A.I.C.C. regards the attempted assassination of Sir Ernest Hotson, the acting Governor of Bombay, as the more condemnable inasmuch as it was an act done by a student of a College that had invited the acting Governor as its honoured guest.

The A.I.C.C. warns those who secretly or openly approve of or encourage such murders that they retard the progress of the country.

The A.I.C.C. calls upon the Congress organisations to carry on special propaganda against all acts of public violence even where provocation is given for such acts. Further, the A.I.C.C. appeals to the nationalist press to use all its influence in this behalf.

Gandhiji moving the resolution reiterated his unflinching faith in non-violence and strongly condemned acts of violence as gravely jeopardising their hopes of attaining *Swaraj*.

## WORKING COMMITTEE'S STATEMENT

The following is the text of the statement issued by the Congress Working Committee, on the 13th August, immediately after the receipt of the Viceroy's reply to Gandhiji.

The Committee carefully considered the correspondence exchanged between the Central and the various Provincial Governments on the one hand, and Mr. Gandhi on the other, upon matters arising out of the Delhi settlement and also considered the statement made by Mr. Gandhi describing the events that led to the correspondence.

The Congress Working Committee notes with regret that there have been, in its opinion, repeated and, in some cases, serious breaches by the Provincial Governments of the conditions of the Delhi Settlement. A stage was reached when failing satisfaction Mr. Gandhi had asked, with the approval of the Working Committee, for the appointment of an impartial tribunal to investigate the allegations of breaches and interpret the terms of the settlement. Such a request has now been refused even in matters affecting the vital interests of the peasantry. The Committee has therefore been obliged reluctantly to come to the conclusion that, consistently with the terms of the settlement and national interests, the Congress cannot and should not be represented at the Round Table Conference.

## HOBBS NOT TO VISIT INDIA

It is understood that Jack Hobbs, whom the Maharaj Kumar of Vizianagaram so generously promised to invite to India this cold weather, to help the Indian Cricket Selection Committee in choosing the team for England and coach them up generally, will not be coming this year as the proposed tour does not materialise.

In an interview, the Maharaj Kumar of Vizianagaram, who has just returned from Bombay, said that the cancellation of the tour this year would mean that India will have no chance till 1936 to visit England, because other countries have fixed up tours till then. The Maharaj Kumar said that while it could not be gainsaid that the political conditions in India were bad, he felt that such a pessimistic view of things need not have been taken, leading to upsetting engagements which had involved much time and energy.

## SIR THOMAS LIPTON'S WIN

Sir Thomas Lipton with "Shamrock V" won the King's Cup at Cowes, on August 4, in the race for yachts by 60 feet or more.

Sir Thomas Lipton's win was most popular, this being the first time that he had been able to compete in the race which hitherto was open only to yachts not exceeding 60 feet.

The King's yacht "Britannia" did not enter the race owing to the death by drowning of the second mate whose body has not yet been recovered.

## C. K. NAIDU IN ENGLAND

Having scored four "ducks" in his first six innings for the Indian Gymkhana, C. K. Naidu, says the *Cricketer*, ran into his best form against the Polytechnic and made 92, including five 6's, towards his side's total of 221 for 6, the other batsmen to shine being M. Bhide 52, and D. S. Senanayaka 40. The latter who is up at Cambridge has done well in Ceylonese cricket. Naidu is now captaining the Gymkhana in succession to Nazeer Ali who has returned to India.

## INDIAN CRICKET

Cricket enthusiasm in Ceylon has prompted immediate efforts to arrange the touring of India, following the postponement of the M. C. C. visit to this country. The Ceylon Cricket Association have telegraphed to the Indian Board of Cricket regarding their tour in India during next cold weather. They are discussing details of this tour. This news has given considerable joy to cricketers in Delhi, and the President of the Delhi Cricket Association has telegraphed to the Ceylon Association for the fixture at Delhi during the Christmas Week, if the tour matures.

It may also be added that following the postponement of the M. C. C. visit to India, the Roshanara Club, Delhi, has commenced immediate work towards the Annual Roshanara Cricket Carnival, dates for which have been fixed from November 7 to November 23.

## R. A. F.'S VICTORY

The King's Cup for air race round Britain was won by the Royal Air Force though its members were flying as amateurs in private machines. The Flying Officer Edwards in a "Blackburn Bluebird" with a handicap of 1 hour and 40 minutes was the first home, his average speed exceeding 117 miles per hour. Flight Lieutenant Gibbons in a "Spartan" machine was second with a speed of 109 miles per hour.

## NURMI'S NEW RECORD

Paavo Nurmi, the Finnish runner, broke the record, previously considered to be unassailable. He covered two miles in 8 minutes and 59 3/5 seconds. The previous best time was 9 minutes and 1 2/5 seconds.

## SOVIET FOOTBALLERS FOR AUSTRALIA

Sanction has been given to a team of Soviet footballers to tour Australia, provided they are able to provide the Australian Football Association with satisfactory guarantees.

## GANDHIJI AND THE GOVERNMENT

The Government of India have published text of the correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi. There are

altogether sixteen communications in which the Viceroy, Mr. Emerson, Sir Malcolm Hailey, Sir Ernest Hotson, the Collector of Surat and Mahatma Gandhi figure.



MAHATMA GANDHI

Mahatma Gandhi, on the 16th July, wrote to the Collector of Surat that revenue payments made under coercive process were payments made under duress and force.

Mahatma Gandhi alleged that there was therefore distinct breach of the faith and demanded refunds of monies thus collected and withdrawal of attachment of notices. Unless this was done or an impartial open tribunal appointed, he regarded himself free to protect the interests of the people whom the Congress represents.

The Governor of Bombay who got this letter, wrote to Mr. Gandhi, on the 10th August, saying that coercive processes were adopted after several months of special forbearance. The prompt response of the revenue payers showed that many persons were able to pay who had not done so. The Governor did not agree that there was any breach of the faith on the part of the Surat Collector or any breach of the Settlement. Neither

the Government nor the Collector ever accepted position that the Collector of Land Revenue should be dependent on Congress advice.

Thereupon Mahatma Gandhi wired to the Viceroy as follows:

"In naked terms the Governor's letter means that Government should be both the prosecutor and the judge, with reference to matters arising out of the contract to which they and the complainants are the parties. This is an impossible position for the Congress to accept."

The Viceroy by the telegram of the 13th assured Mahatma Gandhi of his personal interest in everything connected with the settlement and trusted that the disputes over details would not prevent his serving India by participation at the London Conference. He further promised to examine the list of alleged breaches of the settlement. Mahatma Gandhi wired back to say that there were fundamental differences in respective outlooks upon Settlement and, therefore, conveyed his decision not to sail for the Conference.

The correspondence between Mr. Emerson and Mahatma Gandhi related to the question of arbitration. Mr. Emerson replied that if the Congress demand was agreed to, the duty of maintaining law would be transferred from the police, who have statutory duties, to the Board of Enquiry, members of which might arrive at different conclusions.

Then Mahatma Gandhi wrote on the 21st July, not pressing for the Tribunal, but suggesting that occasions might arise necessitating its establishment. Mr. Emerson wrote in effect on the 13th July that arbitration was out of the question.

The Government of India replied on the 23rd to the charges by the Congress as to the violation of the Truce terms. Government denied and explained away the charges. "The general conclusion," says the official statement, "is to establish the contention of the Government that they have done their utmost honourably to observe the Settlement, and that the instances to the contrary are so few and of such a trivial character as to show the hollowness of the Congress charges."

On the 26 and 27th, Mahatma Gandhi interviewed the Viceroy with a view to the settlement of this issue so that he might proceed to London to participate in the proceedings of the Round Table Conference. The Viceroy agreed to appoint a committee for enquiring into the condition of the Bardoli peasants. The Mahatma was satisfied and left for London to attend the R. T. C.



Aug. 22. During his visit to the Fergusson College, H. E. Sir Ernest Hotson, Acting Governor of Bombay, is shot at, but luckily escapes.

Aug. 23. Sind Hindus wait on the Viceroy.

Aug. 24. A Gandhi Reception Committee is formed in London.

Aug. 25. Gandhiji informs Viceroy of his ultimatum to Collector of Surat. Viceroy asks Gandhiji not to precipitate a crisis.

Aug. 26. R. A. F. Officer Mr. Edwards wins the King's Cup in the air race.

Aug. 27. Mr. R. R. Garlick, District Judge, Alipore, is shot dead in the Court room.

Aug. 28. Gandhiji, in a message to H. E., congratulates the Governor on his escape and condemns the outrage.

Aug. 29. Jam Saheb addresses Members of the House of Commons on India.

Aug. 30. The 2475th anniversary of the first sermon of Lord Buddha is celebrated with great splat at Sarnath.

Aug. 31. Thirteenth National Liberal Federation meets at Bombay with Mr. C. Y. Chintamani in the chair.

Aug. 1. Mr. Gandhi opens a private temple belonging to Sir Chunibai for the use of untouchables in Ahmedabad.

Aug. 2. Liberal Federation concludes its session at Bombay.

Aug. 3. Messrs. Brelvi and Chagla and other Nationalist Muslims were roughly handled by cooligans at a Moslem gathering in Bombay.

Aug. 4. Maharajah of Benares is dead.

Aug. 5. Congress Working Committee Meeting in Bombay condemns violence.

Aug. 6. A. I. C. C. in Bombay adopts Working Committee's Resolution condemning violence.

Aug. 7. All-India Congress Committee approves the new flag design for India.

Aug. 8. 13th Hindu Maha Sabha meets at Akola, with Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar in the chair.

Aug. 9. Mr. Jinnah appeals for Hindu-unity at the Allahabad Muslim Conference.

Aug. 10. H. E. Sir E. Hotson telegraphs India, Gandhiji that no coercion was exercised against Gujarati peasants.

Aug. 11. Gandhiji wires to the Viceroy to intervene and thus enable him to proceed to the Round Table Conference.

Aug. 12. Federation of Indian Chambers withdraws delegation to Round Table Conference in protest.

Aug. 13. Viceroy's reply is deemed unsatisfactory, and Gandhi decides not to go to London. Working Committee of Congress ratifies Gandhiji's decision.

Aug. 14. Dr. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar interview Mr. Gandhi in Bombay.

Aug. 15. Correspondence and documents relating to break-down of negotiations are published.

Aug. 16. A Court of Inquiry into Railwaymen's grievances is appointed.

Aug. 17. Bombay University confers Honorary degrees on Sir D. F. Mulla, Sir M. Viswanarayana, Sir J. J. Modi and Sir C. V. Ramana.

Aug. 18. Council of the Railwaymen's Federation decides to boycott the Court of Inquiry.

Aug. 19. Mr. Gandhi releases for publication his last letter to Lord Willingdon.

Aug. 20. Viceroy cancels his engagements and returns to Simla from his Bengal tour.

Aug. 21. Viceroy replies to Gandhiji's letter.

Aug. 22. Viceroy agrees to interview Mr. Gandhi.

Aug. 23. The Government of India issues the statement replying to Gandhiji's charge-sheet.

Aug. 24. The Labour Government resigns. A National Government with Mr. MacDonald as Premier has been formed.

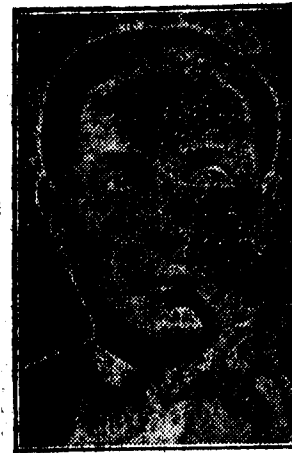
Aug. 25. Gandhiji arrives in Simla and interviews Mr. Emerson.

Aug. 26. Mahatmaji interviews Lord Willingdon.

Aug. 27. Government of India agrees to appoint a Committee to enquire into Bardoli troubles and Gandhiji leaves Simla for London.

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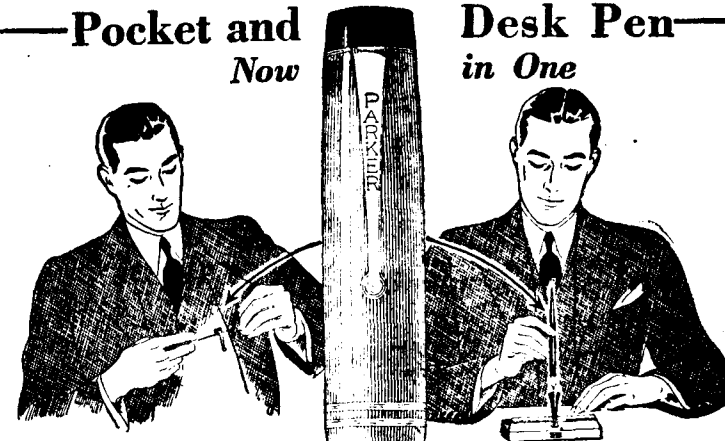
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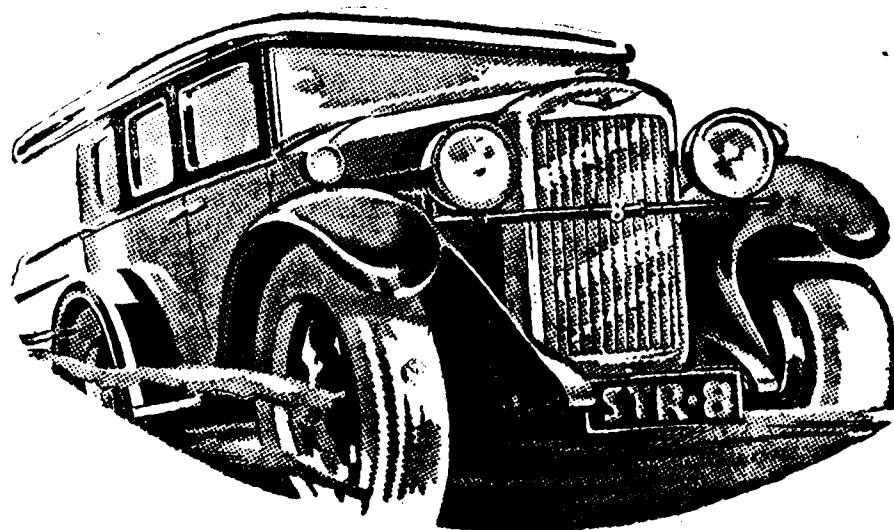
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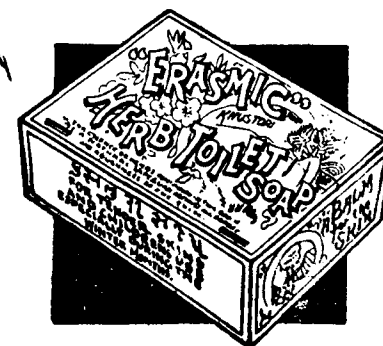


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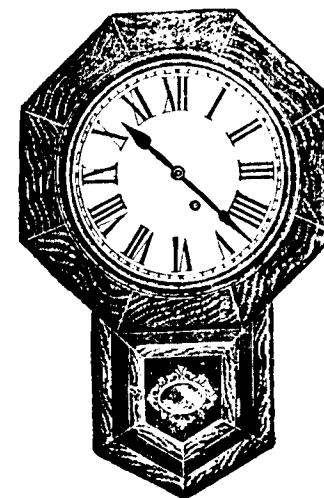
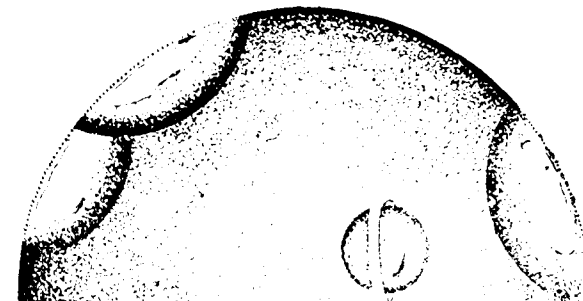
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|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
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| Increase of Life Assurance Fund 1930 | 11,51,813       |
| Premium Income                       | 30,83,936       |
| Interest Income earned in 1930       | 7,47,608        |
| Total Assets exceed                  | 1,65,00,000     |
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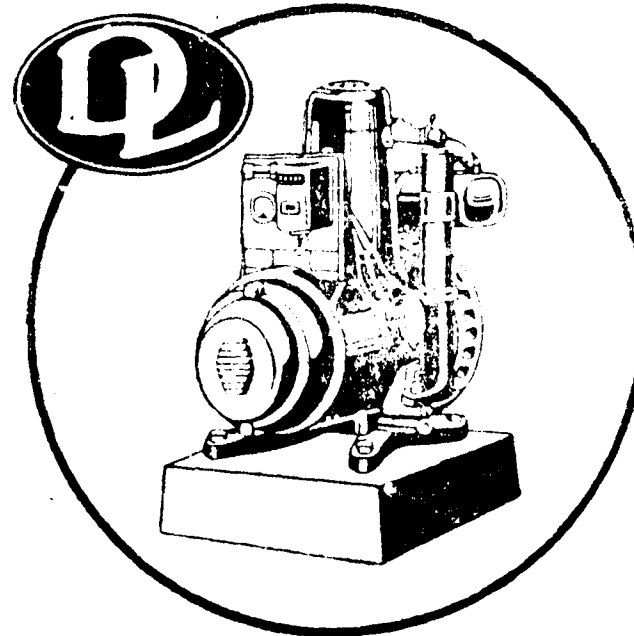
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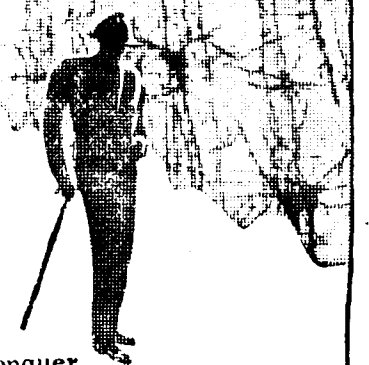
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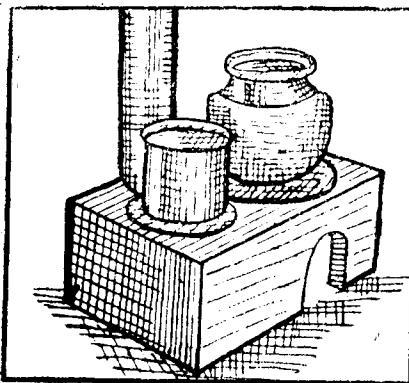
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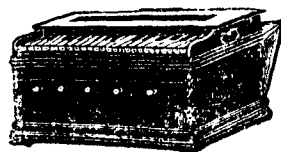
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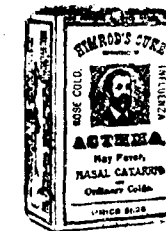
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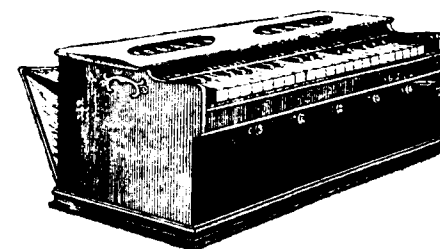
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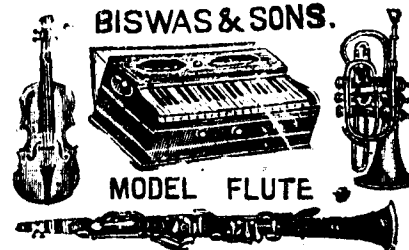
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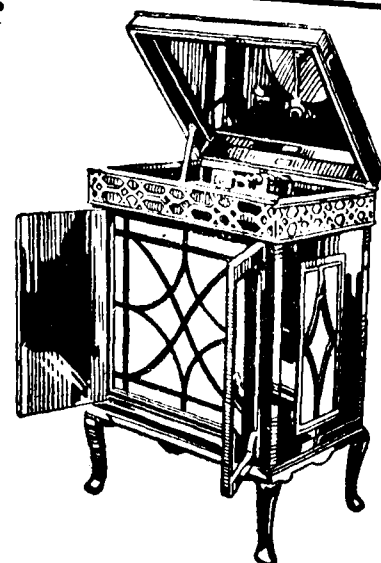
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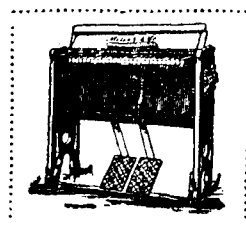


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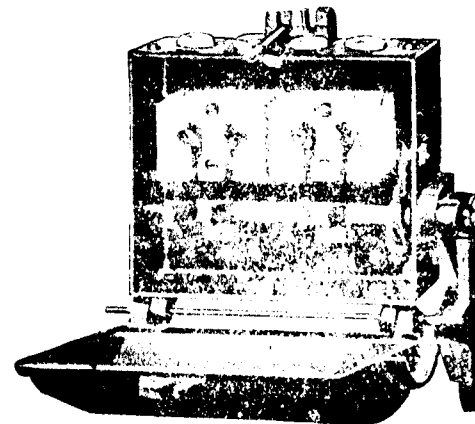
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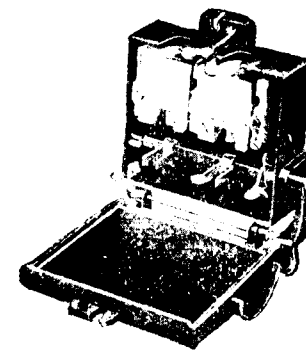
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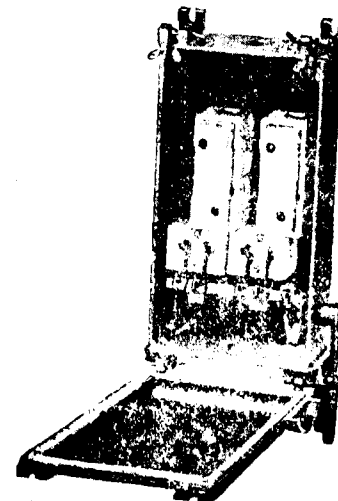
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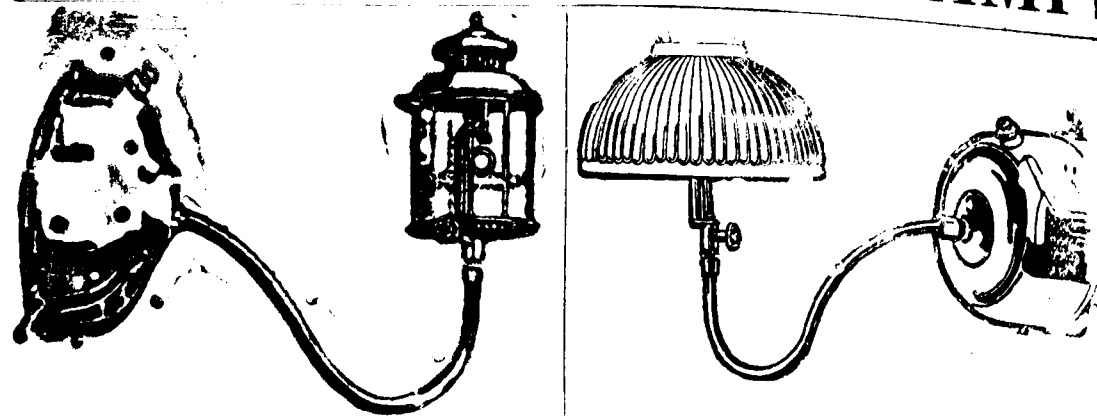
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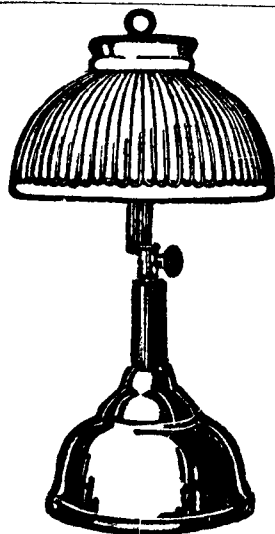
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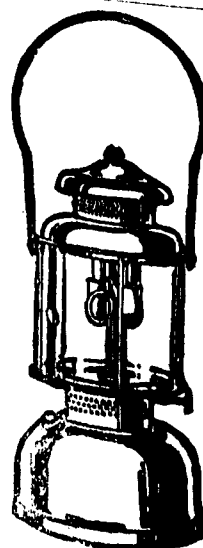
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VOL. XXXII.]

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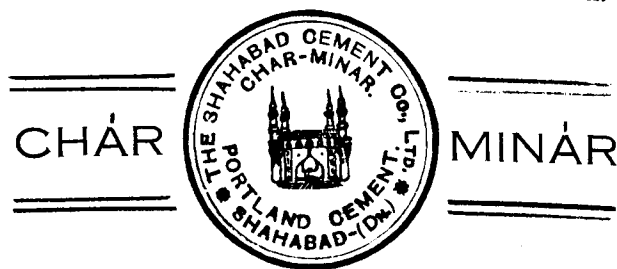
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|------------|-----|----|----|----|-----|-----------|-----|----|----|----|-----|-----------|-----|----|----|----|-----|-----------|-----|----|----|----|-----|-----|
| SUN.       | ... | 4  | 11 | 18 | 25  | ...       | 1   | 8  | 15 | 22 | ... | ...       | 1   | 8  | 15 | 22 | 29  | ...       | ... | 5  | 12 | 19 | 26  | ... |
| MON.       | ... | 5  | 12 | 19 | 26  | ...       | 2   | 9  | 16 | 23 | ... | ...       | 2   | 9  | 16 | 23 | 30  | ...       | ... | 6  | 13 | 20 | 27  | ... |
| TUES.      | ... | 6  | 13 | 20 | 27  | ...       | 3   | 10 | 17 | 24 | ... | ...       | 3   | 10 | 17 | 24 | 31  | ...       | ... | 7  | 14 | 21 | 28  | ... |
| WED.       | ... | 7  | 14 | 21 | 28  | ...       | 4   | 11 | 18 | 25 | ... | ...       | 4   | 11 | 18 | 25 | ... | ...       | 1   | 8  | 15 | 22 | 29  | ... |
| THU.       | 1   | 8  | 15 | 22 | 29  | ...       | 5   | 12 | 19 | 26 | ... | ...       | 5   | 12 | 19 | 26 | ... | ...       | 2   | 9  | 16 | 23 | 30  | ... |
| FRI.       | 2   | 9  | 16 | 23 | 30  | ...       | 6   | 13 | 20 | 27 | ... | ...       | 6   | 13 | 20 | 27 | ... | ...       | 3   | 10 | 17 | 24 | ... | ... |
| SAT.       | 3   | 10 | 17 | 24 | 31  | ...       | 7   | 14 | 21 | 28 | ... | ...       | 7   | 14 | 21 | 28 | ... | ...       | 4   | 11 | 18 | 25 | ... | ... |
| MAY.       |     |    |    |    |     | JUNE.     |     |    |    |    |     | JULY.     |     |    |    |    |     | AUGUST.   |     |    |    |    |     |     |
| SUN.       | ... | 3  | 10 | 17 | 24  | 31        | ... | 7  | 14 | 21 | 28  | ...       | ... | 5  | 12 | 19 | 26  | ...       | ... | 2  | 9  | 16 | 23  | 30  |
| MON.       | ... | 4  | 11 | 18 | 25  | ...       | 1   | 8  | 15 | 22 | 29  | ...       | ... | 6  | 13 | 20 | 27  | ...       | ... | 3  | 10 | 17 | 24  | 31  |
| TUES.      | ... | 5  | 12 | 19 | 26  | ...       | 2   | 9  | 16 | 23 | 30  | ...       | ... | 7  | 14 | 21 | 28  | ...       | ... | 4  | 11 | 18 | 25  | ... |
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| THU.       | ... | 7  | 14 | 21 | 28  | ...       | 4   | 11 | 18 | 25 | ... | ...       | 2   | 9  | 16 | 23 | 30  | ...       | ... | 6  | 13 | 20 | 27  | ... |
| FRI.       | 1   | 8  | 15 | 22 | 29  | ...       | 5   | 12 | 19 | 26 | ... | ...       | 3   | 10 | 17 | 24 | 31  | ...       | ... | 7  | 14 | 21 | 28  | ... |
| SAT.       | 2   | 9  | 16 | 23 | 30  | ...       | 6   | 13 | 20 | 27 | ... | ...       | 4   | 11 | 18 | 25 | ... | ...       | 1   | 8  | 15 | 22 | 29  | ... |
| SEPTEMBER. |     |    |    |    |     | OCTOBER.  |     |    |    |    |     | NOVEMBER. |     |    |    |    |     | DECEMBER. |     |    |    |    |     |     |
| SUN.       | ... | 6  | 13 | 20 | 27  | ...       | ... | 4  | 11 | 18 | 25  | ...       | 1   | 8  | 15 | 22 | 29  | ...       | ... | 6  | 13 | 20 | 27  | ... |
| MON.       | ... | 7  | 14 | 21 | 28  | ...       | ... | 5  | 12 | 19 | 26  | ...       | 2   | 9  | 16 | 23 | 30  | ...       | ... | 7  | 14 | 21 | 28  | ... |
| TUES.      | 1   | 8  | 15 | 22 | 29  | ...       | ... | 6  | 13 | 20 | 27  | ...       | 3   | 10 | 17 | 24 | ... | ...       | 1   | 8  | 15 | 22 | 29  | ... |
| WED.       | 2   | 9  | 16 | 23 | 30  | ...       | ... | 7  | 14 | 21 | 28  | ...       | 4   | 11 | 18 | 25 | ... | ...       | 2   | 9  | 16 | 23 | 30  | ... |
| THU.       | 3   | 10 | 17 | 24 | ... | ...       | 1   | 8  | 15 | 22 | 29  | ...       | 5   | 12 | 19 | 26 | ... | ...       | 3   | 10 | 17 | 24 | 31  | ... |
| FRI.       | 4   | 11 | 18 | 25 | ... | ...       | 2   | 9  | 16 | 23 | 30  | ...       | 6   | 13 | 20 | 27 | ... | ...       | 4   | 11 | 18 | 25 | ... | ... |
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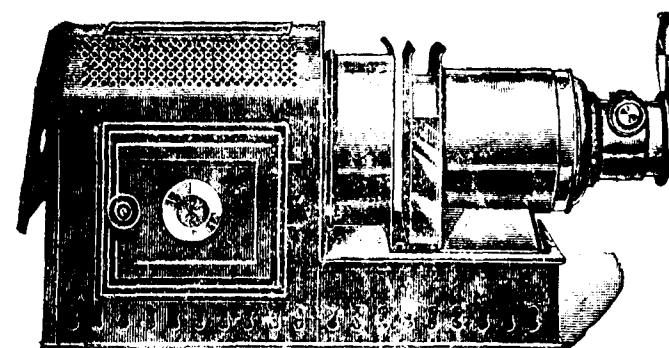
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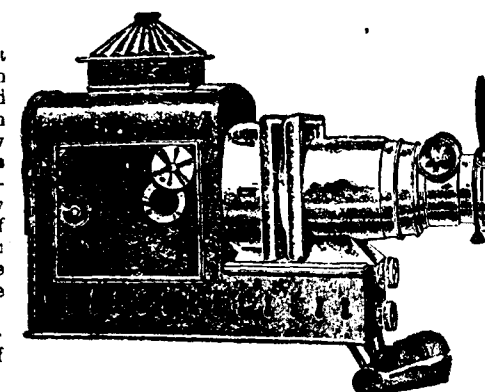
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[NO. 10.]

## Why the British Empire Should Outlaw War

BY THE MARQUIS OF TAVISTOCK

THE British Empire should outlaw war because war has very definitely passed, and with every year passes more deeply into the category of games which are not, under any circumstances, worth the candle.

The British Empire should also 'outlaw'—i.e., dispense with armaments on the scale required for settling international disputes, because such armaments have become definitely and invariably a greater drawback, as one of the main causes of war, than an advantage as a protection against an act of armed aggression.

The world being what it is, an armed police force is still needed in certain parts of the earth to protect defenceless people against the relatively insignificant and uncivilised tribes and robber chiefs who still raid for plunder or fight for fighting's sake; but when the writer uses the term 'armed police force' he means a police force and not, as many people appear to do, a healthy young army, Navy and Air Force. An armed police force is needed to check the raids of tribes on the Afghan frontier, but a military establishment of sufficient strength to keep India for the English against the will of the majority of the Indian people would be neither necessary nor sensible.

Similarly we may still need ships to prevent piracy in the Chinese seas and a police force to protect Europeans in Shanghai from the looting bands of Chinese war-lords, but we do not need a fleet adequate for undertaking a naval war with Japan, nor an army strong enough to fight the majority of the Chinese people to defend

territory and privileges in China gained in the first instance in an uncommonly fishy manner.

Armaments, by their mere existence, are one of the main causes of war, because they place in the hands of diplomats and statesmen an instrument which it is a constant temptation to some of them to use when a difficulty arises with a foreign country. If you have no armaments you must obviously settle your differences by arbitration and by arbitration only. If you have armaments you can say 'Arbitration be hanged!' and the worse your case, the more likely are you to resort to war.

Armaments are also a potent cause of war, because they enable rival statesmen to make the appeal of fear to their own people. In every great modern war, the rank and file of every nation engaged have honestly believed that they were acting on the defensive. The English people fought because it was possible to instil into them a fear of Germany's army; the German people fought because it was possible for the German leaders to point to the menace of England's navy. If a country has no armaments, it is impossible for the leaders of other countries to convince their people they are in danger of attack, and without this conviction no modern nation of importance will back its leaders in a declaration of war.

Some people take the line, "Oh, but we should never dream of using our armaments for aggressive purposes." It may well be that they, and indeed, many enlightened soldiers and sailors also, would never think of committing the crime of

armed aggression, but unfortunately it is not likely that strangers in foreign lands will appreciate the excellence and sincerity of their intentions, especially when their own leaders, in ignorance or malice, are constantly stirring up their fears. "It is all very well," they will say, "for the English to talk about their pacific intentions but how are we to know that they are not lying? And even if this lot are speaking the truth, how can we be sure that their successors who will control their armaments in the future will be equally sincere? We remember that in the late war it was said that England was not out for any acquisition of territory. Well, it looks like it!" There are occasions when it is as important to look peace-loving, as to be so.

While recognising the necessity for an armed police force to deal with uncivilised tribes, the writer has little faith in the scheme for an international 'police force' to deal with a nation, which, it is supposed, may resort to war against the will of the majority of its neighbours. The difficulties of operating and controlling such a force, and of preventing it from misuse by the unscrupulous, are so colossal in the present state of European affairs as to rule it out of the sphere of practical politics altogether. It would at the moment be easier to have total disarmament than to work an international police force harmoniously and for the world's good.

Undoubtedly the main obstacle to disarmament and the abolition of war is the insane but widespread belief in the existence of the robber-raider nation which is only waiting for a country to be unprotected to pounce down upon it. This belief is held with special conviction by 'old women of both sexes' who, one is sometimes tempted to fear, have become the backbone of England, so amazingly do they control the national policy and outlook. The simple fact is that the robber-raider nation has no existence except in the imagination of fearful (in both senses of the term) patriots.

There is no nation of any size the majority of whose men are so destitute of good feeling, and so undesirous of personal comfort, that they wish to leave their homes and ravish a distant land whose inhabitants they do not know and from whom they have never received the least injury. This truth can be easily verified by travel, investigation and conversation. It may of course be the case that, as things are there are nations the majority of whose people would like to attack us, but they do so only because they fear our armaments; or because they have been injured by us; or because they honestly but mistakenly think that they have been injured by us. The obvious remedy, here, is to abolish the armaments and the threat they convey; make reparation for real injury, or by friendly intercourse remove the misunderstanding that has led to a presumption of unjust treatment. \* \*

It is indeed strange to reflect that whereas we maintain large and expensive government departments to prepare for war, except as a side-line to the work of the League of Nations, we have no department engaged in preparing for peace. Seeing that bad relations and misunderstandings with foreign peoples may at any moment plunge us in hideous suffering and loss, one would have thought that in every country we should have a numerous and well-organised staff of intelligent and high-principled men continually at work, not with the governments, but with the people; finding out what the people think about us; what they expect of us; what they resent in us and striving by every means to find ways whereby we can always give the peoples of those countries a square deal and avoid all reasonable cause for ill-feeling and offence.

But, no! No such organisation is in existence. No large body of people see any necessity for it. On we drift regardless of danger signals innumerable. Truly, civilised man is a strange creature, more blind in some ways to the obvious path of safety and sense than many of the more intelligent of the beasts of the field.

## Rupee and Sterling and Gold

By MR. C. S. RANGASWAMI,

Managing Editor, "The Indian Finance".

AS from September 21, 1931, England went off the gold standard. That is, the pound sterling has broken loose from gold. We are told that this is purely temporary. The financial authorities in Britain will assuredly make every possible effort to re-link their currency to gold as soon as they could. Meantime, the effect of this event on the rupee (which, till now, was linked to gold through sterling) remains obscure and uncertain. Much of the obscurity and uncertainty is due to the conflicting nature of the steps taken by the Finance Member here and of the steps proposed to be taken by the Secretary of State.

The position in this respect is intriguing. The Ordinance issued by the Government of India within three hours of the receipt of cabled news about suspension of gold standard in Britain, is intended to relieve the Government of India, while the emergency continues, of the obligation imposed upon them by Section 5 of the Currency Act, 1927, to sell gold or sterling when demanded at rates therein fixed. On the other hand the speech of Sir Samuel Hoare, made on the same day, makes it clear that this obligation to sell sterling or gold is to continue. It is obvious from these events that the authorities in India acted on their own initiative in regard to the promulgation of the Ordinance. It is also clear that there is, at the moment of writing, cable communications between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State as to the best way of getting out of a rather ugly predicament.

Who will win in the end—the Finance Member or the Secretary of State? If past events as regards relationship between Government of India and India Office be taken as clue and guide to the gauging of what is likely to transpire on the present occasion, it may be taken as certain that the point of view of Sir Samuel Hoare will carry the day.

Broadly speaking, the point of view of the Secretary of State is that, though the rupee cannot now be linked to gold, it should continue to be linked to sterling on the basis of 1s. 6d. ratio. The Finance Member, by his Ordinance, stood for the unstabilisation of exchange—the rupee was to be divorced both from gold and sterling; it was to navigate, so to say, an uncharted sea, the same as it did for the first five years of the last decade.

So far as the Indian public are concerned, it appears from the messages received from Bombay (the most vocal centre in these matters) that support will be forthcoming for Sir George Schuster's standpoint and utmost opposition will be offered to Sir Samuel Hoare's.

The most outstanding fact of the current situation is that, whether the rupee is left to itself as proposed by the authorities here or linked to a fluctuating and depreciating sterling as proposed by the London authorities, we are in for a period of depreciated and depreciating rupee. In effect, it would work out to India having a ratio of 1s. 4d. gold or even less. This means that internal prices will rise; agriculturists and producers will derive larger margins of profit; export activity will receive a powerful stimulus; imports will be retarded; domestic industry will be afforded an indirect but fairly appreciable protection; India will be assured of larger favourable surplus in international trade; by the same token, there will be less and less of idle money; flight of capital would be, to some extent, arrested; and, in the end, foreign balances will tend to grow. These are the prospects if only the Government and the public realise that the depreciated Rupee, for which the Indian public have been clamouring, is now a fact and a reality; and that if both should co-operate together on an intelligent plan of national economic activity, Indian trade will now enter a new era of prosperity; Indian industry, too, will have a distinctly brighter future. Government finances, too, should improve from every point of view.

What is needed is not hyper-critical attitude on the part of the public or the usual superciliousness on the part of the Government, but the determination that the fullest advantage should be taken of this great and timely momentum.

# The Indian Sandhurst Report

By "A NATIONALIST".

ONE is not surprised that the Report of the Indian Sandhurst Committee is not a unanimous document; for, from the beginning, Press reports had it that there were fundamental differences between the official members of the Committee and the leaders of Indian opinion represented on it. The recommendations embodied in the majority report, which evidently are based on the speech with which General Chetwode opened the proceedings of the Committee are reactionary, and they cannot be helpful to the Round Table Conference. That Conference, it would be recalled, had asked proposals to be made with a definite object in view to be carried out in a definite manner. The Round Table Conference Sub-Committee's resolution stated that the defence of India must, to an increasing extent, be the concern of the Indian people and not of the British Government alone.

and, to this end, the Committee recommended that

immediate steps should be taken to increase substantially the rate of Indianisation in the Indian Army to make it commensurate with the main object in view, having regard to all relevant considerations such as the maintenance of the requisite standard of efficiency.

An examination of the recommendations made in the majority report would show how woefully the majority have failed to bear these recommendations in view.

The majority recommend that a military college should be established in India by the autumn of 1932. But they contemplate the training in that college of but 60 cadets a year. Supposing that all these 60 attain to the standard required of officers, even then, as the minority reports submitted by non-official members like Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, Sir Abdur Rahim and Dr. Moonje show, it will be years before Indianisation is completed. That the Commander-in-Chief was not warranted in ruling out of order discussions on the pace of Indianisation, is clearly established by Sir Sivaswami Iyer and Sir Abdur

Rahim in their minutes of dissent. "In excluding this important question from the consideration of the Committee and treating it as a matter for the decision of the Government," writes Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer,

without any advice or assistance from the Committee, the scope of the Committee's task, as indicated by the Round Table Conference, has been unduly narrowed. The work of the Committee has been practically restricted to a consideration of the educational and financial details relating to the establishment of the college, and its opinion has not been required on any of the important military problems connected with the establishment of the college.

The Committee had thus been *ab initio* hampered by the Government confronting them with a *fait accompli* in regard to two most important problems—the rate of Indianisation and the nature of the Indian Army of the future in regard to its organisation, both calculated to defeat Indianisation of the Army.

As regards the rate of Indianisation, the recommendations of the majority will not lead to Indianisation before a century. If Indianisation is rendered difficult by the small intake of cadets, it will be rendered well-nigh impossible by the change in army organisation decided on by the Government. The Government of India, it would appear, have decided to abolish the Viceroy's commissioned officers. The measure is calculated to have far-reaching results. The ostensible reason for this is, that it is not necessary to have two types of Indian officers, one the King's commissioned officer and the other the Viceroy's commissioned officer. But the effect of this abolition will be serious regarding both the pace of Indianisation and the cost of Indianisation. There are also bound to be other serious consequences, such as demoralisation among the rank and file, the continuance of the hated system of segregation and so on, which Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer has ably analysed in his minute of dissent in detail. A unit of the Army consists of some

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12 or 13 King's commissioned officers and some 19 Viceroy's commissioned officers. The abolition of the Viceroy's commissioned officers is tantamount to prolonging the Indianisation of the Army still further. That is to say, as things stand, it would be possible to Indianise a unit, if 12 or 13 King's commissioned Indian officers are available, but with the abolition of the Viceroy's commissioned officers, 31 Indian officers holding King's commission would be necessary. And as it would take considerable time longer to train 31 officers than to train 12 officers, the "reform" of the abolition of the Viceroy's commission is calculated to retard Indianisation very seriously. The replacement of the Viceroy's commissioned officers by the King's commissioned officers will also increase the cost of Indianisation very much. One does not see why the Government should introduce such a reform without any reference to the Legislature, and when it is not required except for the sake of slavishly copying the British plan of army organisation.

The recommendations of the majority are defective even in regard to the details regarding the selection of cadets and other particulars. The majority recommend that only 24 of the total 60 cadets, for whom provision for training is to be made, are to be selected by competition while of the rest, 30 are to be set apart for cadets from the Indian Army, and 6 for nomination by the

Viceroy from among those who failed to get in through competition, though they had secured qualifying marks. The effect of this mode of selection will be to place education, intelligence and social standing at a discount. The justification for reserving so many places for cadets from the Indian Army is, that otherwise the so-called "martial" races will feel discouraged! Under the majority's scheme of selection therefore efficiency is bound to suffer, and it would be open to the enemies of Indianisation to advance this as additional reason for deferring Indianisation.

What India wants and requires is an efficient national army which, because of its stake in the country and patriotic devotion to the country's interests, would be both a guarantee of internal peace and an effective bulwark against external invasion. No army of mercenaries in modern times when war is carried on, if ever, on national scale, can hope to cope with possible contingencies as the World War has shown. To-day when war breaks out, success will be with the nation which is best organised and disciplined, not merely as a fighting force but as an efficient unit, psychologically, economically, industrially and otherwise. The defence force which the majority report provides for, is certainly far from the one which experience has shown is the only safe machinery on which a nation might depend for its safety.

## The Public Debt of India

By MR. P. R. SRINIVAS, M.A.

IT is a curious coincidence that this article on the public debt of India falls to be written exactly on the day on which this year's new loan is opened to public subscription. It is a 6½ per cent issue available week after week at prices calculated to yield a return of 6½ per cent. and repayable at par on the 15th September 1935. Thus the price of this short-term accommodation is a clear 6½ per cent. excluding brokerage and other charges. This circumstance, if nothing else, serves to throw the question of the credit policy of the Government of India into greater prominence than other questions which are normally connected with the national debt of any country.

A public debt was unknown to India in the pre-British days. Of course, this does not mean that a public debt is necessarily an evil or that its absence necessarily betokened sounder governmental finance. It is a simple fact—unqualified inferences from which would lack warrant—that when the East India Company handed over India to the British Government, they left a legacy of nearly hundred million sterling of public debt. In 1792, the total Indian debt stood at £7 million; and in 1858, it stood at 69½ million excluding the cost of the Mutiny and the £12 million which was paid for the stock of the East India Company. About the last mentioned, it is necessary to point out that while India paid for the property, the



possession went over to Great Britain. At the close of the last century, what with the Chinese and Abyssinian Wars, and the expenditure on irrigation, famine relief, maintenance of the external value of the rupee etc., etc., the debt had risen to £212 millions. The period of the next great expansion of the national debt was the War, and post-War periods. During the War period there were the general budgetary and other requirements of the Government and the fresh obligations incurred in connection with the "gift" of £100 million made by India to Britain. In the third decade of this century there was an addition of another £200 million sterling owing to large deficits for a period of about five years, increased civil and military expenditure and losses on account of Reverse Councils.

After a rough sketch of the growth of the national debt, it may now be stated that the total interest-bearing obligations of the Government of India outstanding at the close of the last financial year were Rs. 1,160.41 crores as against 1,136.48 crores at the end of 1929-30. Of this amount Rs. 643.40 crores are incurred in India and the balance 517.01 are incurred in England. A material alteration in the position since 31st March 1931, for which date the figures given above are made up, is the increase in the total Treasury Bills outstanding. At the time Sir George Schuster announced his last budget in the Legislative Assembly, Treasury Bills with the public were expected to stand on March 31, 1931, at Rs. 45 crores. The actual amount on that date was Rs. 50½ crores, thanks to the large volume of foreign funds that were attracted since the announcement of the Budget by the high yield afforded and the confidence engendered by the conclusion of the Peace Pact between Lord Irwin and Mahatma Gandhi. Since then the volume of the floating debt has kept on increasing by leaps and bounds, till it reached the high water mark of Rs. 83.29 crores in the third

week of August. It has since come down to Rs. 81.66 crores; and even at this it is a figure of staggering proportions. The wealthiest Government in the world would be afraid of a short-term liability of this extent, involving monthly obligations in this wise:

| MATURITIES MONTH BY MONTH |     | Rs.              |
|---------------------------|-----|------------------|
| September                 | ... | 15,92,50,000     |
| October                   | ... | 30,78,25,000     |
| November                  | ... | 18,39,25,000     |
| December                  | ... | 6,43,00,000      |
| January, 1932             | ... | 5,47,75,000      |
| February "                | ... | 6,33,50,000      |
| March "                   | ... | 2,56,50,000      |
| April "                   | ... | 10,00,000        |
| Total                     | ... | Rs. 81,65,75,000 |

Thus on account of Treasury Bills alone, the total public debt outstanding has to be increased beyond the estimate of March 31, 1931, by about 40 crores. Some deduction will also have to be made for the decrease in the volume of Treasury Bills in currency which was shown in the last Explanatory Memorandum of the Financial Secretary at Rs. 5.65 crores and which may be less owing to the contractions of currency since that date. An exact calculation of the total debt outstanding is of comparatively little importance when we are faced with problems both of an urgent and imperative nature and of a far-reaching and fundamental importance.

The question connected with any public debt may be said, generally speaking, to be (1) the ethical and (2) the practical. The first question would be, what are the items of expenditure which have made up the public debt? What is the incidence of each of these? And from this standpoint, how much of the burden of this expenditure can justly be passed on to posterity? It should be remembered that a national debt is a means of apportioning the burden of an expenditure, the benefits of which will be reaped for a long time to come, between the present and the coming generations. The benefits may be either positive as in the

case of a large productive scheme, or negative as in the case of a war of self-defence. On this principle it is utterly indefensible to leave the burden of a current revenue deficit on the shoulders of future taxpayers. Even more so would be the indifference and supineness of one generation which neglects to have a proper apportionment of expenditure between one country and another with whom it may be in some manner connected. An inequitable division of war burdens between any two of the Allied and Associated powers is a harm done to posterity. In the case of India, if the present generation neglected to have a proper settlement of accounts between India and Great Britain at the time of the constitutional settlement, it will have done an inexcusable disservice to the India of the future.

Thus on strictly ethical grounds, we have to reduce the public debt in two ways, one by persuading Great Britain to take on herself those amounts which she ought in justice to have incurred herself; and (2) to reduce by increased taxation as much of the Public Debt as is accounted for by current deficits. In both these matters, feasibility is obviously the paramount factor. As regards the former, the Special Sub-Committee of the Congress has brought out its report and expressed the opinion that Rs. 7.29 crores of our total public debt may justly be passed on to the broad shoulders of the Britisher. Personally speaking, I have always regarded ethics as the field in which dogma is least justified. One cannot be quite sure that on insisting on such a serious reduction in our public debt at the expense of Great Britain, one is absolutely in the right. Doubtless, there have been large blocks of expenditure with the objects of which India has not the loosest connection and which nevertheless had been debited to her account. Fancy the expenses of a ball given in honour of the Sultan of Turkey being debited to the Secretary of State for India! Think of the

suggestion that the expansion of the British in China is for the direct benefit of the people of India, that we were fallen so low that we should not only kiss the fetters that bind us but gladly pay for them, too! While I think the claim of the Kumarappa Committee is pitched a little too high, I cannot conceive of India or Mahatmaji acquiescing in an unjust settlement of our debts question. At the same time it would be in consonance with non-violence and *satyagraha* to recognise that to right a wrong, retaliation is most unsuitable and new standards of judgment and action are necessary.

As regards the question of reducing the debt of the amount represented by current deficits, it is necessary to enquire into the composition of our public debt. Out of a total debt of Rs. 1,160.41 crores, the unproductive debt or, to use the official nomenclature, "the interest bearing obligations not covered by interest-bearing assets" amounts to Rs. 193.91 crores. Of the productive debt Rs. 745.29 crores represents capital advanced to railways, Rs. 23.41 crores to commercial departments like Posts and Telegraphs and Rs. 149.14 crores to Provincial Governments. If the criteria of orthodox business are applied and a balance-sheet of those concerns which have been financed by the State is drawn up, it is possible, nay, more than probable that the amount shown as "productive" will have to be reduced appreciably. When we think of the vast capital expansion which was carried out before the streams of new capital began to dry up, and if we remember that the results of that expansion have not till now been adequately examined or tested, we would hesitate to pat ourselves on the back for the eminently "productive" character of our vast public debt. At any rate, in the present period of deficits and losses, we should be in no hurry to make conclusions. But the brighter side should not be neglected either. If we succeed in bringing the Railway administration to conform to accepted



business standards, we shall no doubt have in our Railways a national asset of unparalleled importance.

If we omit the more minute considerations, and if we are hopeful about coming to some equitable settlement with the British Government, then we have reason to be generally satisfied with the composition of our public debt. If we have allowed current deficits to be a permanent burden, it has not been of our choice. The arbiters of our finance have unfortunately been foreigners; and at a time when we have to increase the outlay on our nation-building activities, it is idle to attempt to leave more burdens on current revenues. The public debt of India has so far been considered from what I have called the ethical standpoint. But to the Government the practical aspect is all important. The non-terminable loans of Rs. 175.5 crores in India and £177.2 million in London offer no difficulties. But the other loans have definite maturities; and the comparatively short-term obligations are: Rs. 7.14 crores of 1931 Bonds which are eligible for conversion into the new Treasury Bonds; Rs. 14.41 crores in 1932; Rs. 21.46 crores in 1933; Rs. 25.98 crores in 1934; Rs. 12.78 crores in 1935; Rs. 38.55 crores before 1936 and Rs. 19.54 crores before 1937. To this have to be added the liability in regard to the weekly maturities of Treasury Bills. How much of the floating debt of Rs. 81 crores will be funded? Even if there is a large-scale conversion of Treasury Bills into the 1933 bonds which is most unlikely, considering among others the aversion of bankers to Government securities—the bonds will fall due for redemption during the period in which there are heavy maturities of loans. Normally, the tenure of loans would be so fixed that undue congestion of maturities will not be created. But the political unrest and the consequent feeling of insecurity made it necessary to issue only short-term bonds

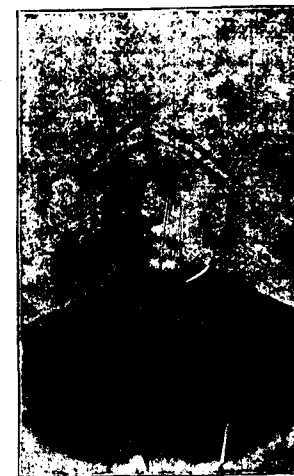
instead of long-term loans. And the congestion which has been already pointed to has been accentuated. I would not be guilty of exaggeration if I say that in regard to the credit of the Government of India, we have reached a serious impasse. There is first a lack of proper spread of maturities over the future. A hideous nightmare has been created in the shape of a huge floating debt. And last but not least, there has come about a position in which no device imaginable can guarantee the receipt of funds in sufficient volume. It was the recognition of this fact which led Government nearly three years ago to slow down their programme of Railway expenditure. They set about restricting their needs of new money to as low a level as possible. But they committed the fatal mistake of believing that they had only to increase the borrowing rate to attract the various classes of investors. The persistent increase in the borrowing rate has had the most ruinous effects on the gilt-edge market; confidence in the stability of Government securities was shaken out of its foundations; and investors had to witness the depressing spectacle of their holdings undergoing a daily diminution in value. The most obvious remedy to a situation of this kind is for Government themselves to enter the market as a buyer of securities at a certain level and impart to the market just the strength which it needs; and the strength of the gilt-edge market will be duly reflected in the success of the annual issues of fresh loans. For reasons known only to themselves, Government have scorned the advice that poured on them to this effect and pinned their faith to a policy which has so far failed of its purpose and has even worse prospects in the future. But given the dislike to open market operations, the system of keeping a 6½ per cent. issue on tap without limit of time is the best that can be done in this admittedly difficult situation. But how about the effects of this frantic borrowing on the budgets of the future? That is a question to which the Government feel far from disposed to give a reply.

## From Balzac to Maurice Dekobra

BY SIR C. V. KUMARASAMI SASTRI

*Retired Judge, High Court of Madras.*

IT is a constant law, observes Ruskin in his *Modern Painters*, "that the greatest men, whether poets or historians, live entirely in their



SIR C. V. K. SASTRI

own age, and that the greatest fruit of their work are gathered out of their own age". The history of the novel shows that these remarks apply equally to novelists. As the main functions of the novel are to amuse and instruct, a purely didactic novel is not likely to find many readers. The average man is interested in his own age and its problems. Human nature, in all its varying moods and aspects, is the background of the novel and as the complexities of life deepen both in form and purpose, their reaction on the novel is bound to follow.

The history of the novel from the time of Balzac to that of Maurice Dekobra affords instructive reading. 'Realism in art is an elusive expression which defies definition and analysis. You hold the mirror to human nature, but as it varies infinitely the reflections it casts are kaleidoscopic and the adjustment of the mirror to the light which it reflects often means much. Several old beliefs that satisfied the mind for

centuries, have lost their sense of reality. The old ideas of social order and domestic happiness based on the sanctity of the marriage tie and the purity of the home are questioned, but very little assured to compensate for the promise that they contained. The field most affected is the relationship of the sexes.

To the average mid-Victorian, a woman was fulfilling her divinely appointed destiny in so far as she was content to be a household slave, a social ornament or a sexual convenience. She was considered as inferior to man, and people were inclined to agree with Aristotle when he classed woman as an arrested development and explained her as nature's failure to make a man. Even as early as the beginning of the last century, the rights of women and the justice of the conventional rules that bound and cramped their activities began to be questioned. Shelley, Goodwin, George Elliot, and other intellectuals raised the standard of revolt and the pious horror of Southey and his denunciation of the "Satanic School" who dared to treat of irregular sexual passions, was laughed to scorn by Byron. In 1680, Chief Justice Scroggs declared, "that to publish any newspaper whatever was illegal and showed a manifest intent to the breach of the peace". In the middle of the last century it was assumed that any attempt at realism in the novel, when it treated, of irregular relationships, showed a manifest desire to be immoral and to undermine the divinely appointed government of the world. The reaction which though slow was sure, was hastened by the last War. Economic necessity compelled women to undertake duties which were supposed exclusively to be fit only for men, and they showed that they were equal if not superior to man. People began to question whether after all Adam might not have been created out of Eve's ribs. The

possessory theory and basis of marriage which compelled woman to obey her husband was fast losing force and equality was claimed both to be good and to be vicious. Various sexual experiments were suggested and some tried. Social schemes were advocated and a novel which ignored these questions was unthinkable as a success at least from the selling point of view.

It is necessary to bear these conditions in mind in estimating the novels of writers like Maurice Dekobra who have created a stir and have attained a popularity which is phenomenal even in this age of large sales. It is stated that his novels have been published in as many as twenty-three languages, and that as many as three million five hundred thousand volumes of his works have been sold, and in England he was advertised by the rather foolish method of banning his novel "The Phantom Gondola".

'Venus on Wheels', 'The Madonna of the Sleeping Cars', 'The Shadow of his Hangman', 'The Wings of Desire', 'The Phantom Gondola', 'Claws of Velvet' and 'The Crimson Smile'\* treat of the new angle of vision as to sexual relationships and its effects on minds which believe they have outlived and outgrown the time-honored rules of sexual morality. Yet for all their intellectual arrogance, the men and women whom he depicts are human and when analysed are governed by primitive instincts. Their tragedy lies in the fact that a mere seeking of pleasure without any moral background is in the long run only the beginning of pain. The heroine in 'The Madonna of the Sleeping Cars' however cynical she may be often betrays loveable traits, and who can read the tragedy of a life in pursuit of pleasure which always is elusive without pain at the thought of so much capacity for love and affection going to waste through a misguided cynicism. We can only hope that the Oriental Express which bore her

\* VENUS ON WHEELS, etc. By Maurice Dekobra: Warner Laurie, London.

eastwards after so much ineffectual longing and heartache found for her in the end some happiness.

It is not an easy task to refer to all the novels of Dekobra in the space of a short review article. I have referred to the 'Madonna' as it was the novel that brought fame to the author, and I shall refer to 'Venus on Wheels' with some detail as it is in some respects far superior both in its treatment and analysis of character to the 'Madonna'. In his preface Maurice Dekobra says, "In writing 'Venus on Wheels' I have not attempted to devote these pages particularly to the study of the feminine temperament that unfathomable abyss! But I have amused myself by taking note of the reaction on the mind of the honest woman, who is by chance thrown into close contact with one of those poor little courtesans to whom life is not a dream but a sorrowful reality." It is this study in contrast that fascinates us when reading the novel.

The story is simple though the psychology of the chief characters is complex. Fernande Pauloché and Lily are courtesans whose friendship is above petty professional jealousy. When this story opens we find them in the *Cassés Bar* trying to earn their sordid living by trying to amuse by song and dance "an uncommunicative Englishman whose angular face looked as though it had been hewn out of beechwood". Pauloché enters a little later and is amused at their failure. A young lady and her mother enter on the errand of uplifting the world and reclaiming the derelicts of life or as the young lady put it, "To save a lost soul—a woman". The keeper of the bar is genuinely astonished, and she explains her errand as one "to rescue an unfortunate who has fallen into the gutter—to uplift her". They are introduced to one of the girls there Pauloché whose narrative of one of the episodes of her life epitomises the joys and sorrows of the life of these unfortunate women. They try to reclaim her and

offer to teach her an honorable profession and offer her an asylum. With the natural distrust which the unfortunates have when tempting offers are suddenly made by the well-to-do, she thinks them as some sinister design and takes a day to think it over.

Madame Denise Lorandé the young lady who with her mother was out on this philanthropic venture, is a young lady who was married two years before this adventure to Maxwell Lorandé. It was a love match but the husband was erring and the wife left him preparatory to obtaining a divorce. Her disappointment led to her taking up philanthropic work. The old cynic, the keeper of the bar, observes that when a young wife is disappointed in marriage the consequences vary. "Some of them become Capuchin Nuns. Others provide themselves with a lover. Anyway they all seek some diversion. And that diversion is sometimes art, sometimes religion, sometimes sport, metaphysics or social work, electro plasms or a Citroën 6." The erring husband was madly in love with his wife and he tries to regain her love by aiding her in her quixotic ideas. For this purpose he asked their common friend Monsieur Mendum to introduce his wife to this Café where there was abundant material for reclamation. They enter the Café after the departure of the ladies and induce Pauloché to accept the offer of reclamation. An offer of twenty-four Louis a week seals her inclination towards virtue.

Her life with these virtuous ladies whose efforts are genuine, makes amusing reading. The humour of this situation arises from Pauloché really becoming good. Madame Lorandé imbibing something of Pauloché's old philosophy of life and imitating her so far as lipsticks are concerned to the great distress of her mother, and the old father of Madame Lorandé, Monsieur Maline, well on the sixties making love to Pauloché.

Monsieur Lorandé who thinks his efforts at reconciliation with his wife through her philanthropic instincts may fail, tries to induce the gradually reforming Pauloché to go back to her life but is astonished at her refusal though tempted with a large sum. He explains his reasons for having helped his wife to reclaim a fallen woman and asks Pauloché to assist him, as by her going back his wife, in disappointment at her efforts to reform human nature, would make allowances for his infidelity and go back to him.

How she assists him will appear a trifle quixotic, but the end works out well, and the curious reader must read the novel to appreciate the humour and sometimes the pathos of the situation. In the end the husband and wife became reconciled, divorce proceedings were dropped and philanthropy was rewarded.

The interest in this novel centres in Pauloché, and the reader will realise how true a picture has been drawn of the hopes, the sufferings and the despair of the unfortunates who take to vice more by reason of the compulsion of circumstances than any real pleasure in the life they pursue. Fernande in the opening chapter says to her companion Lily, "Don't you think one would be better selling water cresses in the market than leading this sort of life." The problem of the courtesan is an age old one. Some thinkers like Professor Lecky are of opinion that she is a social necessity on whose "degraded and ignoble form are concentrated the passions that might have filled the world with shame". She remains, he says, "while creeds and civilizations rise and fall, the eternal priestess of humanity blasted for the sins of the people".

The problem of the moral reformation of the human species is one on which opinions are likely to differ according as to whether you regard man as a fallen angel or a promoted ape. Society which has till recently tabooed all discussions

of sexual problems as immoral, has now begun to recognise that the ignoring of social evils only increases them. The good old definition by Chief Justice Cockburn of what is an indecent book, has not satisfied thinkers or moralists, and as Bertrand Russel points out very often the test actually put is, "If this publication fell into the hands of a nasty minded boy, would it give him pleasure." By neither standard have books dealing with social questions to be judged. The reactions of a courtesan and a virtuous woman who are thrown together on each other is what Dekobra attempts to portray in the novel which we have been considering. It is an interesting study of human psychology as vice

and virtue often have to exist in the world side by side. Though we may not agree with Bertrand Russel in thinking that there ought to be no law whatever on the subject of obscene publications, an increasing prudery is no help to the furtherance of morals. It is because Maurice Dekobra helps us to understand the points of view of the "advanced" men and women that he is interesting. The average man who is content to tread the path of his ancestors, may find them very terrible and wonderful persons but they are merely answers to the wish for wealth and pleasure, to the weakening of moral sanctions where the laws of conduct are subordinated to the laws of comfort.

## Developments in Indo-Japanese Trade

BY PROF. S. C. BOSE, M.A.

I  
AMONG the nations trading with India, Japan was one of the last to enter the field; but within the shortest possible period, there has been the greatest amount of progress in the commerce between these two countries. Right down to the close of the last century, the volume of Indo-Japanese trade was quite insignificant. It was in the present century, and especially during and after the War, that phenomenal developments have taken place in the exchange of goods between India and Japan. The following figures are illustrative of this growth of Indo-Japanese trade:

(Value in lakhs of rupees.)

|         | Imports from Japan. | Exports to Japan. | Total amount of Indo-Japanese trade. |
|---------|---------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1875-76 | 5                   | 6                 | 11                                   |
| 1880-81 | 7                   | 10.7              | 17.7                                 |
| 1890-91 | 6                   | 121               | 127                                  |
| 1900-01 | 84                  | 210               | 294                                  |
| 1905-06 | 128                 | 995               | 1,123                                |
| 1910-11 | 336                 | 1,349             | 1,685                                |
| 1915-16 | 796                 | 1,845             | 2,641                                |
| 1920-21 | 2,643               | 2,416             | 5,059                                |
| 1925-26 | 1,819               | 5,795             | 7,614                                |
| 1926-27 | 1,647               | 4,127             | 5,774                                |
| 1927-28 | 1,790               | 2,919             | 4,709                                |
| 1928-29 | 1,768               | 3,461             | 5,229                                |
| 1929-30 | 2,359               | 3,256             | 5,615                                |

Needless to say that this advance has been far ahead of the general growth of Indian trade and consequently, the percentage share of Japan in the total trade of India has greatly risen. The following figures clearly bring out this growing importance of Japan:

Percentage share of Japan in the total trade of India.

|         |     |       |
|---------|-----|-------|
| 1875-76 | ... | 0.1   |
| 1880-81 | ... | 1     |
| 1890-91 | ... | 7     |
| 1900-01 | ... | 1.6   |
| 1905-06 | ... | 4.1   |
| 1910-11 | ... | 4.9   |
| 1915-16 | ... | 7.8   |
| 1920-21 | ... | 8.2   |
| 1925-26 | ... | 12.4  |
| 1929-30 | ... | 10.05 |

As a result, Japan occupies to-day the second place among the countries trading with India, being next to only the United Kingdom.

### II

The imports from Japan were quite nominal till 1892-93 when these amounted to Rs. 9.1 lakhs. These consisted of a little of copper and raw silk. From that time onwards, there was a rapid rise in the imports which stood at Rs. 128 lakhs in 1903-04. The progress of the Japanese

silk textile industry and the increasing imports of silk goods from that country were responsible for this growing trade. The imports of silk manufactures have shown further progress, and as a supplier of these goods to India, Japan now occupies the foremost position.

By this time, an important new article entered the list, the flourishing trade in which has since contributed to the bulk of our imports from Japan. This was cotton manufactures which were imported for the first time in 1898-99, amounting to Rs. 10,000 only. With the rise in the imports of cotton goods, the total also rose to Rs. 407 lakhs in 1913-14.

During the War period, when imports from the European countries were cut off, those from Japan received a strong stimulus and rose to the record value of Rs. 3,352 lakhs in 1918-19. With the termination of the War, the trade relations resumed once again with the continental countries of Europe, the imports from Japan declined in the subsequent years till these went down to Rs. 1,647 lakhs in 1926-27. They have, however, since risen to Rs. 2,359 lakhs in 1929-30, due of course mainly to the progressive imports of cotton manufactures.

Cotton manufactures are at present by far the foremost articles, the imports of which make up more than two-thirds of the total, amounting to about Rs. 16 crores in 1929-30. The other important commodity is silk manufactures, the imports of which till 1915-16 exceeded those of the former but are now about only one-tenth of the cotton goods. A host of other miscellaneous articles are imported in small quantities among which can be named artificial silk, glass and glassware, hardware, matches, toys and umbrellas. The import of matches had shown great developments in the War days and reached the record value of Rs. 202 lakhs in 1917-18. These have since fallen heavily, amounting to Rs. 50,000 only in 1929-30. The recent rise in the imports

of artificial silk is worthy of note. Only three years back, they hardly amounted to Rs. 14 lakhs; in 1929-30 they have risen to more than Rs. 145 lakhs.

### III

Till the nineties of the last century, the exports from India to Japan were made up almost entirely of cotton twist. With the growing exports of this article, the total which was Rs. 50,000 only in 1875-76 rose to Rs. 122 lakhs in 1889-90. At the present moment when special steps are being taken to restrict the very rapidly growing imports of Japanese cotton manufactures into India, it indeed sounds strange that only forty years back it was the progressive exports of Indian cotton manufactures that contributed to the bulk of Indo-Japanese trade. Between 1876-77 and 1887-88, the growth was quite remarkable. In the former year, the exports of cotton yarn to Japan amounted to Rs. 1.07 lakhs; in the latter year these had risen to 67.8 lakhs. The year 1887-88 marks the turning-point in the nature of our trade with that country. So long Japan had no mill industry in cotton; but by this time it came to be established and with its growth, those exports of cotton yarn fell simultaneously with the increasing exports of raw cotton. The first exports of raw cotton were made in 1887-88 amounting to 125 cwts. only. By 1891-92 they rose to more than four lakhs of cwts. The exports of yarn, on the other hand, which had reached the record volume of 23.14 million lb. in 1889-90, declined in the course of the next three years to 6.88 million lb. only. The last recorded exports of cotton yarn to Japan were made in 1899-1900, amounting to Rs. 60,000 after which they ceased altogether. The exports of raw cotton in the same year amounted to Rs. 559 lakhs. With slight variations here and there, these continued to grow, reaching the record value of Rs. 4,747 lakhs in 1925-26. Owing to the great fluctuations in price and the general trade depression, the exports

of raw cotton have since been much less in value, amounting to Rs. 2,730 lakhs in 1929-30. Along with the restricted exports of cotton, the total has also been very much below the record reached in 1925-26.

As will be easily seen, the bulk of our exports to Japan is now-a-days made up of raw cotton. The other articles of importance are jute and jute manufactures, metals (chiefly pig iron), oil cakes, pulses, rice and hides and skins. The exports of rice are however of a very fluctuating nature.

## IV

The causes of the late developments in Indo-Japanese trade will be found in the fact that till the end of the last century, Japan was an industrially backward country with very little to supply the Indian market and requiring very little of Indian raw materials in return. It was the growth of the various industries in Japan, especially of the cotton textile industry, that resulted in the extraordinary developments in the trade between these two countries. Japan commands no home supply of the raw material, so that, with the progress of her cotton industry, she has been importing larger and larger quantities of raw cotton from India, the second cotton-growing country in the world. At the same time, she not only replaced the Indian twist which she used to import previously but has also been able to push the sales of her cotton goods in India in increasing quantities. It is therefore the growth and progress of the Japanese cotton textile industry that has been almost entirely responsible for the phenomenal rise in Indo-Japanese trade, since the beginning of this century.

An analysis of the articles of export and import will show that cotton, raw and manufactured, makes up the bulk of Indo-Japanese trade. The exports consist mainly of raw cotton while the imports are made up mostly of cotton manufactures. This dominance of cotton can well be observed from the following figures:

| (Value in lakhs of rupees.) |                           |                                 |                                                |                        |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
|                             | Total imports from Japan. | Imports of cotton manufactures. | Total exports to Japan (excluding re-exports). | Exports of raw cotton. |
| 1914-15                     | 445                       | 112                             |                                                |                        |
| 1919-20                     | 1,915                     | 589                             | 1,565                                          | 1,431                  |
| 1921-22                     | 1,358                     | 648                             | 4,627                                          | 4,122                  |
| 1923-24                     | 1,382                     | 835                             | 3,809                                          | 3,255                  |
| 1925-26                     | 1,819                     | 1,248                           | 5,016                                          | 4,262                  |
| 1927-28                     | 1,790                     | 1,166                           | 5,666                                          | 4,747                  |
| 1929-30                     | 2,359                     | 1,557                           | 2,901                                          | 2,199                  |
|                             |                           |                                 | 3,227                                          | 2,730                  |

It should be noted that the exports of raw cotton have represented a much greater value than the imports of cotton manufactures. The reason is obvious. Japan has to depend entirely on imported cotton to feed her numerous mills. India and the U. S. A. are the only two countries which can supply her with large quantities of cotton, and Japan has found it advantageous to import large quantities of the inferior but cheaper Indian variety. On the other hand, besides meeting the home requirements, Japan commands other markets nearer home like China for the sale of her manufactures. Hence, only a fraction of the raw material that is exported to Japan comes back to India as manufactured goods. Nevertheless, the relatively greater developments in the imports of cotton goods from Japan than the exports of raw cotton sent thereto in recent years is very remarkable.

Though there are other important articles of commerce like silk, it will still be clear from the above that the growth of Indo-Japanese trade is most intimately connected with that of the Japanese cotton textile industry, the progress of which has brought about a simultaneous rise in the exports of Indian cotton to that country and the imports of Japanese cotton manufactures into our country.

## V

The advance of Indo-Japanese trade has, more or less, been coincident with the general growth of Japan's foreign trade. Till the seventies of the

nineteenth century, her foreign trade was quite small. "It was only half a century ago that Japan, casting aside its seclusion policy of three thousand years, entered the field of international trade. Until fifty years ago, Japan had, economically speaking, no communications whatever with foreign countries."\* The Meiji Restoration of 1868 and the changes in economic policy, and industrial organisation that followed it, resulted in a corresponding growth of her foreign trade.† The following figures indicate the progress of Japan's foreign trade since 1868.

Total trade of Japan.  
Value in millions of yens.

( 1 yen = R. 1.3. )

|      |       |
|------|-------|
| 1868 | 26    |
| 1877 | 51    |
| 1887 | 97    |
| 1897 | 382   |
| 1907 | 927   |
| 1914 | 1,187 |
| 1917 | 2,639 |
| 1921 | 2,869 |
| 1925 | 4,878 |
| 1927 | 4,171 |

The relative growth of Indo-Japanese trade in comparison with the advance of Japan's total trade can well be observed from the following index numbers:

|      | Total trade of Japan. | Indo-Japanese trade. |
|------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1891 | 100                   | 100                  |
| 1901 | 857                   | 231                  |
| 1911 | 675                   | 1,327                |
| 1921 | 2,013                 | 3,983                |
| 1927 | 2,926                 | 4,546                |

It will be seen from the above that Japan's trade with India grew at a lower rate than her total trade till the end of the last century, subsequent to which the process has been reversed. The reason of this will be found in the late establishment of the cotton textile industry in Japan. As has elsewhere been pointed out, the chief

\* *Asahi Annual*, 1926, p. 76.

† Cf. "Having passed through the long period of isolation during which nation and people were barred from foreign intercourse, Japan began the most illustrious epoch in her development after the Meiji Restoration of 1868."—S. Uyehara; *The Industry and Trade of Japan*, p. 1.

characteristics of our trade with Japan are the exports of cotton to that country from India and the imports of cotton manufactures into India therefrom. Hence, before the advent of the Japanese cotton industry, the trade between the two countries was comparatively small and showed a slow growth. But the silk industry of Japan began its career much earlier, and the silk trade of Japan in which India participated in a very small degree, had assumed a decent volume before she came to trade in cotton and cotton manufactures. Therefore, in the last century, the total trade of Japan showed greater developments than that with India. Subsequent to that also, the silk industry has progressed remarkably well, and the exports of silk tissues have always been far in excess of those of cotton tissues; but while there is practically no import trade in silk, the imports of raw cotton now represent a value almost equal to that of the exports of silk manufactures; so that the total trade in cotton and cotton manufactures has gone ahead of that in silk and silk manufactures, amounting at present to a much greater value than that in the latter. Hence, India with which the bulk of the cotton trade is transacted, has risen in relative importance among the countries trading with Japan.

The following are the figures for the year 1927 (value in millions of yens):

|                                  |       |
|----------------------------------|-------|
| Exports of cotton tissues        | 423   |
| Imports of raw cotton            | 624   |
| Imports of cotton tissues        | 10    |
| Total cotton trade ...           | 1,055 |
| Exports of silk tissues          | 883   |
| Imports of silk and silk tissues | ...   |
| Total silk trade ...             | 883   |

Though the imports of Japanese goods into India have always been much smaller than the exports of Indian produce to Japan, it should however be noted that India is gradually occupying a more prominent position in the export trade

of Japan, the opposite being the case with regard to her import trade. Thus, for example, in 1912 India held the seventh place as a consumer of Japanese goods; in 1925 she rose to the third, being preceded by the U. S. A. and China only. The following are the relevant figures :

| Exports from Japan. Value in millions of <i>yens</i> . |         |         |
|--------------------------------------------------------|---------|---------|
| To                                                     | 1912    | 1925    |
| China                                                  | 1,148.0 | 468.4   |
| U. S. A.                                               | 168.7   | 1,006.0 |
| France                                                 | 43.9    | 58.8    |
| Great Britain                                          | 29.8    | 59.7    |
| Hongkong                                               | 28.7    | 73.6    |
| Kwantung Provinces                                     | 27.5    | 101.6   |
| British India                                          | 23.6    | 173.4   |

On the other hand, India, which till 1915 occupied the first place as a supplier of goods to Japan, has since been far outstripped by the U. S. A.

| Imports into Japan. Value in millions of <i>yens</i> . |       |       |       |
|--------------------------------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| From                                                   | 1915  | 1916  | 1925  |
| India                                                  | 147.6 | 179.4 | 573.5 |
| U. S. A.                                               | 102.5 | 204.1 | 665.0 |

India has risen in relative importance in the export trade of Japan, because of India's becoming a quickly expanding market for Japanese cotton goods; but in the import trade of that country, the U. S. A. has gone ahead of India since the imports from the U. S. A.\* consist not only of as large a quantity of cotton as imported from India\* but also of steel, machinery etc. which India cannot supply. The overwhelming importance of the U. S. A. in the foreign trade of Japan is, however, due to her participating in both the cotton and silk trade of Japan,† while India does mainly in cotton, her imports of Japanese silk being a very small fraction of the total exports of silk from Japan.

This change in India's relative importance in the export and import sides of Japan's foreign trade need not alarm us so far as the exports of

\* Out of the total imports of raw cotton into Japan valued at 726 million *yens* in 1926, the shares of India and the U. S. A. were respectively 328m. *yens* and 317m. *yens*.

† Out of the total exports of raw silk from Japan valued at 734 million *yens* in 1926, the share of the U. S. A. alone was 709m. *yens*.

Indian merchandise are concerned. In spite of the fact that India has receded to the second place and her share in the total import trade of Japan declined from 27.3 per cent. in 1915 to 22.3 per cent. in 1925, the exports of Indian goods to Japan have nevertheless risen many fold. And when we remember that these exports consist mostly of raw cotton, a part of which is sent back to us in the form of manufactured goods, we should not feel very sorry even if these actually decline. It is the rapidly increasing imports of Japanese goods that have come to be almost a menace to the cotton industry in India. It is, therefore, the rising importance of India in the export trade of Japan that has to be looked upon with great apprehension.

#### VI

The nature of the trade between India and Japan will, in future, put the exports from India at a stronger position in relation to the imports from that country. The imports, as these consist mostly of cotton manufactures, are liable to serious competition from India. The recent enhancement of the duties on cotton manufactures, together with the imposition of an additional protective duty on non-British goods, is also sure to affect the imports of Japanese cotton goods very adversely; nor should the likely effects of the movement for the boycott of foreign cloth be ignored.

On the other hand, Japan must import more and more of raw cotton if her industry is to thrive; for she has no home supply. True, there are other cotton growing countries besides India, the U.S.A. being the foremost. But it is not likely that Japan will be able to receive her entire supply from the U. S. A.; she is already having about 50 per cent. from that country. The rest she takes from India. The Indian cotton, though of inferior quality, is much cheaper than the American stuff, and Japan would find it always profitable to purchase about half of her

requirements from India, to manufacture the cheap piece-goods which go to meet the demand of the poorer classes in Japan and China. The sphere of replacing the Indian material by similar cotton from Africa and other countries is extremely narrow and that possibility can easily be ignored.\* It is therefore quite possible for the imports from Japan to fall in value without a corresponding decline in our exports to that country with the removal of the present slump in prices. Here, of course, the exports will be limited by the available surplus of raw cotton in India and the possible greater demand from other countries like China.

An examination of the articles of Japan's export and import trade will put us in a better position to gauge the future prospects of our trade with that country. The bulk of the exports from Japan consists of manufactures of silk and cotton which represent about two-thirds of the total. If any marked developments are therefore to take place in our import trade with Japan, they must be in these articles. But, as we have just pointed out, the exports of cotton manufactures are likely to decline in future, in view of the protective duties and other measures adopted to check their growth. As regards silk, there is no possibility of India's participating in the trade to anything like the U. S. A. India is a poor country and the consumption of a luxury article like silk is very limited. Moreover there is an existing home industry of considerable dimensions and the imports are at present liable to a high customs duty of 40 per cent. There is therefore little prospect of a further growth in the import trade in this article. We are thus led to the conclusion that the imports from Japan are likely to decline in the future. True, during the last three years Japan has shown a steady progress in the sale of her commodities in the Indian

\* The imports of raw cotton into Japan from African countries amounted in 1926 to 34.5 million *yens* against 327.5 million *yens* from India.

market, so that from the fourth position to which she had declined in our import trade in the year 1927-28, she has once again come up to her second position in 1929-30; but we must remember that all this happened before the levy of extra protective duties on non-British cotton goods, as also before the launching of the recent intense movement for the boycott of foreign cloth.

The import trade of Japan is chiefly made up of raw cotton, raw wool, food-grains, iron and machinery, of which raw cotton is by far the most important. We have already examined the prospects of cotton exports from India. As regards wool and machinery, India is not in a position to supply her demand. But India can to a considerable extent supply the food-grains and iron, though it may be noted that the exports of food-grains are liable to great fluctuations. Iron is, however, a steady item, and the growth of the Indian iron industry has stimulated the exports of pig iron to Japan. Owing to the unprecedented fall in the prices of agricultural produce, the exports from India showed an actual decline in 1929-30 over the figures of the previous year and may continue to be restricted in value so long as this economic depression prevails; but, we may, in the light of our foregoing analysis, expect the exports to grow appreciably with the return of normal conditions which are almost within sight.

Though, during the last two decades, the imports from Japan into India have shown comparatively greater developments than the exports sent thereto from our country, we may venture to prophesy from our above study of Indo-Japanese trade that the future developments are likely to take place just in the opposite way; that is to say, the exports from India are henceforward likely to expand while the imports from Japan may actually decline. At all events, the exports will show relatively greater developments than the imports, even if there be some slight expansion of the latter.



# THE ENGLISH BAR

BY MR. J. CHINNA DURAI, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

THE new Spanish Republican Government has decided to introduce the English Legal System into Spain which certainly goes to prove the esteem with which they hold the English methods of administration of justice. Spain is not alone in its regard for the English Legal System. America often looks up to England for legal inspiration, and France makes no secret of the fact that 'Law' as practised in England is about the best conceivable. In the East, Japan closely follows the English system and our own Indian law courts are modelled on English lines, although to my thinking they lack a good deal of the glamour of the English courts. There is *something* about the English Law Courts, English Judges, English Barristers, English Inns of Court, English Chambers and all the ceremonial, tradition, history and grandeur connected with them, which cannot but impress you at once in their favour. Which but a Christian country and who but the English, with their love for the ceremonial, could have devised that grand ceremony at Westminster Abbey in October of every year on the occasion of the re-opening of the law courts when the Barristers, King's Counsels, and Judges of England join together in solemn worship in a service attended also by their Majesties the King and Queen of England, and conducted by the Bishop of London, praying for divine guidance in all their legal deliberations and decisions? A Barrister who takes part in that service cannot but be inspired by it, as it breathes into him a feeling of awe and reverence for the profession of Law which is his 'calling' and serves to remind him that 'Law' cannot be divested from religion, and prayer, piety, reverence and all those delicate and beautiful attributes of religion ought to really form a part of his career. Perhaps it is this religious trait that gives the English Barrister a high sense of dignity and a natural pride in his profession, and it is perhaps this in him that makes the laity look

up to the profession of Law as 'honourable' and puts the Barrister, no matter from what humble origin he may be drawn, in a status of equality with the best aristocracy of the land, almost next in rank to the Royalty.

The term 'Barrister' in England stands for a number of good things. First and foremost it stands for 'integrity'. It also connotes 'affluence', for none but a wealthy being can afford to choose that calling. It is not the high fees, cost of books, etc., that make the profession so dear. It is the life that one has to lead commensurate with the dignity of the profession that makes the profession out of reach of the ordinary people. It is a profession exclusively for the upper middle class and the aristocracy. It is not everyone who is 'called to the Bar' that practises in England. The majority of them go through the course for just the 'honour' of being a Barrister! The few who make it a point to practise, have a very large capital at their back to instal themselves in practice, as they must be prepared to spend a fortune before they can make one. The first few years at the Bar are the most trying and the most difficult, and I may say, the few who can stand the strain to the extent of surviving it, must be imbued with courage—real courage—for I have known a good many to break down under the strain.

The term 'Barrister' is also a hall-mark for admission to 'Society'. He is deemed a 'noble being' without a question. This blind belief in his 'nobility' is not surprising, considering that before his admission into an Inn of Court he has got to satisfy the 'Bencher's, not only as to his academical attainments but also as to his conduct, character, and respectability.

The Barrister is also a stylist. He is to a great extent a leader of fashion. He is very particular about his dress and scrupulously clean in his

habits. You can see your face in his shoes—so highly polished they are—and then his spats, wing collar and tie, striped trousers, and black coat and vest are simply faultless. His top hat gives him an air of importance and his 'button-hole'—and this mark you even if he is past the allotted span of life!—of pink or red rose or carnation—or a cluster of violets or lilies of the valley if they be in season—puts the finishing touch to what one might easily regard as an extremely well preserved figure. Your respect for him increases when you hear him speak. His diction is so clear, his arguments so concise, his cross-examinations so natural, cute, relevant, and humorous. He does not bandy words with the Judge as he has got the greatest respect for his rulings—nor does he indulge in unnecessary rhetoric with a view to change the hearts of the Jury as he credits them with common sense and intelligence! The late Sir Edward Marshall Hall, Lord Birkenhead, and Lord Oxford and Asquith of revered memory were excellent specimens of the English Bar. The names of Sir John Simon, Lord Hailsham, Lord Reading, Sir Patrick Hastings, Sir William Jowitt and Mr. Norman Birkett are indeed an ornament to the

English Bar. The outstanding figures on the English Bench are: Lord Sankey, Viscount Sumner, Lord Darling, Lord Hewart, Justice Swift, Justice Avory, and Justice M'Cardie. A host of other names of the Bench and the Bar certainly does call for special mention, but space does not permit of their elaborate enumeration. Suffice to say, the standard of excellence maintained by the English Bar and the Bench is worthy of emulation all the world over.

Before I conclude I would solicit your inspection of the 'Chambers' of an English Barrister. If you are passing along "King's Bench Walk" in the Inner Temple, you will come across the Chambers of the late Lord Oxford and Asquith. It is an ideal set of Chambers, and the quintessence of order and beauty so exquisitely furnished and exhaustively stocked with books, giving the client an assurance of confidence and fair treatment. In fact, every Barrister in England strives to maintain his Chambers in a state of excellence, calculated to create an atmosphere of congeniality so conducive to his carrying on his work in peace and happiness. Finally, the English Barrister is a sportsman and always manages to combine his duties with sports.

## The Place of Orissa in Bihar and Orissa

BY MR. L. N. SAHU, M.A.

MANY are the woes of Orissa. The root-cause of these woes is the fact that the Oriyas have not known themselves till now. The glorious annals of Utkal have not yet been able to instil life into the people of Orissa. A nation which counted among its past heroes a Kharrela whose conquests can well be matched with those of Samudragupta, the Indian Napoleon, was certainly not sterile. A nation which could build up an overseas empire in the past is entitled to an unquestioned place in the history of India. These facts and many more can be gleaned from the pages of the 'History of Orissa' written by late

Dr. R. D. Banerjee of Mohenjo Daro fame, that is briefly about the achievements of the Oriyas in the past. Even coming to the present day we find that the Oriya does not know where he stands. The general impression about the Oriyas is that as compared with the people of other provinces, they are poor, illiterate, weak and so on. Such a notion does not stand the test of facts and figures which I have been able to gather for purposes of comparison of Orissa with Bihar. The object of this essay is to show in the light of facts and figures how Orissa does not lag behind Bihar as is generally supposed, and how,



in fact, in many respects Orissa is in a much better position than Bihar. I have chiefly selected the two districts of Patna and Cuttack for purposes of comparison.

The area of the Cuttack District is 3,654 square miles while that of the Patna District is 2,075 square miles. That is to say, Cuttack is about  $1\frac{3}{4}$  times the size of Patna. The cultivable land of the District of Cuttack is 2,138 square miles while that of Patna is 1,755 square miles, that is, the cultivable land of the districts of Patna and Cuttack is respectively 84.5 and 58 per cent. of the total area of the two districts. This shows that nature has been kinder to the district of Patna than to the district of Cuttack.

In 1901, the population of Patna was 1,624,985 and that of Cuttack was 2,062,671. 1,223,500 acres of land in Cuttack and 1,279,700 acres in Patna were under cultivation. This means that the land under cultivation per head of the population was .59 in Cuttack and .62 in Patna. Then how is Patna greatly richer than Cuttack?

Out of 1,223,500 acres of land under cultivation in Cuttack, 2,73,000 acres of land yielded two harvests; out of 1,686 square miles of land in Patna, only 191 square miles of land yielded two harvests. That is to say, land yielding two harvests was .22 per cent. in Cuttack while it was only .11 per cent. in Patna. The land under cultivation per head of population was slightly more in Patna than it was in Cuttack, but this advantage of Patna over Cuttack is counter-balanced by the fact that Cuttack had more land yielding two harvests than Patna.

In 1901, 69 square miles of cultivable land were cultivable waste in Patna, while Cuttack had 235 square miles of land as cultivable waste. Cuttack had therefore  $3\frac{1}{2}$  times more cultivable waste land than Patna. This means that the people of the Patna District had greater reason to be anxious for their future maintenance than the people of the Cuttack

District, since the scope for the extension, of cultivation existed in Cuttack to a greater extent than it did in Patna.

From the census report of 1901 we gather that the available land is 82.5 in Bihar and 70.3 in Orissa. Out of the cultivable land, the land under cultivation is 63.7 in Bihar whereas it is 55.1 in Orissa. Land yielding two harvests is 16 per cent in Bihar and 18.6 per cent in Orissa. These facts show that in case of an increase of the population in future, Orissa will have to think about less than Bihar for providing for the increased population.

Yet why is Orissa poor? The reason is that nature is less kindly disposed to Orissa than to Bihar. 97 per cent. of the cultivated land in the district of Cuttack grow paddy and paddy alone. The people of the Patna District, on the other hand, can grow Aghani in 48 per cent. of the cultivated land, Bhadoi in 40 per cent. and Rabi in 21 per cent. If the paddy harvest fails for some reason or other in the Cuttack District, at once the country is caught in the grip of famine, but in the Patna District such natural calamities are rare, because in the case of the failure of one harvest, people depend on other harvests of the year. But the people of the Cuttack District go outside their country to earn their livelihood in a much greater number than the people of the Patna District. In 1901,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the population of the Patna District left their country for such purposes, while 4 per cent. of the population did so in the Cuttack District.

In industries, Cuttack is more prosperous than Patna, and Orissa more prosperous than Bihar. 58.5 per cent. of the population in the Cuttack District depend on cultivation as compared with 62 per cent. in the Patna District. 17.1 per cent. of the people in the Patna District depend on industries whereas in the Cuttack District such people form 18.3 per cent. of the population. 55 per cent. of the people engaged in industries

in the Cuttack District are actual workers, while similar figures are 41 per cent. in the Patna District. In 1921, 79.4 per cent. of the people of Bihar depended on cultivation as compared with 69 per cent. in Orissa in the same year. People depending on industries form 6.1 per cent. of the population in Bihar, but 11.5 per cent. of the population in Orissa.

In commerce also Orissa is in a better position than Bihar. 5.1 per cent. of the people in Bihar have taken to commerce, while 7.2 per cent. in Orissa are engaged in commerce.

In face of these facts is it not absurd to say that Orissa is poorer than Bihar? Between 1915 and 1920, 2,136 lakhs of rupees came to Bihar by M.O., but during the same period Orissa (the districts of Puri, Cuttack, Sambalpur and Balasore) got by M.O. 617 lakhs of rupees. According to the latest census (of 1931), the population of Bihar is  $4\frac{3}{4}$  times that of Orissa. Yet Bihar gets by M. O. only  $3\frac{1}{2}$  times as much money as Orissa from outside. That is to say, more wealth comes to Orissa from outside than to Bihar.

In spite of all these facts there are reasons for Bihar to appear to be richer than Orissa. The chief reason is that the middle class people of Bihar are better off than the middle class people of Orissa, although the number of very poor people is greater in Bihar than in Orissa. Out of 100 heads of families in Cuttack, 56 had land of more than 2 acres, 30 had land of less than 2 acres, and 14 had no land except their homesteads. In Patna, out of 100 heads of families, 60 had land of more than 5 acres, 23 had land of less than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  acres, but 17 people had no land except their homesteads as compared with 14 in Cuttack. The number of estate-holders is 31,900 in Cuttack but 12,727 in Patna.

That Patna appears to be richer than Cuttack, because of the better condition of the middle class people of the former can also be proved in another way. In 1901, people earning 500 rupees and

over monthly were subject to income-tax, but in 1904, incom-tax was imposed on an income of 1,000 rupees and over. In 1901, 1,347 people in the Cuttack District, and 2,292 people in the Patna District, were paying income-tax. In 1904, 502 people paid income-tax in the Cuttack District and 1,108 in the Patna District. This shows that people paying more in income-tax are greater in number in the Patna than in the Cuttack District. But the number of poor people is greater in Patna than in Cuttack, because, as has been shown above, the number of people having nothing else than homesteads is 14 per cent. in Cuttack but 17 per cent. in Patna.

Bihar appears to be richer than Orissa for another reason also. 3.8 per cent. of the people in Orissa live in towns, whereas in Bihar the town population forms 4.7 per cent. of the total population. In the District of Cuttack 2.78 per cent. people live in towns, whereas in the District of Patna 15 per cent. live in towns. Towns are centres of outward pomp and splendour; hence Orissa appears to be poor.

That Orissa is not poorer than Bihar can also be proved by reference to the wages of labourers. In 1871, the rural labourers of the Patna District were earning one anna daily and the urban labourers two annas daily. In 1875 in Orissa, the wage of a rural labourer was one anna and a half daily and that of an urban labourer was two annas and a half. In 1901, the wage in Orissa varied from two annas and a half to three annas and a half; in Patna in the same year the wage in towns was three annas and a half.

These facts convince me that Orissa is not poor as compared with Bihar. In the opinion of the Banking Enquiry Committee of Bihar and Orissa, Cuttack is the most industrialised district of the province and Puri comes third. In matters of education and public health also, Orissa enjoys a much higher position than Bihar. In 1881, 53 out of every 1,000 people were literate in Bihar

but 103 in Orissa. In 1921, the number of literates rose to 104 in Bihar and to 160 in Orissa. In 1921, out of every 1,000 females, 7 were literate in Bihar but 9 in Orissa. The number of English-knowing people is also greater in Orissa than in Bihar. In 1901, out of every 10,000 people the number of English-knowing people was 44 in Bihar and the same in Orissa. But in 1921 the number rose to 81 in Bihar and 105 in Orissa.

In Fine Arts, Bihar is hopelessly backward as compared with Orissa. In 1921, the number of authors and astrologers in the Patna, Tirhut and Bhagalpur divisions was 431 all told, while their number ran up to 3,188 in the Orissa division alone. The number of musicians in the Patna, Tirhut and Bhagalpur divisions was respectively 5,854, 3,194 and 3,805, whereas the number of musicians in Orissa was 12,056.

Coming to newspapers we find that there were in 1891, 5 Hindi newspapers with a circulation of 1,604 in Bihar, whereas there were 3 Oriya newspapers with 1,170. In 1921, there were 15 Hindi newspapers with 12,350 circulation, whereas there were 13 newspapers with 9,320 circulation. As regards books we find that in 1911, full 50 per cent. of all the books published in Bihar and Orissa was in Oriya, though the Oriyas formed less than two-fifths of the population, whereas the percentage of Hindi and Urdu books combined was 25. It may be contended that Bihar gets its literary inspiration from the U. P. or that the outlying Oriya-speaking tracts also publish Oriya books, but it must be remembered that our comparison is between Bihar and Orissa and not between Hindi and Oriya-speaking peoples.

The people of Orissa are also more enterprising than the people of Bihar. Although the number of landless people is greater in the Patna District than it is in the Cuttack District, yet  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the people of the former emigrate outside as compared with  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the latter.

The people of Orissa are also more law-abiding than the people of Bihar. In 1904, the average daily attendance in gaols was 312 men and 7 women in the Cuttack District, whereas in the Patna District it was 448 men and 36 women, although the population of the Patna District was much smaller than that of the Cuttack District. The people of the Patna District are more addicted to drinking than the people of the Cuttack District. In 1905, Rs. 3,31,407 were realised in the shape of excise revenue in the Cuttack District; out of that wine was responsible for 68 thousand rupees. Although the population of the Patna District was much less than that of the Cuttack District, yet the excise revenue realised from the Patna District came up to 8,64,000 and the share of wine in that revenue was as high as 7,42,612. The people of the Patna District are also more litigious than the people of the Cuttack District. In 1905, Rs. 2,40,500 were realised from Judicial stamps in the Cuttack District, whereas the smaller population of the Patna District paid Rs. 3,04,907 in Judicial stamps.

The people of Orissa are also more healthy than the people of Bihar. In 1906, 64,242 people were admitted into hospitals for treatment and 10,395 underwent operation in Patna, whereas in spite of the larger population of Cuttack only 51,559 were admitted into hospitals for treatment and only 6,882 underwent operation.

In 1901, there were 170 persons blind and 35 mad to every lakh of people in the Cuttack District, but in the Patna District 381 were blind and 50 mad to every lakh of people. Between 1891 and 1901, 37.47 per thousand were born and 30.50 per thousand died in the Cuttack District, while during the same period 43.16 per thousand were born and 50.80 died per thousand in the Patna District.

The above facts conclusively prove that Orissa is in a better position than Bihar in many respects; on the other hand, there is no just proof that Orissa is poor as compared with Bihar. Researches in this direction will enable the Oriyas to know themselves better and to claim greater respect from others as of right. The truth of the above remarks can be verified by reference to census reports and to the *District Gazetteers* of the Patna and Cuttack Districts.

# Revenue Resources of India

BY MR. P. K. RAJA RAJA VARMA, M.A.

THE revenues of a State are obtained chiefly by taxation, direct or indirect, of the people of the State. The taxable capacity of the masses of India is notoriously low on account of their extreme poverty. The average income of an Indian is about 3 annas per day or about 70 rupees per annum. The average revenue from taxes per head of the population of British India comes to about 6 rupees per annum. The rates of the total taxation to the national income is thus only about 8 or 9 per cent. in India, while in Great Britain and in Japan, it is said to be about 20 per cent. But the pity is that the poor and semi-starved Indian ryot feels the burden of this 8 per cent. more keenly than his wealthy brother of England or Japan feels his 20 per cent. For the majority of the Indian masses, taxation means the deprivation of a part of their bare necessities, whereas in the wealthier countries of the West it means only the foregoing of some of his luxuries by the tax-payer. Yet it cannot be overlooked that there are classes of people even in India who do not feel the burden of taxation to any great or even appreciable degree. It is in them that Mr. W. T. Layton finds material for higher taxation when it becomes necessary. He says, "In spite of the wide-spread poverty in India, I see no reason to doubt that the public revenues of India can be substantially increased without taxation becoming intolerable, provided that its incidence is adjusted to the capacity of its payers to pay and that heavy additional burdens are not put upon primary necessities."

India's total revenue has been steadily growing in the last decade, and it amounted to about 177 crores of rupees in 1929-30. About half of this was collected and expended by the Central Government and the other half by the various provincial governments. The Central revenue consisted of about 75 crores of taxes chiefly on Customs,

Incomes and Salt, and 13 crores of receipts from such items as Railways, Opium, Currency and Mint, and Tributes from Indian States. 71 out of the 88 crores of provincial revenues were made up of taxes mainly on land, alcohol and narcotics, and stamps. The Central revenues show signs of rapid expansion while the provincial revenues tend to remain more or less stationary.

The Customs revenue forms the largest and a continuously growing item of India's revenues. It was only about 34 crores in 1921-22, while in 1929-30 it amounted to something near 53 or 54 crores. Though the world-wide economic depression and political unrest have substantially checked its growth at present, it is sure to recover and to continue its expansion as the world regains its economic equilibrium. As the standard of life of the people rises, and as India becomes more and more industrialised, her foreign trade is bound to expand. The gigantic schemes of agricultural development in Sind, Madras and the Punjab, when they mature, will increase prosperity and thus aid the growth of trade. The opening of the harbours of Cochin, Vizagapatam and Tuticorin will also tend to increase the volume of India's foreign trade. The present tariff rates are capable of being readjusted so as to yield more revenue. All these factors show possibilities of increase of the Customs revenue in the future. But there are forces acting in the opposite direction too. The high tariff walls that are likely to be erected for protecting certain home industries, and the probable prohibitive duties on foreign liquors, will of necessity tell upon the Customs revenue. A sudden failure of the monsoons may upset all expectations by reducing to almost nothingness the selling and the purchasing powers of the great mass of cultivators. But such risks are not great in comparison with the forces which tend to increase the Customs revenue.

Next to Customs, Income-tax is the largest source of revenue to the Central Government. It amounted to over 16 crores of rupees in 1929-30, and the rates of income-tax and super-tax have since been enhanced. In spite of strong opposition from the wealthy classes, the general tendency is for the income-tax to increase in course of time. Suggestions have been coming forward for the lowering of minimum from the present figure of Rs. 2,000 and for the steepening of the rates for higher incomes. Mr. Layton has recommended the taxation of agricultural incomes too.

The Salt revenue which yields more than 6 crores of rupees per annum, has a gloomy future. The revenue from Opium is expected to vanish within a few years. Since the separation of the Railway Budget, the Government have little to fear about their share of the railway receipts, as a minimum has been fixed by arrangement. Among the other sources of the Central revenue are the income from Currency and Mint, and the tributes received from the Indian States. The introduction of the terminal-tax and death duties has been suggested as a possible way of increasing the Central revenue.

Land revenue comes first in importance among the revenue sources of the provinces. In productivity it is second only to Customs, its yield being nearly 36 crores of rupees. It is very inelastic and shows little response to the movements of the price level. Thus from 1912-14 to 1927-29, it rose only by 7½ per cent., while in the same period prices rose by 41 per cent. Similarly in the present crisis when prices have fallen abnormally low, the land revenue will not show such a fall as the other revenues unless the Government make remissions for the relief of the ryots. By lengthening the period between re-settlements, and by limiting the percentage increase that may be made at any one time by legislation, it has been made difficult to increase land revenue freely. Already there are loud complaints in many parts

of India that the land tax is even now too high, if not oppressive. The assessment of newly irrigated lands is the only margin capable of expansion.

The Excise revenue forms the second largest item of the provincial revenues. In Madras and in Bihar and Orissa it has been larger than even the land revenue. The Excise policy of the Governments in general is one of minimum consumption and maximum revenue. But the force of the prohibition movement is bound to reduce its importance in the coming years. It still remains a problem to the administrators how to make up the loss of this 19 crores of rupees annually if and when total prohibition is introduced in India. Mr. Layton suggests that Excise duties should be imposed on tobacco and matches, and expects thereby to produce additional revenue to the extent of 7 or 8 crores within a decade.

The only provincial revenue that provides an appreciable margin of probable expansion is that from stamps. It amounts to over 14 crores and forms the highest source of income of the Bengal Government. Registration and scheduled taxes yield a total of about 2 crores of rupees. Irrigation is responsible for a third of Punjab's total revenues. Madras, U. P., and Bombay are also receiving good incomes from their irrigation projects. Forests are productive of revenues to all the provinces, and most of all to Burma.

It is admitted on all hands that India is badly in need of greater expenditure on nation-building services, such as rural re-construction, education, public health and sanitation. But it is an obvious impossibility under the present conditions of limited revenues and high expenditure on unproductive items. Drastic cuts in the expenditure on Defence, General Administration and Police will have to be effected, or, the revenues will have to be substantially increased. Attempts ought to be made in both directions in view of the importance of the expenditure on social services. Anyhow, India's total revenue is sure to show a substantial increase in the next decade.

# THE FUTURE OF BERAR

BY

MR. M. N. PHADAKE, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

ON the eve of great and far-reaching constitutional changes in India, it is important to ascertain the position of Berar in the proposed All-India Federation. Berar is not British India; it is a tract ceded to Britain by the Nizam on a permanent lease receiving an annuity of twenty-five lakhs of rupees. People of Berar are not British subjects and do not enjoy the right of being elected to the Provincial Legislature; the members have to be technically nominated by the Governor. All Laws to be made applicable to Berar, whether passed in the Provincial or All-India Legislature, require the sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council who alone has the power to do so by virtue of the powers vested in him under Foreign Jurisdiction Acts. Berar has been tacked on to the Central Provinces since 1903, and forms with it a single administrative unit. For all practical purposes therefore, Berar is British India.

Once again, the Nizam has pressed the question of retrocession of Berar on the strength of his legal title; while the British continue to hold it without giving any assurance as to the future of the province. This creates a feeling of uncertainty highly prejudicial to the progress of the province.

Also the present arrangement, wherein Berar forms a part of the Central Provinces, entails great financial losses on the people of Berar. So, there are two outstanding questions that emerge for immediate and careful consideration. First, the squabble over Berar between the Nizam and the British must end for good. Second, Berar should be given a status in the new constitution that will satisfy the people of Berar.

Those who advocate the claim of the Nizam for rendition of Berar, lay emphasis on the inviolability

of the Treaties. But the claims of Law have to be subordinated to the claims of political, industrial and cultural progress of the people. When dealing with such vast organic units like Berar, it is best to follow the principle of Plebiscite—tempered by geographical and industrial considerations—in settling the conflicts of territorial distribution. This was the principle followed on conclusion of the Treaty of Versailles in the creation of the new States in the post-War Central Europe. The people of Berar were no party to the treaties with the Nizam, and it would be extreme Law to enforce the absolute right of the Nizam with utter disregard of the wishes of the people. The recent All-Parties Conference (Berar) decided that Berar should form a separate unit of Federation. This was interpreted in certain quarters as leaving the question of retrocession open. It is argued in behalf of the Nizam, that place as a federating unit could be given to Berar even as the territory of the Nizam. After about seventy years of British administration, modern Berar has become essentially different from the one the Nizam leased. The fate of Berar is indissolubly welded with rest of British India.

The foreign jurisdiction administration of Berar is a clumsy affair, and it is to be hoped that the new Government of India Act will make the constitutional position of Berar a permanent and satisfactory one. Unfortunately, the request of the representatives of the Province to give them an opportunity to open the question at the Round Table Conference was not granted. For, there are certain legal difficulties in the way of taking Berar as a Federating unit which might need Parliamentary action. The sovereignty rests with the Nizam, and unless he relinquishes a portion

of that sovereignty to the Federal power, it is difficult to see how Berar can at all enter the federation.

There are three ways in which the problem of the future of Berar can be approached: One to leave Berar, as at present a part of the Central Provinces; second, to make it a separate unit of Federation; third, to evolve a scheme by which Berar will be amalgamated with some province of British India, which will satisfy the people of Berar.

The first course is really unthinkable. Every year of association with the Central Provinces costs Berar lakhs of rupees. There is a vast difference in the revenues of the two sub-provinces due partly to the superior quality of the soil in Berar, but largely due to the systems of tenure. The Malguzari system in the Central Provinces enables the State to get only about 50 per cent. of the revenue, the remainder being the share of the Malguzars. Ryotwari system of tenure in Berar enables the State to realise the whole of the land assessment. The result is, that the vast surplus revenue from Berar, instead of being employed towards the growth of social services and construction of Public works in Berar, is utilised to defray the cost of the administration of the Central Provinces.

There is a large body of opinion in this province which is enamoured of the idea of Berar being a separate unit of federation. However, the economic consequences of separation have to be borne in mind before advocating the policy of separation. The huge expenditure of maintaining a Governorship, a High Court, a Secretariat and the costly paraphernalia of the Provincial Government will undo any advantages that might accrue from separation. There is another consideration that goes against Berar being made a separate Province. The re-distribution of provinces in the new constitution must be based on some principle; otherwise a situation will

arise in which small territorial units on some pretext would demand to be constituted into autonomous provinces. Such a tendency would be detrimental to the fostering of larger patriotism, besides being very expensive.

Linguistic re-distribution of Indian provinces would mean, that Berar will form a part of the province of Maharashtra. Historically, and culturally, Berar has always been linked with rest of Marathi-speaking districts. The system of land tenure, and the general productivity of the soil, will also show that Berar and the Southern tracts of the Bombay Presidency will form an ideal administrative unit.

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## The Macmillan Report and Economic Nationalism

BY MR. M. K. MUNISWAMI, M.A., B.L.

IN more ways than one, the report of the Macmillan Committee on English banking breaks new ground. According to the *Manchester Guardian* (July 17th, 1931), the remedies prescribed in the report are "highly dangerous". We shall see how far the term is justifiable in the course of this article. There are at least three aspects of the modern economic situation in Britain on which the majority of the Committee members have given us their views. The fall in prices in Britain, according to them, is essentially due to monetary factors, but it is nevertheless not a monetary phenomenon; it is the result of the failure of the British monetary system failing to solve a problem of unexpected difficulty set it by a conjunction of highly intractable non-monetary phenomena. They are for instance: (1) unusual instability in the demand for capital resulting from the losses and interruptions consequent on the War; (2) the changed relationship caused by the War-debts; (3) the rapidity of technical changes in manufacture and agriculture; (4) the rigidity of wage-rates; (5) the growth of tariffs; (6) increasing expenditure provided for in modern budgets as instances of such non-monetary phenomena. According to them, the British monetary system could have overcome the situation created by the phenomena, if only she or other nations of the world had co-operated in an efficient manner. As it was, the way in which the return to gold has achieved in Britain, under the influence of the wealthier class, aggravated the difficulties especially of those engaged in the export trade, because of the over-valuation of the pound. Though the Committee would have it that the existing depression is not a monetary phenomenon, all the remedies that they have prescribed (both with reference to Central Banks as a class and to the Bank of England in particular) are monetary in their nature. Evidently the majority of the Committee is under the

impression that the gold standard is on the eve of a break-down in England, and the problem which the Committee have set themselves to solve, is how best to support it. Various methods have been suggested for arresting the disastrous consequences of the recent rise in the value of gold throughout the world. Banking circles have hitherto been recommending wage-cuts to bring production costs more closely in harmony with depreciated commodity prices. But the Macmillan have suggested an altogether different method—co-operative action amongst the central banks of the world to lower the international value of gold. The method recommended is, that the Central Bank of one country should reckon the balances with the Central Banks of other countries or with the Bank for International settlements as the equivalent of gold for all purposes of law, and that each Central Bank should take whatever steps it can to counteract the tendency which their own nationals may show, either to keep their own investible resources, either exceedingly liquid or to undertake excessive long-term commitments. The majority of the Committee is enthusiastic about this remedy and hope that the Goliath of the present fall in prices could be overcome if only the Bank of England follows its advice.

It is however doubtful if the epithet "revolutionary" can be applied to this series of suggestions. A better epithet perhaps would be "impracticable". The French view of the function of gold may be read in the raids she has been making on London's gold stocks since the Hoover moratorium was broached. The whole point is, that the policy of hoarding gold has essentially a political and diplomatic basis, and for producing economic health, political remedies would seem to be necessary.

The term "revolutionary" if it is to be used at all, might perhaps with greater appropriateness be reserved for the recommendations of the minority

of the Committee. It seems to me however that the proposals of the Minority embodied in Addendum No. 1, are not revolutionary at all: on the other hand they are more practicable under the existing circumstances. Like the majority, the minority of the members: Sir Thomas Allen, Keynes, Mackenon and Lord Bradbury envisage the present problem of depression as essentially non-monetary in its nature; but in the prescription of the remedy, realizing that the problem is not one of scarcity of credit but scarcity of borrowers, they have prescribed methods to induce borrowers to come forward to their credit, it must be said that they have realized that the problem is largely psychological in character. For us, their main recommendation—substitution of home-produced goods for imports, coupled with an increase of investment at home—ought to have great significance. Economic nationalism, and not economic internationalism, would seem to be, *so long*

*as present circumstances last*, the true remedy. We may endorse the reservation made by Sir Thomas Allen that organized planning should be undertaken by the State precedent to the introduction of tariffs and import boards. This suggestion has really a Janus face. Simultaneously with a policy of Protectionism—an idea which is being smothered by the internationally minded—a policy of State socialism, *i.e.*, inauguration of domestic enterprises under the auspices of the State.

It seems to me that the chief significance of the Macmillan report lies in the fact, that it shows that the present trade depression is essentially non monetary in its nature, and that the remedies for the same should be non-monetary; and that in the list of remedies, *so long as the present political and diplomatic situation lasts*, the efficacy of Protectionism might well be explored before pleading for an international economic policy.

## HIGH SALARIES

BY MR. S. A. PANDE, M.A., LL.B. (AKOLA.)

ONE of the main questions before the Provincial and All-India Retrenchment Committee would be to cut down the scale of salaries and number of high officers in the Government of the country. Though we may not be socialistic, there is no justification in these days of superfluity of intelligent men in all walks of life, to pay for our servants much more than individuals of the same qualifications would earn in other walks of life. The scales of salaries in public services should be the average of what those people would get in similar other walks of life, besides pension, and fixity of pay and tenure. Even in democratic countries like America, Government service always attracts young men, not because it pays more than other walks but because it carries with it a fixity of pay and tenure. In India, the scale

of public services has always been settled by them rather than by the people's representatives. The result was, that there came into existence a plethora of officers and high pays all round, much to the draining of all people's resources. Capital which should otherwise be available for social amelioration and schemes of public utility, or commercial development, goes into the pockets of individual officers who use it more on their own account than as a useful capital for public purposes. It is said that high salaries are necessary for many high posts carrying high responsibilities. This is again a fallacy. High salaries in many places lower down the sense of responsibility to the public, though it may for the time being increase the sense of responsibility towards the immediate superiors of the officers concerned. They many a time retard than increase efficiency.

It is thus a peculiar principle followed only in this country where public services are paid more sumptuously than before, with even the increase of efficient candidates available for the same. It is said that public services should be paid dearly also to prevent corruption. This is also again a false bogey put forward by those who have vested interests in the increase of the salaries. Corruption could be stamped out of existence by public criticism and public opinion ventilated through the press and platform. Our vigilant Councillors who always want some food for their Council work, would never lose opportunities for criticizing public officers whenever and wherever they would be found corrupt; and we have also the omniscient C. I. D. to watch corruption—the internal foe of all administration. We must certainly fix pays according to grades and work, but we can ill-afford to overpay.

Under the reforms-Government there has been further a large increase of officers in the administration. In the Bombay Presidency, for example, it would be necessary, if the presidency is to be saved from the financial bankruptcy, to reduce the number of Executive Councillors and Ministers from 7 to 4; so also in the other major provinces. The Cabinet members should easily displace some of the old secretaries of the I. C. S. grade and should be able to do more administrative work with the aid of young men chosen as secretaries from the comparatively lower grades of the Provincial Services. Without meaning any personal reflection, I would suggest that we should try to bring down, if possible, even the Viceregal salary to, at least, Rs. 10,000 per mensem. In a democracy, high salaries above the average earnings in other walks of life are an anathema and should ever be discouraged. In India where we want public money for many nation-building departments, and industrial and agricultural developments, the high salaries are a decided disadvantage, and the sooner we do away with them

the better for all concerned. It is certain that with the growth of economic development in all countries, there will be more of national self-sufficiency with the result that external markets would not bring any money for internal development from our exports as before. This will mean the lowering of all prices and equal balance of trade leading to a decrease in the taxable capacity of the people. In some provinces there is already a cry for reduction of taxation. The question of opening of new vistas of taxation is thus out of place. Under the circumstances both the Provincial and All-India Retrenchment Committees must ruthlessly apply the retrenchment to all concerned, irrespective of individuals who may come under the operations. The problem is serious, and the economic discontent in the land as well as the spirit of job hunting and communalism will all disappear, if the high scale of salaries in public services were to be reduced to the just sufficient level. It is hoped this will soon be an accomplished fact.

Lowering of salaries will also turn our young men away from Government service and thus render them available for public work and other walks of life.

Money saved with this reduction of salaries, will be used to feed more mouths than at present and also to increase the prosperity in the land.

High taxation necessary for high salaries fritters away the public financial resources and is the greatest menace to social and political development, and creates a class of persons degenerated enough to do anything against the people to please their masters, the Government.

High salaries further take away the responsibility of the officers and makes them feel they are public masters and not servants.

Mahatma Gandhi has written really a beautiful article recently on this subject and reproduced in the *Hitavada* of Nagpur dated 6th August, 1931. His advice to lawyers and others in business to bring down their rates of emoluments is quite right and original. Recently after War, both the Imperial and Provincial Government and Services have demanded increase in their salaries, seeing the maddening fees of exuberant lawyers and profits of businessmen who have scorned anybody low paid including Government servants.

Thus the first problem in the new Government would be to reduce salaries.



# The Vatican and Fascism

## A REPLY

BY MR. A. HIRUDAYASAMY, M.A., B.L.

IN the September issue of the *Indian Review*, the recent conflict between the Pope and the Fascist Government has been dealt with by two writers who, in spite of evident endeavours to present both sides of the question fairly, have been led to make certain statements which cannot but invite correction.

### I

Prof. A. J. Saunders, M.A., Ph.D., in his review of "World Events" remarks, "The questions at issue are very real. They are: to limit the power of the Church; to build up a strong loyalty to the Fascist State." These words can only mean that the Church has put forward some novel claims of power which the Duce has set about in grim earnest to resist. The learned professor has not chosen to inform us as to what the Church has really done or claimed to do, to call for such a salutary "limitation of her power". Is it perhaps to be presumed that in every dispute where the Church is involved, Rome is wrong and her enemy right?

That Mussolini, like Napoleon and the Emperors in an earlier age, is out to exalt the secular power by striking at the spiritual is not difficult to understand; but that the writer should lay down, as his considered opinion, that the real question is "to limit the power of the Church" is indeed surprising, when he himself admits that "the Duce wants to glorify the State". In that case, it is the pretensions of the State, and not the power of the Church, that must needs be limited. In fact, the *Economist* whose authority and impartiality in this matter are beyond dispute, concludes a remarkable article on this very question as follows: "The truth is that, all over the world there has been a profound revulsion of feeling against the pretensions of the sovereign State within the last twenty years."

The judgment of this competent authority will be endorsed by everyone who bears in mind the salient facts connected with the present conflict in Italy. The Lateran Treaty of 1929 contains a Concordat by which the freedom of Catholic Associations (the *Azione Catholica*), and the right of the Church to have a voice on matters of education, were explicitly recognised by the Fascist Government. Fascism, which brooks no rivals and sternly suppresses every paper and party opposed to it, has always viewed with an unfriendly eye the growing strength of the *Azione Catholica*, because it stands in the way of Mussolini's resolve "to enlist and drill the whole rising generation under the Lictorian banners". To create a pretext for the pre-arranged mischief, the Fascists levelled vague accusations against the *Azione Catholica* of indulging in politics and furthering anti-Fascist activities. By the precise instructions of the Pope, and under the immediate supervision of the Bishops, the *Azione* has always avoided politics of every sort. And therefore the Pope publicly and categorically challenged the Fascists to disclose their evidence and further promised his immediate personal attention to it. Evidence they had none; their object was to precipitate a crisis. They answered the papal request by bullying and vulgar attacks over the members of various Catholic Clubs in Italy. Insults were heaped upon the authorities of the Church, not excepting the Holy Father, whose person is recognised as "Sacred" under the Lateran Treaty. The Pope, as in duty bound, drew the attention of the Fascist Government to the intolerable situation created by its agents and denounced the campaign of vilification indulged in by the Fascist speakers and press. The reply of the Fascists was typical of their methods; one fine

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morning, they conducted on an organised scale a "lightning raid", attacked the Catholic Clubs, smashed buildings and furniture and sequestered the records and documents of the *Azione Catholica*. By a general order from the Fascist headquarters, all the Catholic Associations, more than 15,000 in number, including those of little children, were closed down. To stem the tide of world-opinion which, aghast at such outrageous methods, rallied round the Pope, the Duce delivered his notorious "wireless speech" wherein he calmly announced to the world that the events in Rome had been very much exaggerated and that normal situation prevailed in Italy. Having so far endured in stately silence the personal attacks of the Fascist underlings, the Sovereign Pontiff could no longer allow the world to be deceived by the gross misrepresentations broadcasted by the head of the Government. In a remarkable encyclical of moving eloquence, he exposed in great detail the mendacities and the methods of Fascism.

Its effect was immediate; it won world-wide sympathy and received wide-spread comment from the leading secular journals of the world. That same eminent authority, the *Economist* (July 11) declared, "And, on this particular issue, he (the Pope) may have the support not only of Roman Catholics but of millions of people of other religions or of no religion at all, who may nevertheless rally to him now that he is leading a crusade against the 'pagan worship of the State'." The extent to which Fascism has carried "the worship of the State will be evident from the following taken from the *Gazzetta* its official organ of Sicily and Calabria: "Let me illustrate the extent of our blind obedience by an extreme and absurd supposition. Suppose that Il Duce ordered us to shoot all the Bishops. We should not hesitate for one instant. If there be any in our ranks who are not of this kidney, the Pope is welcome to him."

I leave it now to your readers to judge whether the question at issue in Italy is "to limit the power of the Church", or emphatically "to limit the undue powers of the State".

### II

The other writer, Mr. Jagadisan M. Kumara-rappa, M.A., Ph.D., in an article entitled "The Basis of Italo-Vatican Controversy" writes: "The Catholic Church has four different types of institutions for the training and directing of the activities of its young people. The first is an organisation which is purely religious and has to do with preaching, administering Church affairs and the like. The next is a Civic organisation which includes such activities as preserving civic liberties and other such interests as may benefit the citizens. The third is political which is, of course, self-explanatory. But the last and the most important of them all is what is known as the *Catholic Action*. It is supposed to concern itself with efforts to bring back society to the Catholic ideal of Western civilization" (the italics are mine).

Frankly I am amazed as to how a writer, in a weighty monthly, like the *Indian Review*, could have brought himself to pen these lines. Where on earth has he discovered that the Church has four different associations for the young? Why just four? The notion of the "young people preaching and administering Church affairs" has only to be mentioned in order to be scoffed at. Can he give one instance of civic and political leagues, training the teeming millions of young Catholics organised and controlled by the Church? The fact is that the writer, like Alnaskar, has built three different castles for Catholics in addition to the one that really exists. The whole thing, I regret to say, is so utterly preposterous that I am left to wonder whether the writer knows anything of the Church on which he has aspired to instruct an intelligent public.



I crave, in fairness to your valuable monthly and in the interest of your numerous readers, your indulgence for the publication of a letter which, strange as it may seem, I received a couple of days ago from the Rev. Father Dent, S.J., in reference to this article of mine. Though I have not had the pleasure of knowing the Reverend Father, I must say I have much respect for him and his opinion as he belongs to a Catholic Order

If my critic thinks that I am misinterpreting the conflict between the Church and the State in Italy, let me assure him that it is not done through party loyalty at any rate, as he attempts to do. In conclusion, allow me to suggest to my critic that if my interpretation is not satisfactory, he had better seek his enlightenment at the feet of the Reverend Father, since he (my critic) has developed that very attitude which, Father Dent regrets, is so common with other writers.

But that was not the last word. "I am open to conviction," he continued, "but even so I have

It was a brief and business-like speech that H. E. Lord Willingdon delivered the other day to

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the joint session of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. His Excellency reminded the House that all eyes are now turned to London and the Round Table Conference which, with Gandhiji's participation, has become eminently representative of the country: and he declared very rightly indeed that the object of the Conference was to evolve an arrangement for "handing over to Indians the responsibility for the administration of their local affairs, with a view to secure for India an absolutely equal position alongside the other Dominions within the British Empire". Thus he reiterated his yearning for a constitution similar to the one over which he presided in Canada, and hoped that an agreed solution will be reached at the Conference in London. His Excellency fervently appealed for mutual confidence and trust in order to tide over the difficulties that beset us on the way to that "great common purpose" which we all have in view. The Viceroyal utterance was conceived in the best vein and concluded with an exhortation to the country "to preserve an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity".

The Viceroy dealt with many leading topics in his address, but his observations on the financial stringency of the country, and his plea for a tranquil atmosphere, are particularly significant in view of the schemes of Retrenchment under contemplation and the Press Bill on the Legislative anvil. The Assembly and the country are at one with His Excellency in the desire for tapping every source of economy to tide over the crisis and to wean India from the shambles of terrorist outrages. But are the measures devised by the Government the real remedy? That is the question and there are bound to be differences of opinion on this issue.

#### THE PRESS BILL

Sir James Crerar has made out a strong case for urgent action against the terrorist movement. In this, the country is entirely with him. And all

reasonable people will certainly support Government in weaning the country from terrorist outrages. But what is the meaning of muzzling the Press which, with rare exceptions, is on the whole pledged to non-violence in this country? Why rush through the Assembly a measure which has evoked such wide-spread opposition? The Journalists' Associations have rightly challenged the Government to prove that the writings in the Press had anything to do with these outrages. Nor is special legislation justified by the results of judicial proceedings. Incitement to violence is already an offence under the law. Why not then punish the guilty after due trial and avoid the sweeping condemnation of an institution which, in spite of obvious difficulties, is on the whole intent on public good? It is no good saying that the intention of the framers of the Bill is to deal with murder propaganda. For who does not know that the Executive, armed with a brief authority will, as experience abundantly shows, be disposed to misuse the power. The Journalists' Association contends "that the new Bill is virtually a violation of the Delhi Pact". For one of the terms of that Pact was the withdrawal of all Ordinances and "but for the fact that the Press Ordinance expired a few months earlier, it would have been one of the Ordinances just withdrawn". No wonder that under these circumstances the new Press Bill has caused grave apprehensions in the public mind—apprehensions not unjustified by the bitter experience of the past. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar defended the Bill with characteristic cleverness and quoted Gandhiji in support! But Gandhiji asks the Assembly to reject it. The Bill was referred to the Select Committee by an attenuated House and has undergone some important changes. But the fundamental defects remain.

#### RETRENCHMENT

Retrenchment Committees are at work everywhere and it is by no means an enviable job for

them. Naturally they come in for rather rough handling. It is a common complaint that the high-paid officials are untouched, while low-paid men and the multitudinous host of workmen and quill-drivers are victimised. But then the Services are protected by Statute against interference in their pay. And even the Ministers who feel that they could well afford to keep up their position and prestige on half their present pay, would brook no cut till the All-India Services are left untouched. Thus the other day the Burma Council turned down a motion to reduce the salaries of Ministers to Rs. 3,000. It is not that Rs. 3,000 is too low for them to maintain their position or prestige, but the example of the costly and extravagant Services radiates a vicious influence and makes economy in the administration impossible. Contrast this with what is taking place in England! H. M. the King set a noble example in voluntarily giving up a big slice from the civil list—an example which the Prince of Wales and the Royal House have followed in quick succession. The Prime Minister of England, the inadequacy of whose salary for the upkeep of the great traditions of that high office has so often been discussed in recent years, gives up a thousand pounds from his inadequate pay. And the recent Budget reveals how the cut affects every officer under the Crown with impressive uniformity. Here is a good example we may follow with profit in our attempts at balancing the Indian budget.

#### THE RAILWAY COURT OF INQUIRY

The decision of the Council of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation to co-operate with the Court of Inquiry has been received with a profound sense of relief and satisfaction all over the country. For they have expressed themselves satisfied with the interpretation put upon the terms of reference by the Court of Inquiry. The workers' case will therefore be duly presented before the Court and the threatened strike has happily been averted. Due credit for this happy

turn must be given to the Railwaymen's leaders Messrs. Mehta, Joshi, and Giri who have throughout exercised a wise and restraining influence on the workers under trying circumstances. It is indeed easy to mislead the workers who are mostly ignorant and easily susceptible to passion. The Railway Board's refusal to stop further retrenchment pending the appointment of a Board of Conciliation, and the Government's refusal to appoint such a Board, could easily have been worked upon by interested people to precipitate a crisis. But the Railwaymen's leaders, with a full sense of the grave responsibility resting on them, have throughout acted with caution and judgment. They continued to negotiate for an amicable settlement with admirable self-restraint to the very last, and they have been richly rewarded by the happy turn of things. We have no doubt that the workers will have nothing but fair play from Mr. Justice Murphy and his colleagues.

#### THE QUESTION OF BURMA

The authorities seem bent upon cutting Burma from India. For in summoning a separate Conference for Burma, they have evidently prejudged the issue and forced their decision down the throat of Burma. Mr. Mody and others have already recorded their complaint, that the question was not allowed to be discussed adequately at the last Conference. Now, if it is the real desire of Burma to cut away from India, we have no reason to stand in the way. And indeed neither British nor Indians could decide what is evidently a purely Burmese question. But where was the opportunity afforded for Burmans to discuss and decide on the issue? The Separatists—and we are by no means convinced that they represent the real Burman feeling on the subject—have manoeuvred to bring about a decision that is certainly not justified by public opinion in that country. For we find independent Burman nationalists, and representative Burmese organizations, are strongly opposed

to it. Only the other day the Presidents of the three different General Councils of Burmese Associations, Maung Pu, leader of the Burma Home Rule Party, and Maung Maung Ji have cabled to the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, protesting against the holding of a separate Burma Conference and demanding adequate representation at the Indian Round Table Conference for anti-Separationists.

How then could the action of the authorities in setting up a separate Conference for Burma be justified in the face of this public protest?

#### COMMUNALISM IN THE STATES

Whatever else the States were wanting in, they were decidedly free from the virus of communalism that vitiates public life in British India, and in their freedom from communal feuds they set an excellent example to British Indian politicians. That has been the boast till quite recently; but unfortunately the contagion has now spread to the States as well, and we find evidence of its infection in more than one State. Not long ago Bangalore was the scene of an unwelcome scuffle between Hindus and Muslims. Pudukotta was recently torn by civil dissensions and we now know that it was not free from the accursed Brahmin-non-Brahmin conflict. The happenings in Kashmir cast a lurid light on the mischief of communalism. Now, everybody recognizes that the Maharaja is singularly free from bias, and in reply to the Muslim address recounting their grievances, His Highness has given an assurance that the welfare of his Muslim subjects will receive his "careful and constant attention". Indeed, His Highness has judiciously appointed men chosen from either community to set matters right. But though local Moslems are satisfied, the Lahore Moslems are not! Yes; it is the wire-pullers from British India that are stirring up trouble in the happy valley. What is one to think of the Lahore Moslems despatching volunteers to Kashmir "to break the

laws"! Luckily the authorities rose to the occasion and wisely handled a situation which might have taken an ugly turn.

#### THE LATE MR. K. C. ROY

The tributes that have appeared in the Press to the memory of the late Mr. Roy, give us a measure of the universal esteem in which he was held by officials and non-officials, by Europeans and Indians alike. Roy died in the midst of his public duties as a member of the Assembly, and indeed he took a constant and active share in the work of the Central Legislature, and it was remarkable how quickly he won the confidence of the leading men of all parties and of the Government as well. Roy had indeed an excellent capacity for inspiring confidence by his social graces and the breadth and catholicity of his views and to the end he continued to be the consultant and adviser of men of all parties.

But Roy's life-work, and the one to which he gave the best part of his life, was the Associated Press of which, in conjunction with Sir Edward Buck, he was the founder. From modest beginnings that organisation has grown to its present efficiency and importance mainly by his pioneering enterprise and organising skill. Roy had a flair for publicity work, and by his country-wide organisations, helped the multiplication of newspapers in India and developed a service which is playing such a vital part in the public life of the country.

Roy was in recent years in failing health, and it speaks well for him that in such indifferent health, he should have continued to shoulder responsible public work. His death, we are told, appears to have been hastened by over-work in the General Purposes Retrenchment Sub-Committee. Some years ago he went to London as member to the Colonial Committee appointed to confer in an advisory capacity with the Colonial Office. At another time as representative of the Indian Press, he attended the Imperial Press Conference. Thus, apart from his professional work as an organising publicist, Mr. Roy found time to serve the country in diverse ways. In him has passed away a journalist of distinction, a warm friend and wise counsellor.

## WORLD EVENTS

BY PROF. A. J. SAUNDERS, M.A., Ph.D.

### DISARMAMENT

ALL eyes and much interest are being turned towards the Disarmament Conference which is to meet next February. To clearly see the issue we should know the burden of expenditure which the whole world is carrying to protect ourselves from war. The figures are astounding. Premier, Ramsay MacDonald of Great Britain, in a speech in the House of Commons, on June 29 last, said that the naval expenditure for 1930 for the leading countries in peace time was as follows: This is the amount of revenue used for naval expenses in million pounds: United Kingdom 52.4; United States 78; France 24.3; Italy 16.9; and Japan 26. When one thinks of these tremendous sums being spent on unproductive service in a time of serious world depression, it is simply outrageous.

Take the total armaments expenditure of the great powers since 1909 in million pounds, and the situation is more startling.

Armaments expenditure of the Great Powers.

|               | In million      |       |       |       | Percentage increase since 1909-13. |
|---------------|-----------------|-------|-------|-------|------------------------------------|
|               | Average 1909-13 | 1928  | 1929  | 1930  | Per cent.                          |
| Great Britain | 64              | 99.9  | 99    | 95    | 48                                 |
| France        | 60              | 79.2  | 98.7  | 94    | 57                                 |
| Germany       | 70              | 37.6  | 33.8  | 35.1  | 50                                 |
| Italy         | 25              | 52.7  | 50.4  | 53.6  | 114                                |
| U. S. America | 61.7            | 138.9 | 146.2 | 145.4 | 135                                |
| Japan         | 19.7            | 48.8  | 48    | 48    | 143                                |
| Total         | 376.4           | 557.7 | 595   | 590   | 57                                 |

The supreme question that will come up for consideration at the Disarmament Conference is: Can we afford in an impoverished world to continue such huge expenditures on unproductive armaments of war?

Rather alarming news has recently come through from League quarters at Geneva concerning France's attitude towards the Conference. We shall have to wait to see what develops, but this is the message as reported in the daily press:

France threatens to torpedo the efforts of the world to reach disarmament and if she maintains her present attitude, next year's Disarmament Conference will be reduced to stabilising present state of armaments.

This is the view of competent League circles after a careful and analytical study of the recent French Memorandum to the League defining the policy of the French Government.

A serious view is taken in Geneva of this French conception of the problem and by the terms of the memorandum the whole question of world disarmament has been materially altered.

### GLOOMY OUTLOOKS

The economic situation throughout the world is not showing any marked signs of improving. The long cold winter is beginning, and it promises to be another hard and trying winter for many millions of people in Europe and America. Mr. Green, the President of the American Labour Federation, has been saying recently that there will be no less than 7 millions of unemployed people in the United States this winter. The United States Government estimates a Budget deficit this current year of not less than £200,000,000 which is a tremendous sum. Private letters from America tell of serious economic conditions being experienced by many.

Germany too is facing another hard winter; a recent Reuter message reports:

A gloomy prophecy of conditions in Germany next winter was uttered by Dr. Stegerwald, Minister of Labour, addressing a congress of Socialist Trade Unions at Frankfurt-on-Main.

Predicting a heavy increase in the number of unemployed, Dr. Stegerwald estimated that unemployment expenditure would amount to 2 milliard marks.

Describing the measures to alleviate suffering, the Minister announced that cities and communities, in conjunction with co-operative societies and retail dealers, would be requested to arrange the supply of necessities for the unemployed at cheap prices.

### AUSTRALIAN FINANCES

"Where there is a will there is a way," is an old saying which is receiving a new application just now in connection with the recovery of Australian finances. In order to help the financial situation, the Commonwealth Government Debt Conversion Act was passed by the Labour Government; it is a voluntary measure calling for holders of some £550,000,000 worth of internal securities with interest up to 6 per cent. to exchange them for new securities carrying on the average only 4 per cent. This will save the Government six and a half millions in interest payments. This is reported as the largest conversion transaction yet voluntarily entered into, and it is meeting with a generous response. Ninety-seven per cent. of the holders have accepted this new arrangement.

The Federal Government and even New South Wales have agreed to a 20 per cent. reduction in wages and salaries. This means a lot of hardship and sacrifice on the part of many thousands of the population; but it is being done voluntarily in

order to help the country. With that spirit we can predict that the financial recovery of Australia is assured.

#### BRITAIN'S NEW GOVERNMENT

During the last week of the last session of the British Parliament, the May Commission on Economy reported the possibility of a large deficit this year and a still larger one next year, and made several drastic recommendations to meet the situation. Though the recess was on, the Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, met his cabinet, but found a strong opposition to a cut in the "dole" and a reduction in wages, and a wish to meet the situation by further taxation. It was a straight-out issue between retrenchment and further taxation. That rock split the Labour Government; on the advice of His Majesty the King, and with the concurrence of the leaders of the other two political parties, it was decided to form a National Emergency Government in which all three parties would be represented in order to deal with the financial crisis. That Government has been formed with Mr. MacDonald, as Prime Minister, and Mr. Snowden as Chancellor of the Exchequer representing Labour; Mr. Stanley Baldwin, the Chamberlain, and Sir Samuel Hoare from the Conservative ranks, and Lord Reading and Sir Herbert Samuel from the Liberal Party. It is a splendid example of all pulling together to meet a national crisis.

The new Government was not long in arriving at economies which will meet the situation. The "dole" is to be radically reduced, income-tax is to be raised to 5 shillings in the pound, and increased taxation on liquor, tobacco, and petrol. The new burdens have been made as equal as may be, so that everyone shall be called upon to share in the effort to balance the budget. It is not expected that the new National Government will last long, but many people hope that it will not cease its work with the financial crisis met; the Indian question presents also a National Problem, and a National Government may be expected to deal with a new Constitution for India after the Round Table Conference has made its recommendations in a much more satisfactory way than any purely party Government could do.

#### THE VATICAN AND FASCISM

Mr. A. Hirudayasamy, M.A., B.L., has written a reply to my statement in the last number of *The Indian Review* on World Events in which I said that, "The questions at issue are very real. They are: to limit the power of the Church; to build up a strong loyalty to the Fascist State." Mr. Hirudayasamy thinks that the question at

issue in Italy is "to limit the undue powers of the State" and not "to limit the power of the Church". This is an age-long conflict—Church or State, which has been engaging thinking men ever since the 4th Century A.D. The Church was supreme throughout the Middle Ages; she controlled politics, education, medical aid, and social service as well as her more distinctly religious functions. But one by one the State has been relieving the Church of important functions, such as health, education, and civil government, which are now in most countries under the control of Departments of State. In all these changes the Roman Church has not been pleased with what has taken place, but she has accepted the changes with more or less good grace. We may regard the matter of education as the last ditch, and to retain that function the Church of Rome is prepared to fight. The Pope and the Church in Italy see only too plainly that if the control and the content of education throughout Italy is taken from them, loyalty to the Church on the part of the coming generations will be seriously limited.

I will ask Mr. Hirudayasamy to recall his modern history to see if the tendency in modern times has not been to limit the power of the Church and to increase the power of the State. Look at the French Revolution in the days of the Goddess of Reason, or only recently the ban upon the Church in Russia. The Soviet Government are determined to raise the power of the State and to limit the power of organised religion. Or take the case of the Republican Spain and its attitude towards the Church; the Church in Spain in former times had a tremendous power, the present Government is limiting that power, especially in its wealth and political aspects, and are appropriating the landed wealth of religious houses for national purposes. The whole tendency in these modern days is to limit the Church to its more distinctive religious service, and to leave political and other matters to the Government of the State.

Looking at the problem from the standpoint of the Pope, of course it is a question of limiting the undue powers of the State, but looking at the problem from the point of view of the Duce, it is a question of limiting the power of the Church. The point at issue is the control and determining the content of education; I still maintain that what the Duce is after is to broaden and modernise popular education in Italy, and to make it conducive to loyalty to the State in opposition to the Church's system of education.

## Trade and Finance

By "SRIVAS"

#### THE NEW LOAN

THE last month's review closed with a gloomy reference to the dour clouds that had overspread our financial skies, and it is to be regretted that no more cheery report can be given at the present juncture. A measure of the intense financial difficulty of the present is the new 6½ per cent Treasury Bonds which have been issued, and which were opened to subscription on Tuesday, September 15. The peculiarities of this issue should suffice to give even the ordinary layman an idea of the position into which Government have allowed themselves to be driven. The new issue is without limit of time or amount. The area from which subscriptions are sought to be secured has been widened as far as possible by authorising even the Post Offices, with their ramifications through every nook and corner of the country, to receive subscriptions. The bonds are made available week after week at prices calculated to yield an interest of 6½ per cent per annum, and lest any one should be seriously obsessed with the gravity of the political situation of the present day, the issue is made as short as possible and repayable on September 15, 1935. The preliminaries which normally should have been attended to by way of preparation for the issue of the New Loan, were deliberately neglected. The bank rate was maintained at the high level of 7 per cent, and, if anything, the chances are at present for a further rise in the bank rate. The Treasury Bills were not suspended; on the other hand, the rate of yield was appreciably increased on the eve of the New Loan. I point out all these facts only to impress the essential differences between the New Loan this year and its predecessors and to the particularly unpropitious conditions in which this year's issue had to be announced. To shorten a story that would otherwise be too long, the New Loan signifies the recognition on the part of the Government that they have very little to expect by way of subscription from the money market proper and signifies their attempt to tap the large mass of small investors that are spread far and wide over the country. As usual, the subscription to the New Loan may be in one of three forms: (1) Cash; (2) Treasury Bills and (3) the Bonds which mature during this year. In order to provide one more outlet for large maturities of Treasury Bills that occur week after week, the Government have prescribed, unlike on previous occasions, that Treasury Bills

shall be eligible for conversion only on the dates of maturity. On enquiries the writer is in a position to say, that so far as bankers are concerned, they would every time prefer to invest in short-term Treasury Bills to keeping their funds locked up in four year bonds. In these circumstances, when the support of the extra money market sources is the principal and deciding factor with regard to the fate of the New Loan, it is naturally impossible to make any forecast of the prospects. For, considering that a 6½ per cent. Government security is an unheard of thing and that it has come just when people even in rural parts have learnt the value of investment in gilt-edge, the response from the mofussil to the New Loan might very possibly exceed even the Government's most sanguine expectations. If it does, the financial situation during the coming months might gain an appreciable relief and add to the strength which the successful and economic retrenchment might impart to the national budget and enable one to look with less diffidence on the prospects of the current financial year than it had been possible two or three months ago.

But at the same time it must not be overlooked that a 6½ per cent issue will work havoc in the gilt-edge market and render it more and more difficult to bring the borrowing rate of the Government in future in accord with sound economy and finance. No one can honestly support Government in this reckless measure; but the expediency of it is undoubted, and on this score the Government's critics might hold their views in abeyance and await the results.

What time the New Loan, however objectionable in some of its features, holds forth some hope of betterment in Government's finance, the position of the rupee-rate in the exchange market has begun to cause grave, almost unbearable, anxiety. For the last three weeks exchange has been quoted at 15¼d. and despite the large-scale flow of funds into Government's coffers through sales of Reverse Councils and Treasury Bills, there has been no upward tendency whatsoever visible. Banks have shown no interest in forward positions and business has been done only against cover. At the same time Reverse Councils have been sold for large amounts.

The effect of these last sales is to run down the stocks of gold in the Paper Currency Reserve. It might perhaps be useful here to point out that in the present conditions the only way of putting the Secretary of State for India in funds for the

purpose of meeting the Reverse Councils that are sold here, is to effect transfer from the London branch of the Gold Standard Reserve to the Home Treasury against a corresponding transfer in India from the Paper Currency Reserve to the newly established Indian branch of the Gold Standard Reserve. During recent months, every sale of Reverse Councils has meant a *pro tanto* reduction in the stocks of gold in the P. C. R. in India. Owing to the large demand for sterling from the Government of India, the gold stocks in the P. C. R. which stood at Rs. 20.45 crores on June 7 last, has come down to Rs. 10.86 crores on September 7, 1931. At the rate at which Reverses have been sold by the Government, the present stock of gold in the P. C. R. may not last for more than a month. The market, and the public generally, have begun to ask themselves what is the second line of defence for Government should they attempt to stand by their pet ratio. The gold and gold securities in G. S. R. which now stand at about £35 million naturally come to our minds first. Considering that it was only a few days ago that the Viceroy declared in the Assembly that any lowering of the present ratio is unthinkable, we have to presume that if it came to it, the Government would not stop short of utilising the G.S.R. in full for the maintenance of the statutory ratio. All the same, the nervousness of the business classes is a fact which we cannot burke, but at the same time any precipitate action in regard to the ratio is very unlikely to say the least of it.

#### BANKING ENQUIRY REPORT

The report of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee was published towards the close of the period under review, and though there has not been sufficient time for a careful study, it may still be ventured that in many respects the Committee have satisfactorily tackled our banking problems. The report may be said in essentials to be a unanimous report, as the differences between the majority headed by Sir B. N. Mitra, the Chairman, the minority led by Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas and the authors of the two dissenting minorities, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar and Mr. Manu Subedar, are differences of emphasis rather than differences of opinion in regard to fundamentals. Many of the recommendations of the Committee will, despite all that might have been said in their favour in the report, form the basis of public discussion and controversy before any specific reform is embodied in the statute of the Central and Provincial Legislature. What

is more important than the various details in which the Committee, after balancing the various views that have been expressed before them, have made a definite recommendation of their own, is that they have emphasised the importance of initiating as early as possible the different types of banks which have been evolved in the West. The Committee take the establishment of the Reserve Bank of India for granted, though they have unfortunately shirked the question of the directorate. They have stressed the importance of Land Mortgage Banks for an agricultural country like India; they deem it essential that an Indian institution, if possible the Imperial Bank of India, should enter exchange banking to provide opportunities for the training of Indians who, in the fullness of time, shall utilise it for gaining a bigger place for the nationals in this important field of banking. It is in regard to industrial banking that the Committee have been faced with a diversity of opinion. The foreign experts who appeared before them have been impressed more by age-old theory that India is more fitted to be an agricultural country than an industrial one and that industry in India cannot gain any substantial help from specially constituted industrial banks and less so, if such industrial banks should have the backing of the State in any form or manner. The *Statesman* points out in its comments on the Banking Report that the failure of industrial institutions in Germany during the crisis of mid-July should warn India against linking up the industries of the country too closely with State-aided institutions. In this respect what strikes me personally most is, that no nation can get important public institutions made to any particular mould; they grow according to the stress and needs of the time, and if in the first flush of political freedom India starts about with a serious programme of vast industrial expansion, it should hardly be difficult to devise those types of banks which will be in consonance with the national genius and suited to the peculiar requirements of the times. Space will not permit of a more lengthy reference to a topic that deserves full treatment in each of its many sub-divisions. It should suffice to say that whatever we may think of this recommendation or that the other, the work of the Banking Enquiry, with its numerous Provincial Committees and elaborate evidence and reports, forms an arduous spade work, the value of which will be fully realised only when we start in earnest the long delayed work of economic and industrial regeneration.

## CURRENT POETRY

[A good deal of fine poetry is being written now-a-days and not all of it confined to books. English and American papers contain verses of high quality alike in style and substance. We propose in these pages to publish selected poems from time to time. It is hoped that these poems culled from our contemporaries may be of interest to readers of the *Indian Review*.]

### When Gandhi Comes to London

By "EVOE"

The nightingale is dumber  
And droops the crimson rose;  
A few weeks more and summer  
Will find its lingering close;  
And oh! I lose my patience,  
I have no heart to sing  
Of German Reparations  
And all that kind of thing.

For crisis follows crisis,  
And some there are who scold  
Commodities and prices,  
And some who flee at gold;  
There is no rhyme nor reason  
In anything they say,  
It spoils the London Season  
When men go on that way.

I look towards September,  
For one thing then shall be  
Which all men shall remember  
To all eternity:  
Our Western manners loathing,  
The pundit, the Hindu,  
A loin-cloth for his clothing,  
Alights at Waterloo.

When Gandhi comes to London  
With laughter in his eyes  
All done things shall be undone  
And gay things shall be wise;  
Oh, cokenuts and candhi  
And coffee-ices brown  
Shall be the fare of Gandhi,  
When Gandhi comes to Town.

He shall not wear the trousers  
Of ordinary crooks,  
Nor join the boon carousers  
In restaurants-de-luxe;  
His food it shall be simple,  
His clothes he shall confine  
To something like a wimple  
Around the central line.

Ere yet the faithless swallow  
Has left us he shall come,

And crowds shall always follow  
A spectacle so rum;  
On Bernard Shaw we'll loose him  
To talk as Sage to Man,  
And Shaw shall introduce him  
To Einstein if he can.

And I shall take the fiddle,  
And Gandhi shall advance,  
His beach-wear round his middle,  
And join the mazy dance;  
And porter and coal-heaver  
In chorus shall conspire,  
And every stout believer  
In rational attire.

The big men sit and bellow  
About the moving mark,  
But Gandhi is the fellow  
To make Exchanges park;  
From Tring to Tonypandhi  
I hear the people say,  
"Oh, Gandhi Tell us, Gandhi,  
What Germany must pay!"

Ere yet the last white petal  
Has fallen from the rose,  
The nations he shall settle  
And leave them in repose;  
All done things shall be undone  
And all great things be less  
When Gandhi comes to London  
In near-to-nakedness!

—"PUNCH."

### Home Bound

By H. I. ROSTRON

Some men feel the pull of the tides  
And the call of the flying foam.  
Their hearts rebound at the seagull's note,  
And their lips taste salt at the sight of a boat,  
For to them the sea is Home.  
But I want the peace of the green earth's breast,  
And the scent of the soft-turned loam.  
I want the song from the blackbird's throat,  
And the sea of sky where the cloud-boats float,  
For to me the earth is Home.

—"EMPIRE REVIEW."



## Sonnets of Nightfall

By DANIEL WHITHEAD HICKY

Always I shall remember how the night  
Comes on a garden. There can never be  
A silence deeper than the day's last light  
Brings to a closing petal.  
Sleepily

A tulip yawns and nods upon the wind ;  
A bluebell tinkles faintly ; four o'clocks  
Forget that Time beats on eternally,  
Folded in crimson slumber.

Hollyhocks  
Breathe delicately as music that is thinned  
'To memory ; a bee sways on the stocks  
Where shadows hide his golden piracy.

The moon comes slowly and its white haad  
rocks  
The gate until the last bright firefly goes  
Into the dark cathedral of a rose.

This is the hour for lovers. Close the door  
And turn the latch, ye old and weary-eyed—  
The white moon climbs the sky for you no more.  
This is youth's hour. These bright stars, tide  
on tide,

Swirling from purple anvils of the night,  
Are but for lovers' hearts. The dark wind  
sings

Only for lips that meet when moons are white,  
Only for hearts that know no perishings.

Let them gather shadows about them and go  
Light-hearted, where lilacs hang heavy and still  
With the new-fallen dew ; let them whisper low,  
Forgetting that Dawn waits over the hill.

It is the hour for lovers when shadows creep ;  
Ye old and weary, close the door and sleep.

—"YALE REVIEW."

## Old Friend

By W. H. DAVIES

Forgive me, World, if I outlive my welcome :  
Still look on me with gracious thoughts and  
kind ;

Remembering all the love of my old friends  
That lie at rest and never change their mind.

Forgive me, World, if I am old and think  
A silver love deserves return in gold :  
An old dog friend—whose kennel was my shadow—  
Has left it empty, and I feel the cold.

—"THE OBSERVER."

## Mahatma Gandhi

By JEANNETTE TOMPKINS

"But what went ye out for to see?  
A reed, shaken by the wind?"

There was this man ;  
Who strove to see  
Truth, veiled within  
Mortality.

His flesh he scorned,  
And fleshly bonds ;  
Yet saw his brothers'  
Bleeding wounds.

In love, he turned  
His soul, to find  
Freedom from pain  
For humankind.

And found an Empire  
In his path—  
He seized a weapon—  
Love, not wrath.

Even his enemies  
He loved.  
Stones, blows, nor jail,  
His kindness moved.

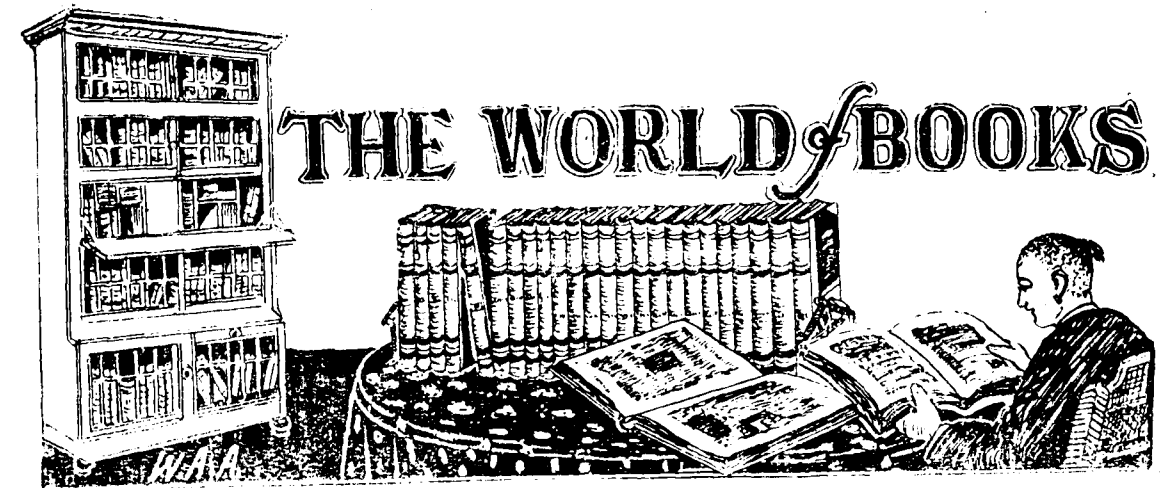
The Empire rides  
Its bloody way ;  
His Kingdom not  
Of this brief day !

Love knows no bondage  
Kings have thrown,  
But claims the universe  
Its own.

Across the world  
Men watching wait  
Before that humble  
Home of fate,

Where Love is reigning  
Over Power,  
And coming into  
Its own hour.

—"WORLD TO-MORROW,"



A STUDY IN ÆSTHETICS. By Louis Arnaud Reid, M.A., Ph.D. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London.

Books on Æsthetics are generally not meant for the ordinary readers, as being too philosophic and abstruse. There are, however, a few among these persons who desire to know something about the Science of Beauty. Their difficulty always has been the choice of a book which should lead them through the subject without getting into technicalities. Dr. Arnaud Reid's new book "A Study in Æsthetics" can very legitimately claim to be a definitive book in this particular respect. It is a book which any one can read with pleasure and ease provided he is not altogether ignorant about Art and artistic products. In the beginning of the book there are a number of definitions which clear the ground and remove that vague feeling of knowledge which is a real danger in understanding philosophy.

Appropriate sub-chapters are allotted to these preliminary explanations and examples are judiciously chosen. Thereafter follows a discussion of Art and the artistic impulse in the artist and the critic. All the attributes of Art receive lengthy discussions. The relation of Art to Truth is brought out with remarkable clearness and the last chapter on—what is called by the author—"The Enigma of Natural Beauty" is well worth reading a few times.

The book is philosophic but clear and written in ordinary and commonplace language. It cannot be said to surpass several books on Æsthetics which come to our mind and a few of which are cited in his text by Dr. Reid, but we can confidently say that in no book can be found so much learning with so little pedantry as is here contained in four hundred pages.

PANORAMIC INDIA. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. Price Rs. 10.

This is a companion volume to the *Picturesque India* published by the same firm a couple of years ago. It contains a unique collection of bird's-eye views of India. These photographs, we are told, were taken by one of the most distinguished American photographers, Mr. W. R. Wallace, who had toured all over India and took a number of remarkable photographs with his circuit camera specially made for him. A remarkable feature of these photographs is, that each and every detail of the scene depicted is quite clear. In some cases it would appear that the camera has taken photographs of distances of ten miles at a stretch and yet the minutest detail has been reproduced very clearly. The book has been specially printed for the publishers by the celebrated German Press : Messrs. Kunstanstalt Stengel & Co., Ltd. We gladly commend the book as an ideal gift-book for the Christmas season.



VOICE AND PERSONALITY. By Professor T. H. Pear: Chapman and Hall. Price 10s. 6d.

Professor Pear is a psychologist who, as he says, "has not yet lost interest in human beings" and he discusses with delightful humour the vocal peculiarities of clergymen, actors, sergeant majors, schoolmasters and even Prime Minister. The following quotation may possibly have some reference to the last of these:

"A technique useful at most English Committee tables is a 'plain man' form of address in which the sound waves are modulated at their birth by a pipe between the teeth. This renders the message less easy to interpret; yet it is generally assumed in this country that all people who speak with pipes in their mouths are manly and dependable."

The main experiment however recorded in this book is his vivisection in the interests of his science of nine persons: detective, private secretary, minor canon, tradeswoman, captain, judge, engineer, actor, and most innocent of all victims his own charming daughter aged eleven. These persons were required to broadcast and 634 listeners in many guesses, more or less caustic, as to their sex, age, occupation, and upbringing, as judged by their voices. The game was most enjoyable and many of the guesses were very near the mark, even though the judge was held to be a "cemetery chaplain who daily reads the funeral service many times", the actor was thought to be a social worker, and the captain to be a schoolboy, bank clerk or M. P. of independent means. The ultimate result will be familiar to all those whose business it is to read the confidential files employed in official circles in India. From a mass of discordant and discrepant opinions expressed by indulgent or indignant seniors over a long course of years on their luckless juniors, it is occasionally, though not always, possible to arrive at a conclusion which is not infinitely remote from the truth. The book should be read by all who dislike psychology.

PHRYNE OR LOVE AS A FINE ART. By Maurice Dekobra. T. Werner Laurie. Price 7s. 6d.

This is a playful and satiric book on love in the distracted, post-war world. Maurice Dekobra has the authentic French touch, light, graceful and benevolently cynical which smiles with wise tolerance at the follies and frailties of the human race. The publisher describes the book as "wit and playful cynicism regarding the temperaments of women of various nationalities". Certainly you have geographical headings: Argentine Amours, Slav Amours and so forth. Dekobra's brush paints a large canvas. He takes in his survey both the continents on the shores of the Atlantic. But the eternal feminine cannot be cubbed, cabined and confined by national limitations, and it would be true to say that Dekobra takes men and women for his subjects, not national types. Casual adventures in cafes, divorces and dramas passioned, marine flirtations and roulette love—you have the whole army of Cupid's victims on Dekobra's canvas. A book to be enjoyed, but also a book from which moralists would draw weighty conclusions.

EUROPE'S DEBT TO ISLAM. By Syed M. H. Zaidi, Re. 1-2. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co.)

This small brochure, for which a Foreword has been written by Sir P. C. Ray, is claimed by its author to be a synoptic view of what already exists abundantly in the English literature on the subject and to serve as an implement for waking up the young Muslims of India to an appreciation of the value of their heritage. The Moorish rule in Spain which had so much effect upon the material and intellectual prosperity of mediaeval Europe, Arab versatility in branches of knowledge like astronomy, mathematics, poetry, music and medicine, the greatness of men like Avicenna, Averroes, Ibn Khaldun and others are here described as showing the indebtedness of Christian Europe to mediaeval Islam.

LONG MISSING LINKS. By Vaduvur K. Duraiswami Ayyangar, B.A. Oriental Home University, Madras. Price Rs. 10. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co.)

If the size of a book dictates any proportion to the size of its review, well, the book under review will exceed the dimensions of a journal. Every line of its 691 pages contains controversial matter, and this is no place for a discussion of the subjects. The author's patience and perseverance, in true proverbial connotation, did overcome pyramids and mountains in a certain sense. He must be congratulated on his spirit of enquiry. But one is tempted to say that if the energy spent on an endeavour to establish a relationship between the Tamil Vaishnavism and the ancient Egyptian, Roman and Babylonian civilisations were spent on the compiling of a history of his country or anything else of true value, the author would have deserved the thanks of his countrymen. The book is an attempt at a discovery of the long missing links between "Aryans, Jesus Christ and Allah". While every page of it contains highly interesting bits of information, one doubts its chance of being applauded as a book of truth or of utility. The second volume is yet to come, and one cannot help saying that one looks forward with interest to the reading of it.

SPIRITUAL PRACTICE. By Ananda. Published by the Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati: 182-A, Mukhtar Babu Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.

This is an interesting book on practical religion, written in simple and lucid English. The writer himself says that he has written the book with the idea that a discussion of the preliminary stages and conditions of practical religion will be useful to spiritual aspirants. This purpose the book undoubtedly serves, but that does not mean that it is possible to agree with the writer completely. One cannot, for instance, subscribe to Ananda's views on meat diet or accept his interpretation of Karma Yoga. But this does not in any way detract from the value of the book.

TARKA SAMGRAHA OF ANNAMBHATTA. By S. Parthasarathy, M.A. Introduction by Dr. Hogg, Principal, Madras Christian College. Price Rs. 3-8 (cloth bound.) G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

The book under review is a fine introduction to the study of Indian Logic. The study of Indian Logic is a very interesting study from a point of view which is unique and quite different from the Western. Great writers like Croce have paid a tribute to Indian Logic, and this book which is a careful study of the Indian Logic is written from the philosophic point of view. Till now writers in India have been content to translate the Tarka Samgraha without pointing out the contribution which it has made towards the study of Logic in general as compared with the West. Mr. Parthasarathy has done a signal service in presenting it from a comparative standpoint, thus pointing out the way how Indian philosophy has added to the literature on the subject of Logic. He has carefully omitted all technical words and has made the work easy for both students and teachers who may be trying to find out a method of approach to the subject of Indian Logic. The University of Madras had, at the time it prescribed this work as essential for a philosophy course, done a wise thing, and Mr. Parthasarathy must be congratulated in having made the work lucid and helpful to the under-graduates of the University.

AN UPHILL ROAD. By M. L. Christlieb. (New Cheap Edition.) George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London. Price 3/6 net.

Miss M. L. Christlieb, of the London Mission Society, lived for many years at Anantapur. Of somewhat stoutish person, riding about constantly on her bicycle, she was long a familiar figure to residents in that town. Four years ago she made a book of her experiences in the district of Anantapur, and the volume before us is a cheap reprint of it.

## THE MYSTERY OF THE MAHABHARATA: Vol. I.

By N. V. Thadani. Published by Bharat Publishing House, Karachi. Price Rs. 12. (Can be had of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.)

The book under review is a remarkable one from many points of view. It is a closely reasoned analysis of the system of letter-analysis imbedded in the ancient Indian literature. The "Mahabharata", in the opinion of Prof. Thadani, is a great picture of all the systems of Hindu Philosophy. The battle of Kurukshetra is regarded as the contest between Vedanta and the religion of Buddha which is merely a sequel of Samkhya. The chapters on the development of the world out of the Egg, Hiranyagarbha, are dealt with carefully and scientifically. He considers that even the letters of the Sanscrit alphabet are developed out of this fundamental nature of the egg, as the meaning of the several letters go to show.

The first volume applies itself to the task of finding the meaning of the Vedic hymns in the light of the above letter-analysis. The meaningfulness of this application yields a rich harvest and goes to show that the traditional opinion that the Vedas are the most complete monument of Indian genius is real and true. It is only because this deeper phase of its interpretation has been too much slurred over and too much superficial reading has been fostered, that we are face to face with writers who speak of the Vedas as the primitive revelations of the human mind. With Aurobindo Ghose, the present writer seems to hold that the Vedas are symbolic representations of the real spiritual character of the world of phenomena. His discussion regarding the Vedic Gods are most suggestive in this respect.

The book is a remarkable study, and we wish the author all success in this new field of Sanscrit interpretation. The get-up of the book leaves nothing to be desired.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

- A STUDY OF CONVERSION. By Rev. Wyatt Lang. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.
- THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF POWER PRODUCTION. By George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.
- DAMAGED GOODS. By Upton Sinclair. T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London.
- FEDERAL POLITY. By B. M. Sharma, M.A., B.Sc. Upper India Publishing House, Ltd., Lucknow.
- TROPICAL HYGIENE. By Sir Pardley Lukis and Col. R. J. Blackham. Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta.
- THE SONG OF LIFE. By Krishnamurthi. Star Publishing Trust, Holland.
- WELFARE PROBLEMS IN RURAL INDIA. By A. P. Pillai, O.B.E., M.B., B.S. D. B. Taraporewala, Bombay.
- IDEAS. By Edmund Husserl. Geo. Allen & Unwin, London.
- SOCIAL SUBSTANCE OF RELIGION. By Gerald Heard. Geo. Allen & Unwin, London.
- THE LAW OF THE LARIAT. By Oliver Strange. Newnes.
- CLASSICAL SANSKRIT LITERATURE. By R. Vasudeva Sarma, M.A., B.L., National College, Trichinopoly.
- THE BEACHSIDE SONG. By R. Vasudeva Sarma, M.A., B.L., National College, Trichinopoly.
- THE ECONOMICS OF HANDLOOM. By Prof. N. G. Ranga, M.L.A. D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co., Bombay.
- ANNUAL STATEMENT OF THE SEA-BORNE TRADE OF BRITISH INDIA. Govt. of India Publication Branch, Calcutta.
- TRY SELF TRY DOCTOR. By a Recluse. The Saraswatha Sangham. 28, Pidariar Koll Street, G. T., Madras.
- GOD'S HOUSE. By A. R. Muni, Cuddappah.
- THE SONG OF PRAIRIE TO THE DANCING OF SHIVA. By Ernest Wood. Ganesh & Co., Madras.
- OCCULT TRAINING OF THE HINDUS. By Ernest Wood. Ganesh & Co., Madras.
- NATURAL THEOSOPHY. By Ernest Wood. Ganesh & Co., Madras.
- AN ENGLISHMAN DEFENDS MOTHER INDIA. By Ernest Wood. Ganesh & Co., Madras. Rs. 3. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co.)
- LETTERS THAT HAVE HELPED ME. Theosophy Coy. Ltd., Bombay.
- THE SELECT DOCTRINE OF INSTRUCTIONS. Theosophy Coy. Ltd., Bombay.
- ON THE SECRET OF DOCTRINE. Theosophy Co. Ltd., Bombay.
- PROOF CORRECTING. By Sita Ram. Commercial Book Company, Lahore.
- GENERAL KNOWLEDGE TESTS. By Mahesh Datta, M.A., Commercial Book Company, Lahore. Rs. 2. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co.)
- LOGARITHMIC, TECHNICAL AND OTHER USEFUL TABLES. By N. S. Nagpaul, B.Sc. Commercial Book Company, Lahore.

## Gandhiji on Current Events

[In view of Mr. Gandhi's pre-eminent position in the public life of this country and of the weight and authority of his pronouncements, it is proposed in these pages to present from time to time his views on the leading topics of the day.—EDITOR, *The Indian Review*.]

## THE SECOND SETTLEMENT

UNDER the heading "Alone, yet not alone", Mr. Gandhi writes in *Young India* of September 3, that many of his friends wanted him to take Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru with him to London. But all considerations were with the Congress Working Committee which, after full and prolonged debate, came to the conclusion that there should be a sole delegate which view Mr. Gandhi fully shares.

Mr. Gandhi then narrates how he felt weakness, how something in him told him that he should not bear the burden of the Simla visit alone, and how he invited Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Abdul Gaffar Khan and Dr. Ansari to be with him. He confesses that the presence of every one of them was most valuable to him and says:

I can now give out the secret that, but for their presence, and especially but for Jawaharlal's frank and insistent criticism, the second settlement, though identical in substance, would have taken a form very different from that in which it finally emerged. I must own that the form in which it has emerged is far superior to the one to which alone would have subscribed.

He concludes:

When I think of the prospect of London, when I know that all is not well in India, that second settlement is bereft of all grace and is charged with no pleasant memories, there is nothing wanting to fill me with utter despair. The horizon is as black as it possibly could be. There is every chance of my returning empty-handed. That is just the state which the realisation of one's weakness finds one in. But, believing as I do, that God has made the way clear for me through the second settlement, I approach my visit to London with hope and feel that any result that comes out of it will be good for the nation if I do not prove faithless to the mandate given to me by the Congress.

## GANDHIJI'S APPEAL

"Now that I am drawing away from the shores of India, let me appeal to the Indian people to preserve an absolutely non-violent atmosphere during my absence," said Mr. Gandhi to Reuter's correspondent aboard the *Rajputana* on September 2.

Mr. Gandhi urged the people of India to "follow out the constructive programme of the Congress, namely, removal of the four-fold curse: drink, drugs, foreign cloth, and untouchability, to revive the village industry of spinning, and to promote unity among the classes. He added:

"I also appeal to Englishmen, including officials, to trust the Congress and Congressmen if they really believe that power must pass from them to India."

## "IF I REACH LONDON"

"If I reach London, I can make this promise to all concerned that whilst on the one hand, I would not be guilty of selling the national cause, on the other, the most reactionary Englishmen need have no cause to fear about my reputed obstinacy or worse still anti-British feelings," says Mr. Gandhi in *Young India*.

Mr. Gandhi asserts with confidence that he has nothing but goodwill for the British, and if therefore he attends the Conference, he will leave no stone unturned to make the deliberations of the Conference a success.

Gandhiji promises to support the Congress case with arguments and to meet counter-arguments, and to try to solve the difficulties and doubts raised by the other side.

## "THE INDIA OF MY DREAMS"

Mr. Gandhi reached Aden on the morning of September 3, and was given a rousing reception by the resident Indians who presented him with a purse containing Rs. 4,000.

Asked by Reuter's correspondent what his programme in London would be, Mr. Gandhi replied:

"I shall strive for a constitution which will release India from all thralldom and patronage and give her, if need be, the right to sin. I shall work for an India in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country, in whose making they

have an effective voice; an India in which there shall be no high class and low class of people; an India in which all communities shall live in perfect harmony.

"There can be no room in such an India for the cause of untouchability or the curse of intoxicating drinks and drugs. Women will enjoy the same right as men. Since we shall be at peace with all the rest of the world, neither exploiting nor being exploited, we should have the smallest army imaginable.

"All interests not in conflict with the interest of the dumb millions will be scrupulously respected, whether foreign or indigenous. I hate the distinction between foreign and indigenous.

"This is the India of my dreams for which I shall struggle at the Round Table Conference. I may fail, but if I am to deserve the confidence of the Congress, my principals, I shall be satisfied with nothing less."

#### BRITAIN AND INDIA

"The British Government is faced with such staggering domestic problems that it is not likely to take responsibility for refusing India's demands, with the consequent renewal of Civil Disobedience and Boycott." This statement was made by Mr. Gandhi in the course of an interview with Reuter on his arrival at Marseilles. Mr. Gandhi added, however: "Nor shall I assume responsibility for renewal of struggle until every possibility of peace is exhausted."

#### MISSION OF PEACE

While crossing the Channel and at Folkestone, Mr. Gandhi showed great geniality towards pressmen and was ready with humorous recollections of past contacts with friends who came to greet him. Almost his first words on arrival for publication were to *The Times*:

"I want the goodwill of every Englishman and every Englishwoman in the mission of peace which has brought me to England."

#### BROADCAST SPEECH TO AMERICA

Broadcasting for half an hour to America from Kingsley Hall, on the 13th September, Mahatma Gandhi said that hitherto Nations had fought like brutes, but Indians felt that the law governing brute creation was not the law that should guide the human race. He would personally wait, if necessary, for ages, rather than seek to attain the freedom of India by bloody means. The world was sick to death of blood spilling, and he flattered himself with the belief that perhaps it would be the privilege of India to show the world a way out. He invited all great Nations of the Earth to co-operate with India in her mighty struggle.

#### REPLY TO BRITISH WELCOME

At the Friends' Meeting House in Easton, Gandhiji was accorded a hearty welcome on his arrival on 12th September. The Members of the Reception Committee, headed by Mr. Lawrence Houseman, received Mr. Gandhi at the entrance. Mr. Houseman's welcome was brief. It was a simple thanks to Gandhiji for having come over, and to it was added the cordial and heartfelt assurance of unconditional goodwill of all friends for the cause which he represented.

Gandhiji's first words in reply to the welcome were words of apology explaining his physical frailty. "Forgive me," he said, "for my inability to speak to you standing." Proceeding, Gandhiji said:

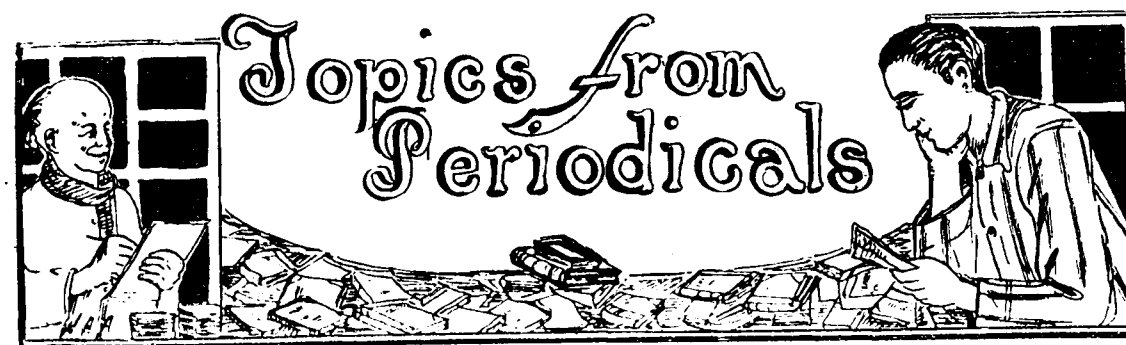
"You have given me the most flattering and the most embarrassing of welcomes. Let me convey to you what the Indian National Congress, of which I have come here as representative, stands for. The Congress wants unadulterated freedom for the dumb and semi-starved millions of India." (*Applause.*)

And then in a semi-humorous reference to the financial position of England, he said:

I wish it were possible for Englishmen and Englishwomen to realise that their budget will not honestly be balanced unless the budget between England and India is balanced.

Gandhiji concluded saying:

I believe in peace, but not in the peace which demands the sacrifice of honour but in the peace which will vindicate honour.



#### THE ETHICS OF NON-VIOLENCE

"Non-violent non-co-operation as a technique of re-solving inter-racial and international conflict" is the subject of an article in a recent publication of the *Sociological Society of America*. The writer, Dr. Haridas T. Mazumdar, points out that the refusal of the white bureaucracy to recognize the Indian intellectuals as leaders of the country caused the latter to turn to the masses and make them conscious of the economic, moral and political wrongs perpetrated upon the country by an alien Government. To refuse to co-operate in political function, to undermine the prestige of the British Government, to boycott British goods, to cement bonds of unity by a disciplined adherence to non-violence on a mass scale, were felt capable of undermining British control. The Indian situation of to-day presents an example of a crisis created by these means and Dr. Mazumdar indicates in this article the trend that the world will some day abandon the method of violent warfare and adopt the method of non-violent resistance in future attempts to secure the redress of international and inter-racial wrongs.

"The technique of non-violent non-co-operation is the nearest approximation to a moral equivalent of war. The criticism of the Western world directed to the negativistic wording of the program is undeserved. The program does not stand for national or racial isolation. In a crisis such as confronts India and England, the choice is not between co-operation and non-co-operation—it is a choice between war and non-violent non-co-operation. The positive values accruing to the

intra-group process of adhesion and unity must be stressed. The country is being literally re-born. New attitudes are sure to arise and new culture patterns will, in course of time, become stratified. For the present, however, the Indian scene is a situation in flux. It cannot be over-emphasized that the success of the technique is dependent entirely upon the preservation of non-violence, i.e., love in thought, word and deed. Non-violence and truth are the cardinal principles of the movement—how different are these two principles from hatred and propaganda of lies which underlie wars! Mahatma Gandhi's name will be indissolubly linked with the program which India is successfully working out toward the attainment of *Swaraj*."

#### WHAT MATTERS MOST IN LIFE

Professor Julian Huxley (the celebrated scientist) writing in *Achievement* of the things that really matter, observes:

"In my opinion what matters to the individual—once the obstacle to mere living has been surmounted—is that he or she should find some aim which can never be wholly satisfied, or, what comes to the same thing; some pursuit which would help their real selves to be continually growing.

The more we devote ourselves to the beauty and interest of music or literature or any other art, the more inexhaustible do the possibilities of art appear and the more enjoyment awaits us. The more we aim at right living, the more the goal of the perfect life recedes—but also the more do we feel that it is worth while aiming at it."

## THE PURPOSE OF A UNIVERSITY

In the *Political Quarterly*, Professor S. Alexander, O.M., F.B.A., stresses that the purpose of a University is to prepare for the professions in a liberal spirit by pursuing the sciences on which those professions are founded. Universities tend more and more to take over and include the work of academies whose purpose is the mere cultivation of science. The distinctive feature of University work in the present day is the inclusion of technology and that inclusion is the best key to the real understanding of the business of a University as we conceive it at present. The word Science should be understood in a broad sense and should comprehend arts also. What makes study in all subjects academic is its liberal spirit which is a spirit of pursuit, not choice of a subject. There is much affected depreciation of knowledge, as if the accumulation of information were worthless. What the University should seek to provide is the command of a subject, afterwards to be applied, which will make the application worthy of a free man. Such education may be justly called liberal. The methods of teaching should be such that the better student may prosecute under the guidance of the teacher some piece of research however limited, and become qualified to carry on the work of investigation or at least to acquire the mastery of a science which may make him a live teacher of others. As a dish cannot be composed of condiments alone, neither can a University consist of great investigators who cannot teach on more than an exceptional few whom they may inspire. On the other hand, a University condemns itself to smallness and sterility which cannot afford to have such men. The University should also have men of the type, who, being really full of the scientific spirit, do not themselves discover, but are admirable teachers. The great teacher who does not investigate, is more worth possession by a University than one who investigates, not

because he wants to, but because he is expected to do so. The idea that teaching is but an interruption in the proper work of a professor is to be rejected unconditionally. But it should be remembered that the most useful teaching of a professor is not always the lecture but the guidance of students in laboratory or learned investigations.

## AN INDIAN COLLEGE IN FRANCE

The University city of Montpellier has been prominent from the earliest Middle Ages to modern times. And since the opening of the Indian College there, Indians, Englishmen and Frenchmen have often asked why there should be separate residential colleges for Indians. Prof. Patrick Geddes, writing in the current number of the *Indian Affairs*, is of opinion that the Eastern students need the fullest possible contact with Western culture, and among all the other Universities, France being free from all suspicion of race-prejudice, gives a cordial welcome to foreign visitors.

Montpellier was not chosen in any way exclusively, but rather the reverse, as being the best point in France for receiving students and preparing them for further acquaintance with the West. First of all it enjoys the best and healthiest of European climates, that of the warm-temperate Mediterranean zone, and offers a dry, sunny transition from tropical heat to the cold-temperate regions beginning north of Montpellier, which, with their longer winters, are frequently depressing to the Indian newcomer in health and studies alike. Moreover, plunged at once into the vast labyrinth of a great northern capital, such as Paris, London, Berlin or Vienna, there is a danger that the student may miss opportunities for culture and study, and be led away by the lower elements and temptations of the great cities. On the other hand, in this moderate sized university and city, the essentials of European cultural traditions and activities are organized and made accessible.

## A PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

The *Manchester Guardian* has a thoughtful leader on the Round Table Conference in which while it is emphatic about the concessions that the British Government must make as a result of the discussions, it also stipulates that Mr. Gandhi must try to persuade and placate the Britisher who is "the average man". It says:

The value and permanence of any settlement will depend on reducing the sphere of British authority within the narrowest and most clearly defined limits. Even where an external authority has to be invoked, it is worth considering whether the League of Nations could not for some purposes replace the British Parliament.

We live in the twentieth, not the nineteenth, century. Again, Mr. Gandhi tells us that the ideal of Congress is pure nationalism. Others call it pure democracy, and both are often interpreted as implying undiluted majority rule. But that is just what a community circumstanced as the Indian Moslems are, may find it difficult to accept, and Hindu nationalists would do well to realise that nothing is so alarming or so irritating to a minority as a hearty invitation to trust the majority and come into its wide-open arms.

Lastly, in a conference attended by Mr. Gandhi there is a great danger that words and formulas may be used which will generate an atmosphere of insincerity and hypocrisy that must in the long run help the extremists to cause an explosion. Mr. Gandhi himself is perfectly sincere, but the average man, British or Indian, is incapable of unreservedly accepting his methods or his aims.

But politics have to do with the conduct of the average man, and if the Conference is to accept Mr. Gandhi's ideas, "the maladjustment will soon make itself felt".

Mr. Gandhi must not ask us for a change of heart or tempt us to profess to be entirely unselfish or careless of British interests.

He had better be content to take us as he finds us—a nation of shopkeepers who have learnt that we cannot force our customers to buy from us, that it pays us to be on good terms with them, that their ruin is our loss and their prosperity our prosperity. But we will not take over India's debt or prohibit the export of cotton goods to India by way of reparation for past injuries.

The past is past, and men's actions and motives had better not be too narrowly scrutinised. "If Thou, Lord, wilt be extreme to mark what is done amiss: O Lord, who may abide it?"

## PURITY

Mahatma Gandhi has an interesting article in *Young India*. Writing on the duties of a Brahmacharya, he says that by Brahmacharya is not meant mere celibacy, but "complete control over all the senses and freedom from lust in thought, word and deed". As such, Brahmacharya is the royal road to self-realisation. How to attain it?

"A Brahmachari must needs control his palate. He must eat to live, and not for enjoyments. He must see only clean things and close his eyes before anything unclean. It is thus a sign of polite breeding to walk with one's eyes towards the ground and not wandering about from object to object. A Brahmachari will likewise hear nothing obscene or unclean, smell no strong stimulating things.

"Let the aspirant to Brahmacharya keep his hands and feet engaged in all the waking hours in healthful activity. Let him also fast occasionally. He must have clean companions, clean friends and clean books. The last and not the least is prayer. Let him repeat *Ramanama* with all his heart regularly every day and ask for divine grace. None of these things are difficult for an average man or woman. They are simplicity itself. But their very simplicity is embarrassing. Where there is a will, the way is simple enough. Men have not the will for it and hence vainly grope. The fact that the world rests on the observance, more or less, of Brahmacharya or restraint, means that it is necessary and practicable."

## ENGLAND AND INDIA

G. K. Chesterton deplores that the nearer England gets to India, the less she understands her.

"When we dealt with the active resistance of Hyder Ali, the Muslim, both sides were fighting with the same weapons and in the same world. When we deal with the passive resistance of Gandhi the Mahatma, we are in a world as unfamiliar as magic."

## WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN AMERICA

Dr. B. B. Mundkar, writing in the *Modern Review* for September, traces how an all-round and useful training is given for women in American Colleges. In the Iowa State College for Women, there is the home economic course which is the best equipped and staffed institution in the Union, for it affords training for everything that could make women recognize "that a College course will not only increase their earning power but will make them finer women, more capable of meeting whatever situation that may present itself in life, whether in business and professional world or as a home-maker and a mother".

But the centre of women's activity in the College is of course the Home Economics Division for which large number of girls are enrolled. The Home Economics course in the old days was meant to teach cooking and sewing. But the times have changed.

"With the increasing demands of modern civilization it not only means learning how to administer a home wisely and happily and to occupy a fitting place in community life but it means preparing to enter one of those professions for which home economics provides a basic training.

"The Division of Home Economics is organized into the following departments which contribute to all sides of home-making education: applied art; foods and nutrition; institutional administration (management of tea-rooms and cafes); physical education; textiles and women's clothing; household administration which includes home management, child care, child training, and household equipment."

The Home Economics Hall, or the Hec building as the girls affectionately call it, is a stately edifice, combining dignity with charm, quite in keeping with its purpose. It is completely equipped for the study of all phases of

home-making education. Modern laboratories furnished with up-to-date apparatus is a feature of all departments of the division and among the special features are: the unit kitchens planned like very convenient home kitchens; the equipment laboratories stocked with all types of up-to-date home-equipment; the institutional kitchen and tea-room where girls specializing in this department have opportunities to learn the correct methods of taking orders, serving, etc. etc.

"The senior students edit and publish with the help of the faculty a useful journal four times a year. The *Iowa Home-maker* is an illustrated journal with a wide circulation in the State and is popular among Iowa women."

In concluding the writer appeals earnestly "that those who wish to dedicate their lives for the noble purpose of the emancipation of our country and the education of our women, would do well to apply, and their applications are sure to be considered with sympathy and encouragement".

## INDIA IN PERIODICALS

AN EARLY SUPPORTER OF SHIVAJI. By Sir Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., C.I.E. [*Indian Historical Quarterly*, June 1931.]

THE THEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. By "Gnostic." [*Modern Review*, September 1931.]

INDIAN BORROWINGS IN LONDON. By Dr. D. L. Dubey, M.A., Ph.D. [*Indian Affairs*, July 1931.]

THE FOUNDERS OF VEDIC IDEALISM. By Sitnath Tattvabhushan. [*The Calcutta Review*, September 1931.]

INDIA'S INTERNATIONAL STATUS. By Dr. Lanka Sundaram. [*The Hindustan Review*, May-June 1931.]

DEVATAS OF ANCIENT INDIA. By Prof. Jwalaprasad Singhal. [*The Holkar College Magazine*, August 1931.]

PRINCES AND THE INDIAN FEDERATION. By Prof. Gurnuk Nihal Singh. [*The Khalsa Review*, July 1931.]

INDIAN ART EXHIBITION IN LONDON. By J. D. Beresford. [*The Aryan Path*, Aug. 1931.]

## PARLIAMENTARY REFORM

The proposals of Sir Oswald Mosley's new party relating to Parliamentary reform are summarised by Messrs. John Strachey and C. E. M. Joad in the *Political Science Quarterly*. Parliament, by trying to govern the country itself, has rendered itself incapable of performing its real function, that of choosing a government. The result is that no one governs and government is checked, harassed and interminably delayed by Parliament; and the latter body is too big, too clumsy and too inexperienced to tackle the complex problems of administration. The remedy is that Parliament must relinquish its administrative functions. The initiation of legislation should be formally transferred to the executive. Legislation effected by the issue of Orders in Council should lie on the table of the Commons for a week, during which a debate can be challenged on them and an adverse vote given. The full House, sitting as Committee of Supply, should consider individual estimates of each of the great departments of State. Government should introduce the Budget and Finance Bill as at present; and the present Committee and Report stages should be retained. The procedure of private bills should be abolished, and local authorities and public bodies could be given the necessary powers by Order in Council. These reforms will abolish the business which occupies the major portion of the time of Parliament now. Parliament will retain the right of dismissing Government and compelling it to submit itself to the electorate. It should be empowered to pass admonitory resolutions for the notice of Government; it should have the right of interpellations. There need be no necessity for the creation of an industrial and economic national council, as has been suggested by some. The Cabinet should be reduced in size and its responsibility should continue.

## THE CHURCH AND STATE IN ITALY

"Since the Fascist State was formed, the Roman imperial idea has been steadily growing and is moving in a direction that is by no means new in Italian history," writes Mr. J. D. Gregory in the pages of the *English Review* for August. There is the danger of Fascism overriding the great benefits which it has conferred on the country under the lead of Mussolini. Against this the Church is protesting, as it has consistently protested throughout its turbulent history. The writer says:

"The line between religion and politics is thin, and any and every Church must and does lay claim to a certain *potestas indirecta*. The fact only remains that the friction between Church and State arises, now as ever, at every stage and in every form, and nowhere more acutely than where ethical divergences are seemingly narrow. The tragedy is that, in this present quarrel between the two in Italy, both are fundamentally aiming at stemming a common danger to humanity. It is the realization of a common ideal alone that can bring a disastrous conflict to an end. The Papacy is careful not to condemn Fascism as such: Fascism still officially holds to the recognition of religion. But in this principle of the education of youth the Church is inflexible, and it is therefore essential that the Fascist Government should, before it is too late, come to an amicable agreement with the Church. The alternative is undoubtedly in the long run another *Canonis*, with, as an inevitable result, the weakening of the common front against the onslaught of Communism."

## INDIAN LADIES' MAGAZINE

The new volume of the *Indian Ladies' Magazine* is an attractive issue with a number of interesting features. It has a fine illustrated cover and its contents are varied and interesting as befits a household Magazine. There are special features for women and children, and the poems and pictures and notes are full of entertainment for the young.



## THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN INDIA

One of the most outstanding facts in the Indian struggle for freedom is that while everything foreign seems to be at discount, the English language alone is making itself more and more secure. The cries of "Boycott British Goods", with all their note of war, have left the English language severely alone. Is it not the unconscious recognition of the fact that the English language has come to stay in India, asks Prof. Sunder Lal in the course of an article in the *Bombay Chronicle Weekly*. But what is even more gratifying to find, is the vindication of the principle of all social development that the cultural status transcends that of the national prestige.

What has the English language done for India during the last hundred years? Prof. Sunder Lal goes on to say :

Swami Vivekanand burst upon the Western world with the message of India. It was the magic of English words which enabled Keshub Chander Sen to expound the mysteries of religion. One who has read Sir Surendranath Banerji's "A Nation in the making", will recall that it was the English language alone which showed a vision of an united India. Again, it was the English version of Tagore's works that won him the Nobel prize for literature. It is still more significant to note that our Mahatma Gandhi himself owes most in his thinking and undertakings to the English language. The readers of his autobiography "My Experiments with Truth" are familiar with the feeling manner in which the Mahatma has testified to the influence that Ruskin's "Unto the Last", Tolstoi's "Kingdom of God is within You", and Sir Edwin Arnold's English version of Bhagwad Gita have had on his life. If fancy and imagination were permitted to have their way, one might say that Mahatma Gandhi is an Indian of purely "British make". Instances of such forms of service that English has rendered us may be easily multiplied. We need only ask if, without the mastery of the English speech, people like Shastri, Sapru, Sarojini Naidu, Das-Gupta, Radhakrishnan, Jinnah, Mohammad Ali would have won us the honour that they have done in the eyes of the West.

But the question of the English language in India is not a question of achievement but of principle. It has entered our life "like the camel in the fable which could not either be pushed out by the neck or bowed out by politeness". And then the time spirit must warn us. Says Prof. Sunder Lal :

Do we not know that in spite of Mahatma's ten years' efforts to make Hindi our national language, English

refuses to vacate the throne. Was it not at the last Congress session that "English" the audience shouted "English," when Jawaharlal, the darling of India, rose up to address them in Hindi. English has proved a veritable temptress. Even Prof. Karve of the Poona Women's University fame and one of the extreme vernacularists has had to admit, as a result of his recent European tour, the unifying influence of English. A few years ago Mr. Ganguly of the Y. M. C. A. made a survey of the Indian publications which revealed that the number of English publications was the highest. An interesting commentary on the problem was furnished sometime ago by the Secretary to the Indian Institute of Political and Social Science, Bombay, when he prescribed a course of studies for public men wherein not a single Indian book finds a place. A more effective answer is to be found in the C. P. High School Curriculum Revision Committee Report published last year. This Committee found no support for its proposal to make English an optional subject in High Schools and that many pupils were being compelled to take the vernacular medium contrary to the wishes of the guardians. Last but not the least the power of the English press in India has been tremendous in arousing the political consciousness of the people. It is the English press to which the posterity will assign the palm of glory for national and social service to our land.

## LORD IRWIN'S VICEROYALTY

The *Hindusthan Review* publishes an article on "the triumph of Lord Irwin's viceroyalty" by Mr. C. S. Ranga Aiyar, M.L.A. Mr. Aiyar is of opinion that no Viceroy in India's chequered history had ventured more or achieved more than Lord Irwin. To him he attributes Britain's change of attitude to India and Congress co-operation in constitution-making.

"Lord Irwin was the first English statesman to see that there could be no real peace in Indian politics just as in the case of Ireland—until and unless the Extremists became willing to be rallied. Whether this rallying process so happily started by a great Viceroy will continue and succeed is yet too previous to state. For the present, Lord Irwin has laid the foundation of peace and goodwill on which alone any stable constitutional structure of self-government could be securely erected. Those who disturb that foundation—whether Indian or British—will be the mad enemies of both countries. And in the laying of that foundation broad and deep in the hearts and minds of the good people of England and India lies the culmination of Lord Irwin's achievements."

## POLITICS AND YOUTH IN U.S.A.

Prof. Harold Laski, in the course of an article which is given the place of honour in the July *Harpers*, discusses the political indifference of the American under-graduate. Nothing is more striking in the European university or for the matter of that, in the Indian university, than the interest of the students in the political life of their time. In one way or another, politics is perhaps the major non-academic activity. And there is a wide-spread desire for a political career. In startling contrast to this the American student seems to be almost a non-political animal. "He may know what is happening in Congress or the legislature of his State, but he feels no sense of responsibility for either and no obligation of any kind to interest himself in their affairs."

"The Youth of a nation," said Disraeli, 'are the trustees of posterity ;' but a grave problem is raised when they refuse the exercise of what is vital to their trusteeship. 'That seems to one observer at least,' says Prof. Laski, 'the outstanding temper of the American university to-day. It is a striking phenomenon. The American under-graduate, in my own judgment, is just as able as the European student. In my own experience also, it is no more difficult to fire his idealism and use it for great purposes. So far, at least, the ends to which it has been directed have lacked the concomitant of a civic equation. To improve his economic or social position has been the purpose of university life rather than a desire to enrich the community by disinterested service. I do not doubt that the student can appreciate this very different end. He realizes the greatness of scientific effort. He admires the great scholar and he has reverence for the great teacher. If he can be made to see that the statesman who shapes the contours of public life builds the conditions upon which depend alike the progress of science and scholarship, he will bend his energies to the service of statesmanship.'"

## INDIAN ART

Mr. Vasudeo Metta, writing in the *Empire Review* for August, says that Indian art is different from the arts of the other nations, specially Western nations, in that it is mainly symbolical. The Western artist represents an object for its own sake, but an Indian artist represents it in order to convey some philosophical concept. Indian artists are fond of using symbols in their sculpture. As for instance, the writer draws our attention to the fact that Good and Evil is symbolized by the churning of the ocean by the Gods and Demons from the opposite sides. The dance of Shiva also symbolizes the movement of Matter in order to create new forms when thrilled into activity by the Universal Spirit.

The writer concludes that Indian art occupies an important place among the arts of the world. It is important not only because it has produced the Taj Mahal, the Ajanta frescoes and some statues of great spiritual beauty, but also because it has influenced the architecture, painting and sculpture of Ceylon, Burma, Nepal, Tibet, Cambodia, Siam, Java, China, Korea and Japan. The marvellous sculptures of Borobudder in Java, the mighty temples of Angkor Vat in Cambodia and the exquisite frescoes in the Horiuji temple, near Nara in Japan, could not have come into existence had there been no Indian art.

## THE IDOLATRY OF WORK

'Men ought to work.' True and timely the saying is, but we may sadly abuse the undoubted fact, says Dr. Dinsdale Young in the *Methodist Magazine*. "We may overdo work. That is an imminent danger with industrious people. We may make it the be-all and end-all of life. This is a disastrous blunder. Dean Vaughan has a striking sermon on 'The idolatry of work'. All too readily do some men turn work into an idolatry. 'Men ought to work.' Yes, but there are other duties they must not neglect. We must not lose our real self in work. We must build up our character."

## INDIA AND THE LEAGUE

Mr. Durga Das, Editor of the Associated Press of India, in an article to the *Headway* of August, sets forth in a lucid manner how the League of Nations promotes the ideals which have been Indian for centuries, and why India must always watch with the most sympathetic interest the development of the League. And if the League succeeds in establishing a real link, he says, the East will certainly meet the West.

"The Indian life has thus been and is fundamentally based on the ideal of peace and brotherhood which the League of Nations has set before itself, but we Indians believe that permanent success of the League will come about, not merely through mutually agreed limitations placed on material expansion or weapons of warfare, but by developing an outlook which will rule out of the mind of mankind the ideal of aggression, of warfare, and of conquest, as the motive force and sanction behind our civilisation. This is the very reason why Hinduism has no church, no defined method of worship, and no missionary plans or schemes. It has deemed the philosophy of life for anyone to acquire, because Hinduism believes that philosophy of life is not taught but is a self-growth.

"Every Indian is thus a great believer in the ideals of the League of Nations and hopes that the League will find peace for our distracted world and thereby succeed in forming a permanent link between East and West on the only basis on which it can last—the basis of spiritual uplift of the people of the world through preaching the universal brotherhood of mankind and futility of warfare as an instrument to please our Maker. And when this succeeds the impact of West on East, which is now superficial, will take deeper root and lead to those material improvements which can surely be made consistent with the spiritual ideals of the East."

## BRAIN FAG

The advice generally given to a tired business holiday-maker is, "Now is your chance to make up for lost time! Take with you a reliable dictionary, a large note-book and a dozen or so of those works which you have always felt that you ought to read. Eschew "light literature" and concentrate on serious reading for so many hours every day. Make a programme and stick to it in spite of all tempting distractions". Mr. Jeffery E. Jeffery, writing about the holiday reading in the *Publishers and Booksellers*, observes that the holiday reading should not be in anyway in the nature of a holiday task. If it is so, then it ceases to be what it should be a pastime just as golf and bathing and sightseeing are pastimes.

The average human brain is given more so-called rest than is good for it, and certainly far more than it requires. Granted an adequate amount of sleep the brain does not need rest; it needs exercise. But the exercise must be varied. And the fact that the Tired Business Man has been unable or, more probably, unwilling to vary his mental exercise, is the real cause of what he is pleased to call 'Brain Fog'.

The holiday season is beginning. In the course of the next three months many hundreds of thousands of people will be having some weeks of leisure. Amongst them there will be many scores of thousands of potential book-buyers.

Of these, some of course will know exactly what books they want and will buy them. But many will be hesitant. They will be asking for 'something to read while away', and quite frequently they will accept, complacently enough, whatever is suggested. Here is a chance for the bookseller. Let him remember that the reading which these people will do while they are on holiday will be done under different conditions from that of their normal workaday lives. They will have time on their hands, and they will feel freer and therefore more energetic, mentally as well as physically. They will be disposed, if the idea is tactfully presented to them beforehand, to tackle something rather more strenuous in the way of literary exercise. It may be possible, in short, to push them a little further up that graduated slope at the top of which is gathered the select band of confirmed, insatiable, and cultured book-buyers. It should be a book-selling maxim that, other things being equal, the better the class of book a customer buys, the more books will he be likely to buy in the course of the year.

## FEDERAL COMMITTEE MEETING

After an interval of over seven months, the Indian Round Table Conference resumed its work on the 7th September when the Federal Structure Sub-Committee met at St. James' Palace, Lord Sankey presiding.

Out of 31 members of the Committee, only about half were present. In greeting the Committee, Lord Sankey said the coming weeks would afford an opportunity for reaching an understanding. The Prime Minister in his speech expressed his determination to continue the same good relations with the delegates as before. He would remain the Chairman as before. Though there might be a change in the Government, there had been no change in public aims or private friendships. Several other speeches were made by Indian as well as British delegates. The new Secretary of State for India also spoke. Sir M. Shafi expressed the common desire that they should succeed in framing a constitution for India, in which all sections, irrespective of colour, caste or creed, would find a legitimate place.

When the Committee met again on Monday the 14th, Mr. Gandhi was present but was silent and could not participate as it was his day of silence. Lord Sankey, after welcoming Mr. Gandhi and others, announced the four main heads for discussion:

- (1) Strength and composition of the Federal Legislature.
- (2) Direct and indirect election.
- (3) Relations of the two Chambers, and
- (4) Distribution of finances between the Federation and its units.

A discussion under these heads followed in which the Maharaja of Baroda, the Maharaja of Rewa, Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan, Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar, Mrs. Subbaroyan, Mr. N. M. Joshi, Sir P. C. Mitter, Mr. Zafarullah Khan and Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoj participated.

On Tuesday the 15th, Mr. Gandhi put the case for the Congress at some length. Addressing the Committee, he

demanding "equal partnership" for India in the British Commonwealth with the right to sever the connexion and dissolve partnership at any time. He traced the history of the Indian National Congress and claimed that it represented "all Indian interests and all classes".

Pundit Malaviya urged that the question of the Minorities should not be allowed to hinder the success of the Committee's work.

Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for India, said that it would be better for the Committee to lay aside "general principles" and get on with the definite task of working out details of an All-India Federation within the British Empire.

The general debate on direct or indirect election to the Federal Legislature was continued the next day (16th September) by Sir Mirza Ismail, Sirdar Ujjal Singh, Mr. Zafarullah Khan, Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar and others.

There was a passage-at-arms between Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoj and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru when the former declaring that since the institution of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms the Upper House had saved India from disaster, suggested that the official *bloc* should be retained therein.

Sikh and Muslim speakers made it clear that they could not commit themselves to the Federal Scheme until the communal issue had been solved.

Mr. Gandhi made a long speech at the Federal Structure Sub-Committee, on the 17th, in the course of which he made "a gentle and humble complaint" that His Majesty's Government had not given the Committee the lead which would help them to reach conclusions.

Mr. Gandhi found himself in agreement with the remarks made by Lord Peel, who had pointed to certain advantages which the method of indirect election possessed over direct election. He said he was wedded to adult suffrage, did not want a Second Chamber, and was definitely opposed to the whole idea of nominated members.

## THE VICEROY'S ADDRESS

H. E. Lord Willingdon addressed a joint Session of both the Houses of the Central Legislature in the Assembly Chamber on September 14. In the course of the address, His Excellency observed:

We are met at a time when the future development and progress for India are engaging the attention of our delegates in London, and we all trust that their discussions with their British fellow delegates which have just recommenced may produce the best possible results at a time, too, when both the political, the financial, and economic conditions of the country are causing us all the greatest anxiety and concern. It is surely a time when more than ever before, all races, classes and communities in India should cultivate the spirit of co-operation of mutual confidence and trust, for is it not true to say that we all have a great common purpose in view, namely, the handing over to Indians of the responsibility of the administration of their local affairs with a view to securing for India an absolutely equal position alongside the other Dominions within the British Empire.\* \* \*

India, like every other country, must regard it as her foremost duty to devise means to weather the unprecedented economic storm which is now disturbing the whole world. It is essential in the interests of the country's credit that special action in this matter should not be delayed, and you will be informed shortly of my Government's proposals for dealing with the situation. For the present it suffices for me to announce clearly and decisively that we are determined to meet the situation adequately and to maintain those principles of sound finance which India has always followed.

This time of constitutional change is not one for making dangerous experiments with untried methods. On the contrary we shall work on proved principles which in the long run always reward those who have courage and tenacity to hold fast to them. I would add that rumours that my Government propose to meet difficulties by such methods as lowering the value of the country's currency are entirely unfounded. Plans necessary to restore the financial equilibrium will inevitably demand sacrifices from all classes, from the highest downwards and I am confident not only that these sacrifices will be willingly made but that India will emerge successfully from her present troubles.

The intrinsic position of India is thoroughly sound. She has not pledged her credit to finance extravagant or unproductive expenditure. Her trade is based on commodities which are necessities for the world and she

can produce them on terms which can compete with any other country. Such difficulties as we must now encounter are caused not by any internal defects but by an economic cyclone which has come upon all the world and which no single country by its own isolated action can alleviate.

Our task in these circumstances is to preserve the situation until the force of the tempest is past and in order that we may succeed in this task the one great need is that all classes and communities in India, officials and businessmen, Indians and Europeans, town and country, should pull together with a common effort. This is a time for all those who are serving India or who owe to her their political or economic allegiance to put public interest above all thoughts of private gain or political advantage. This is the appeal which I wish to broadcast to the country. If it is heard, then I can safely prophesy that India will emerge strengthened from her trials and that in the years to come she will be able to look back upon the present purging process as an event which, though painful at the time, was a blessing in disguise.

The public finance will have been thoroughly overhauled and the new constitution will start with troubles of this kind behind it and with a clear road for improvement in the future. \* \* \*

The eyes of India are now fixed on those Statesmen who are sitting in London and carrying on the work of constitutional reform which received such an auspicious beginning last winter, culminating in the announcement of His Majesty's Government on January 19 which went far ahead of any previous declaration of their policy and set the stage afresh for co-operation in the great task of Indian constitutional reform. The delegates attending the Conference will be confronted with many difficult details, but it is a matter of the greatest satisfaction to know that every party is now represented at the Round Table Conference, and it is my earnest hope that an agreed solution will be reached in regard to constitutional matters including an agreement on communal questions to the satisfaction of all communities, especially the minorities, the safeguarding of whose rights has been assured by His Majesty's Government. \* \* \*

The Federal Structure Committee in London has already resumed its labours accompanied by the good wishes of all in India, and I must emphasise once again the supreme desirability of maintaining peaceful conditions in India during the discussion which are now taking place, and I appeal with all the emphasis at my command to those who have the interests of this great country at heart to preserve an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity.

## MAHARAJA OF BIKANER'S STATEMENT

"The vision of united India, embracing British India and the Indian States in one great federation under the Crown as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth, still grips our imagination," declared H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner when interviewed by Reuter on the work before the Round Table Conference.

He added, "As our objective is a United India carrying the co-operation of all loyal and patriotic men, the participation of Congress through Mr. Gandhi is to be welcomed. \* \* \*

"When the Princes of States were last year invited to join in federation, they generally gladly expressed their willingness to consider the question on terms of equality with British India, and even to make some sacrifice on condition that India remained under the Crown, and that the sovereignty and autonomy of the States and their treaty rights were adequately safeguarded.

"Provided that the remaining principles and details are dealt with as satisfactorily as the various questions discussed so far, and the Princes through essential safeguards feel that the future existence and sovereignty of the States as a separate entity are not threatened, I am as sure to-day as when we last met that the great majority of the States will join in federation."

## HYDERABAD AND FEDERATION

Sir Akbar Hydari, interviewed by Reuter on his arrival in London, stated that the policy of Hyderabad had not changed. They stood for progress allied to stability and believed that Federation was the only possible basis for the future constitution.

## THE STATES' DELEGATION

A mass meeting of Indian States' delegation was held at Carlton Hotel, London, on September 13. All delegates and advisers except Maharaja of Dholpur were present. The whole day was spent in discussing agenda circulated by the Lord Chancellor.

## MAHARAJA OF DHOLPUR &amp; R. T. C.

The Maharaja Rana of Dholpur, who sailed by the mail boat on Saturday the 7th September by *S. S. Rampura* along with other delegates to the Round Table Conference, sent a radio message stating that he has been assured that the Patiala scheme, an alternative to the Sankeyt assist-scheme, will be definitely incorporated in any agenda of the Federal Committee.

In a press statement issued prior to his departure, he has taken a very pessimistic view of the second Round Table Conference. He is deeply concerned over the fate of the small Indian States as he fears that "regional safeguards and demands will be advanced with great force by various interests and the spirit of accommodation and understanding will not have the upper hand as it did last time".

His Highness criticises the attitude of the larger States in regard to a federation with British India and declares that the smaller States will feel secure only when they know that the bigger ones will be ready to help to protect their claims and interests.

Nawab Liaquat Hyat Khan, Prime Minister of Patiala, sailing as the substitute delegate of the Maharaja, also emphasised the fact that the smaller States were feeling distinctly uneasy. He insisted on the maintenance of their relations with the Crown and the preservation of their sovereign power and authority.

## JUNAGAD REFORMS

On behalf of His Highness the Nawab of Junagad, the Dewan has made an announcement that the administration of the State, hitherto run by the Dewan assisted by Secretaries, will henceforth be conducted by a Council consisting of four Members with His Highness as the President and the Dewan as Vice-President. The members of the Council will be invested with Executive powers and the new constitution will come into force very shortly.

## INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA

In the Legislative Assembly on September 7, replying to a question of Mr. Gayapershad Singh, Sir Fazli Hussain fully explained the present position of Indians in East Africa as also of the repatriates from the colonies. He said progress for Government of India, instead of saying gates in Egypt had no objection to the scheme of a wider union which was in the White Paper, would now say that they did not approve of the scheme but that if the scheme were adopted, they would seek to make the safeguards proposed in the Central Council and the Kenya Legislative Council. The Government of India were now of opinion that the African representation should be secured by the appointment of a native, or if this was not advisable, then, by the appointment of officials. In the event of either of these alternatives being accepted, the Government of India suggested that Indians, in virtue of their special knowledge of the country, should be appointed equally with Europeans to represent the natives. The modified views of the Government of India were substantially in accord with the Indian public opinion.

## INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

As for Indians in South Africa, said His Excellency the Viceroy in his address to the Central Legislature the other day, non-official Indian opinion both in the Union and in India had been greatly alarmed by the Bill regulating tenure and ownership of immovable properties by Indians in the Transvaal and by the recent amendment of the Immigration Act. The Government of India are of opinion, observed Lord Willingdon, that there is justification for this feeling. But they do not despair of a satisfactory settlement of all these questions at the Cape Town Conference. His Excellency felt confident that the interests of India would be maintained by her representatives under the wise and able chairmanship of Sir Fazli Hussain.

## INDIAN REPATRIATES

Regarding Indian repatriates, Sir Fazli Hussain informed the Assembly that emigrants returning to Calcutta from Mauritius, Fiji, British Guiana, Trinidad and Jamaica were received on arrival, by the Protector of Emigrants. Some of them had taken up their abode near Calcutta. The Protector of Emigrants tried to find out work for those unemployed, to send to charitable institutions those that were destitute or had been left stranded and helped the sick in being admitted into hospitals. As a result of the facilities offered by the Governments of British Guiana and Fiji, more than five hundred persons were assisted to go back to those colonies. The attempt to find an outlet for them in Malaya was not successful.

## ASSISTED EMIGRATION SCHEME

In connection with repatriates from South Africa, under the assisted emigration scheme, Sir Fazli Hussain informed the Assembly that the Government of India had made special arrangements for their reception and the rendering of all possible assistance to them in banking their savings and finding employment suited to their aptitude and resources. Generally speaking, repatriates had seldom expressed any desire to avail themselves of the facilities provided by the Government. The majority of the repatriates from South Africa belong to the Madras Presidency and a special officer has been appointed to look after them.

## SIR K. V. REDDY

It is rumoured, says the *Madras Mail*, that Sir K. V. Reddy, Agent to the Governor-General of India in South Africa, has applied to the Governor-General to relieve him from his duties on January 28 next, when his period of office will expire. It is understood that he is unwilling to continue to serve there as Agent, and has made the request with a view to avoiding his being asked to prolong his term of office.

## BANKING COMMITTEE REPORT

Important recommendations are contained in the report of the Central Banking Inquiry Committee which was presided over by Sir B. N. Mitra and which included certain foreign experts. The report is unanimous, except in regard to the subject of foreign exchange banks.

The subject of rural finance occupies a good portion of the report and the Committee recommend the establishment of provincial boards of economic inquiry to provide Government with information which will help them to pursue a constructive agricultural policy.

Indigenous bankers, as are engaged in banking proper, are suggested to be placed on the approved list of the proposed Reserve Bank, in the same manner as joint stock banks, and such indigenous bankers should agree to keep proper books of accounts and have them audited by recognised auditors.

The Committee suggest that ordinary co-operative credit institutions should confine themselves to dispensing short and intermediate credit and that land mortgage banks should be established in larger numbers to deal with long-term credit.

As jute is a crop of great magnitude, the Committee recommend to the Governments of Bengal, Assam and Bihar, the establishment of jute central corporation as suggested by one of the banking experts.

The Committee think that the nationalisation of the country's fiscal policy along with similar reforms in other spheres of national life, would attract capital to industry. Provincial industrial corporations are recommended to ensure the supply of financial facilities to industrial concerns. In regard to the financing of India's foreign trade, the Committee, by a majority, recommend that the existing joint stock banks should open foreign connexions useful to their clients, and that when the Reserve Bank is established, the

Imperial Bank should be liberated from the restrictions now imposed on it by charter.

Six members, headed by Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, suggest that the State should itself start an Exchange Bank immediately. The foreign experts do not advocate any Government assistance to a new Indian Exchange Bank in any circumstances.

Mr. Manu Subedar has compiled a separate report in which, *inter alia*, he observes that the "open door" for foreign exchange banks should disappear.

## ALL-INDIA RAILWAYMEN'S FEDERATION

The following statement has been issued by Mr. V. V. Giri, General Secretary, All-India Railwaymen's Federation:

"In pursuance of the resolution of the General Council of the Federation held at Madras on the August 29 and 30, Mr. Jambadas M. Mehta, Mr. S. C. Joshi and Mr. V. V. Giri appeared before the Court of Inquiry in connection with the railway retrenchment and sought from the Court an authoritative interpretation of the various terms of reference. From the report made by these representatives, the Council of Action is satisfied that the interpretation placed on the terms of reference by the Court of Inquiry is adequate for a substantial presentation of the case of the workers before that Court. The report made by the representatives is being separately issued.

"The Council of Action now calls upon all the affiliated Unions and their members carefully to prepare the workers' case on their respective lines so that judgment may not go by default against us."

## MERCHANTS AND THE R. T. C.

The Government have done well to renew their invitation to Sir, Purshotamdas Thakurdas to serve on the Federal Structure Committee and invitations have also been issued by the Viceroy, to Mr. Jamal Mahomed, President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, and to Mr. G. D. Birla, to serve on the Round Table Conference.

## INDIAN AGRICULTURISTS

Presiding over the Second Quarterly General Meeting of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, the Vice-President Mr. Sarkar gave a brief *resume* of the world depression with its repercussion on the economic conditions in India, and said that he felt very strongly that the present situation was acute enough to demand some emergency measures from the Government for the protection of agriculturists from utter ruin.

He suggested that the Government of India should forthwith initiate an extensive scheme for the grant of loans to agriculturists who were suffering from the cash famine. This, according to him, should be done even if it entailed the expansion of the currency, and such expansion was not likely to disturb the economic equilibrium as the price level in this country had gone below world parity. The general expectation regarding a rise in world prices in the near future should also encourage the pursuance of such a policy in India.

## LANDHOLDERS' CONFERENCE

A conference of prominent landholders of Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Chota Nagpur was held in the Calcutta residence of the Maharaja of Darbhanga in the first week of September, the Raja Bahadur of Amawan presiding.

Questions of great importance to the landholding community were discussed, and the Maharaja of Darbhanga was requested by the Conference to press its views to the attention of the Round Table Conference.

## LOCUSTS IN THE PUNJAB

The Locust Bureau of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research announces that, since the 6th June last up-to-date, locusts have become more or less widespread in the Punjab and the United Provinces, in addition to their continued presence in Baluchistan from April last.

## AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE

A plea for agricultural production on a co-operative basis was put forward by Prof. V. G. Kale in the course of his presidential address at the Jamner Taluka Co-operative Conference held at Neri last month. The market for agricultural produce now-a-days was world-wide and not restricted as in former times to surrounding villages. Prices of agricultural commodities depended on world factors and were determined in England, America and other foreign countries irrespective of local conditions here. People here had to adjust themselves to conditions prevailing abroad, as otherwise they would be rooted out in the competition.

The Conference passed several resolutions one of which deplored the levying of audit fees.

## EMPIRE SUGARCANE INDUSTRY

The Imperial Sugarcane Research Conference which met in London in the closing week of July, has recommended the establishment of four central cane-breeding stations in Barbados, India, Mauritius and Australia and the establishment of a quarantine station in the West Indies, because some fungus diseases lie dormant in the cane for over a year. The Conference has further suggested the extension from the West Indies to elsewhere in the Empire of the biological control of insect pests.

The Conference has also recommended that each Government should inquire into the conditions affecting the efficiency of labour in the sugarcane industry.

## GRADUATE OF AGRICULTURE

Miss Rajul Shah is the first Indian lady graduate of Agriculture. She is proceeding shortly to the United States for further studies in agriculture as she has been awarded the Levi Barbour Scholarship worth about 800 dollars a year. She will join the Michigan University.

## DENTISTRY IN JAPAN

Which country has the best dentists? Until recently America, according to tradition, bore the palm. But representatives of British dentistry who have just returned from the Eighth International Dental Congress, held in Paris recently, are loud in praise of the phenomenal strides made by Japan in dental science during the last few years.

Since the great earthquake the dental school at Tokio has been rebuilt; and at the Congress a whole hall of the Grand Palais des Champs Elysees was given up to Japanese exhibits, the walls being covered with Japanese photographs illustrating the histology and pathology of the teeth.

"These photographs," a dentist who was at the Congress told a press representative, "are amazingly complete and represent an enormous amount of research. They certainly place the Japanese well up in the dentistry of the world."

## PREVENTION OF DIABETES

Chicago's *Health* gives three rules of health. Firstly, do not overeat no matter how tempting and delicious the food served may be. Be moderate always. When getting up from the dinner table, do not get up stuffed to repletion. Reserve some appetite for the next meal.

Secondly, be careful as to the quantity of starches and sugars (known collectively as carbohydrates) ingested. Do not regularly regale yourself on exclusively starchy or exclusively sweet foods. Candies and other sweets tempt the palate but their concentration in the intestines may lead to acid intoxication and constipation to say the least. People as a rule prefer tasty foods to simple and nourishing foods. For breakfast one should stick to plain porridges preceded by fresh fruits, such as apples, prunes and so forth; drink milk and cream instead of coffee, and walk at least two blocks every morning.

Thirdly, learn to control your nerves. Be calm. Worrying may become habitual, and habitual worrying and frequent excitement may affect the health. Fourthly, have a routine medical examination made every year "to check yourself up". Urine analysis and blood sugar analysis are parts of such a routine examination and will help your doctor to guide you and regulate your life and food habits.

## £25,000 FOR CANCER CAMPAIGN

Sir William Morris, Motor manufacturer, has made another big contribution to medical charity having given £25,000 to the British Empire Cancer Campaign for the establishment of research fellowship in radium at Mount Vernon Hospital, Middlesex. This brings the total of Sir William's donations to Medical charities in recent years to half a million pounds.

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## SCIENCE AND THE COMMUNITY

Sir C. V. Raman, speaking recently on "Science and the Community", made some significant suggestion regarding the remodelling of our Indian educational system. In emphasising that modern civilisation is essentially based on the achievements of science, the distinguished scientist said that the time had come for India to apply science for the solutions of her problems.

In his opinion in our present system of education, science should be included as one of the "humanised" subjects so much so that a child should take it up as soon as possible, for the study of natural phenomena is calculated to bring out the latent powers of observation and bring the child into closer touch with real life.

Continuing, the learned lecturer made an appeal for the establishment of some institution or organisation to popularise the advancement of all branches of science, similar in many respects to the Royal Institution of London.

Referring to retrenchment, Sir C. V. Raman urged that on no account should the axe be allowed to fall on the scientific services and departments, as it would root out a tender plant the loss of which we would later regret.

## FRENCH DOCTORATE FOR AN INDIAN

Dr. A. P. Mathur has obtained the State Doctorate of the Paris University (with honours) in Physics, which is the highest academic degree of the University. For some time he did important meteorological research work under Sir Gilbert Walker of the London University, and obtained the Diploma of the Imperial College of Science, London (in meteorology). The Indian Students' Association of Paris recently gave an At Home in honour of Dr. Mathur, when Professor Charles Fabry, the eminent Professor of Physics at the Paris University, who presided, congratulated him on his brilliant achievement. He is the first Indian to gain this honour.

## THOMAS EDISON

Thomas Edison, the world's most prolific inventor, is baffled at last.

Unable to find an elixir of life, he is now contemplating retirement at the age of 84.

He has not been seen at his laboratories at West Orange for more than three weeks now, and his brother-in-law, Mr. John V. Miller, said that an official announcement of his retirement was not far distant.

His health has not been very good lately, and the recent heat wave distressed him. His doctors have ordered him rest.

For more than 50 years he has worked for ten hours a day.

Before he became an inventor, he was a newsboy, a railway telegraphist, and an engineer.

Since his early twenties, Edison has spent days and nights solving scientific problems, and he now has more than 1,000 patents in his name.

His inventions have resulted in the gramophone, electric light, the telephone, moving pictures, and the incandescent lamp.

"Genius is 1 per cent. inspiration and 99 per cent. perspiration," was one of his sayings.

He does not believe in games, and drinks no alcohol, but he is a heavy smoker.

## FRENCH SCIENTIST'S INVENTION

A red-hot poker thrust into a bucket of a new type of petrol was shown at the Croydon Aerodrome to produce no more harmful effect than a brief sizzle when a demonstration was given of the properties of the new fuel for aeroplanes.

The invention, which is the outcome of five years' research by a French scientist, was demonstrated by Mr. Henri Bardel, Technical Director of the Air Union, who flew to Croydon from Paris in a plane using the new fuel. The claim is made that not only does it eliminate the danger of fire by fuel catching alight while the aeroplane is in flight or as a result of crash, but that it has been proved practical commercially and technically.

## THE LATE SIR HALL CAINE

Sir Hall Caine who has died at the age of 78, was brought up as an architect. But his taste lay elsewhere, and he never practised in the calling to which his parents intended him. He started his career as a newswriter to the *Builder*, from which he rose to the position of a journalist very soon, and was employed for six years as a leader-writer of the *Liverpool Mercury*.

At this time he was invited to London by Dante Gabriel Rossetti. He went and stayed with the poet until the latter's death, laying the coping-stone of his greater career. It was at this time he wrote for the *Athenæum* and the *Academy* and published his "Sonnets of Three Centuries," the "Recollections of Rossetti", and the "Life of Coleridge".

In 1885, he started on his career as novelist, with his work the "Shadow of a Crime". He wrote more novels than a man could find leisure to read them. Among his celebrated pieces are: "The Prodigal Son", "The Eternal City", "The White Prophet", "My Story", and "The Woman Thou Gavest Me".

But his activities in the field of novel-writing did not deter him from other fields. He wrote frequently to the *Daily Telegraph*, lectured at the Royal Institution, toured in Poland and Frontier towns of Russia and went to Canada as Ambassador of the Authors' Society.

## MR. VENKATARAMANI

A large gathering of lawyers and students met at the Gokhale Hall, Madras, on August 5, when Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer presented an ivory shield to Mr. K. S. Venkataramani, the author of *Murugan the Tiller*, on behalf of His Holiness Sri Sankaracharya of the Kanchi Kamakoti Peeta.

The shield presented was of ivory mounted ebony and bore the inscription: "With blessings from Sankaracharya to Venkataramani. Steer thou with thy pen to the goal of universal happiness."

## AUTHORS AND ARTISTS

Of living writers none can help us more in adding thought to artistry than H. G. Wells, John Galsworthy, George Bernard Shaw, G. K. Chesterton and John Masfield. These five men, says a contemporary, are very well known for their insight into the nature and needs of men and their real concern for man's well-being. They are not only men of genius but also great artists as can be seen in the manner in which they express their insight and their ideals. To summarise briefly their respective attitudes towards human life, Wells might very well be spoken as the scientist, Galsworthy as the artist, Shaw as the philosopher, Chesterton as the democrat, and Masfield as the poet.

Bernard Shaw says: "Forget all your silly conventions, your superficial morality, your formal religion, your hair-brained reformer's foolish terms."

Wells says: "If you rightly and wisely use your powers of brain and hand and soul, the world might be made a paradise. I call on you to realise your mission as divine and to pursue it with unfailing courage."

According to Galsworthy: "Man is a loveable, wholesome, cheery being whose personal liberty is his chief possession. If in your efforts to improve him you interfere with this liberty, you destroy him."

Chesterton says: "You have made of England an ugly land and that your boasted civilisation has resulted in the destruction of nearly all that is beautiful in human life. Only by a supreme tenderness towards suffering will you end suffering and restore to life that beauty for which human nature pines."

Masfield says: "I will sing to you of the degradation which we allow to exist, the degradation of the noblest and best thing in the world, that is, human nature; and by my songs, I will seek to help you to repentance."

## STUDENTS IN INDIA AND ABROAD

A special convocation of the Calcutta University was held on September 2, to confer degrees to the graduates who are proceeding to the foreign countries to further prosecute their studies. In the absence of both the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor, the Minister for Education, Khwaja Nazimuddin presided. Addressing the graduates the Minister said: "I would like to take this opportunity to draw the attention of the student community to one of the outstanding differences between the students in India and in foreign countries. The latter study and discuss politics, but very rarely take active parts in them, whereas it is an unfortunate practice in this country amongst the students to spend considerable portion of their time in active participation in politics. Two things cannot be done at the same time and it is bound to interfere with their studies. The chief aim of a student should be to equip himself as much as possible for the struggle of life, so that when time for action comes he is fully prepared."

## OSMANIA UNIVERSITY

A Board of Research has been formed in the Osmania University College consisting of 24 Professors of the University who have done research in European Universities, and obtained different research degrees. Prof. Dr. S. A. Latif has been elected as Secretary of this Board, and Principal A. R. Khan as President. This Board will control all research work in the several departments of the University. Seven scholarships of Rs. 75 each have been awarded for this year.

## ON TEACHING CHILDREN

An awed silence greeted Mr. Ervine's reference to Mr. Shaw's announcement that in Russia no child was ever slapped, and that a child that is slapped could summon its parent for assault.

"That is intense stupidity," said Mr. Ervine, firmly. "The average child deserves to be slapped. It needs to be slapped." The room

was immediately filled with the sound of slapping, which the lecturer interpreted as applause.

"These are times," he complained, "when the whole world is afflicted with a mania for worshipping youth. In my youth there was a heresy that the old knew everything. In these days there is a heresy that the old know nothing. In my young days the child was supposed to have no sense, and now nobody else had any sense. That attitude is just as stupid."

"It is time that we all became reasonable about youth, and remembered that a child is a highly individualised Communist. It believes intensely that what is his is his, and what is everyone else's is also his. After a few slappings he loses that belief and becomes a bit of a Conservative and an appalling snob."

## TATA FOREIGN SCHOLARSHIPS

At a meeting of the Committee of the J. N. Tata Educational Scheme, the following candidates were awarded Tata studentships for the year 1931:

- (1) Mr. S. N. Chandrasekharaiah, B.A., B.Sc. (Bombay) for I.C.S. and M.Sc. of the London University.
- (2) Mr. Debesh Chandra Das, B.A., (Calcutta) for I.C.S. and higher studies in History.
- (3) Mr. R. V. Subramaniam, B.A. (Hons.), (Madras) for I.C.S. and advanced study in Chemistry.
- (4) Mr. Edakunni Krishna Warriar, B.A. (Hons.) (Madras) for I.C.S. and B.Sc. of the London University.
- (5) Mr. A. Nagaraja Rao, B.Sc. (Mysore) and M.Sc. (Calcutta) for a doctorate in Applied Chemistry.
- (6) Mr. Bhaskar N. Adarkar, B.A. (Bombay) for I.C.S. and B.Sc. of the London University.
- (7) Miss Shanta V. Sukhtankar, B.A. (Agra) and M.A. (Bombay) for an Honours degree of the Oxford University and Diploma of Teaching of the London University.
- (8) Prof. Suresh Chandra Sen, M.Sc. (Calcutta) for advanced study and research in Aeronautics and for the D.Sc. of the London University.
- (9) Mr. Farooq Pirozsha Mehta, B.Sc. (Bombay) for the study of Metallurgy at the Sheffield University.

## THE PRESS BILL

The Select Committee Report on the Press Bill was presented to the Assembly on the 21st September. The following are some of the important changes made in the Bill by the Committee:

Clause 1 (iii) has been changed giving the Viceroy power for prolonging the life of the Bill upto two years.

Clause 3, Sub-Clause (i) has been amended requiring a Magistrate to give reasons for demanding security and the security required to be deposited has been reduced to Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 3,000 under Sub-Clause (i) and (iii).

Clause 4 has been amended safeguarding *bona fide* literary and historical writings.

The power of forfeiture of the press provided for under Clauses 5 and 6 has been withdrawn.

Clause 12 has been so amended as to allow keeper of the press ten days' time for depositing security after demand, and during that period the press may work.

Minute of dissent has been added by Dr. Gour and Messrs. Puri Raju, Noon, Ranga Iyer. The dissenters think the Viceroy's powers of extension of the life of Bill should be limited to one year only. Section 3 should be made appealable to the High Court. Deposit of Rs. 10,000 fixed under Clause 5 is excessive according to them, and one security for the same keeper of the press and publisher is sufficient.

## BAR COUNCIL FOR LAHORE

The Home Member informed Mr. Jagannath Aggarwal that the Indian Bar Councils Committee, after taking evidence at Lahore, expressed themselves as being doubtful of the advisability of setting up a Bar Council at Lahore, and the Local Government were also opposed to the proposal. The Government of India did not in the circumstances propose to take any action unless the Local Government and the High Court considered any action necessary.

## SANCTITY OF ACTS OF PARLIAMENT

The sanctity of Acts of Parliament was emphasised by Sir Thomas Scrutton, Lord Justice, in delivering a judgment of the Court of Appeal, affirming the decision of the King's Bench that Sunday cinemas are illegal.

"James II," said the Lord Justice, "lost his throne when he undertook to dispense with an Act of Parliament without Parliament's permission. The doctrine that an Act is obsolescent because a certain number of people dislike and therefore disobey it, is a dangerous proposition to hold in any constitutional country. So long as an Act is on the Statute-Book, the way to get rid of it is by repeal, and it is not for any subordinate body to take upon themselves the task of disobeying it."

Other county councils, he added, had not persuaded themselves that they could hold the same view as the London County Council.

He said he was not expressing any opinion as regards the desirability or otherwise of maintaining an Act of Parliament passed in 1781. That was a matter for Parliament.

## BRITISH JUDGE'S DICTUM

"A man is 23 until he is 24."

So decided five Judges, headed by the Lord Chief Justice in the Court of Criminal Appeal, which thereupon quashed the conviction of Huntingdon Assizes of a young man of 23 years and five months for an alleged offence against a young girl.

A section of the Criminal Law Amendment Act provides that, in the case of a man of 23 or under, the presence of reasonable cause to believe that the girl was over 16 shall be valid defence. Hence the importance of age.

The Lord Chief Justice said that where there was ambiguity in an Act, the benefit of the doubt should be given to the accused and against the legislature which failed to explain itself.

## Personal

### THE KING'S EXAMPLE

Desiring to participate in the reduction of national expenditure, King George sent a message to the Prime Minister that he would reduce the Civil List expenditure by £50,000 while the emergency lasts. The Prince of Wales also informed the Premier that he would contribute £10,000 from his income for the same purpose. Mr. MacDonald replying, said that all sections will be heartened by the Royal example. As in 1916 when the King voluntarily contributed to the Exchequer £100,000, His Majesty's lead has electrified the Nation, re-echoing the Premier's words in his letter of acknowledgment that "whenever his subjects have been called upon to share a heavy burden, it has been characteristic of His Majesty to lead the way".

### DADABHAI NAOROJI

"Dadabhai went to England to persuade British people by his sweet speeches. Twenty-five years have since passed. Another representative of



DADABHAI NAOROJI

India has gone to England, but this time, not for pleading for the boon of *Swaraj*, but to demand it. Behind him is the strength of the whole Indian nation. If freedom is conceded to India,

there is still a chance of India and England standing together; but if the chance is lost, it will be lost for ever," declared Mr. Balubhai J. Desai, Advocate, presiding over a meeting organised by the Dadabhai Naoroji Memorial Association, to celebrate the birthday of the Grand Old Man of India at the Cowasjee Jehangir Hall on September 4. Concluding the proceedings, Mr. Balubhai said: "Dadabhai gave us the vision of freedom. Lokamanya Tilak carried it forward and it was given in the fullness of time to Mahatma Gandhi to achieve it. What was only a vision twenty five years ago, has now become the national demand. Mahatmaji has gone to make that demand for freedom. There cannot be freedom for the world if half of it dominates the other half."

### A SERVANT OF INDIA

Mr. G. K. Devadhar, President of the Servants of India Society, and Organiser and General Secretary of the Poona Seva Sadan Society, is one of the oldest members of the Society. During the last thirty years or more he has served the country in a variety of ways. Every flood or famine has found in him a ready and enthusiastic worker for relief of distress. Mr. Devadhar has also rendered great service to the cause of the uplift of Indian womanhood. On August 21, his sixty-first birthday, he was presented with a purse collected by public subscription.

### THE LATE MR. C. W. E. COTTON

In the course of a varied and distinguished career extending over thirty-three years, the late Mr. Cotton held a number of important posts both under the Government of India and under the Government of Madras. "These posts," says the Government Notification touching his demise, "he filled with ability and distinction. Breadth of outlook, freshness of mind and grasp of essentials were the qualities which distinguished his public service."

## Political

### MUSLIM CONFERENCE'S DECISION

The Working Committee of All-India Muslim Conference meeting under the chairmanship of Sir Abdual Qayum, passed a resolution urging Muslim members of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference to abstain from discussing Federal Constitution until problem of minorities is settled to satisfaction of Muslim India.

In arriving at settlement with Government or with non-Muslims, the Muslim members of Conference are asked to keep in view Muslim demands as formulated at Delhi on 1st January, 1929, and reiterated since. Unless communal differences are amicably settled, responsibility at centre would prove a great danger to healthy development and growth of provincial autonomy, and British Government should not transfer powers to Centre without consent of federating provinces.



SIR B. N. MITRA,  
Chairman, Central Banking Enquiry Committee.

### THE INDIAN SANDHURST

The Indian Military College Committee, presided over by Sir Philip Chetwode, the Commander-in-Chief, has published its report. The Committee recommends a three-year course for the cadets. Of the 60 vacancies at the College, 30 are to be offered to candidates from the ranks of the Indian Army, while 24 are to be open to competition. The remainder will be filled by nomination.

The Committee recommends that the Indian States should make no contribution towards the establishment of the College. Cadets from the States will, however, pay the full fees and expenses. Some of the signatories to the Report dissent from this view.

The Report recommends that Dehra Dun should be selected as the site for the location of the College. The suggestion for the establishment of a Flying Training School in India is turned down on the ground that the expenditure that would have to be incurred would be unjustifiable.

### THE BRITISH BUDGET

The main burdens on the taxpayer revealed by the British Chancellor in his recent Budget statement in the Commons were:

- Income tax increased by six pence.
- Surtax increased by 10 per cent.
- Duty on beer raised by one penny per pint.
- Duty on tobacco raised by eight pence per lb.
- Duty on petrol raised by two pence per gallon.
- Entertainment tax to be increased.

### THE CURRENCY ORDINANCE

As a result of a sudden acceleration of withdrawals of foreign balances, the British Government have taken the momentous step of suspending a sub-section of the Gold Standard Act of 1925 which requires the Bank of England to sell gold at a fixed price. The Government decided for that purpose to rush a Bill through Parliament.

His Excellency the Governor-General has issued an Ordinance temporarily relieving the Government of India from the obligation under the Currency Act 1927 to sell gold or sterling.

## COMMUNALISM AND SPORT

Sport is a great solvent of communalism. On the playing field racial and communal differences and distinctions vanish. Sir Sidney Low, writing in the *Sunday Times*, says: "If we have taught India nothing else, we have taught it to play cricket. And in the cult of that noble pastime there are no communal differences. Cricket has succeeded where the politicians and administrators have failed. The first Indian eleven I ever saw was composed of Parsis, and a very brisk lot they were. The great Ranjitsinghji and his brilliant nephew are Hindus of Rajput origin; and our latest hero, the young Nawab of Pataudi, holds to the faith of the Prophet. British, Hindu, Parsi, Sikh, Mahomedan can join hands on the cricket field."

## A SWIMMING RECORD

Sudhir Kumar Datta, aged 12, a member of the Sibpur Tarun Samaj, has broken Howrah's swimming record. He was in water for 4 hours and 18 minutes. Lt. Col. H. S. Thakur, Civil Surgeon of Howrah, gave the start and the well-known swimmer Prafulla Kumar Ghose and several other members of the Calcutta Central Swimming Club watched the event. Mr. S. Barada Prasanna Pain, Chairman of the Howrah Municipality, has signified his intention to award a gold medal to the lad. The Central Swimming Club and the Sibpur Institute will award a silver medal each.

## PREVENTION OF ACCIDENTS

A strong plea for the establishment of a "Safety First" Council is made by Mr. G. Seers, Head of the General Motors (India) in a letter to *Evening News* of Bombay. He recalls there were 3,469 motor accidents in Bombay in 1930, and urges the necessity for propaganda and other educational measures designed to prevent especially factory and traffic accidents.

## INDIAN CRICKET TEAM

At a meeting held at Eden Gardens, on September 3, the Bengal and Assam Cricket Association decided that they would not associate themselves with the visit of the Indian team to England or with the visit of the Ceylon team to India in the coming cold weather.

Such a decision was due to the fact that the local association thought the Indian team would not be a representative one and that in view of the present position a visit to England was not justified. But if Bombay decide to come in at the last moment and co-operate with the All-India Board of Cricket Control towards sending a team to England, there is every likelihood of Bengal at once joining in.

## 1931 SCHNEIDER TROPHY RACE

Owing to the high cost both in money and in lives, the opinion is voiced that the 1931 Schneider Trophy Race is almost certain to be the last ever flown.

Lieutenant Brinton's death has had an immediate reaction in the French press, several newspapers pointing out that each of the competing nations has lost a valuable pilot before the contest, and the hope is expressed that Britain will win for the third time this year, and thus end the competition.

## BOWLED BY A BOY

Jack Hobbs, the famous cricketer, had his wicket taken by a twelve-year-old boy when he visited the Guildford Grammar School.

Hobbs was bowled at by the masters and members of the first eleven, with whose bowling he had no difficulty whatever, hitting several balls out of the ground. Then Donald Judd, aged 12, bowled, and sending down a yorker he spread-eagled Hobbs's wicket.

## DR. TAGORE'S APPEAL

The havoc caused by flood and famine in Bengal this year is altogether unprecedented in recent history in its extensivity and its acuteness. The loss to property is estimated to be in crores of rupees. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has issued the following appeal in connection with the relief work:

"Persistent reports and harrowing tales of the distress compelled me to come out and help in organising relief for the distressed people by accepting the presidentship of the Bengal Congress Flood and Famine Relief Committee. This Committee is already running over hundred Relief Centres, but contributions that have been hitherto received are inadequate to cope with the situation. I appeal to the public all over the country to contribute their quota and help in raising funds for relief work."

## MR. GANDHI ON BOARD

"No quainter traveller than Mr. Gandhi, has probably ever travelled in a British ship," cabled Reuter's correspondent on Board *S. S. Rajputana*, on September 4. From the moment he embarked at Bombay, he was the object of intense interest not only because of his fame, personality and unconventional habits, but because of his odd assortment of luggage.

This consisted of half a dozen home-spun loin cloths and dhoties, three spinning wheels, several tin pots and pans from Yeravada Prison, to which Mr. Gandhi seems to be devotedly attached despite their gloomy associations, ten gallons of pasteurised goat's milk, a bundle of papers, copies of the proceedings of the last Round Table Conference, a straw mattress, a dollar watch of American make, a sweater, a few blankets and a copy of Henry D. Thoreau's "Essay in Civil Disobedience".

Mr. Gandhi followed exactly the same routine in the ship as on the shore, rising daily at five in the

morning, praying, promenading, writing, and answering correspondence, meditating, conferring with Pundit Malaviya, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Sir Prabashankar Pattani and partaking of the same frugal meals.

We are also told that Captain H. Morton Jack permitted him, attired in his customary loin cloth, to steer the big liner *Rajputana*, while the Captain stood over him.

"I hope I do not capsize the boat and drown everybody," remarked Mr. Gandhi laughingly, as he turned the wheel from port to starboard.

He then tried out various nautical instruments, after which the Captain conducted him to the engine-room, the Radio department, and the chart house, explaining the mechanical function of each device, in which Mr. Gandhi exhibited the unalloyed interest of a schoolboy.

Mr. Gandhi appeared deeply touched at the Captain's demonstration of hospitality and courtesy. Up to that time it was remarked by his friends that Mr. Gandhi appeared lonesome and neglected in his little cabin in the stern of the boat.



LATE MR. K. C. ROY

## Diary of the Month

- Aug. 28. Government of India issues a *communique* giving the terms of the settlement with Mahatma Gandhi.
- Aug. 29. Mahatma Gandhi, with Pandit Malaviya, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Sir Prabhaskar Pattani, sail for England by *S. S. Rajputana*.
- Aug. 30. Railwaymen's Federation meets in Madras under the presidentship of Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, to decide on their attitude to the Court of Inquiry.
- Aug. 31. Reign of terror in Chittagong following the murder of a Police Inspector.
- Sept. 1. Sir Samuel Hoare entertains the R.T.C. Members at the India Office.
- Sept. 2. The first batch of Indian Round Tablers: Dr. Sapru, Mr. Jayakar and H. H. the Maharaja of Bikanir etc. reach London.
- Sept. 3. Mahatma Gandhi is given a rousing reception in Aden and presented with a purse.
- Sept. 4. It is announced that Government will introduce a Bill in the coming Session of the Assembly "for the better control of the Press".
- Sept. 5. The third batch of Indian delegates leave for the Round Table Conference by *S. S. Ranpura*.
- Sept. 6. Burma Government extends the period of amnesty to the rebels until further notice.
- Sept. 7. Gandhiji is welcomed at Suez.  
—K. C. Roy, M.L.A., is dead.  
—Mr. C. W. E. Cotton is dead.  
—Federal Structure Committee resumes its meeting with Lord Sankey in the chair.
- Sept. 8. House of Commons passes a vote of Confidence in the new Government by 50 votes.
- Sept. 9. The Railway Court of Inquiry begins its sitting.  
—Miss Amy Johnson returns to England after a successful London-Tokyo flight.
- Sept. 10. Mr. Gogate has been sentenced to eight years' rigorous imprisonment.
- Sept. 11. Debate on the Press Bill in the Assembly.
- Sept. 12. Gandhi's reception at Euston by Committee of hosts headed by Laurence Houseman.
- Sept. 13. Gandhiji broadcasts an address to America.
- Sept. 14. Gandhiji attends (in silence, being Monday) the Federal Structure Committee.  
—Viceroy addresses the Central Legislature.
- Sept. 15. Gandhiji presents Congress case to Federal Structure Committee.
- Sept. 16. Banking Enquiry Committee Report is published.  
—Gandhiji addresses Labour Members in the Committee Room of the Commons.
- Sept. 17. Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Mr. G. D. Birla and Mr. Jamal Mahomed who were nominated by the Federations Chamber of Commerce, are invited to the R. T. C.
- Sept. 18. The Report is published of the Indian Gandhiji Committee.
- Sept. 19. Japanese capture Mukden.
- Sept. 20. It is announced that as from midnight to-night, Great Britain will be off the gold standard.



SIR PURSHOTAMDAS THAKURDAS

## MR. COMPTON MACKENZIE PRAISES PELMANISM

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(E. 34,184.)

A Professional Man writes: "Thanks to the Pelman system I have doubled my income during the last few years. It has been all to me that you claimed for it, and I am very grateful to you."  
(W. 32,137.)

A Teacher writes: "I have lost the feeling of drifting. I have more confidence in myself, and if I have a job to do, I do it at once without hesitation."  
(S. 35,584.)

An Architect writes: "It has put new life in me, and I think I shall express myself completely if I say I am living an entirely different life since I took your course."  
(J. 35,192.)

A Business Man writes: "The course has made a new person of me and has given me a new outlook on life. I have increased my income since taking up the course."  
(S. 33,334.)

An Under-Manager writes: "The course has given me more confidence in myself. I am able to concentrate better. I feel more efficient, and my mind has been opened for new ideas."  
(L. 33,362.)

A Bank Clerk writes: "I have gained confidence in myself. I have broadened my outlook and have become much more observant."  
(L. 32,366.)

A Mine Manager reports: "Concentration and reflective power increased. Improved observation. The methods of training have been of considerable use to me in my work and private study. A better outlook."  
(B. 32,321.)

P. T. O.



An Engineer writes that Pelmanism has given him "greater self-confidence, a more cheerful outlook, a keener interest, alertness physical and mental. Concentration is easy, even on uninteresting subjects. I am never at a loose end." (R. 35,518.)

An Army Officer writes: "I have developed a definite aim in life. Vague fears, useless worries and bad habits are becoming things of the past. By developed senses I have become more alert. Improved memory, concentration, will power and self-confidence." (R. 36,120.)

A Clergyman writes: "I have found an aim in life, and have found means of marshalling my energies and capacities to fulfil this aim. My memory has improved, but it is my Will-Power that shows the most improvement. It has also made my outlook on life more cheerful." (H. 35,400.)

An Accountant writes: "Last month I realised the first economical profits of the Course. I had my salary increased 40 per cent. more than all the others. While my chief was asking me what salary I was desiring he astonished me by saying, 'Why are you now working better than ever?' My conscience answered with one word only, 'Pelmanism'. I have to thank you for all the help your valuable Course has been to me." (N. 31,079.)

Thousands of similar reports could be printed did space permit.

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| Indefiniteness    | Procrastination           |
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which interfere with the effective working power of the brain, and in their place it develops such strong, positive, creative qualities as:

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|-----------------------|-------------------|
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| —Cheerfulness         | —Courage          |
| —Observation          | —Self-Confidence  |
| —Perception           | —Self-Control     |
| —Judgment             | —Tact             |
| —Initiative           | —Reliability      |
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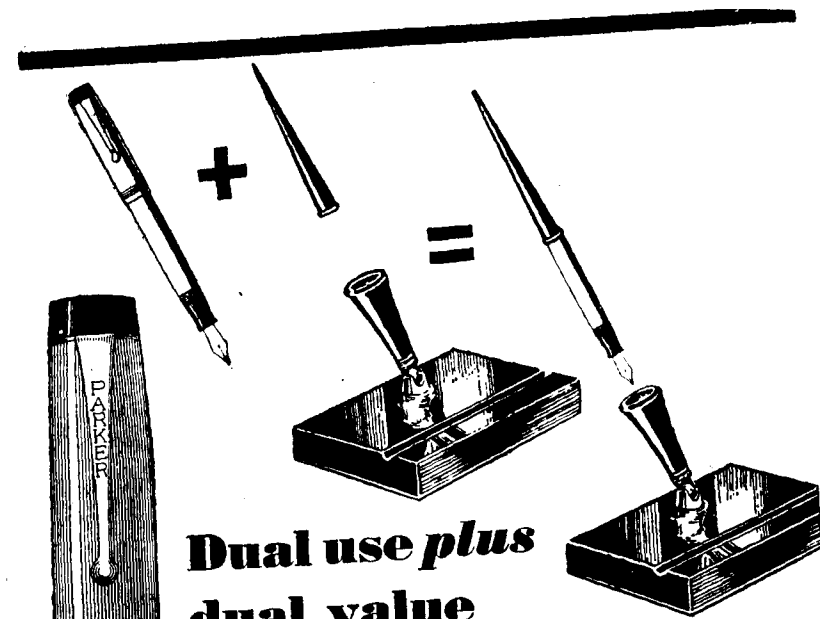
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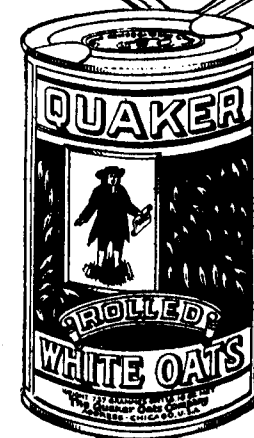
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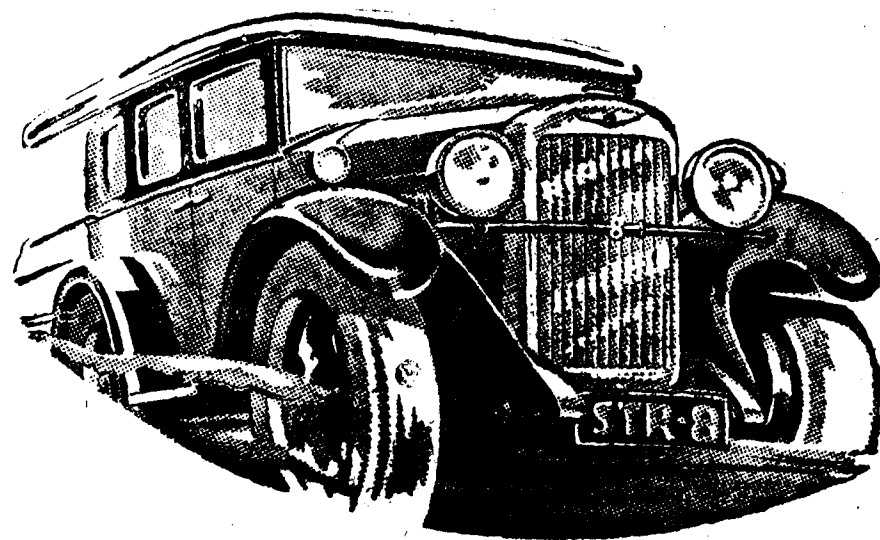
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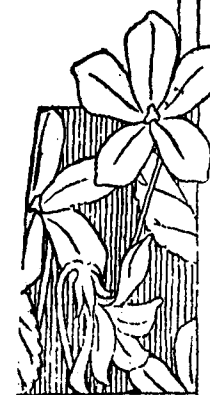
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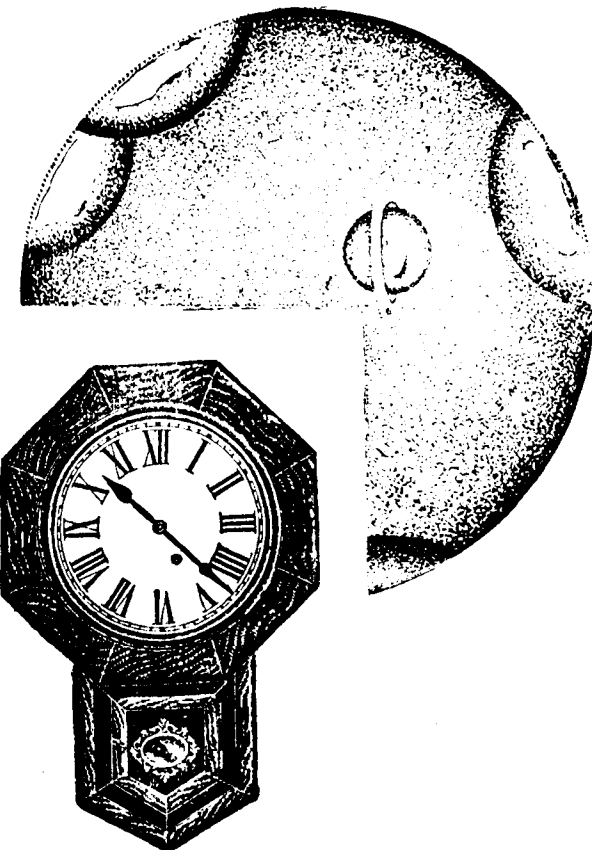
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| Premium Income                       | 30,83,936       |
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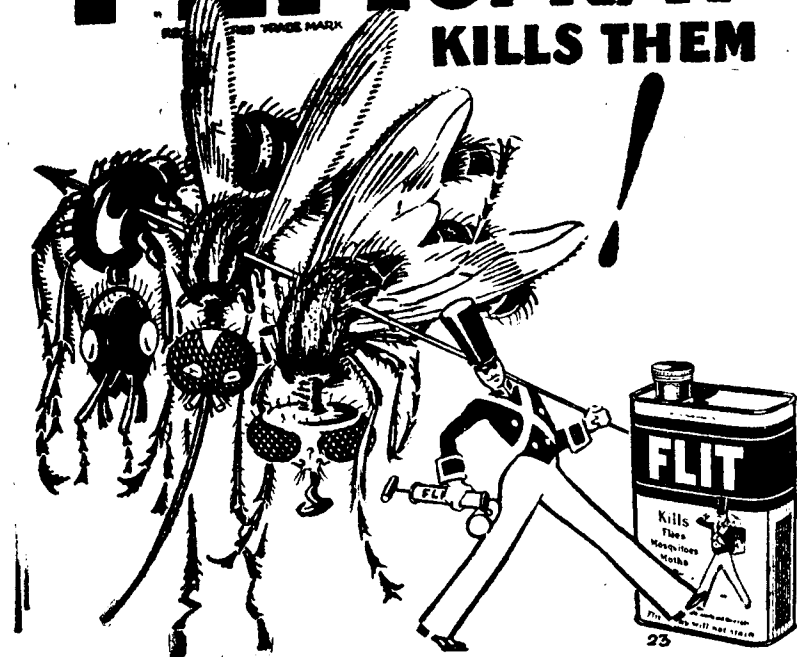
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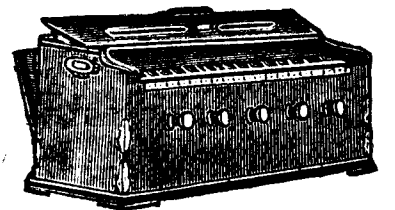
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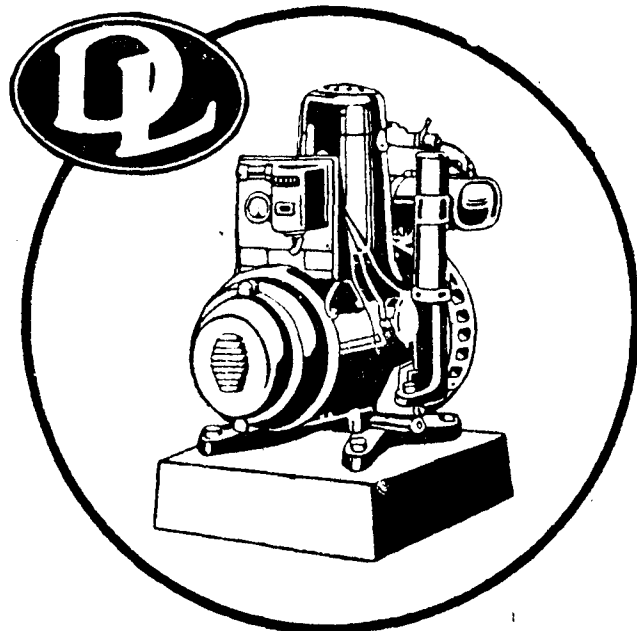
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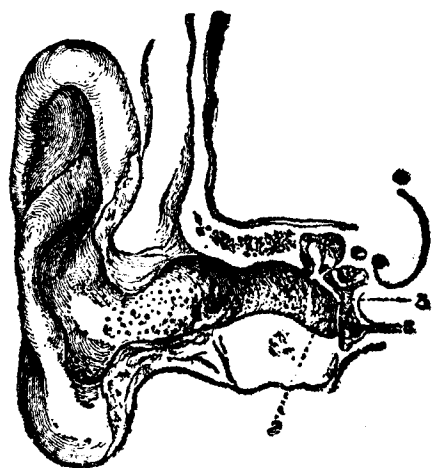
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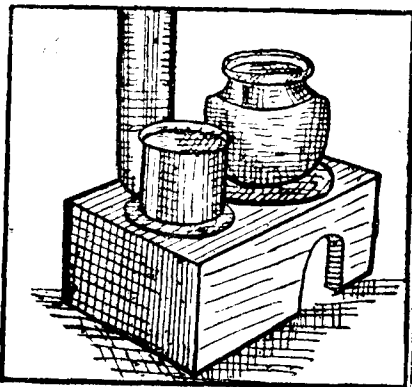
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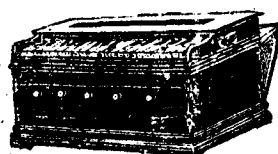
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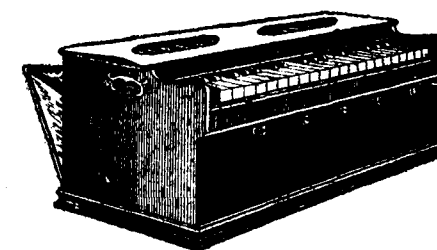
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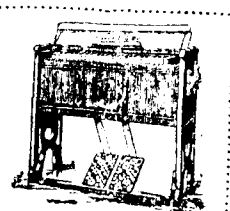
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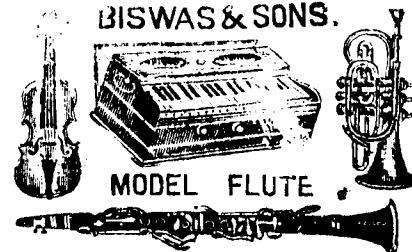
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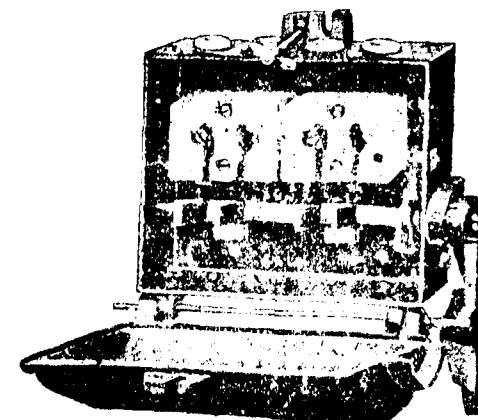
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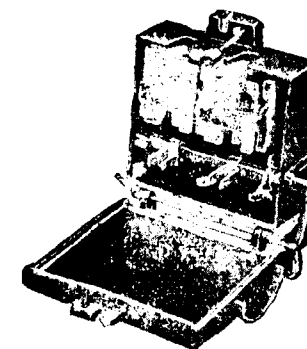
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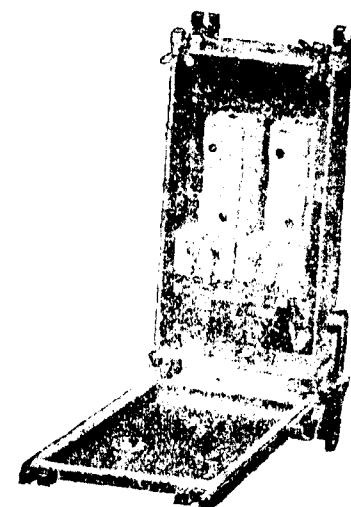
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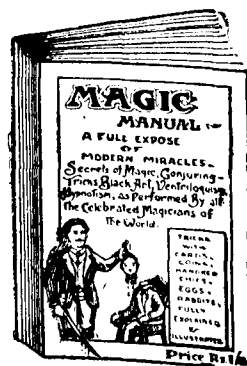
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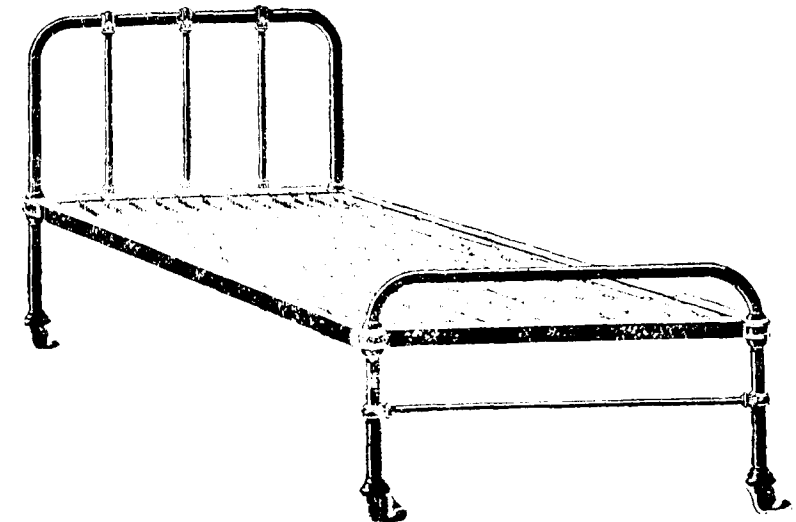
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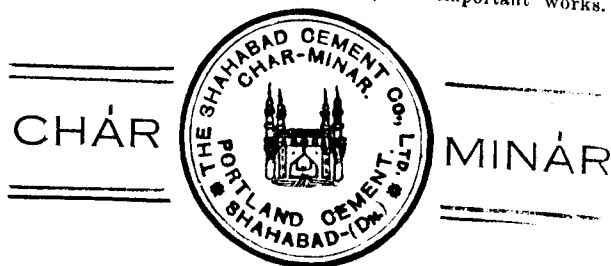
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| MON.  | ...        | 5  | 12 | 19 | 26        | ... | 2   | 9  | 16        | 23 | ... | 2   | 9         | 16 | 23 | 30  |
| TUES. | ...        | 6  | 13 | 20 | 27        | ... | 3   | 10 | 17        | 24 | ... | 3   | 10        | 17 | 24 | 31  |
| WED.  | ...        | 7  | 14 | 21 | 28        | ... | 4   | 11 | 18        | 25 | ... | 4   | 11        | 18 | 25 | ... |
| THU.  | 1          | 8  | 15 | 22 | 29        | ... | 5   | 12 | 19        | 26 | ... | 5   | 12        | 19 | 26 | ... |
| FRI.  | 2          | 9  | 16 | 23 | 30        | ... | 6   | 13 | 20        | 27 | ... | 6   | 13        | 20 | 27 | ... |
| SAT.  | 3          | 10 | 17 | 24 | 31        | ... | 7   | 14 | 21        | 28 | ... | 7   | 14        | 21 | 28 | ... |
|       | MAY.       |    |    |    | JUNE.     |     |     |    | JULY.     |    |     |     | AUGUST.   |    |    |     |
| SUN.  | ...        | 3  | 10 | 17 | 24        | 31  | ... | 7  | 14        | 21 | 28  | ... | 5         | 12 | 19 | 26  |
| MON.  | ...        | 4  | 11 | 18 | 25        | ... | 1   | 8  | 15        | 22 | 29  | ... | 6         | 13 | 20 | 27  |
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| SAT.  | 2          | 9  | 16 | 23 | 30        | ... | 6   | 13 | 20        | 27 | ... | 4   | 11        | 18 | 25 | ... |
|       | SEPTEMBER. |    |    |    | OCTOBER.  |     |     |    | NOVEMBER. |    |     |     | DECEMBER. |    |    |     |
| SUN.  | ...        | 6  | 13 | 20 | 27        | ... | 4   | 11 | 18        | 25 | ... | 1   | 8         | 15 | 22 | 29  |
| MON.  | ...        | 7  | 14 | 21 | 28        | ... | 5   | 12 | 19        | 26 | ... | 2   | 9         | 16 | 23 | 30  |
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| WED.  | 2          | 9  | 16 | 23 | 30        | ... | 7   | 14 | 21        | 28 | ... | 4   | 11        | 18 | 25 | ... |
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| FRI.  | 4          | 11 | 18 | 25 | ...       | 2   | 9   | 16 | 23        | 30 | ... | 6   | 13        | 20 | 27 | ... |
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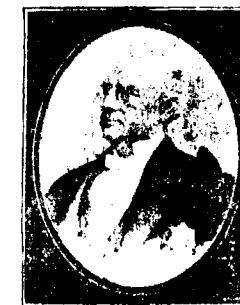
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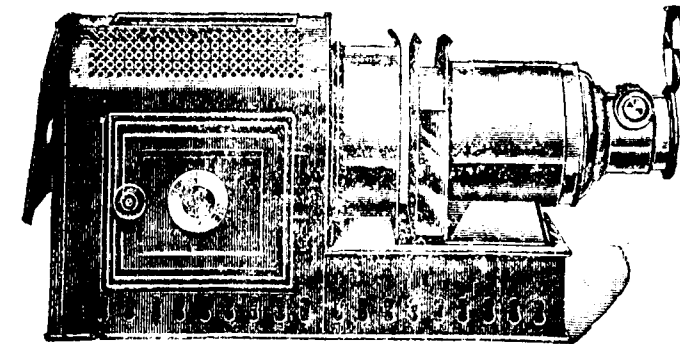
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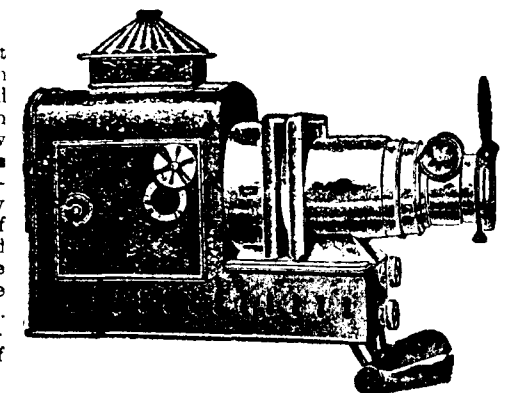
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## Personality in Everyday Life

BY MR. PETER FREEMAN

Chairman, Commonwealth League of India.

THE most interesting and fascinating study in the world is the study of human beings and their personalities.

All people possess the precious gift of *personality*. But too few are conscious of its rare charm and its deep treasures, its liberation from the pettiness of everyday life, or its blessing of good humour which allows one to see opportunities in most of life's obstacles.

## DULLEST INDIVIDUAL

Personality is the hall-mark of character, that something about us which is *felt* more than seen, and which comes from making the most and the very best of ourselves.

Human strivings and uprisings, bringing the crises of human history, are to me the echoes of *personality* seeking more freedom to express its innate longings.

We meet dozens of individuals in the course of a day's work, each one different from the other, and this essential difference is the matter of *personality*.

*Even the dullest individual is animated at some moment of his life by that divine spark which differentiates him from the automatic machine.*

The progress and purpose of everyday life is determined by human personality—the leadership of an outstanding personality in co-operation with the mass personality of the crowd.

It, therefore, behoves every individual to make the best possible use of the gift of personality

as his contribution to the welfare of mankind. Indeed, to me the cultivation of personality would seem to be the chief aim of progressive civilisation.

## BODY A MACHINE

How are we to make the most of this gift? How can we develop its potentialities, and in so doing make the most of ourselves?

In the first place we must get a clear conception of ourselves, the three parts of our being—body, soul, and spirit.

The idea of being a *spirit* may give rise to a great argument, but even the most sincere and hardened agnostic will admit that the body is merely a machine which is animated by something—a source which causes it to become an intelligent personality.

I prefer to call this animating force my spirit, the *real* "I" or "Self".

Let us think of our bodies first of all in the creating of personality. The body is, normally, a beautiful piece of mechanism, "fearfully and wonderfully made", surpassing the engineering genius or the mechanical art of man.

Even at its worst, if malformed or misused, its possession is something to be proud of.

It is the house we live in (for which we have to pay no rent), our very own, a personal possession which should be treasured, refined, trained, kept fit and healthy, so as to make it what it really is, a temple of the living spirit.



## EVER-OPEN DOOR

One should have an ideal for one's body as well as for one's mind. The latter cannot be truly efficient, nimble-witted or quick-thinking, retentive and forceful, without its working in harmonious co-operation with a body healthy in every way.

Bear in mind that *personality* is the outward expression of oneself; in many ways it is the mirror of one's inner life. . . a lined face is often the reflection of a tortured spirit.

It is the physical that has to be the medium of the hidden life of one's mind and spirit. The importance, therefore, of making the best of one's body and outward expression is obvious.

In this connection careful attention must be given to the cultivation of a well modulated and expressive voice, graceful and natural movement, and to physical appearance generally.

Even the care of such things as finger nails, teeth and hair, are important factors.

Whilst it is only too true that the mind is the measure of the man, it is vital that mind should have a firm bodily instrument through which to express its wisdom and learning.

Together these two create a personality which, if rightly cultivated and developed, stands at the ever-open door of illimitable human possibilities.

Let no one be mistaken with the erroneous idea that one must possess wealth or fame to become a personality of note. This idea is false in every respect.

There is only *one* aristocracy—the aristocracy of character. Under this supreme test we find as many aristocrats in any mining village as we should in Mayfair. Wealth is man's servant, and under no circumstances should it be allowed to enslave him or his kin.

The quality of the soul has much to do with the creating of a personality. It is possible to appreciate the deep beauties of a lingering sunset, yet be penniless. . . . "He who reads a poem

well—is a poet. He who sees a mountain well—is an artist."

The soul, reflected by the emotions and feelings, can be developed by an instant response to the call of beauty wherever it is to be found and in whatever form.

It is not possible to remain soulless, inhuman, uncouth, brutal, and also become a personality, and an abiding inspiration to one's fellow-beings. Then, there is the cultivation of the spirit.

*This task does not demand a belief in any set religion, or the holding of a theological creed; the only belief that is necessary is a belief in oneself as part of a great and growing spiritual universe.*

A hard task, some may urge, but really a very easy one if we stop to meditate on the oneness of Life. Whatever separates one individual from another—money, mind or manners—the two fundamental laws of birth and death are common to all.

## SIMPLE TRUTH

The cultivation of the spirit is the essential to the creation of personalities.

To be helpful, inspiring, a beacon light along the road of progress, can best be realised by remembering that we are one with Life, that in each of us there are potentialities of spiritual greatness and perfection.

The simple truth underlying this spiritual development is that at all times and under all circumstances, we exercise a beneficial influence upon those who come in contact with us in the round of everyday life.

One can possess a personality, the essence of which is an utter selfless simplicity; another may possess a power of personality whose sound goes out to the nations.

The quality of the spirit determines our genius for spreading abroad wisdom and kindness, and what more can Life ask of us than that we make the best of ourselves in mind, body and spirit, to fulfil this purpose.

## The Family Aeroplane

BY SIR ALAN J. COBHAM, K.B.E.,

(*Britain's "Aerial Ambassador" and hero of many epoch-making flights.*)

It used to be the ambition of every family of moderate means to possess a motor car. To-day, however, many families have turned their eyes from the road to the air. The seemingly impossible is about to happen—families will fly. One cannot exactly specify the number of years within which family flying will be the regular thing, but it is certain that at the present rate of development and with the growing popularity of the light aeroplane for private use, it cannot be very many.

The obstacles against family flying were very real a few years back; initial cost, running cost, reasonable safety, lack of space to "take-off" and land surrounding the average home of moderate means, together with limited appreciation of the possibilities of private flying for pleasure and business purposes were a few of the hindrances to the more speedy progress of family flying. But these have been overcome to a degree and further success depends upon how rapidly our engineers and inventors can turn the remaining obstacles into opportunities.

The progress that has been accomplished in a variety of ways has brought the private 'plane into more popular use. If you can afford to keep a good motor car, then there is no argument against being able to run a light aeroplane. A standard two-seater aeroplane now costs no more than a good-type car. Running costs compare favourably too, for it is possible to fly a light 'plane for threepence or fourpence a mile, doing from twenty to thirty-five miles on a gallon of petrol.

Technical developments during the last few years have made the light 'plane as safe as any other vehicle of transport. In fact, the increase of safety in the light aeroplane during the past two years has been remarkable, the use of the Safety Slot having been greatly responsible for this.

One of the greatest difficulties for most families has been the lack of land space for landing and "taking-off". But as time goes on and developments in design take place, this difficulty, which often faces the very rich as well as those of moderate means, will disappear. Designers will produce machines able to "take-off" and land in the proverbial cabbage patch and every town will have its own properly equipped landing ground to handle traffic by air.

The advantages of the family aeroplane are even greater than those of the fast motor car, for there is added the perfect freedom and healthy ease with which one can roam in the air from place to place at an average rate of about ninety miles an hour. No corners or hold-ups, no maze of busy streets or the speed limits of the more fashionable avenues. "A 'plane's way is a bird's way"—one can fly in a straight line from anywhere to anywhere, or deviate at any point at will. Tours of pleasure can be done in perfect freedom unknown with any other form of transport. One can cover three times the distance in a limited time, and in spite of covering a far greater mileage, the actual physical fatigue of flying is far less than in either car or train.

Holiday touring in a private 'plane offers pleasures undreamed of and unimagined. The most out-of-the-way places are brought next door. One gets a variety of experiences of making contacts with folk one would never meet on the more conventional rail or car routes, which is in itself an amusement and an education. Indeed, it could be claimed with reason that the science of flying has been responsible for our most modern humanising art.

Whilst air tourists will not have the pleasure of experiencing a tumultuous reception such as



Lindberg received, nor the generous hospitality lavished at an earlier date on Alcock and Brown for being ambitious enough to "hop the Atlantic" in a single thrilling jump, yet to-day it is impossible to drop from the blue on foreign soil without receiving an expression of generous welcome and friendship.

Besides giving illimitable opportunities for pleasure, the family aeroplane offers a business service to its owner far greater than does any other form of transport. As yet the light plane is merely on the fringe of its possibilities as an instrument for creating business. Distance is annihilated, and time, which generally materialises into money for the busy man and woman, is at least doubled and trebled during long distance flights. It also gives the advantage of lessened physical strain on business journeys.

We in England are finding it a great boon to go on business errands by air, either inland or across to the Continent of Europe, and we are witnessing the beginnings of an Empire Air Service as well as a weekly service to the East. In the United States where the great cities are hundreds of miles apart, the material gain of flying for the commercial and the business man is incalculable.

The family aeroplane presents opportunities for closer intercourse between the peoples of the earth. The ease and speed at which one will soon be able to "hop" long distances, will bring together members of all nationalities for sport and social life.

It requires but little imagination to picture the day, not too distant, when hundreds of families of every nation will be paying flying visits to one another. So the growth of family aeroplanes will help progress and the peaceful trend of modern civilization.

## The Foreign Relations Bill

BY MR. M. HIDAYATULLAH, B.A., BAR-AT-LAW

THIS Session there was introduced into the Legislative Assembly a Bill purporting to replace the Ordinance IV of 1931 of His Excellency the Viceroy of India which penalised the publishing of any statement or matter regarding a Foreign Power or Government which publication is likely to promote unfriendly relations between His Majesty's Government and the Government of that Foreign State. In the Statement of Objects and Reasons attached to the Bill, there was mentioned that the Bill intended to prevent libels about Foreign Powers and to bring the Law of India in a line with the principles of International Law.

If the Bill had been only regarding libellous attacks concerning the head of a foreign power, there need have been no apprehensions. Though we know that in the past there have been many

attacks in English and also European Papers upon certain countries of Europe, and also other powers in general at a time when friendly relations subsisted between the country commenting and the country about which comments were made, we can still see the need for such a legislation. Unfortunately the drafters of the Bill made no attempts to limit the scope of the Bill, especially its clause 2. They merely made a premise against any comments likely to imperil friendly relations.

The implications of this legislation, if it can become operative, will be very far reaching. *Bona fide* comments regarding matters outside one's own country can easily be stifled by wielding clause 2 of the Bill against the writer. But this is not all. The Muslims of India will find themselves cut adrift from the rest of the Islamic world. As was pointed out by Sir Abdur Rahim, Khan

Bahadur Wilayatullah and Dr. Ziauddin in the Assembly, the Muslims of India claim kinship with the other Muslims inhabiting different parts of the globe, and they have always desired to share their sorrows and sufferings. Whenever there have been reports that the Muslims of other countries have been ill-treated or used at a disadvantage, the Muslim Press of India has taken action and has exposed the high-handedness of their persecutors. Only very recently the Muslim Press of India has taken action in matters which affected other Muslims living in the North of Africa under an European Power, and their protests have had a very proper result. So also when the Muslim Holy Shrines were in danger of being razed to the ground by a ruler who regarded respect for these objects as equal to idol worship, the Muslims of India raised such a hue and cry that soon this iconoclast had to stay his hands. It is but natural that Muslims should take interest in their brethren abroad and should try to safeguard their religious interests in a manner which only seems practicable, namely, by raising a protest. This Bill which will bear very largely upon the Muslims, will be very undesirable in such seasons. Take a hypothetical case, such as was ably put forward by Khan Bahadur Wilayatullah in his speech in the Assembly. Suppose a Muslim ruler proclaimed himself the Khalifa without being approved or appointed as such by the Mahomedans. Muslims all over the world (certainly not excluding India) will discuss his merits and demerits in very unequivocal terms. The Bill or Act safeguarding friendly relations between this ruler and His Majesty's Government will put an extinguisher upon the legitimate criticisms of the Muslims of India.

It was because of these facts that speakers against the Bill recommended circulation in order to elicit public opinion upon it. Unfortunately their opposition failed, as even some Muslim

Members sided with the Government for reasons best known to themselves. The circulation would have come to an end by 1st January. It is curious that though the Government agreed to a circulation of the Bill, they would not agree to do it if the public opinion came for discussion before the Assembly. They were willing only if the mass of opinion was considered by the Select Committee. Obviously there could not have been any very great loss of time. Perhaps a day or two might have been taken in fresh discussions in the light of this public opinion. The only advantage the Government were anxious to seize upon, was that once the Bill is referred to a Select Committee, the House is supposed to have consented to the principle embodied and enunciated in the Bill. For this they fought and won. Some of the Muslim members flatly refused to serve on the Select Committee by way of protest. Their feelings were not at all considered by the Government who were confident of their majority. The Bill is now to go before the Select Committee. Let us hope that it will emerge from there shorn of all its evil characteristics. In the meantime the country should know what they are going to face. They should understand all the implications of the Bill. If they disagree with the Bill, they have only one way in which they can bring their opinion to the notice of the Government. It is by way of a signed petition in accordance with the Standing Orders of the Assembly. In the schedule attached to the Standing Orders will be found the form of petition. Such largely signed applications, if presented through the members of the Legislative Assembly, will have a great influence in shaping the future wording of the Bill. Those desirous of doing so, must see that their petitions are duly laid on the Table of the House before the end of December.

# The Awakening of China

BY MR. ARTHUR LAMSLEY

IN considering the future economic conditions of China a long view must be taken; and one thing seems certain, that the merchants and citizens alike are alive to the fact that prolonged internal chaos is bad business at the moment, and worse for the future of business.

In the special sphere of economics, the nations of the outside world have the opportunity to be of great and lasting service to the new China which is likely to arise to nationhood out of the chaos of the past few years, more especially as effort to re-establish trade and commercial activity generally would be welcome to most of the moderate Chinese, and not in the least savour of political interference with the Nationalist bid for staple government.

The recognition of the Nationalist Government by England and the United States will greatly strengthen the possibility of immediate economic revival: slow at first, but promising rapid increase as the Government gets to grips with internal affairs and commences to tackle the problems of finance, railways, agriculture, and international commerce in the country.

The foreigner is really viewed with much less suspicion by the Nationalists who are determined to re-build the economic fabric of the nation, and who recognise that in the services where there has been constant co-operation for many years with the great powers, conditions on the whole have been business-like and efficient. Moderate Nationalists do not complain of the conduct of the Post Office, Customs, or the Salt Gabelle, three services in which foreign assistance has made for success. Nationalists to-day are not wasting their energy upon attacking foreign co-operation, but are keen to re-establish trade, industry, and create an efficient administration. As proof of the renewed good will, foreign bankers, industrialists, merchants, and engineers will help

the new Government with money, experience, and re-constructive skill.

One of the most potent factors in the new China is the fast increasing common, popular language. Previous to the 1911 revolution, the language question was one which militated against all progress, commercial and social, in the interior, but to-day, chiefly through the wise guidance of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, some 70 million Chinese speak one language, and students from the schools all over the country are adding to this number at the rate of about 7,000,000 a year. Another generation will find the whole of China speaking one language, a fact which will form one of the solid foundations of China's future greatness as a world nation.

The gradual awakening of China's economic possibilities being witnessed to-day, gives some small indication of the great future in store for the country under settled government. Her trade is already considerable, and it requires but little imagination to visualise what it might become in a few years. And it is not undue optimism, in spite of the problems facing China being greater by far than the problems confronting Europe, for there are unmistakable signs of a new determination on the part of the modern Chinese to re-construct their country.

China will never again drift back into her pre-War slumbers. There is a quickened conscience amongst the younger Chinese students, especially those who have been educated in England, France, Germany, and in the United States, to make the best possible use of their western training which is bound to have some vigorous reaction on future economics. The increased purchasing power of the Chinese citizen which will result from the more settled conditions of secure administration, coupled with his industrialisation on western lines, will give a

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special impetus to trade with foreign countries. There will never again be the opportunity for foreign manufacturers to set up in China, but the demand for heavy machinery, engineering, both civil and mechanical, contract works, cotton goods, river and road transport, will more than compensate for any loss in other directions.

But here again a long view must be taken. At the present time China's finances are not in a healthy state, and a certain debt adjustment and guaranteed security to foreign traders would have to accompany economic revival. International confidence in the Nationalist Government would no doubt materialise into a huge loan to help re-start many of China's enterprises; such loan might be funded by all the interested powers and sponsored by the League of Nations, as a guarantee to the Chinese of equal good faith and peaceful intention on the part of the interested nations. The new national consciousness of the Chinese might conflict in a loan founded in the old way, especially as China is disinclined to take any further political risks with foreign nations, but a loan sponsored by the League of Nations would blend with the new conception of economic prosperity now favoured by the Chinese merchants and traders generally, and by the Nationalist Government. But the question of responsibility

for existing external and internal debts must be settled to the satisfaction of the foreign creditors before such a loan is funded. At present there seems to exist a good and favourable condition for such a settlement, as the Chinese are willing and anxious to enter into world trade and make good some of their losses due to civil war.

For a number of years to come, China may be reliant upon foreign guidance and advice in her re-building, but the economic progress of the whole nation will be aided, if the foreign nations recognise the absolute right of supremacy of the Chinese Government on its own soil. As years pass, the extra-territorial rights and privileges granted to foreigners will have to be considerably modified and re-adjusted to meet the more equal demands of the Republic. This should not give rise to abortive political difficulties, because economics would govern the situation—foreign nations wish to and must trade with China, and she in turn is very anxious to extend her trade with the foreign nations. The wise guidance of the economic section of the League of Nations will be constructively helpful in this situation, and indeed clarify it to the mutual and material satisfaction of all concerned. In this way will the economic progress of China materialise more speedily, and ultimate success will be assured.

## THE BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION

THE General Election in England is just over, and as we go to press, the results of all but nine seats have been declared. They reveal the extraordinary hold that the Premier's appeal, in the name of the nation, has had on the people of England. The present election was held under circumstances not unlike those that attended wartime elections when "none was for the Party and all were for the State". The financial crisis has naturally thrown the weight of practically the

whole of the electorate on the side of the Nationalist Government which has now achieved an astounding victory, far surpassing the most sanguine hopes of its protagonists. For the present majority of 482 is the largest on record since 1832.

### PARTIES AND CANDIDATES

Thus, the Government has secured a victory unparalleled in its completeness. Out of a House of 615 members, about 560, it is expected, will be Government supporters. There

are in all some 30 million voters on the rolls who were called upon to elect 548 members of the new House of Commons, 67 having been returned unopposed. For these 548 seats, there were 1,219 candidates. Of these the National Government supporters included 517 Conservatives, 121 Liberals, 39 Liberal Nationalists and 21 National Labour candidates. The Opposition candidates were 530 Labour, 23 New Party, 25 Communists and 27 others. The state of Parties at the conclusion of the voting is :

## NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

|                   |     |     |
|-------------------|-----|-----|
| Conservative      | ... | 470 |
| National Liberals | ..  | 66  |
| National Labour   | ... | 13  |

Total ... 549

## OPPOSITION ... 57

While it is a personal triumph for the Prime Minister, the election has all but shattered Labour which has sustained a severe defeat. At the same time it has put the Conservatives in a position of supreme vantage, for they have won overwhelmingly and their position in the new House will be practically unchallenged.

## SOME STRIKING FEATURES

Apart from numbers, the way that the elections have affected leading figures in the Parties is significant. Leading Conservatives have everywhere held their own, while such members of the Labour Cabinet as Mr. Henderson, Dr. Addison, Mr. Clynes, Mr. Alexander, Mr. Tom Johnston, Mr. Lees-Smith and Miss Margaret Bondfield have been unseated. It is something that Mr. Lansbury has been able to retain his seat. On the other hand, prominent Conservatives like Sir Austen and Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Sir Samuel Hoare and Col. Amery, and Mr. Winston Churchill have had an easy walk over. The return of Mr. Thomas with Mr. MacDonald and the

failure of Sir Oswald Mosley to retain his seat show which way the wind blows. Mr. Lloyd George, with his son and daughter, has come back to the House as also Mr. MacDonald's son, while the socialist son of Mr. Baldwin has failed, and young Henderson has shared the fate of his father. There will be at least a dozen women members in the new Parliament, including Lady Astor and the Duchess of Atholl, while none of the Labour women have come back to the House.

## INDIA AND THE GENERAL ELECTION

What will be the effect of the General Election on the fortunes of India? That is the question which naturally engages our attention. Members of the Indian Delegation to the Round Table Conference are reticent as becomes strangers, but they feel that the two dominant personalities of the new Government—Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Baldwin—are pledged to the fulfilment of the Premier's declaration at the close of the First Round Table Conference. The defeat of Mr. Wedgwood Benn is a grave loss to the Indian cause, as also the absence of Mr. Fenner Brockway and Major Graham Pole from the new Parliament. India was not mentioned in the elections but it is practically the supreme question of the day, as important if not more than, the need to secure the stability of British finance. The Premier rightly exulted over the victory which is practically the triumph of the State over the Party, and may we hope that the Indian case will be dealt with as really a problem for the nation as a whole irrespective of Party predilections? "The result of the election," said Mr. Snowden, "gives the National Government unanswerable right to speak and act for the nation, but not to pursue any party objects."

Will the new Government's handling of the Indian problem justify the nation's faith and trust in its capacity?

## THE BANKING REPORT

BY MR. P. R. SRINIVASAN, M.A.,

Editor, 'The Indian Finance'.

THE report of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee is one of the few enquiries to which India will have to turn when she embarks, as she soon must, on a comprehensive programme of economic development. For a nation which is endowed by nature in no niggardly fashion, and which has through its long history neglected the development of its material resources, and which now aims at securing its rightful place in the economic life of the modern world, nothing is more essential than that the fundamental basis of her economic structure should be rightly conceived. None of the great divisions into which our national economy can be divided, can so far lay claim to health or virility. Agriculture, banking, industries, small-scale and large-scale insurance, shipping, the control of currency and credit, are the crude result of a policy, if such it can be called, of blindly muddling through. If it is true that the political power, which the Indian masses will ere long be invested with, is to be utilised for the economic uplift of all the classes and races of India, then we cannot attach too much importance to the study of the results of such enquiries as that of the Banking Committee.

In this view, the hopes of economic India rest on the value of the report of the Industrial Commission, the report of the Agricultural Commission and the report, or rather reports, of the Banking Enquiry. In a sense which should be obvious to everyone, the Banking Committee Reports far transcends in importance those of the Industrial Commission or the Agricultural Commission. For industry and agriculture alike derive their sustenance from the banking system which the work of Sir B. N. Mitra and his colleagues will bring into being. India is notoriously a land of waste, waste of material, waste of energy and, most sad of all,

waste of human intelligence and capacity. And for the adequate utilisation of the resources that till now have been wasted, the condition precedent is the organisation of a banking system which will assimilate the mature experience of foreign nations and will be fully suited to the peculiar needs and conditions of this country. It would be well, for the purpose of appraising the value of the report, to state briefly yet comprehensively the banking problem with which we are faced and in the light of which the usefulness of the conclusions and recommendations of the enquiry might be judged.

It might look like indulging in a vague figure of speech; but it is nonetheless sufficiently expressive to say that what we want is the establishment of national banking autonomy; that is, a banking system in which the activities of the various banking institutions and various types of banks will be so co-ordinated and so harmoniously correlated, that the economic life of the nation will be enriched by the fullest contribution of everyone capable of real productive effort. In the present conditions, instances of enterprises, small and big, being thwarted by the lack of credit, or the imposition of credit on the most onerous conditions, are none too rare. Not to speak of industry in which the difficulties are of necessity more complicated, agriculture is carried on under conditions in which the real workers on the soil are burdened with an intolerable load of perpetual indebtedness. Improvements in land and methods of cultivation are yet a vague dream. The harvests are acquired by native middlemen or foreign experts for little better than the proverbial song. Small industries, springing up in a so-called "boom", end their ephemeral existence with the first reverse in

business. And the large ones, bereft alike of the help and the control of an effective and informed public opinion, are the prey in turn of adverse foreign competition and their own cupidity. Before long they became the monuments of our economic ineptitudes and held up by interested parties as a warning to those who might still venture to tread the dangerous ground again.

No doubt the *impasse* must be due to a variety of causes; but not the least important of them is the lack of an organic banking system which knows how to co-operate with the producer, to render him help when necessary and to curb him without curbing the enterprise. While the term "banking system" seems a short and compact phrase, it refers to such a variety of banking institutions and banking services, that a Committee which has to do the practical task of devising the system has to cover a wide ground and with the greatest attention to detail. It is the peculiar feature of the Banking Committee that it had its provincial committees of enquiry, whose reports will be of great assistance to the provincial governments when, in due course, they proceed to give effect to that part of the findings of the Banking Committee which calls for action on their part. The Committee has had not only to lay down broad principles by which State policy in connection with questions of banking should be guided, but it has also had to make detailed recommendations regarding each new institution that has to be brought into existence. It were well both for the purpose of giving the reader an idea of what the Committee has done and for offering our comments to consider matters of policy first and then the specific recommendations.

The basis of any scientific banking system is a well constituted central banking institution. The Committee are very insistent that without a Reserve Bank of India, no progress either

in banking or general economic development can be expected. Though they do not go into the details of the structure of the Reserve Bank, they have expressed their preference for a bank in which the capital will be found by the State. The conflict between preference for State capital, and anxiety to exclude political control, is expressed in the scheme which the Committee have preserved in regard to the composition of the Directorate. These details apart, it is very much to the good that the Committee, despite the presence of those who had formerly favoured the idea of the Imperial Bank functioning as a Central Bank, have unanimously emphasised the importance of the Reserve Bank of India to the growth of an efficient system of banking in India.

Next only to the Reserve Bank in importance are the set of proposals which concern agriculture. It is a brilliant, no less than novel, idea that India should have chambers of agriculture, comprising agricultural interests organised on a regional basis and that these chambers should have their fair representation in the Governing Body of the Reserve Bank. For the first time, agriculture will have more than mere lip service paid to its importance; and once this recommendation is adopted, agriculture will have some means of forcing the nation at large to defer to its needs and counsels. The Committee have shown grasp of the essentials of our agricultural problem. They have carried out an elaborate enquiry into the state of rural indebtedness, although they have inevitably failed in their attempt to prescribe one sovereign remedy to the eternal evil of rural indebtedness. They have suggested that the problem should be tackled in the various ways: firstly, by the appointment of special officers in each province to carry out on as large a scale as possible the compounding of small debts on a voluntary basis and if necessary even by compul-

sion. The extension of the Punjab Registration of Accounts Act to other provinces might itself have the effect of educating the borrower and developing in him the habit of scrutinising the accounts. A greater use of the Usurious Loans Act, the use of Foreigners Act in regard to the activities of Kabulis and general educative propaganda in favour of cultivators utilising every facility that the law might give to emancipate themselves from the fetters of perpetual debts these together may take the country a long way to the stage in which real improvement in agriculture would be possible.

As regards co-operation, those who realise how much the past indebtedness of the agricultural classes stands in the way of a healthy development of co-operation, will appreciate the bearing which the recommendations of the Committee above mentioned have on the preparation of the ground for expansion of co-operative activity, not only over the various parts of the land, but over the various branches to which the principle of co-operation has been applied in other countries. Through the various stages of the enquiry there was evidence of the feeling amongst some members of the Committee that there is, as it were, a sharp conflict between co-operation banking, indigenous banking and Indian joint stock banking, that over-lapping of spheres is, in some degrees, unavoidable and that it was one of the tasks of the Committee to prescribe a definite demarcation of their respective spheres. Space does not permit of any detailed consideration of the fallacies to which this apprehension owes its origin, but it would seem that some deference had been paid to this view, and that the Committee had specially laid down that agricultural credit should be the preserve of co-operative societies and that long-term credit should be provided by land mortgage banks. Indigenous banking has received the fullest consideration and support from the Committee.

Special facilities have been accorded them and the bankers have likewise been called upon to specify certain conditions before they would be entitled to enjoy such facilities. It has been suggested that the indigenous banker should rigorously abstain from all non-banking business, should keep accounts in a prescribed form, should have them properly audited and made available to the Reserve Bank for inspection and audit. If these conditions are fulfilled, they would be entitled to become members of the All-India Bankers' Association and be entitled to rediscount facilities from the Reserve Bank.

It is difficult to pronounce any opinion on the expediency or wisdom of the measures suggested by the Committee. That the indigenous banker, despite his general obscurity, fills a larger place in the picture of Indian banking than is generally supposed, there can be no doubt. Nor is it any less certain that small-scale business of all kinds throughout the country is being financed by him, and that if the banking organisation as a whole has to be strengthened, some attention has to be bestowed on him, and that it has to be insured that the banking organisation is not weak at one of its pivotal points. But how far the classes from which the indigenous bankers are drawn, will show themselves adaptive to the new conditions, whether they will have the discrimination to decide between the very lucrative but risky and suspicious business of old, and the more honourable and useful, but that no less lucrative, business indicated by the Committee, we have now little evidence on hand to say. But on the whole we are one with the Committee in their idea that the strengthening of the indigenous banker, and linking him up with the old organic system of Indian banking of the future, are ends which are well worth a sincere effort.

As regards the Indian joint stock banks, the Committee, it must be confessed, have shown no special solicitude for their development. Mr.

Manu Subedar has attempted to make up for this regrettable omission of the majority and has emphasised in his Minute of Dissent, that the facilities which the Reserve Bank in India may afford to the banking institutions should be available on specially favourable terms to the Indian joint stock banks. Such facilities are : free transfer of funds between centres where the Reserve Bank has a branch, remittance concessions, facilities for opening up new branches, such as the maintenance of a portion of Government balances with the banks for a certain period free of interest, and facilities for rediscount of bills with the Reserve Bank.

The question of industrial banking shows a sharp cleavage of opinion between the Committee on the one hand, and the foreign experts on the other. It is well known that from the time they began to tender their advice to the Committee, the foreign experts had been assuming a somewhat pontifical manner and were prone rather to read out sermons of self-reliance than help to make proposals suited to the peculiar conditions of India. It did not occur to them that it was too late in the day to attempt to set up a new fane in India for the obsolete fetish of *laissez faire*. They were attempting consistently to restrict the role of the State in the active development of industry in India. The Committee, on the other hand, accepted the views sponsored by the Indian Industrial Commission and were for the State initiating new industries with its own capital and standing by their new enterprises during the initial stages. For this purpose they have advocated the establishment of industrial corporations wherever the governments concerned consider it to be necessary with capital initially or permanently subscribed by the Government and with the power to issue debentures bearing a stipulated proportion to the subscribed capital of the Corporation. Mr. Nalini Sarkar in his Minority Report goes much farther and evinces a desire to chalk out the

lines on which the popular Government and the Corporation might proceed. And he is also in favour of an All-India organisation or, at least, a body which will ensure co-ordination of effort between the various provincial corporations. The essentials of any scheme of industrial banking is the extent to which the co-ordination of the banker and the industrials may be secured, and even more important than that is the existence of an organisation which will always be on the look-out for scope for new industries, obtain the financial support necessary for initiating them and keep a careful watch over its fortunes till the attainment of the stage in which voluntary public support will be assured. The majority of the Committee evidently believe that the provincial industrial corporation and the co-ordinated body will be able to subserve the purposes we have mentioned above. After all, the worth of institutions like those depends largely upon their personnel, and it would be premature to suggest now that the machinery proposed by the Committee may be found to be inadequate.

The question of exchange banking was one of the very few which had a racial hue, and it is on the whole a matter for gratification that the majority was able to devise recommendations which go a long way to satisfy popular aspirations in this regard without alienating the support and sympathy of the European members of the Committee. The Committee have been impressed with the keen competition that now obtains in this field of exchange banks and is content with recommending that on the creation of the Reserve Bank, the Imperial Bank of India should be left free to transact exchange business and that, if for any reason, it does not come up to the mark, the Government should take steps to inaugurate a new exchange bank. The Banking Committee has attempted to preserve a rigidly practical viewpoint without giving way to mere nationalist sentiment or yielding to the general cant of Indian unfitness for certain lines of business. The recommendations, though they may not satisfy the aspirations of a few, are undoubtedly calculated to pull Indian banking out of the morass into which it has fallen in recent years and put it on the high road that leads to what we call Indian banking autonomy.

**Report of the Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee:** In two Vols. Price Rs. 6-2-0. Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., George Town, Madras.

## Towards Complete Federation

BY PROF. HARICHARAN MUKERJEA, M.A.

AS discussions in the Federal Structure sub-Committee are proceeding and serious differences of opinion are emerging, we are being filled with despair as to the prospects of the formation of an All-India Federation comprising all the States as well as British India. These differences are both as regards the manner of representation in the Federal Legislature as well as the number of representatives to be sent by the States and its apportionment amongst them. In conformity with the practice obtaining in all federations, the British Indians claim that the Upper House will contain the nominees of the Princes and the Lower House, representatives of the people. But in deference to the wishes of the Princes and relying upon their good sense and generosity, almost all the British Indian delegates are willing to leave for the time being entirely to them (Princes) the question as to how the States' representatives to the Lower House should be elected. This anxiety not to wound the susceptibilities of the Princes has not failed to strike a sympathetic chord in Sir Akbar Hydari who has come forward with his assurance that the governments of the States which will be the units of the federation, should be responsible to democratic legislatures which is all that the British Indians demand. But there are many members of the States' delegation who do not see eye to eye with him in this respect. Then there are other serious differences of opinion amongst them as to the number of representatives to be enjoyed by them and the method by which this is to be determined. The smaller States have taken fright at some of the opinions expressed by Sir Akbar Hydari and Sir Mirza Ismail, and on the impression that they are going to be deprived of their legitimate share of representation, some of them will perhaps try to back out of the scheme. The Maharaja of Bikaner has sounded a timely note of warning, that the rights

of the smaller States are to be safeguarded and no State is to be coerced into entering the Union against its will. It is almost sure that a large number of States will at the outset stand outside the Union. This is no doubt highly disappointing but ought not to fill us with despair. This has been the experience of almost all the modern federations. It was only by slow degrees that the federal idea took shape or captured the imaginations of the people. It was very often preceded by a confederation or a customs union or *Zollverein* or an arrangement for a uniform system of railways running through the different States or by other arrangements to safeguard certain common interests belonging to all the confederates. It was only very slowly that the States realised the advantages of concerted action and their suspicions were removed. And even when the federation was established, we find that some of the component States held aloof, and it was after some time when they had seen the federation at work that they agreed to enter it. Moreover in almost every case there was present the menace of some great danger, whether actual or potential, against which the individual States would have been powerless which acted as the greatest incentive to the Union. In ancient Greece both the confederacy of Delos (478 B.C.) and the famous Achæan League (251 B.C.) were formed under the immediate menace of Persian invasion of Greece and the Ionian cities of Asia Minor and the Macedonian conquest of Peloponnesus respectively. The Americans under the great pressure of the War of Independence learnt the great advantage of uniting for common defence as well as for protecting mutual interests. When the War was over they were still not free from the menace. There were the English to the North in Canada, the French to the West in Louisiana across the

Alleghanies, and the Spaniards to the South in Florida. Moreover they realised that victory in War had not enhanced their prestige with foreign nations. There was further tariff war amongst them and rebellion in Massachusetts which once assumed very serious proportions. The German principalities finally combined with the purpose of putting up a successful resistance to the French under Napoleon III who was trying to follow in the footsteps of his great namesake and to absorb many of these principalities. The Swiss Cantons combined to oppose the encroachments of the three great nations whose territories abut upon her. The Commonwealth of Australia would not have come into being if she had no powerful neighbours like Japan or America or if she would not have been so far away from Britain from which no effective aid can be expected in case of invasion. Last of all the Union of South Africa was formed to maintain white supremacy and to take concerted measures against the ever-present menace of a Native upheaval. This incentive to concerted action to ward off invasions from outside has been entirely absent in the case of the Princes enjoying as they have been doing the protection of the British *Raj* and when their autonomy and territorial integrity have been guaranteed by treaties, engagements and *sanads*. The only danger to which they are exposed is that of the spread of the democratic movement in their States, but perhaps they still hope to crush it with the help of the Paramount Power which has shown itself more sympathetic and indulgent towards them after the Great War than ever before. The policy of keeping them in subordinate isolation from one another has been abandoned, and they have been given the Chamber of Princes to serve as a focus for their views, and the Standing Committee of the Chamber has been very effectively utilized to ventilate their grievances.

When this sense of common danger which has always served as a rallying-point has been conspicuously absent in the case of the Princes, it will be quite premature to expect that all of them will join the Federation at its very inception. If there is a sufficient response our hopes will be more than justified. Once again if we review the history of the different federations of the world, we shall be much heartened and shall have no reason to be pessimistic. In America, when the Convention which met at Philadelphia in 1787 had framed the new constitution, it took more than a year to have it ratified by 9 States which was necessary for its taking effect. First of all, Virginia and New York raised objections against some of the provisions and did not ratify the new constitution till the middle of 1788 after nine others had already accepted it; and North Carolina and Rhode Island at first refused and only consented to enter the new Union more than a year later when the government it had created had already come into operation. In Germany again when, in 1867, the North German Confederation was formed under the leadership of Prussia, Bavaria, Baden, Wurtemberg and other Catholic States did not join it but remained outside. It was only when the success of the Union had been demonstrated beyond any doubt by the success of the German arms in the Franco-Prussian War and the French capital was about to fall, that these recalcitrant States sent envoys to King William in Paris to arrange for terms on which they could join the Union. The same story of distrust of any central organisation and of consequent aloofness and indifference was repeated in Australia when the Commonwealth was formed. New South Wales was most critical in her attitude and the draft constitution originally agreed upon had to be amended to overcome her objections. Western Australia held aloof for some time but at last consented to join the Union. The controversy over the repudiation

of her share of Federal debts, and the fact that she wants to follow a different monetary policy from the rest of the Union, conclusively prove that even now New South Wales has not been able to reconcile herself to her present lot under the Commonwealth.

Incidentally it is very curious to note that the very same objections that have been urged against federation, and the claims that have been advanced by some of the Indian States to safeguard their rights, were made by the States when the Australian Commonwealth was being hammered into shape. The larger colonies demanded that greater consideration should be given to population and the smaller ones sought to preserve their autonomy. The position and mode of election of the Senate was also the source of the greatest difference of opinion. Has not the same difference emerged from the speeches of Sir Akbar Hydari and the Maharaja of Bikaner? Verily it has been said that history repeats itself.

All these considerations will convince us that we need not lose heart at the present reluctance on the part of some States to enter the Union immediately on its formation. Such reluctance is nothing new and is sure to disappear in course of time. Moreover, in our case, the predisposing cause, *viz.*, the presence of some immediate danger has been entirely non-existent which largely accounts for the apathy of some Princes. We should do well with the hearty co-operation of those of them who have imagination and sympathy, and who are staunchly supporting us, to lay the foundations of the Federation safely and well. Our guiding principle will be: the greatest common measure of agreement among the British Indian and the States' delegates. The autonomy and integrity of the States will have to be safeguarded, and they will have an important voice in the determination of national policy. Seats will be left vacant in both the houses of

legislature for the States, which will now hold aloof but which may subsequently like to enter the Union, as they are soon to do when their apprehensions will be removed and when they will be convinced of doing so on honourable and advantageous terms. Any attempt to force them prematurely to enter the Union before they are ready to do so of their own sweet will, as has been wisely pointed out by the Maharaja of Bikaner, is sure to defeat its own purpose and to postpone indefinitely the formation of the Federation. For, it will rouse the suspicions of the States and stiffen their opposition. Left to themselves, both on sentimental as well as practical grounds, they are sure to follow the example of their more courageous neighbours who will enter the Federation from the very outset, for it is only by thus entering the Union it will be possible for them to have an important voice in the counsels of the Empire upon which they have been putting so much stress. It will be our duty to advance steadily towards our goal, undeterred by discouragement or apathy, hand in hand with our fellow-workers leaving the rest to fall in, as and when it will be convenient for them.

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R. May '32.



# THE NEXT WAR

BY MAJOR D. M. REID

THERE are many of us who talk glibly of the next war, of its certainty or impossibility, of the arms or branches of the service that will be most utilised, of the likelihood of our own nation being involved, and of many other questions and theories, and we sometimes look to authorities for guidance, but there has been little published in recent years that does not seem either the work of an academic theoretician or of an interested party. Under the latter head comes most that issues from the pens of soldiers, and as such is suspect. It is difficult not to be suspicious of the sincerity of one who has spent his life in war or in preparation for it. None can, however, suspect the sincerity of Major Bratt. This Swedish staff-officer, after spending his life in the study of war, after close personal observation of actual warfare, and after long and careful preparation of the subject-matter of this book, has come to the conclusion that modern fighting is an evil and terrible thing, and that the world is heading for more wars. His argument is always sane and cool, and his conclusions carefully built up. His knowledge of European countries, their national aspirations, politics and armies is very valuable, and this book \* comes as a light, clear, cold and steady in the maze of post-war literature.

The main thesis that underlies the book is that, only by political and economic action can the civilised races be saved from the war upon which future developments appear entirely to depend. He emphasises that the abolition of war cannot bring about the elimination of disputes and conflicts of interest between the nations. The struggle for power will always exist. It is only the forms and objects of strife which can be influenced by progress.

\* *That Next War*, by Major K. A. Bratt, translated by Ernest Classen. George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

The book seeks to show that in spite of certain evident brighter signs in the political field, the weapons of a new war are being forged. Memory is short. Unless the present male generation, while still retaining its recollection of the great tragedy, has sufficient understanding and will to mobilise adequate force and talent to combat war and those who stand behind war, then a further catastrophe must inevitably ensue.

Major Bratt traces the origin of attempts to achieve world-peace. The Roman Empire, the Holy Alliance, the influence of Papal power in history, are considered. Nothing was ever seriously done to achieve permanent world peace as opposed to an imperial rule, until the coming of the present League of Nations. The success of this depends on the support of democracy, and it is here that Major Bratt makes his strongest point. Wars will continue unless the masses determine that wars shall not take place. Democratic government is a safeguard. A true democratic spirit behind democratic governments throughout the nations is the only real solution. It is interesting to note that he considers that one of the greatest dangers to world peace to-day is Fascism. Italy is exhibiting all the signs of a nation determined to have a war. The aspirations of Italy to-day bear a spiritual relation to much of the pre-war Pan-German programme.

Pending a European crisis which will give Italy a free hand, Mussolini must keep his imperialistic plans in his pocket. But they will be taken out again and put into force at the first really favourable opportunity that occurs. We have reason to be thankful that the state of Italian and Balkan affairs is such that it bristles their bellicose spirit. Greece, Bulgaria, and Jugo-Slavia are burdened by enormous debts. But the latter has as its banker France, who supports it—against Italy—just as it supports the Little Entente against Germany.

The picture of Europe is not one of happy peace. The policy of France since 1918 has resulted in Europe being something like a

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dynamite magazine. Major Bratt insists that the present French system of security is not one to preserve a decent peace, but to secure victory in a new war. It is not security *against* war, but security *in* war. The difference is significant. There can never be confidence under the shadow of strategic calculations and the plans of general staffs.

The type of claims for security set up by late Tory governments in England are similar. It is to England under its Labour Government that Major Bratt looks for a true influence for peace and general disarmament. A war under the English Labour Government is improbable indeed. Wars in other countries under similar governments would be likewise improbable. On the other hand the democratic governments of the British Dominions and their power, as shown in the recent Imperial Conference, are hopeful signs. No new war will be possible as far as England is concerned without the full consent of the Dominions, and *vice versa*, for no Dominion will consider making war by itself. Major Bratt does not go very fully into this question which concerns the British attitude alone, since he views the whole world. His general argument is that he does not consider that England is likely to be embroiled in a war. If England manages to settle the questions of Egypt and Indian self-government, he sees a very important influence for peace indeed.

We have used the word "England" and not "Great Britain" following the word used by Major Bratt. It always strikes the Briton as curious that the continentals use the word "England" as a general term. It must be a matter of interest to Scotsmen that it is so.

Major Bratt quotes the Frenchman, Eugene Jung, who is clearly dissatisfied with French policy in the Far East:

England is the country which has begun to understand. France must not allow itself to be outdistanced

in the return to sound sense just because of the great profits of certain ambitious groups of financiers.

The really great question is, says Major Bratt, whether England can free itself from the hereditary dogma that its prosperity, its trade and economic power, the well-being of its people, is bound and fettered to its sea-power and its military "occupation of the world". The creation of the Dominions was one step in this direction. It showed the ability of English statesmen to hear when the hell has sounded.

The adaptability will be put to the supreme test, however, in relation to India and Egypt. Neither can anybody at the present time affirm that England would render a service to civilisation—even if it could disregard its own interests—by relinquishing India and abandoning it to its own resources to become the cockpit of racial strife and internal disorder, which its people are not able to suppress. But on the other hand it may retain India, in which case the question is, how long? The demand for the complete and unconditional independence of the colonial peoples, without consideration of the consequences, can hardly be regarded as reasonable. \* \* \* \* Almost superhuman statesmanship will be required to escape from this dilemma.

In a short article of this nature it is only possible to touch on a few of the subjects that go to make up this most valuable and extremely interesting book. The chapters on "The Air" are horrifying and carry conviction. The next war will undoubtedly start with a great air-battle. This will take place within the first twenty-four hours of the war. This is primarily due to the superior capacity of the air force for quick strategic concentration. The air fleet which assumes the offensive will be able to station itself in the neighbourhood of its objective,—whatever it may be—before the opposing army has even begun to mobilise and before the fleets have been able to accomplish anything.

The remark of the German expert, ex-Squadron Leader Sachsenberg, which is quoted, "the introduction of the aeroplane as an instrument of warfare means that immediately after the outbreak of hostilities there will be a campaign of destruction against the centres of population," is merely an indisputable fact. This is hardly realised even to-day by the great mass of people. There is no

room for doubt that if the vital parts of a Western country can be reached and effectively stricken by a mighty air force, if its great cities and industrial and economic centres are destroyed, the result must be a social, psychological, and therefore a military collapse. The most important objective of air attack will undoubtedly be, as a rule, the capital of the enemy country. Other large towns will be almost as important. The main point will be that "strategy will be directed to the crippling of economic life". The industrial centres are inhabited by that part of the population that is most sensitive,—the working classes. In the war from 1914 to 1918, air action on cities was in its infancy. In the next war it will be vastly more intensive and more deadly. Gas may not be used at first, but it cannot be long before one side will accuse the other of using it, and it will then be freely used. Catastrophe would inevitably follow where people, with or without gas-masks, in closely crowded districts, were attacked by an intensive air-attack of gas-bombs. It is impossible to evacuate a

city of a million inhabitants without the most careful and well-organised plans spread over a long period. The traffic on the roads alone would be unceasing for such a period that the roads would be the most appalling shambles, attacked at 150 feet by machine-guns, light bombs and gas. Complete disorganisation of the whole civil administration must inevitably follow the successful air-bombardment of a capital city. It therefore follows that the command of the air is the vital necessity for the nation that is to take part in war to-day. It is noteworthy that Germany to-day has a great and efficient civil air-fleet. It is not a long step from a civil air force to a combatant air force. France still continues to keep up a great army.

The conclusions of the book we must leave to the reader. There is little wonder that this book has caused a great stir in Sweden and in Europe. It is one of the most valuable contributions to modern thought, and is the more valuable, in that it is constructive. We cannot say more than that, coldly and calmly it gives the truth about war.

## LOVE: THE PIVOT OF THE UNIVERSE

BY 'ASTRA CASTRA'.

**H**UNGER and love are the ruling passions in the universe. All living organisms in the universe are affected by them. But while hunger rules only living organisms love moves the entire universe; the inanimate things are affected by it no less than the living creatures on the surface of the earth. Just as man and woman attract one another, so oxygen attracts hydrogen and in loving union with it forms water. Potassium and phosphorus entertain such a violent passion for oxygen that even under water they unite with their beloved. Newton's Universal Law of Gravitation is nothing but this philosophy of love expressed as a mathematical formula. As the German philosopher Buchner has said: it is love in the form of attraction which chains stone to

stone, earth to earth, star to star, and which holds together the mighty rotating edifice on which we stand. How comes again a lodestone to attract iron? the ground to covet showers, but for love? "No stock, no stone that has not some feeling of love." (Burton, "The Anatomy of Melancholy", Part iii, Sec. i.)

The primitive man was a shrewd observer of the happenings in the universe, and he was mightily impressed by the part love played in the material world. Everything in the universe was endowed with life and belonged either to the male sex or to the female sex. The high mountains, the moving water of the rivers and springs, the rolling waves of the sea, the mighty trees of the forest were themselves living beings

and could reproduce their species in much the same way as people and living creatures round about him reproduced theirs. The various elemental powers were likewise male or female, and the sun, the moon and the innumerable stars in the sky had some sex foisted upon them. The whole universe was thus peopled not only with human beings like himself and the different creatures of the land, the sea and the air, but also with countless supernatural beings whose presence he felt but could not actually see. And the belief that some of these supernatural beings belonged to the male sex made them a source of menace to his women. He had already enough trouble with men of his own and other tribes who cast envious looks at his women and made them conceive. The mere look of a person who was moved by desire was enough to make a woman pregnant. If two women were walking along the road, and a man passed between them, the women, it was believed, were liable to fall pregnant in consequence. (G. A. L. Banbury "Sierra Leone; or the Whiteman's Grave", p. 185.) To Newton action at a distance was inconceivable without a medium, but to the primitive man impregnation at a distance was not only possible but was actually observed to take place. If the mere look of a man moved by lust or the innocent passage of a man between two women could result in the latter's pregnancy, it follows as a corollary that the countless supernatural beings that the primitive believed, to people the universe, could molest a woman and cause her to fall pregnant unawares. Primitive women were therefore in constant danger of being molested by those powers of Nature which belonged to the male sex. Throughout India women are believed to be in constant danger of being outraged by spirits. In ancient Greece and Italy, women stood in the same danger from fauns and satyrs. In Tonga and Samoa, women are often rendered pregnant

by invisible assailants. Throughout South America, girls and women are constantly liable to assaults from snakes and evil spirits. The Subanu, a primitive tribe dwelling in the mountains of Mindanao in the Phillipines, consider that all spirits may cause a woman to conceive without actual contact. (Briffault, "The Mothers," vol. 2, p. 451.) The native girls of Trobriand Island, off New Guinea, are careful to avoid haunted spots lest they should conceive.

### FECUNDATING POWER OF THE ELEMENTS

Conception is believed among the primitive tribes to take place, not only through the agency of supernatural beings but also through the operation of the various powers of Nature, of the sun, of the moon, of the stars, by bathing in the sea, or in other waters, by wind, by rain, and by partaking of various foods. Almost all nations believe that sunlight has something to do with pregnancy. Young women in India are careful not to linger in the sunlight while they are menstruating, for this would cause them to become pregnant; (W. Crookes, "An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of North India", vol. 1, p. 11) and the precaution is observed among American tribes. (J. G. Frazer, "The Golden Bough," vol. 10.) In the mythologies of all countries the moon is the first husband of all women; it is he who causes a woman to menstruate. The Egyptian bull-god Apis was born as the result of the moon's rays falling upon a cow. A star again is believed to cause a woman to conceive. The Celtic saint Aidan or Maedoc was born of a star which fell into his mother's mouth while she was sleeping. In Ambon and Uliase, albinos are attributed to conception by a falling star; by the people of Seranglao and Gorong the morning star is believed to be the cause. Wind has likewise caused conception in early times and is believed to retain such influence even at the present day. Hera conceived Hephaistos by simply inhaling the

wind. The Algonkin hero Michabo, better known to us as Hiawatha, was conceived by a maiden as the west wind rushed past her. In the Finnish poem *Kalevala*, the virgin Ilmatar is fructified by the east wind and gives birth to the wizard Vainamoinen. The Minahassers of Celebes claim to be descended from a girl in primeval days who was fecundated by the west wind. Pliny believed that mares could be fertilised by the wind (Pliny, "Natural History", viii, 67); and Plutarch thought that birds could be impregnated in the same manner. (Plutarch, "Quaestiones Conviviales", viii, 1, 3.) In Australia, women believe that spirits travel in the whirlwind and if they stand in a sandstorm they would enter into them and render them pregnant. (Spencer and Gillen, "The Native Tribes of Central Australia", p. 125.) A similar mode of impregnation is believed to be possible by the inhabitants of Scotland. (W. Macfarlane, "Geographical Collections relating to Scotland," vol. ii, 520.)

Rain has begotten children too. Montezuma, the culture hero of the Pueblos of New Mexico, was conceived by the chaste Artemis as a heavy drought of rain fell on her. According to the Chinese tradition, Ma-twan-lin, the founder of the kingdom of the Fou-yu, was the wonderful son of a woman on whom a vapour about the size of an egg descended from the sky and caused her pregnancy. (Hartland, "Primitive Paternity," vol. 1.) In certain parts of the world rain is even now believed to fertilise a woman. Bushmen girls are careful to take shelter during a shower, for the rain from heaven which fertilises the earth would impregnate them also. (L. C. Lloyd, "A Short Account of Further Bushman Material," p. 21.) Australian women likewise believe that they can be impregnated by the rain. Hottentot women believe that it would be impossible for them to have any children unless they had first stood naked in a thunder-shower. A Mongol Princess conceived through the operation of a hail-storm,

and another by an Aurora-borealis. (J. Stadling, "Shamanism," *The Contemporary Review*, 1901, vol. 1, 90.)

#### CONCEPTION BY EATING CERTAIN FOODS

In a considerable number of myths and stories of virgin births, conception is brought about through the medium of things eaten. The virgin mother, goddesses and princesses of China usually conceived by eating a lotus flower. The divine mother in Japanese tradition conceived by eating cherries. Zarathustra was conceived through his mother drinking an infusion of soma-juice and cow's milk. (Sacred Books of the East, vol. 5, p. 187.) Attis was conceived by his mother eating almonds (Pausanias vii, 17), or according to another version a pomegranate. In the Egyptian Tale of Two Brothers, the king's mistress is rendered pregnant by a splinter of wood flying off and entering her mouth as she stood watching the mysterious tree cut down. In the Finnish *Kalevala* the virgin Mariatta conceives through eating a bilberry. The Irish heroes, Cuchulainn and Conchobar, were conceived by their mother from swallowing a worm. (Henderson, "Survival of Belief among the Celts", p. 74.) Joseph was conceived by Rachael in consequence of her having eaten of the fruit of the mandrake. (Genesis xxx. 14-24.) Heitsi-eibib, the divine ancestor of the Hottentots, was conceived by a young girl picking up a kind of juicy grass, chewing it and swallowing the sap. According to another version it is a cow that eats of a certain grass and Heitsi-eibib is consequently born as a bull-calf. Raja Rasalu, the hero of the Punjab, was born to Rani Lonan on account of her having eaten a grain of rice which had been given her by her step-son Puran. The story is, that Rani Lonan fell in love with her step-son Puran and because he did not return her passion traduced him to her husband, who cut off his hands and feet and threw him into a well. Puran however survived this treatment and being rescued by Guru

Gorakhnath, a Brahman of great sanctity, became a celebrated fakir. Not knowing who he really was, the Rani and her husband desirous of offspring came to him to pray for a son. He induced her to confess her crime; then revealing himself he gave her a grain of rice to eat which had the desired result. The birth of Viswamitra is attributed by the "Vishnu Purana" to a similar cause.

Guga Pir, the Maratha Saint, was conceived by his mother through eating some resin mixed with milk, given her by Guru Gorakhnath. Her father's mare Lilli, licking round the basin of resin and milk, also became pregnant and foaled the winged stallion Lila, afterwards Guga's steed.

The various powers of Nature and the astronomical bodies in the Universe were personified as male and consequently could render a woman pregnant. But how could impregnation be brought about by eating certain foods? The primitive was a keen student of Nature. He saw that the child was obviously made by the mother within her body, and he therefore concluded that the only material out of which the child could possibly be formed was the food which she ate. When the primitive killed his game and gave it to his wife to eat, he did so in the belief that the food would cause her to conceive and bring forth a child. Hence has arisen the presentation of food by a man to a woman as a part of the customary wedding rites in every part of the world. It is the essential rite among the North American tribes and among the natives of Uganda. Among the native tribes of North Queensland, the acceptance of food from a man by a woman is not merely regarded as a marriage ceremony but as the cause of conception. (J. G. Frazer, "Totemism and Exogamy," vol. 1, p. 577.) The Eskimos consider that a child's paternal parentage depends upon the person who supplied his mother with animal food. Among the Hindus the presentation of food by the bridegroom to the bride is an important ritual of wedding ceremonies; sometimes the bride and bridegroom partake of the

same food. For, do we not read in the "Upnishads": "Animals spring from seed and the seed is the food"?

Impregnation through the agency of supernatural beings and powers plays an important part at the present day in ordinary life in all parts of the world. The fulfilment of a woman's functions, her capacity to bear children, is believed in the main to depend upon her fertilisation, not by an earthly husband, but by some supernatural being. It is, in fact, from the deity that the generative power which causes women to bear children truly comes; it is the god who is the real husband of all women. The human husband is but accessory, or is at best the 'vehicle' of the divine source of fertility and generation. The failure of a woman to bring forth children is therefore attributed to the anger of some god towards the particular woman; and to ward off the anger, special prayers are offered and sacrifices made. In China, ladies desiring offspring undertake pilgrimages to reputed pagodas and "rub their bellies against certain little copper gods". (J. Barrow, "Travels in China", p. 480.) In India, pilgrimages are undertaken to Rameswaram or to the confluence of two or more rivers and special prayers are offered. The spirit residing in the Pipal or Fig tree is believed again to impregnate women, and those women who are desirous of obtaining offspring, embrace the sacred tree. Hindu women are also impregnated by eating pellets of rice that have been consecrated by a priest or by eating lemon fruits, skin—seed and all, specially consecrated by the Fakir Masthan of Thiruppalakudi. A similar practice is common in Tuscany where women desirous of offspring obtain from a priest one or two apples which have been specially consecrated. The same custom obtains in Portugal. A tragic story is told of a Portuguese woman who, having obtained three consecrated apples from a priest, laid them on the mantelpiece while she cooked the dinner. "Her husband, coming home in the meanwhile, and feeling hungry, ate the apples. His horror was great when the mistake was discovered. He appears to have had a rather bad time of it, but was eventually safely delivered of a daughter by Caesarean section!" (Briffault, "The Mothers", vol. 2, 454.)

We thus find that in all parts of the world the belief still exists that the several powers of Nature are essential to secure not only the fecundity of a woman, but also the fulfilment of the functions for which Nature has intended her.

# Justice Sarada Charan Mitra

BY MR. V. NARAYANA AIYAR, M.A., M.L.

WHEN Sir Gooroodass Banerjee retired in 1904 from the Bench of the Calcutta High Court, Mr. Sarada Charan Mitra who had previously acted for him for a short period in 1902, was appointed to the permanent vacancy. In many respects, Mr. Sarada Charan Mitra resembled his predecessor Sir Gooroodass Banerjee. Like Sir Gooroodass, he was a self-made man; and like him too, he had a brilliant University career; like him, he continued to the end of his life to take a keen interest in educational problems and in the development of the Bengali literature; but whereas Sir Gooroodass was, belonging as he did to the older generation, brought up in the orthodox Brahmanism and became consequently an intelligent supporter of the old world orthodoxy, Mr. Mitra belonged to the more progressive Kayasthas of a younger generation and was an ardent social reformer in consequence.

## EARLY STRUGGLES

Mr. Sarada Charan was born in the village of Panisehola in the Hooghli district of the Bengal Presidency on the 19th December, 1848. The Mitras of that village were high caste Kulins; and Mr. Ishan Chandra Mitra, the father of Sarada Charan Mitra, was a prosperous *bania* trading in Calcutta. Sarada Charan spent the early years of his childhood in his native village, and the rural surroundings of that village were responsible for developing in him a passionate longing for country life; they also serve to explain how Mr. Mitra chose his hobby as the kindred subjects of floriculture, horticulture and agriculture. \* \* \*

In 1858, Sarada Charan Mitra was placed under the care of his uncle at Calcutta, in order that he might study at the Coolootola Branch School (which afterwards became famous as the Hare School) which was then under the care of the Headmaster, Babu Peary Charan Sirkar. At school, Sarada Charan was found first in his class; and he passed the Entrance Examination

of the Calcutta University held in December 1865, as first in the Presidency.

## A BRILLIANT ACADEMIC CAREER

As a result of this brilliant success in the Entrance Examination, Babu Sarada Charan was offered a scholarship for completing his education in England. But his father's cousin who had taken him under his care on his father's death, would not allow him to go to England. Consequently he joined the Presidency College in January 1866, and he passed the First examination in Arts held in December 1867, again as first in the Presidency. He obtained also, on account of his getting the first place in Mathematics in this examination, the Duff Scholarship in Mathematics. Shortly after this success in February 1868, he was married to a grand-daughter of Raja Sir Radhakanta Dev Bahadur. In January 1870, he passed the B.A. degree examination and was bracketed first in the Presidency along with another; and he was awarded the Ishan Scholarship. Within a month after taking his B.A. degree, Sarada Charan sat for the M.A. degree examination and stood third among the successful candidates of that year, obtaining high honours in English. This unbroken series of brilliant successes at the University examination created a record in the annals of the Calcutta University, and he obtained the Premchand Roychand studentship, taking as his optional subjects of study, English, Sanskrit and History. During the course of his studies as a law student, he was also a lecturer in English in the Presidency College for a year, and he left it in order that he might appear for the B.L. examination.

Babu Sarada Charan was a voracious reader of books; he was quite at home, not only in English and Bengali literature but also with Virgil and Horace and other masterpieces of Latin poetry. Among the Indian languages he also learnt the more prominent North Indian vernaculars and

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particularly Marathi. He learnt Persian in order that he might read some of the Persian classics in the original. He was a keen student of comparative philology, and he broke new ground by the publication of a noteworthy article on "The Philosophy of the Bengali Language". During his career at the University, he devoted considerable time to research in Bengali literature and brought out a notable edition of the songs of Vidyapati. It is specially noteworthy that all this work was done while he was in indifferent health and was suffering from frequent attacks, not only of dyspepsia but also of malaria.

Babu Sarada Charan took his B.L. degree early in 1873, and on the 22nd of March was enrolled as a vakeel of the Calcutta High Court. The Calcutta bar was even then overcrowded; and Babu Sarada Charan had not the benefit of any sponsors or other special aids to success; but his excellent legal equipment served to bring him gradually to the forefront; the judges began to appreciate his arguments which were presented with characteristic lucidity as regards law and an excellent marshalling of the facts of the case.

## LITERARY INTERESTS

Babu Sarada Charan used the comparative leisure of the lean years of his career at the bar to progressing in his side occupation. He wrote frequently to contemporary journals on topics relating to the Bengali literature. He was practically the editor of the Howrah newspaper *Hitakari* for a number of years. He was responsible for an edition of the *Kayasthakrika* which traced the genealogy of the Kayasthas of Bengal. He was an active Municipal Commissioner of Calcutta from 1875 to 1881. He became a member of the Central Text-book Committee of Bengal and did useful work till the abolition of the Committee in 1900. When the Committee was revived again in about the year 1905, he was again made a member of the Committee and continued to take an active part in its work.

At the Calcutta University also, Babu Sarada Charan did yeoman service as a member of the Senate and as a member of the Faculties of Arts and of Law and as a representative of the Faculty of Law in the Syndicate; he was called upon to deliver the Tagore Law lectures in 1895; and the lectures on "the land law of Bengal" (which were later on collected and published as a book) are a brilliant exposition of the land tenures of Bengal and the development of the law relating thereto.

## AS JUDGE OF THE CALCUTTA HIGH COURT

Babu Sarada Charan was a noted leader of the vakeel section of the Calcutta bar when, in February 1902, Mr. Justice Gooroodas Banerjee was deputed as a member of the Calcutta University Commission. The choice therefore fell on him to fill up the temporary vacancy. The qualities which characterised his work as a vakeel were also prominently in evidence in his work as a judge. As a lawyer, we are told, Babu Sarada Charan spoke briefly and to the point, displaying a rare grip of the legal principles governing the particular case and presenting a complicated and tangled mass of evidence in a cogent form. These characteristics distinguished his judgments also; the law relating to the particular case was clearly and briefly enunciated and the facts decided on with unerring judgment. It was therefore not surprising that when further vacancies arose, due to the temporary absence from the Bench of Sir H. F. Princep, Mr. Justice Sale and Mr. Justice Hill, he was invariably chosen to occupy their places; and when in February 1904, Mr. Justice Gooroodass Banerjee retired from the Bench, he was appointed to that permanent vacancy.

## SOME FAMOUS JUDGMENTS

In the case of *Veni Bhushan Ray vs. Emperor*, he had occasion to define the word *Swaraj*, and he did it as follows:

The word *Swaraj*, if it was used, does not necessarily mean government of the country to the exclusion of the present Government, but its ordinary acceptance is 'home

rule' under the Government. The vernacular word used, if literally translated, would mean *self-government*, but self-government would not necessarily mean the exclusion of the present Government or independence. It may mean, as it is well understood, government by the people themselves under the King and under British sovereignty.

And in the course of the hearing of that case, Mitra, J., remarked that every Indian likes to have *Swaraj*, meaning home rule.

In the *Vande Mataram* sedition case, he set aside the order of confiscation of the press passed by the Lower Court for printing seditious matter and observed in his judgment (which included Fletcher, J., along with him):

We are also of opinion that the press could not be said to have been used for the commission of the offence in the same way as a gun, sword or a dagger. The offence was publication and not printing and the press is a remote instrument.

It may be here noted that it was this decision that forced the Government of India to seek the aid of the Legislature for the passing of 'the Press Act'.

Another notable judgment of his on criminal law is the case of *Deputy Legal Remembrancer vs. Satish Chandra Roy*, popularly known as the *swordstick* case. He defined the rights of under-trial prisoners to be admitted to bail in *Johar Mal's* case. In these cases as well as in the Midnapur conspiracy case, he showed not only clear grasp of the principles of criminal law, but also fearless independence in expounding them.

Mr. Sarada Charan Mitra was acting judge from the 18th February 1902 to 4th September 1902, and again from 17th March 1903 to 3rd September 1903, and was permanent judge from February 1904 till he retired on completing his sixty years on the 18th December 1908.

Mr. Sarada Charan Mitra spent most of his time after retirement in his native village, but he occasionally came to Calcutta to take part in social and literary activities of the city. He continued as President of the *Bangiya Sahitya Parishad* and also of the *Sahitya Sabha*, of both of which he was President during the last four years of his judgeship. The comparative leisure

of the six years' judgeship gave him more opportunities of engaging himself in literary work and in matters of social reform. His compulsory retirement under the sixty years' rule when in full possession of his physical and intellectual powers, enabled him to take even more active part in such work. He was honorary secretary of the Bethune College and played a considerable part in promoting the education of women; he did considerable spade work as a member of the Training College for women teachers just then proposed to be started. A notable paper of his in the field of historical research is the article on Omichand which for ever silenced the baseless accusations of Macaulay against Omichand in particular and the Bengalis in general. A series of articles appeared from his pen on the unification of the Indian scripts as a step towards the unification of the several Indian languages; and as the Secretary of the *Eklipi Vistar Parishad* he did considerable work in furtherance of that scheme. \* \* \* \* \*

He wrote a series of articles on the development of the Bengal school of Hindu law for the *English Law Quarterly*; as the *Calcutta Weekly Notes* pointed out, "With his strong personality, he soon established his prominence in whatever sphere of life he was called upon to work and his advice whether on matters of law or business was equally valued."

Mr. Sarada Charan Mitra was never in robust health; but his regular habits and love of village life helped him to live to an age which in India at least is considered as a good old age. After his retirement he was not able to chalk out any definite scheme of activity beyond pursuing his old favourite topics on literature and social reform and beyond helping the Bengalis with his valuable opinions on law and business matters. He died on the 4th September 1917, without completing the Biblical span of life of three score and ten, but during the nine years of retired life he was able to consolidate his work in the triple fields of law, literature and social reform.

# THE TRADE DEPRESSION

BY PROF. D. G. KARVE, M.A.,

*Fergusson College, Poona.*

IN the course of this article it is intended to draw the attention of readers to some theoretical and practical aspects of the present trade depression. Though it is true that no two crises are really alike and though mere financial disorganisation may lead to a widespread dislocation of business and continued depression in industry, the large majority of known crises have been utilised by economists to formulate a 'theory of crises'. Briefly stated this theory takes the following shape: "Under a regime of private property and free competition, production in the large competitive industries always tends to overstep demand; this leads in most cases to an industrial and a financial crisis; when the process of clearing begins there is a long spell of depression followed by a steady revival. Thus there is a recurring cycle of expanding production, optimistic finance, excess of supply, unremunerative prices, failure of industrial firms and financing houses, dull business activity, gradual strengthening of demand, rising prices, returning confidence and expanding production over again." It would be instructive and interesting to notice how far this theoretical explanation agrees with the facts of the present crisis.

What are the outstanding facts of the present trade depression? I do not desire to load the present article with a mass of statistics. Readers may, however, bear in mind the following facts which will serve as a basis of my explanation and argument. The index numbers of prices reveal that the current price level in all important countries is close upon pre-War; indeed the American and British prices to-day are actually lower than what they were before the Great War. But the low index number for the current year and month, striking as it is, is not more so than the rate at which it is tumbling down during the last year and a quarter. Such a precipitous movement of

prices has naturally brought disaster upon the producers in all trades and countries. In many agricultural, manufacturing and mineral industries this disaster of low prices has come at a time when the extent of their production and capital investments was high. They are, therefore, required either to close down, or to work short, or to cut wages, which brings great hardship upon the rank and file of the agricultural and industrial population. There are, it is estimated, over 15 million unemployed in Europe outside Russia, and surprising of all, in the U. S. A., which is usually considered by all, and by the Americans themselves among others, as the land of ever increasing prosperity, even there the number of those who are being maintained out of private and public relief is estimated at 17 million. It may be worth while mentioning at this stage that the sudden turn for the worse in business confidence and in prices commenced in October 1929, when there was a financial crisis on the American money market owing to over-speculation.

This rough sketch of some of the most outstanding features of the present situation is likely to strengthen a belief in the validity of the theoretical explanation of crises normally offered. A reference to the figures of population on the one hand and production on the other will prove interesting. According to one calculation, world population increased between 1913 and 1928 by 10 per cent, while production of food-stuffs and raw materials increased in the same period by 18 and 40 per cent. respectively. This estimate is further calculated to strengthen the idea that in the present crisis we only trace the working of the normal factors that bring about these periodical fluctuations, with which capitalistic society has to put up as a necessary though an unwelcome feature of a system which, on the whole, is sound,



Even when viewed in this light, the present depression has some interesting features of its own which deserve notice.

1. International capital movements have played an important part in bringing about the present malaise. Before the War, Great Britain was the biggest creditor country in the world, and British loans used to stimulate much business activity in the backward countries which had a bracing influence on production. The heavy financial operations of the War resulted in making the U. S. A. an important creditor country. Thus after the War for a time both British and American loans, the latter extensively invested in Eastern and Central Europe, gave to production a fillip which was hardly justified by the normal purchasing capacity of the marketing areas. When the American crash and the consequent disturbance in British financing activity, which had in fact been already overdone, resulted in a contraction of these adventitious credits a disproportion between production and demand was inevitable.

2. The above noted feature strengthens a belief in a state of absolute over-production, that is, in the existence of a state of production that is not justified by the normal state of demand. There is another factor which would suggest the conclusion that there has been an unexpected shrinkage in demand, thus leading to a state of relative over-production as well. The civil disorders in China, the fall in the price of silver leading to a reduction of Chinese purchasing power, and to a smaller extent the recent Indian boycott, these have played their part in precipitating the depression and in staving off the revival.

3. To these may be added the influence of a monetary factor. The process of deflation and stabilization which commenced after the cessation of War activity, reduced the volume of currency and thus depressed prices. The diversion of

huge supplies of gold to the U.S.A. and France, in payment of debt and reparations, has also accentuated the process of depressing wholesale prices, particularly in the U. K. It must, however, be admitted that so far as the precipitous movement of the last twelve months is concerned figures for credit and capital issues do not support the thesis that the world-wide depression is principally caused by a stringency of gold supplies.

If we were to content ourselves with the figures for production, demand and credit we may thus conclude that the current crisis is mainly the consequence of over-production and under consumption, both relative and absolute. In a sense such a view is correct. But a deeper observation may suggest the conclusion that the present depression is but a symptom of a very fundamental and far-reaching change that has come over the civilised world during the last ten years or so. In this light the present slump will loom as no mere periodical crisis, but as an incident in a veritable economic revolution. Let us now proceed to note what these more fundamental forces are:

(a) Attention may be drawn, to begin with, to the increasing difficulty of adjusting wage-costs to a falling price level. It is common experience in countries where labour is closely organised and strongly intrenched in political power, that the lower movement of the cost of living is not accompanied by a sliding down of wages as smoothly as it should, owing to increased friction. The alternative to lower monetary wages, *viz.*, increased efficiency, has only a limited application, and even this is stoutly resisted by labour. A more efficient machinery both of calculating the movements of the cost of living and industrial profits, and of adjusting wages to them, by sliding up or down as may be necessary from time to time will have to be devised, if industrial losses and the toll of unemployment are to be minimised in the future.

(b) The heavy inter-allied indebtedness and the reparations scheme constitute another and a much more fundamental factor, whose importance it is difficult to exaggerate. The normal trade relations established amongst nations in accordance with the principle of comparative advantage or division of labour, have been so disturbed by these huge, extraordinary and, partly, enforced payments that it is now futile to expect that equilibrium of world production and consumption will be re-established on the old basis. These payments compel the debtor nations to increase their production, to dump an ever growing quantity of goods in external markets and to curtail their own demand. These steps are almost as disastrous to the industries of the creditor as to those of the debtor countries. Unless a more rational outlook on these War debts and reparations is promoted in the creditor countries the economic dislocation caused by them will continue. Such an outlook is not likely to be induced in the minds of the victors of the late War unless the Imperialistic tradition of the 18th and 19th centuries is left behind and the so-called advanced nations make up their minds once and for all to live and let live.

(c) Rationalisation is now the craze not only in America but also on the continent of Europe. England which has been till recently rather conservative in this respect, is fast making up for lost time and is throwing in its lot with big business. If properly pursued rationalisation ought to be a boon rather than a curse. In particular, however, the growing scale of production which is aimed at in this method, which consists in reducing costs either by joint control alone or with other mechanical and organisational reforms, cannot be voted an unmixed good. It may be that the evils that were witnessed in 18th-century England at the time of the Industrial Revolution are now being repeated on a wider scale. The immediate cause of economic dislocation was then the introduction

of machinery and the country immediately affected was Great Britain. The cause, it is said, of the present world-wide economic disturbance is rationalisation. This aspect of the present dislocation has so prominently struck a few competent observers that they style it as the New Industrial Revolution. In so far as this view of the matter is satisfactory it has a twofold lesson. Firstly, the responsibility of national governments either by their own or by international action to regulate the course of this movement is emphasised. If the modern economist finds much to criticise in the indifferent policy advocated by the early economists and adopted by contemporary governments, let him not do in his generation what may earn for him a similar rebuke at the hands of his successors. Secondly, if rationalisation in the best sense of the word is really calculated to introduce a new era of cheap and abundant production, we may face the present travail with a more optimistic, or at least a more resigned, mood than what otherwise would be the case.

(d) It may justifiably be doubted as to whether the single most effective factor traceable in the present economic situation is not the post-War conflict between nationalism and internationalism. This, indeed, is no criticism much less a denunciation of either nationalism or internationalism. It is a statement of fact and the pointing out of a palpable disharmony. All countries, and most of all the so-called leading countries, of the world have built up industrial structures which are dependent on smooth and extensive international commerce. On the other hand, from a political standpoint the organisation and policy of every State are based on the conception of national exclusiveness, if not of actual animosity. This has led not only to wasteful war-like expenditure which weighs very heavily on the springs of industry, but also to the multiplication of restrictive tariffs adopted by Governments. These protective measures have turned extensive marketing areas



of olden times into important producing centres of the present day and an economic equilibrium which was based on heavy imports of raw materials from and exports of finished products to the hitherto backward countries has thus been disturbed. In Europe alone the Treaty of Versailles has added seven more to the already existing twenty nationalities. This obvious opposition between nationalism and internationalism has got to be properly regulated. Either or both of two things must happen. A new international code based not on balance of power but on peaceful co-operation has got to be inaugurated by the concerted action of the powerful nations, *e.g.*, England, U. S. A., France, Japan and Italy. The other thing that will help to ease the tension between these contending forces is the willing admission by the hitherto dominant nations of a more limited economic role than what they have been wont to play in the past. This may conceivably mean, perhaps only for a while, the adoption of a lower or a stationary standard of life in these countries. But so long as the struggle for markets is accompanied by an inhuman and violent code of international relations, this opposition between national interests will continue to produce at frequent intervals such political and economic upheavals as we have witnessed during the last two decades. Indeed, the further we advance in scientific inventions and international organisation these upheavals though less frequent are likely to be more enormous and protracted.

(e) It is pleasant to turn from these grim thoughts to one last factor of more than passing importance whose influence in the present slump appears to a few Economists as overshadowing all others. The thesis that the attraction of gold to France and U. S. A. is the principal cause of the present depression may indeed be discounted in view of the fact that these countries themselves are not free from the precipitous movement, and that a marked contraction of credit has not been

felt. But, as a more permanent influence, we are told by no less an authority than the Gold Delegation of the League of Nations that the supply of monetary gold is increasing at a lower ratio than the normal increase in production of commodities. This latter is estimated to grow at a rate of 3 per cent. compound and the former only at 2 per cent. The conclusion is drawn from these comparative figures that a relative stringency of money and lower price levels must therefore be expected and even provided against. With the highest respect for the authority of those who take this view and a due acceptance of the element of truth contained in it, I venture to add that this version both of the supply of monetary gold and its influence on prices is not altogether convincing. Forecasts of the production of precious metals are highly speculative for one thing. Secondly, there is nothing to warrant the assumption that the proportion of gold supply at present used in non-monetary channels will not decrease, either owing to social causes or in response to such monetary stringency as may be felt. And lastly, the normal improvement in currency practice, particularly the veritable revolution that has taken place in currency theory and practice since the War, may be trusted to adjust the supply of currency to the demand for it. It is hardly reasonable to suppose, even though the heavy limitations of the quantity theory of money are ignored, that pre-War conservatism will still continue to make our currency authorities and business men the unthinking worshippers of gold.

These fundamental factors in the present world depression deserve careful consideration. They create a doubt as to whether the supposed cycle of depression, boom and crisis is such a normal incident in the life of a modern community as some would have us believe. A veritable economic revolution may be in store for the world, and it is the duty of every nation so to adjust its policy as to regulate the new forces in the best interest of its people. Not only a new economic but a new political vision is necessary. If the best minds of the world fail to rise to the occasion, the prospect of world events in the near future is none too rosy.

# Russia's Changing Economics

BY "HISTORICUS"

PROFESSOR Chas. Gide of the College de France has written in a suggestive passage that there is a parallelism between the political and the economic evolution of society. Political evolution embraces the three successive stages of absolute monarchy, constitutional monarchy, and a republic. Economic evolution follows step by step along corresponding lines, and includes the stage of coercive organisation (slavery); second, the rule of the employer (the wage system); third, the rule of the employer modified by profit-sharing and certain concessions to the labourers with regard both to the ownership and management of the business enterprise; and finally, co-operative production. But the advent of democracy in the domain of economic life will be slower and more difficult, and will involve even more disappointments than in the political sphere. How true that statement is in Russia's changing ideas and experiments in economic life. Another writer has put it: National Socialism and Communism are not the outcome of prosperity, but the fruit of prolonged depression and political humiliation. Soviet Russia is having a hard time to find her economic salvation. It will be of interest to trace briefly Russia's changing policies during her regime of communism.

There are three clearly demarked stages: Lenin's pure communist programme from 1918 to 1921; then came in the New Economic Policy (N. E. P.) which lasted until 1928; since 1928 we have had the Five Years' Plan, each of them shows modifications, changing ideas and practices in Russia's economic evolution; we will trace the history of these movements a little more in detail.

After the Revolution of 1917, two policies came into conflict and fought for supremacy; the Provisional Government under Kerensky was political and aimed at a moderate socialistic programme; but Lenin's policy of a thorough-going communistic state finally succeeded, and by 1918 he was in

power and began to organise the country on Soviet lines. Lenin's economic policy included the overthrow of capitalist economy, a complete denial of the right to hold private property and private capital. The Soviet Government attempted to assume complete control of production; international trading was stopped, and as a result the whole mechanism of trade and money exchange, credit and banking, became useless. The Government seized control and nationalised all industry using mechanical power. Similar control was exercised over agriculture; the farmers were merely cultivators of Government lands, and all produce was regarded as Government property. The peasant was allowed only a sufficient quantity of grain for his immediate needs and to sow his fields for the next harvest, all the remainder was taken by the Government agents. Money became worthless as an inconvertible paper currency was issued and fell in value from nine *rubles* to the dollar in 1918 to 1,200 in 1920. With the fall in money, value prices rose over 16,800 times more than the 1913 prices.

The Russian peasants' answer to this socialistic regime was a considerable lessening of production; there was much dissatisfaction among the people, and a series of uprisings were experienced. The farmers simply refused to grow surplus grain. Things came to a head in the serious famine years of 1920-21. Lenin said in March, 1921: "We are in a condition of such poverty, ruin, and exhaustion of the productive powers of the workers and peasants that everything must be set aside to increase production." It was to meet this condition that the New Economic Policy was organised, known as the N. E. P.

The N. E. P. was a radical reform in agriculture; a tax was substituted in kind at first, then in money, instead of taking the whole surplus grain; the farmers were allowed to sell their

wheat and other produce in the open market, thus was brought back freedom of trade. In industry also there were startling changes. "State capitalism" was introduced in the place of socialism for large-scale industries, but private property was allowed in the smaller units of production. Currency was reintroduced, banking and credit came back again, and at the end of 1921 a State Bank was opened. It seemed as though socialism had been tried and found wanting, and now there was the beginning of a complete return to a capitalist economy. The Soviet leaders saw the implication and so controlled the N. E. P. movement that there was not a complete abandonment of the socialistic ideal. For seven years the N. E. P. was followed with a good deal of success, but after the death of Lenin in 1924, there was a hardening of the communist conscience against what was called the "retreat on the economic front", and under the leadership of Stalin there has been a return to some of the more drastic methods of pure communism that characterised the economic revolution in its earlier days.

In 1928, Stalin startled Russia and the world with his Five Years' Plan—an ambitious attempt to communise and industrialise the whole of Russia, and the Plan is succeeding though the output will not reach the high goal set. The astonishing thing is that Stalin has persuaded the people of Russia, in the face of much sacrifice and extremely hard conditions, to accept and work the plan and they are doing it with a zeal which is not unlike religious fanaticism; in a very real sense economics has become the religion of millions in Russia to-day.

The Five Years' Plan set itself definitely to revive militant communism, and it placed as its leading objective the rapid industrialisation of Russia. By the fifth year, 1933, it is hoped that not only shall Russia be able to meet all her own needs in agriculture and industrial products, but that Soviet Russia shall have a considerable

surplus for export. Sixty per cent. of the agricultural lands have now become State farms; some of them are exceedingly large, one—the Giant Farm comprises not less than half a million acres. In this policy of large-scale wheat production, tractors, harvesters, motor lorries are largely used. Huge new factories are being erected at important centres, some are already at work turning out large quantities of motor vehicles, tractors, and agricultural machinery. This national expansion is to be paid for out of the operations of the Plan itself, out of profits from production, increased taxation, and from a favourable balance of exports over imports.

Stalin like Lenin before him has driven the nation too hard; Russian communism is a hard master. Last year there was actual civil strife in almost every village; the richer and middle-class peasants attacked and at times killed agents of the Soviet Government, and set fire to the buildings of the collective farms. The Government replied with a cruel reign of terror in which hundreds of the richer peasant farmers were put to death. Militant communism has gone too far, and now Stalin again, like Lenin, is modifying his policy, and has recently announced a complete change in policy. He said *inter alia* that hitherto there had been hardly any difference between the earnings of skilled and unskilled workers, and therefore the unskilled had no incentive to improve their qualifications. That evil could no longer be tolerated. Further a system of payment, according to the worker's need, could not be allowed, and workers must be paid strictly according to the amount and the quality of the work they performed. One of the most important tasks would be the creation of a new "Productive, technical intelligentsia". Furthermore, the one-man system of management must be established everywhere. Unwieldy combines must split up into smaller units. Instead of a board of directors one single director must be charged in each small combine with full personal responsibility. The time had come also for a determined effort to mechanise labour. That looks very much like a surrender of the basic principles of communistic production and a return to the essential practices of capitalistic production. Russia is changing her economic policy.

## EXAMINATION RESULTS THEIR VALUE AND VALIDITY

BY DR. G. S. KRISHNAYYA, M.A. (Madras), M.A., Ph.D. (COLUMBIA)

THE modern examination has preserved almost every feature of the original one save its object. It exists primarily to determine not whether the student can do what he is henceforth to do, but whether he knows what it is conceived he should know. So far as Indian University education is concerned, it is worth while to note that the institutions of public examinations for admission to Government service, consequent on the Government Resolution of 1844, was followed about 1857 by the creation of purely examining universities on the pattern of the London University in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Now, most thinking people are agreed that there is urgent need for a reconsideration of the whole question of examinations in India as well as in Britain.

That the present method and status of examinations needs to be considerably altered must be readily conceded, but the value and necessity of examinations cannot be disputed except by the short-sighted agitator. There are several parties who are interested in the results of examinations. Parents desire to know what their children have achieved, employers demand marks, degrees and certificates to enable them to correctly assess the qualifications of individuals. Examinations also provide the authorities concerned with a basis for estimating the efficiency of instruction. Teachers need to know the results of their work, and their success or failure is often mirrored in the examination papers of their pupils. The student himself is in need of occasions which will compel him to organise his knowledge, and which will also give him a chance to register his progress.

### WHAT DO EXAMINATIONS EXAMINE?

But when the need for examinations has been granted, there is still the question as to whether

the present method of examinations and their use are scientific and justifiable.

What do examinations examine? A student's familiarity with a subject is estimated by his ability to answer five or six questions. He may fail miserably in answering this list, but may conceivably fare creditably with some other list of six questions. Besides, the sample performance by which the student's fate is decided, may have been given on a day when he was much below par. Further, one examiner may notice style, spelling, subject matter, hand-writing, etc., all with equal care, while another may disregard everything but the substance of the thought. And, then, there is the notorious fact that the ready writer can conceal his ignorance in the folds of clever verbosity.

The present type of "discussion" tests makes objectivity and uniformity absolutely impossible. In spite of themselves, different examiners are influenced by different considerations. An experimental study in "essay" valuation was conducted not long ago in Mysore. Fifty teachers valued the essays of 23 pupils of Form IV, and the results were classified in four divisions. It was found that 15 out of the 23 had been placed in all the four classes, and not a single essay had been placed in the same class by all the fifty teachers. Further, all the 23 had been made to fail by at least 3 of the 50. Any teacher may try such an experiment as this, and give himself and others a very disillusioning surprise. Examiners' marks are variable and inconsistent, because when marking papers they are really not measuring the same skill or ability.

### THEIR ESSENTIAL UNRELIABILITY

This but illustrates the present chaos resulting from the lack of objective standards in marking

an ordinary examination paper. When this is multiplied by the variation in sets of examination questions, it becomes obvious that on the present basis of examinations it is absolutely impossible to compare one college with another, one year's class with another, or even one student with another in the same College. Add to this the effect of the examiner's health, fatigue, mental and emotional states, and the place of the paper near the top or the bottom of the bundle, etc., etc., and it will be seen how dangerously subjective the usual evaluation is bound to be. Now, if different persons, with different backgrounds and expectations, affected differently by all these factors, mark the papers, what is the probability that the candidate will get what he deserves? Hence, perhaps, the expression, "awarding marks". The wide variation in a degree examination in the number of failures in the different subjects indicates a radical difference in the standards employed. (On a larger scale there is the problem of the varying percentages resulting from the different standards upheld by the different universities of India.) Surely, the variations in these cases cannot be accounted for by assuming a like difference in the abilities of the pupils represented. Responsibility for many failures has to be laid at the hospitable door of unstandardised examinations rather than on the ill-furnished heads of unfortunate examinees. And, yet, the University judges its students, and the students judge each other, and, worst of all, themselves by the results of just such examinations!

Fortunately, we need no longer content ourselves with berating and deploring examinations, for it is now possible to introduce modifications in our examining technique which will contribute largely to making our tests far more thorough and effective, far less laborious and time consuming, and infinitely more impartial and impersonal.

Still, the use of the final public examination as the sole test for promotion can hardly be justified.

It exerts a cramping effect on both teacher and pupil. It causes undue anxiety, worry and strain to the student—and not infrequently to the paper-valuers. It encourages the idea that "a pass mark" is the sole end in life. Used as a deciding factor, examinations are altogether inadequate, and fraught with disastrous possibilities. For, what about the many precious things which our examinations do not even attempt to examine? Devised and intended to measure knowledge (or is it ignorance?), abilities and skills, they completely leave aside attainment in such matters as ideals, attitudes and appreciations. Achievement in the realm of the abstract is not less important or desirable than easily measurable factors, and yet because of their unimportance on the academic day of judgment, they tend to be badly neglected in every-day instruction.

#### THE WAY OUT

What then is the way out? In determining fitness for promotion, three methods of measurement should be combined: (1) The instructor's judgment, based on his observation of the students in their daily work and conduct, should carry considerable weight. (2) Class marks which are based on some recognised standard of evaluation will serve to indicate the students' year's general unflurried performance. (3) Examinations, largely modelled on the Standardised Intelligence Tests, guaranteeing objective, uniform, accurate, reliable valuation may be used to supplement these data, and to encourage more permanent mastery of the subject-matter. As ends in themselves, examinations defeat their own purpose. When treated as one of several means of deciding success or failure they are rid of their terrifying aspects and of their more serious defects. This comprehensive measuring procedure is not fool proof, but it suggests that no evaluating device can be regarded as satisfactory unless it promises to do three things: guarantee, objectivity and uniformity where that is essential, recognise the value of every-day performance, and take note of the many fine things that cannot be recorded on examination sheets.

## INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST".

#### THE MINORITIES PROBLEM

AND so what has long been apprehended has come to pass and the Round Table Conference is threatened with a deadlock arising out of the failure of the delegates to come to an agreed solution of the problem of the minorities. The question was, of course, bristling with difficulties—difficulties that have increased since the Round Table Conference dispersed last year amidst great hopes. Mahatma Gandhi had always attached the greatest importance to this question, and at one time his very departure to England was dependent on the proper settlement of the communal question. In this, it must be confessed that every member of the Round Table Conference was one with him, although they were strictly opposed to his making the communal settlement a condition precedent to his participation in the Round Table Conference. It was always thought that somehow, anyhow, Mahatma Gandhi would be able to bring about a settlement once he got into the great work of the Round Table Conference and a sense of national prestige would save us from the ignominy of making a public exhibition of our differences in the heart of the Empire. Gandhiji would now appear to have exhausted all the arts of persuasion and gone to the extreme limit of patience in trying to reconcile differences. He has given up a great deal and is prepared to go to any length if only some way may yet be found. The result is exasperating. He is finding himself on the horns of a dilemma—his supporters challenging his generosity at their expense and the extremists clamouring for more and yet more. It was a most painful and distressing episode that was revealed at the meeting of the Minorities Committee, when Mahatma Gandhi declared the failure of the conversations "with deep sorrow and deeper humiliation". The only hope lies in the fact that every member of the Round Table Conference is equally alive to the tragedy of the

situation created by this eternal wrangle and the possible repercussions of the failure, not only on the further proceedings of the Session but on the whole situation in this country.

The causes of the failure, said Mr. Gandhi, were inherent in the composition of the Indian delegation.

We are, almost all, not the elected representatives of the parties or groups whom we are presumed to represent. We are here by nomination of the Government.

And he was not far wrong. For who does not realise that the Conference is overweighted with the extremists, and no attempt has been made to balance the excessive communalism of the Committee by the inclusion of a decent number on the side of nationalist Muslims.

And then Mahatma Gandhi rightly put his finger on the one outstanding defect in the search for a settlement. That was the lack of a definite understanding as to the ultimate end of it all. We seem to be still groping in a fog not knowing whither we are going. And the whole thing, said Mr. Gandhi, lacks the sense of reality in that we do not know what we are going to get.

If we knew in a definite manner that we are going to get what we want, we should hesitate fifty times before we threw it away in a sinful wrangle. The solution can be the crown of the *Swaraj* Constitution and not its foundation—if only because our differences have hardened, if they have not arisen entirely by reason of a foreign domination.

Nor was the Premier's exhortation altogether helpful. For Mr. MacDonald, obsessed by the complexity of home affairs, could go no further than the vague promise of the British Government's determination

to make such improvements in the Government of India as will make the Government of India consistent with our own ideas, as will make the Government of India capable of greater and greater expansion towards liberty.

—a declaration curiously reminiscent of that other announcement of August 1920, regarding the "progressive realisation of responsible Government". Both seem to be no nearer than Tennyson's "One far off divine event to which the whole creation moves" while the country is athirst for something immediate and tangible,

## FEDERAL STRUCTURE COMMITTEE

Thus the work of the Federal Structure Committee is carried on under conditions which make it impossible for it to come to grips with realities. In the absence of the communal settlement, and in the atmosphere of uncertainty regarding the intentions of the Government as to the aim of these deliberations, the members are naturally handicapped in tackling the work in the right spirit. Add to it the disquieting situation created by the general elections. Amidst these discouraging circumstances it is a great deal that the Committee has been able to enlist general agreement on certain important features of the Federal Scheme.

Amidst the welter of confusing opinions on diverse heads, it is evident there is a wide agreement that the Senate shall be a true Upper House, not an emasculated body, equal in power and authority to the Assembly, save that Money Bills should originate in the Lower House. Differences, if they arise, between the two Houses will be decided by Joint Sessions, and it has been urged with authority that time for consideration should be permitted before such sessions are held. The Senate will represent the State Governments, and when that term is used it carries the idea that what we now call Provinces in British India will be autonomous States in a Federation, not pale shadows of the Central Government. Therefore the representatives of the Indian States will be chosen by the Rulers, and the representatives of the British Provinces by the Legislative Councils; that will provide a direct *liaison* between the component elements of the Federation which has been grievously lacking in the system established under the Act of 1919.

So far the basic proposals of the Finance Committee have been generally accepted by the British Indian delegation, though of course subsequent discussions over details have revealed acute differences among the delegation. Sir Akbar Hydari and the Princes, for instance, fear that they could not possibly take a leap in the dark without knowing exactly the limit of the financial burden that the scheme would cast on them. Such difficulties could, of course, be settled by mutual adjustment. Now the broad principle on which the Committee's proposals have been based is that the proceeds of indirect taxation such as customs should go to the Federal Government, while those of

direct taxes should be reserved to the provinces and the constituent States. The States which join the Federation are to be relieved of the obligation to pay tributes and, in so far as the troops they now maintain are of military value as instruments for the country's defence, the Federal Government is to meet the State expenditure under that head. That is to say, all parties to the Federation are to receive payments in respect of service rendered by them and to make payments in respect of benefits received.

But the Sub-Committee's report over the details of the scheme has created a cleavage in the ranks of the delegation and deferred the prospect of any agreement. Now it must be remembered that in all this, time is the essence of the matter. Already fissiparous tendencies are at work. First it was the Muslims who were clamorous with their demand; then the depressed classes and the other minorities, one after the other; and now the States; and so goes on the process of disintegration among the Round Tablers. Hence Mr. Gandhi's anxiety to refer back the Report to the same Committee to devise a common formula acceptable to all and not to throw the responsibility on an expert Committee and defer the settlement *ad infinitum*.

Luckily Mr. Gandhi is not alone in his anxiety for a speedy settlement. For every one knows that we have in Lord Sankey, the Chairman, one who brings to the question not only an abundant knowledge of law and constitution but what is infinitely more important, an understanding and sympathetic mind. He, at any rate, is determined that the Round Table Conference should not fail and that the Federal Sub-Committee should continue its work unaffected by extraneous circumstances however depressing. If they failed, he said, they would be the laughing-stock of the world. Exhorting the delegates to make yet another effort to settle the minorities problem, Lord Sankey pointed out they were within sight of the promised land, and it was possible for them with their own eyes to see the desires of India accomplished. He rightly advised them to concentrate

on the method by which a settlement might be obtained rather than on what the settlement should be.

Yes, it is the will and the desire to agree that will bring about the settlement, and not the spirit of haggling over the so-called minimum demands of each group. In that way lies the dreary desert of unending controversy which will lead to no good. What, in brief, is the upshot of the controversy? As a contemporary shrewdly remarks: "In the Punjab, out of 100 seats, the Moslems want 51, the Sikhs want 30, the Hindus want 30 and other minorities 15. That makes it 126. But there are only 100 seats!" *Reductio ad absurdum*.

It is a pity that Mahatma Gandhi's generous gesture of faith and trust has not infected the intransigents. It is useless to deal with the problem as touching one's *amour-propre*; for surely the pedantry of raising the fourteen points to the eminence of the ten commandments, is somewhat overdone. There is more at stake in the matter than a bubble reputation!

## KASHMIR

It was a strikingly courageous and magnanimous act of statesmanship that His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir showed when he proclaimed general amnesty to all political prisoners and persons under trial for offences against the State. It will be remembered that the Enquiry Committee confirmed the view that the disturbances arose out of the mischievous proclivities of a handful of wire-pullers and sustained by the incompetent handling by the Executive while they were arrested primarily by the promptness and vigilance exhibited by His Highness. The Committee therefore demands more efficiency on the part of the police who are accused of apathy. We can therefore understand the measure of His Highness' courage and generosity when, in the face of the Committee's observations, and in spite of such recent experiences, he has at one stroke withdrawn

the emergency decrees, giving large powers to the police and the military at a time like this. We already see that this generous gesture has caught the imagination of His Highness' Muslim subjects, and they are evidently anxious to prove themselves worthy of his affection and trust. And His Highness has since followed up this gesture by the appointment, in response to Muslim representations, of a Commission to devise ways and means of associating the people of the State more closely with the administration; and an officer of the British Political Department has already been entrusted with this important task.

## RAILWAY BOARD AND THE FEDERATION

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, President of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation, has lodged a protest before the Railway Court of Inquiry regarding the Railway Board's proposal to retrench ten thousand men. In this Mr. Mehta, we doubt not, will have considerable public sympathy. It seems incredible, as the *Times of India* says, that the Railway Board should be so lost to a sense of what is fitting in the conduct of industrial relations as deliberately to ignore a tribunal which the Government of India has set up for the specific purpose of considering the effect of the former wholesale retrenchments initiated by the Railway Board. The Court is yet to give its verdict on the previous measures of retrenchment, and surely it is to say the least of it, an act of uncommon impropriety on the part of the Board whose action is, in the view of the Railway Federation, tantamount to a contempt of Court. As if this were not enough, there comes the further report of the Railway Retrenchment Committee's proposal to economise Rs. 3 crores. It is an ill wind that blows so recklessly. We still think that the Federation would not be dragged into a fray, and the leaders who so wisely managed the first stage of the threatened conflict, will continue to act with the same caution and circumspection which have stood them in such good stead so far. As the contemporary already quoted rightly observes:

In our opinion the Railway Board should immediately cancel any orders that may have been given to the Agents with regard to further retrenchment. It cannot seriously be argued that the finances of the railways will be jeopardised if action is delayed for a few months longer. Mr. Justice Murphy and his colleagues have shown that it will be possible for this inquiry to be completed within a short period. \* \* \* There is, therefore, no justification whatever for the Railway Board's action which should at once be repudiated by the Government of India if the Board itself is unable to see reason.

# WORLD EVENTS

BY PROF. A. J. SAUNDERS, Ph.D.

## MANCHURIA

IT is now generally recognised that Manchuria is the danger zone of the Far East. As one writer has said: "It is the meeting-point of the ambitions of three States, China, Japan, and the Soviet Union, each of which has interests and policies in this great region which are in conflict with those of the other two." Manchuria comprises an area almost as large as France and Germany combined; it has valuable natural resources, minerals and timber; it has extensive deposits of coal and iron ore; it is also valuable for agricultural purposes and produces more than half of the world's supply of the soy bean.

Manchuria is a part of China, but until recently China did not take much interest in the country; within the last few years, however, Chinese immigration has been pouring into the northern province. The Chinese are settling up the country, and consequently have a permanent and personal interest in the land. Russia's interest in Manchuria dates from 1896 when there was granted to Russia the privilege of building a railway through Central Manchuria in extension of their trans-Siberian system. Two years later an additional concession was granted to extend the line south to Port Arthur. As a result of the Russo-Japanese War, this later concession was appropriated by the victorious Japanese. An agreement was entered into by Russia and Japan by which their spheres of influence should be divided so as to allow to Russia northern and central Manchuria, while the southern parts were to go to Japan. Japan is interested in Manchuria as an outlet for her growing population, because of the rich mineral deposits which Japan wants to exploit, and because of the railway system which Japan has built and controls. All these interests are vital and are bound to lead to conflict.

The recent trouble arose over a clash between Chinese and Japanese troops on the outskirts of Mukden, because of an alleged attempt of the Chinese to destroy a railway bridge on the South Manchurian Railway system in which Japan has a very close interest. The Japanese shelled and later took possession of Mukden, and say that they intend to hold the city until they get satisfaction. Both the League of Nations and the United States have moved in the matter of preventing the trouble spreading; the latest reports seem to indicate that the matter will be settled without further recourse to war. But the ugly fact of strained relations still remains, and Manchuria is worth fighting for.

## SHANGHAI

The future of Shanghai is in the balance, as a result of the exhaustive investigations carried on for over a year by Mr. Justice Feetham. Two important points should be kept clearly in mind: The Chinese demand that extra-territorial jurisdiction should be abolished, and the British request that until Government is more stable and peace obtains throughout China, the four treaty ports of Shanghai, Tientsin, Hankow and Canton should not come under direct Chinese control.

It should be borne in mind that the Chinese did not make Shanghai; it was a mudflat which foreign enterprise and especially British capital and initiative have transformed into one of the most modern and wealthy cities of China, the recognised centre of trade, industry, and finance, a source of large revenues to the Chinese Government, and a place of safety in the midst of contending political factions. It would be much better to allow Shanghai to remain in security against Chinese misrule under the protection of the Consular Courts until such times as China settles down to something like stable rule, dis-

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cipline and the ways of peace. If and when that happy time arrives, then it will be possible for all the Treaty Powers and the Chinese Government, too, to meet in conference to decide the future of Shanghai and the other Treaty Ports. Nationalism must learn to consider the rights of others, as well as its own point of view.

## THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The month of September every year is important for the annual meeting of the League of Nations. The meeting this year was not so significant as some former meetings, but yet grave questions came up for consideration. Fifty nations were represented; Sir B. L. Mitter and Sir Jehangir Coyajee watched the interests of India at Geneva, and the Indian delegation added not a little to the discussions at the League.

The most important issue before the meeting was the Chino-Japanese situation. The Council of the League eased the situation and are trying to prevent a spread of the danger. The trouble is not yet over, but the League is hoping to hold off a recourse to further warfare until the matter under dispute can be investigated.

Another question considered was the formal harmonisation of the Kellogg Pact with the Covenant of the League. The world trade and financial depression came up for discussion, but no definite action was taken. Great interest was taken in the Disarmament Conference to be held next February, though no positive action was taken in reference to it. Italy made an important suggestion about putting into operation at once a holiday from armament expenditure in view of the coming Conference, and to create an atmosphere of good will among the nations. While several of the delegates were impressed and many thought the idea an excellent one, no definite action was taken.

## GERMAN-AUSTRIAN CUSTOMS UNION

It will be remembered that at the suggestion of Mr. Henderson of Great Britain, the League of Nations referred the troublesome question of a Customs Union between Germany and Austria to the Hague World Court to find out whether the proposed Union was *ultra vires* to the Versailles Peace Treaty. The following action was taken:

The Hague Court, by eight votes to seven, has given a ruling against the Austro-German case for

a Customs Union. Seven out of the fifteen judges, including the representatives of Great Britain and America, expressed dissenting opinions. Geneva correspondents note that the upholders of the French thesis were almost all nationals of the South and Central American States and of the Allies of France in Europe.

Just before, however, the World Court made its decision, Germany and Austria renounced the idea of a Customs Union. That move has relieved Europe of a question which had in it possibilities of grave danger. The decision to drop the matter of a Customs Union has opened the way for a renewal of friendly relations and much better feeling between Germany and France.

## GREAT BRITAIN

During the last couple of weeks, England has held the centre of world interest, and as I write, Great Britain is in the throes of one of the most interesting and momentous General Elections in recent years. As a result of the May and Macmillan reports on England's trade and financial situation, MacDonald was convinced that the Budget must be balanced at all costs; two ways were open: the traditional Labour method of additional taxation, or retrenchment and considerable saving on the dole. Mr. Henderson championed the former course, while Mr. MacDonald pressed for the latter. That question split the Labour Party in the House from top to bottom. Instead of a recourse to a General Election at the suggestion of His Majesty the King, and with the hearty concurrence of the leaders of the other political parties, a National Government was formed and within a short time the Budget was balanced by a considerable saving on public expenditure, especially on the dole, and an increase in taxation.

The political situation in Britain was so confused that it was decided at last to appeal to the country on the general question of the continuance of a National Government. There are three important questions before Great Britain at the present time: the serious financial situation, the work of the Round Table Conference and an Indian Constitution, and the Disarmament Conference. These are all national issues, too large for any one political party to tackle; the best brains of all the parties are required for these tremendous problems. It is hoped, therefore, and expected by many that the country will return with a large majority a National Government to deal with these vital issues.



# Trade and Finance

By "SRIVAS."

A fully eventful month fertile alike in views and news, in events and controversies, with a sample of every change that can possibly take place in the realms of finance and trade. First came the debacle in sterling which no doubt the events of the previous month had portended, but which few dared to foretell, thinking it one of the developments which Britain would not allow under any circumstances. The strain on the resources of London had been both heavy and continuous since the financial crisis in Germany; and it is only natural that the most truly international financial centre should be subject most to the repercussions of every change in international finance. Though Britain is a credit country so far as long-term advances are concerned, in regard to short-term balances, she is a heavy debtor. She was thus subject to every mood and fancy of the foreign lender of short-term credit; and it was obvious pretty long before the final debacle came, that unless Great Britain succeeded in obtaining large sums on long-term credit, she would have to consider the question of revising her standard. It was freely talked about at the time of the fall of the Labour Government and the formation of a National Cabinet that international financiers, chiefly from America, insisted on Britain carrying out financial reforms calculated to balance the national budget before any credit could be lent to her. That condition, as everybody knows, was fulfilled with a dramatic suddenness. And that, in spite of Britain's accommodation in a point which is vital to her national prestige, it should have been difficult to command foreign credit sufficient for the maintenance of the gold standard is at the moment an insoluble mystery. Speculation in this regard is not only fruitless but dangerous, as anything may be cited as a cause from so absurd a suggestion as international resentment at Britain's subjection of India as the not unlikely one

of a diabolical intention on the part of France to cut at the root of London's financial supremacy. It is, of course, possible to leave all external causes out of consideration and think of the position of British industry and its need for succour as a sufficient explanation for the abandonment of the gold standard. Whatever that may be, the decision of the British Cabinet to relieve the Bank of England of the obligation to sell gold at a stipulated rate, and to allow sterling to stray away from gold, came with a dramatic suddenness on far the greater part of the world.

And the person to whom it was perhaps the greatest surprise was Sir George Schuster, the Finance Member of the Government of India. On no other basis can one explain the confidence with which he declared in an interview to *Indian Finance* a couple of days before the event that the rupee exchange would be successfully maintained by the Government of India. But once the decision of the British Cabinet was known, Sir George had to adjust his position to the changed circumstances; and in the early hours of Monday, September 21, the Government came out with an Ordinance which relieved the Controller of the Currency of his statutory obligation to sell sterling at the rate of 1s. 5 49/64d. a rupee. This was obviously an interim measure; and to put matters on a more stable basis, the three days following September 21 were declared public holidays; and before the banks opened for business on Friday, the Ordinance VII of 1931 had been published, giving legal validity to the earlier announcement of Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State for India, that the rupee would be linked to sterling on the basis of 1s. 6d., making legal provision for discrimination in sales of sterling by stipulating the purposes for which sterling can be demanded of the currency authorities and the approved banks who could apply therefor. By these measures

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the shocks had been deprived of a considerable part of their force.

Sufficient time has elapsed since the publication of Ordinance VII to enable a chronicler to classify the various opinions that are now holding the field in regard to this vexed question of the external value of the rupee. In the first place, it is fairly widely understood, though some writers would still labour the point for obvious reasons, that once sterling has gone off the gold standard and is quoted at about 4 dollars to the pound, the rupee has been devaluated to an even lower level than was ever demanded by the opponents of the old 18d. ratio. But the difference of opinion is as to the manner in which India might derive the utmost advantage from the debacle in sterling. It is said that Britain's abandonment of the gold standard gave us the opportunity to begin with a clean slate and write our currency jargon anew and in any manner we pleased. And the best advantage we could take of it was to continue to keep the slate clean till we are sure what is best to write thereon. More specially, it means that instability of exchange and stabilisation when conditions are most favourable would be the best course. This is, of course, the most extreme view, though it looks like enjoying more support in the country at large than any other. The other alternatives are maintaining the value of the rupee at a lower parity than 1s. 6d. gold and taking the rupee to sterling. The former has no determined advocates; and the latter which is now a *fait accompli* is objected to on the ground that it gives to the British importer into India an advantage which is denied to other foreign nationals.

The controversies which the Ordinance VII of 1931 has given rise to, will continue to rage till sterling is stabilised at about 4 dollars to the pound which will give the rupee a lower exchange value than before and also scratch the handicap to which foreign importers into India other than

British are now subject. The controversies now raging will be robbed alike of their value and their rancour if the stabilisation is effected without much delay.

So far as the Government are concerned, they must be feeling happy that the greater part of their embarrassments have been resolved at a stroke by this devaluation of the pound and the rupee. The danger of continued sales of reverse councils has been avoided at least for the moment. The export trade has been given a fillip by the devaluation of the rupee; prices are showing a spurt; and what is more, the Governments can now meet their Treasury Bills commitments by means of expansion of currency without the nightmare of reverse councils haunting them at the same time. The foreign funds in Treasury Bills to which reference was made last month, have started on their way back and Treasury Bills sales are very much less than the maturities. If the requirements of exchange had militated against expansion of currency, Government would have been in a sore fix. But now during the last two weeks they have expanded currency to the extent of Rs. 12½ crores; and more might be expected in the near future.

But one question which is the result of the lower rupee has not been adequately dealt with by Government. The price of gold in rupee has naturally gone up and during the weeks which followed the announcement of the Ordinance VII, India witnessed exports of gold in large volume. There has been an insistent demand that Government should alter their statutory buying price to suit changed conditions and acquire for the reserves the gold that is now being lost to India. Up to now no action has been taken and even an interim measure like an embargo on gold has not been carried out.

Looking to the finance markets in a narrower range, we have to record first the rise in the Bank of England rate to 6 per cent. and the



corresponding rise in the Imperial Bank of India rate to 8 per cent. The latter would have less justification now when the foreign funds in Indian Treasury Bills have begun to be repatriated and a higher bank rate has proved to be ineffective in retaining those funds in Government coffers. But the authorities might claim to foresee a general trend away from low bank rates in the world as a whole. For not only the Bank of England but also the Reserve Bank of New York has a higher bank rate to-day. The rise from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. is said to be necessitated by the withdrawal of funds from banks due to the general lack of confidence following the fall in sterling. If America should raise its bank rate in order to deal with a change in the internal situation, it seems to be strangely reminiscent of conditions in the middle of 1929. With higher money rates in prospect and the world well on the way to chaos of currencies, we might ask ourselves whether mankind can ever at all learn a lesson.

It is significant that while trade conditions have generally been extremely adverse, and while those conducting business of any kind have found it extraordinarily difficult to work on anything like a reasonable margin of profit, Indian insurance companies afford a pleasing exception to this rule. It can be said of the generality of the better class that one of the darkest years of economic depression has left them more or less unscathed and unbruised. One could draw a goodly number of interesting conclusions from this phenomenon. It may be argued, for example, that in a period of declining prosperity, the middle classes had perforce to rely more and more on what protection insurance could afford them. It may be also argued that as one of the dominant features of this period of depression was the nation-wide propaganda for support of everything indigenous, it was the domestic insurance companies that were best equipped to take full advantage of this powerful sentiment. Again, it

may be pointed out that the progress of insurance in India in the early years has been so tardy and the volume of insurance effected by the whole country is such a poor percentage, that with the growth of education and with the development of a more enlightened sense of responsibility, the one branch of economic activity which is bound to make sure and strong headway is insurance. Be this as it may, the most outstanding fact in India's economy in 1931 is that the indigenous insurance enterprises have made extremely good showing. The balance-sheet of the New India for the year ended March 31, 1931, for instance, which has been just issued to the press, may be taken as typical of the history of Indian insurance in the past year. With becoming modesty, Mr. N. B. Saklatwala, Chairman of the Company, claimed that the achievement of the New India should be considered quite satisfactory, especially in view of the fact that the year under review was one marked by serious economic difficulties and in view of the further fact that the New India has been able to show much remarkable progress, while at the same time it has managed to bring down its expense ratio in a period of such heady activities. The result achieved by this Company is typical of the results of most of the sound Indian insurance companies.

## VESTIGIA

BY

MISS FREDERICKA BLANKNER.

—:o:—

A cypress bows a little, and we know  
One day the wind blew so.  
With cypress now so straight—  
'T was long ago.

From eyelids' droop  
Above eyes that are gay  
We know that Grief came once—  
Then went away.

# THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

## FEDERAL FINANCE

THE formal work of the Conference was confined during the first week of October to that of the Federal Finances Sub-Committee, which had evidently made gratifying progress in that its report was generally acceptable to all parties concerned. Certain proposals which were drafted by Sir Sultan Ahmed found favour with the representatives of British India and the Indian States. The most important of them were:

1. Customs duties and excises on articles on which customs duties are levied with certain exceptions, will be Federal, exceptions being excises on articles which are taxed for social purposes as, for example, alcohol and perhaps tobacco.

2. Personal income-tax and super-tax will go to the Provinces, while corporation tax will go to the Federal Government.

3. Administration of Federal communications, such as Railways and Posts and Telegraphs will be completely Federal, but the profits of these Departments will not be credited to the general revenues, but will be taken for reduction of the capital charges against them.

4. Tributes payable by certain States will be abolished, and the claims of certain States for compensation for territories ceded by them, in lieu of cash payment, will be investigated by an impartial tribunal after the Federal Constitution has started working.

The States however expressed themselves unwilling to give up their right of imposing duties on articles which enter their frontiers. Sir Akbar Hydari, speaking on behalf of the States, emphasised that the right of levying internal customs must be retained by the States. He also advocated the cessation of all cash payments by them, and urged that the question of adjustment of their contributions through territorial cessions should be simultaneously dealt with in respect of the States so desiring.

## THE MINORITIES

Meanwhile the Minorities Sub-Committee had met on the 28th September under the chairmanship of the Premier and dispersed with a view to bring about a conciliation by informal discussions. This plan was proposed by Mr. Gandhi and seconded by H. H. the Aga Khan.

Dr. Ambedkar, Sir H. Gidney and other representatives of the smaller minorities, however,

insisted on having a place on the new Committee, as they were afraid their claims might be overlooked. H. H. the Aga Khan remarked that what the Committee aimed at was a "settlement for all".

Mr. Jayakar and Mr. Sastri had, in the meanwhile, written to Mr. Gandhi protesting against his method of negotiations with the Muslims, and especially resenting his talk of giving them a 'blank cheque' without consulting the interests of Hindus and other minorities affected thereby.

The Committee met again on the 3rd October with Mr. Gandhi in the chair. Dr. Ambedkar, on behalf of the depressed classes, and Mr. Pannirselvam for the Indian Catholics, urged special representation in the legislatures.

Mr. Gandhi declared himself as opposed to special representation for the depressed classes. He was in favour of such representation only for the Sikhs and Moslems as a necessary evil. And Pandit Malaviya echoed Mr. Gandhi's views, adding he was opposed to any such statutory provision. At a subsequent meeting of the Committee, Sir H. Carr outlined the Europeans' demand.

Thereafter informal conversations were going on during the whole of the week, and Gandhiji put forward proposals after proposals for the acceptance of the Muslim delegation. The Muslim delegates stood solid for the 14 points and would not give in. And so when the Committee met on the 8th under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister, the dismal story of the failure of negotiations was told by Gandhiji and others in deep "distress and humiliation". Gandhiji thereupon moved an adjournment *sine die*. In the course of a moving speech he held that the Federal Committee should proceed hammering details of the new constitution and said that in case it was known what would be offered politically, there would be greater prospects of agreement.

Gandhiji also pointed out that the cause of failure of the communal parleys were inherent in the composition of the Indian delegation which was not composed of elected representatives but nominated by the Government. Gandhiji also stated that he was ever ready to submit to arbitration.

Sir Muhammad Shafi and others opposed the proposal, declaring that the constitution could not be framed without the question of minorities being disposed of first. The Prime Minister asked the Committee to face realities and not to put down the failure to the composition of the delegation. He emphasised that agreement among the various communities was indispensable to the framing of a constitution and suggested that the Committee should adjourn to be summoned later by him.

#### FEDERAL STRUCTURE COMMITTEE

The Federal Structure Committee met on the 9th, under the chairmanship of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Sankey, and decided to examine the unanimous report of the Finance Sub-Committee. Lord Sankey, while expressing keen disappointment that the Minorities Committee had failed upto now to reach a final agreement, said that he was not down-hearted. All were still determined that the Round Table Conference should not fail and the Federal Structure Committee should continue its work. As to the minorities' question, he advised that they should now concentrate on the method by which a settlement was to be obtained rather than on what the settlement should be.

Sir Muhammad Shafi accepted the suggestion, but Mr. Gandhi suggested that they should proceed at once with the Federal Structure Committee. The Committee accordingly met on the 13th and discussed the report till the 16th and thereafter adjourned to the 19th. So long as the Committee was dealing in generalities there was complete unanimity, but when once they began to discuss the details, differences became apparent and pronounced when the Committee met next day.

Sir Akbar Hydari, Finance Member of Hyderabad, said on behalf of the States' Delegation, that the States would be unable to say whether they would enter the Federation or not until the report of the Expert Finance Committee was ready. Sir Akbar contended that the Indian States were unable to leave it to a future Federation to decide important questions, such as what taxation the Federal Government was entitled to impose.

When the Committee met again, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru urged that the Expert Committee on Finance contemplated that the report should be set up by the new Indian federal government which should take the final decision. During the interim special financial powers should be given to the Governor-General-in-Council.

Sir Akbar Hydari observed that the States had not changed their attitude, federation being still their goal; but it was essential that the Indian States should know in advance the full implications of the federal finance scheme. For that reason he opposed leaving it to the federal government to set up the suggested expert committee.

The Maharajah of Bikaner reiterated his faith in federation, but declared that the States must know broadly the extent of their financial obligations.

Sir Mirza Ismail (Dewan of Mysore) urged total abolition of tributes from Indian States.

Mr. Gandhi recommended that the Finance Sub-Committee's report be referred back to the Federal Committee which should be asked, with the material at its disposal, to produce a minimum scheme to which the States could agree, defining as far as possible the source of revenue so that a start could be made with federation.

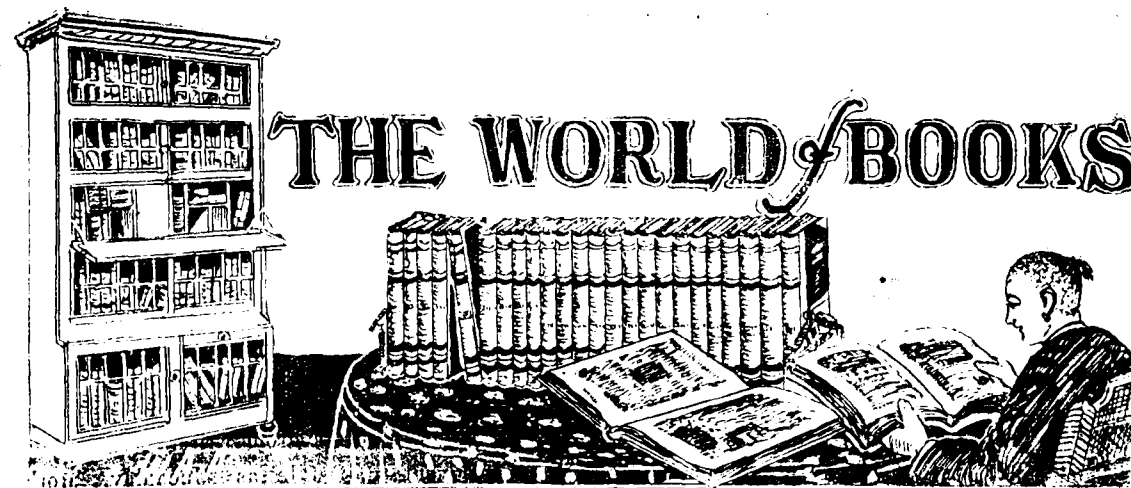
The Committee met again on the 19th and 20th, but no conclusions were reached. An informal meeting of the representative members of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee was held at Claridge's Hotel on the 20th, and at St. James's the next day, to consider Mr. Gandhi's recommendation to refer back the report to the Federal Finance Committee.

A compromise was however effected and the debate on the 22nd culminated in the acceptance of the Report with the compromise proposal suggested by Lord Peel, as to the scope of the expert committee.

Gandhiji's qualified concurrence in the course proposed though reserving the investigation into responsibility for the national debt and the question of salt tax elicited Sir S. Hoare's appreciation.

#### FEDERAL COURT

The jurisdiction of the proposed Supreme Court, the number of judges, their salaries and the method of appointment and the question of retaining the right of appeal to the Privy Council were among the technical points dealt with at the debate in the Federal Structure Sub-Committee on the Supreme Court in which Sir T. B. Sapru, Sir Sultan Ahmed and Sir M. Dadabhai participated.



**MONEY WRITES.** By Upton Sinclair. Published by T. Werner Lawrie, Ltd. Price 7/6d.

This book bears out fully what the Publishers describe it: "A damnably readable book." Mr. Sinclair writes it from the intimate knowledge which he possesses of the conditions under which literature and journalism have grown in America. He exposes the fact that most of the writing there is governed by the interests of the moneyed classes. It is interesting to note that Mr. Mencken, the famous Editor of the *American Mercury*, is among those treated severely in the book. The racy and vigorous style of Mr. Sinclair, combined with the frank and brilliant survey of writers in all the branches of writing, renders the book very informing and enjoyable. The castigation contained in the book cannot fail of a wholesome effect on the world.

**THE LAW O'THE LARIAT.** By Oliver Strange. George Newnes Ltd., London.

This is a very interesting novel written in a style that has quickness, healthy atmosphere, charm of conversation, coupled with a sense of proportion in the mixing of incidents that make romance. The author has a good grasp of human psychology; and that is certainly the mark, at least the promise of a good writer. We have pleasure to recommend this novel for a short holiday in town or in the village.

**REPRESENTATIVE INDIANS.** By Lalit Mohan Chatterjee, M.A., and Syamprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L. The Popular Agency, Calcutta. (G. A. Natesan & Co. Price Rs. Two.)

The eight sketches in this book are representative of diverse elements of Indian life: Hindus, Muslims and Parsis, politicians, educationists, scientists, leaders of thought, poets and preachers. It is a thoroughly representative collection of the lives of some of the most dominant personalities in India. Bengal is represented by four sketches. The writers have taken care to avoid controversial issues, and the sketches replete with a judicious solution of facts, are attractively written with a view to interest and inspire the young. The excellent portraits accompanying the sketches are another attractive feature of the collection.

**THE KEY TO THEOSOPHY.** By H. P. Blavatsky. Published by the Theosophy Company (India) Ltd., Bombay, 1931.

This is a verbatim reprint (from the original edition of 1889) of Madam Blavatsky's famous work. To say that the work is interesting, is like giving a certificate to sugar on its sweetness. The publishers in their preface say that the book is a clear exposition, in the form of question and answer, of philosophy and ethics for the study of which the theosophical movement was publicly inaugurated in 1875. We agree.

L. T. HOBHOUSE. By Hobson and Ginsberg, with Selected Essays and Articles: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.

The late Mr. Hobhouse (1864-1929) lived a very strenuous life marked by an increasing interest in sociology and in the correlation of the social sciences as well as by the activity that he displayed in humanitarian causes, internationalism and constitutional reform. According to Mr. Hobson who writes a memoir of the personage, "no man of our time has more fully vindicated the unity that underlies theory and practice", and he always held that philosophy as a sort of thinking, should not be reserved for a select erudite few. His work, particularly in the last two decades of his life, was mainly threefold, as Professor of Sociology in the London School of Economics, as a journalist and as a worker in the Trade Boards and other Labour activities both during the War and the post-War period. He was one of the founders and makers of the British Institute of Philosophic Studies and looked to the early effective union of the New Liberals with the rising forces of Labour.

Professor Ginsberg, Hobhouse's pupil, friend and successor, gives in the second section of the book a just though laboured appraisal of the master's contributions to science and philosophy as one of the pioneers of comparative and social psychology, as a systematic expounder of modern critical realism and as an expounder of the rationalistic point of view in ethics and social philosophy.

Mr. Hobson gives at the end a collection of essays of the master, most of which are taken from leading articles contributed by him to the *Manchester Guardian* during the War, and including one on Jane Austen illustrating his literary interest. On the whole the book is a fine tribute to the activities of one who was thinker, teacher, writer and practical reformer.

ENGLISH PROSE SELECTIONS: TWENTIETH-CENTURY ADDRESSES. By Prof. E. C. Dickinson and Prof. Diwan Chand Sharma. Macmillan & Co.

These books are designed primarily for the use of Intermediate students at our Universities and the Editors have made an admirable attempt in collecting some of the best pieces of modern prose. The subjects are as varied as the authors, and we have among the Prose selections, biographical sketches, critical appreciations and imaginative portraits from writers as varied in temperament and style as Macaulay, Morley, Emerson and Froude interspersed with essays from such living writers as the well known Alphe of the Plough, E. V. Lucas and J. B. Priestley. Altogether there are thirty pieces in the first book which cannot fail to interest and stimulate the reader.

The Twentieth-Century Addresses contain some of the masterpieces of modern eloquence. Morley's "Aphorisms", and Rosebery's address to the journalists, appear with Mr. Baldwin's admirable exposition of "Truth and Politics" and Q's celebrated diatribe on "Jargon". There are excellent specimens of Balfour's oratory together with the speeches of Lord Haldane and Lord Oxford. Indian readers will specially welcome Sir Rabin-dranath Tagore's account of his school, Sir J. C. Bose's eloquent address to the Benares University, and Mr. Sastri's characteristic eulogium of "The Balanced Mind".

The Editors have judiciously supplied a few notes at the end of the books, just enough to elucidate historical references or unravel the more abstruse allusions.

RENAISSANCE OF HINDUISM. By Aksaya Kumari Devi. Published by Vijaya Krishna Bros. 5 Vivekananda Road, Calcutta.

This little book in about 50 pages treats of the common problems of Hindu religion and society with helpful suggestions for a better foundation.

SELF-REALISATION: LIFE AND TEACHINGS OF RAMANA MAHARSHI. By B. V. Narasimha Swami. Published by Niranjanananda Swami, Secretary, Ramanasram, Tiruvannamalai.

The book opens with an interesting foreword by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice K. Sundaram Chettiar, a disciple of Ramana Maharshi.

The author of the book, a distinguished lawyer-politician of Salem, is a devotee of the Maharshi and has lived for years in intimate association with him.

The biography depicted in the book relates to a religious genius with startling experiences in self-realisation. Venkatraman who is the subject of the sketch and who is now known as Ramana Maharshi is the second son of one Sundaramier of Tiruchuzhi, 30 miles off Madurai, and he takes to the life of renunciation at the age of fourteen. He has in abundance the virtues of a Janani Ahimsa, Samatva, and Sarvabhitatva, or harmlessness, equality and universal benevolence. His spiritual career at Tiruvannamalai, his miracles and his teachings have attracted such wide attention that his disciples are found among all castes and creeds. Among other teachings, his advice to one of his disciples by name Yoganatha that "the path of peace runs through social service and that a man should develop his full power to serve the society in which he is born before he can fall into a life wholly absorbed in the self," is of particular significance at the present juncture. His message that spirituality is not inconsistent with an active or domestic social life is also of great value.

THE AMAZING INFLUENCE. By Gilbert O'Clee. Publishers: L. N. Fowler & Co., London.

This small book contains many interesting facts of psychology; and the author's suggestions are really thoughtworthy. The gist of what he says is that we should not leave our task to luck, but must strive, and we have in us faculties by which we can make our wish come true.

PLANTATION LABOUR IN INDIA. By Rajanikanta Das, M.Sc., Ph.D. R. Chatterjee, 120/2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

The author is a well known student of the Labour problem in India. He has to his credit half a dozen other books on Indian Labour, and they are significant for facts and figures that speak for themselves. His experience as a Special Agent, Bureau of Labour Statistics, United States Government, must have given him opportunities to study Labour in varied aspects, and any work of his on Labour has a special significance to those that do labour work and study labour causes.

He has given facts and figures that are not easily got unless one puts forth strenuous energies for their ascertainment. To write a book on labour, theorising and preaching, is easy and that is a fashion now, but writing on special departments therein, giving details of history, working out statistics, pointing out mistakes, and finally making suggestions logically workable, well, writing such like, is not at all pleasant nor easy: and hence expert knowledge like the author's is to be considered vital to the true cause of labour in India.

"Plantation Labour in India," as the author says in his Preface, "is a study in the rise, growth, condition and problem of the workers employed on various plantations in India specially, or the tea gardens in Assam." The object of the book of course is the amelioration of the labourers. The book will be very useful to the country, specially at this time when labour is endeavouring to attain its place in the constitution of administration.

THE SONG OF IRHA. By Deva Yan Wasu. Laluvian Saraswati Library, Mandalay. Price As. 10.

In unrhyming poetic diction, the author pictures to us a state of will which tries to merge itself into a higher being.

THE ASYLUM PRESS ALMANACK and DIRECTORY 1931. Directories and Agencies Ltd., Madras.

This is perhaps the oldest Almanack and Directory published in Madras, and the 130th Edition that is now on our table, fully justifies its reputation as an invaluable book of reference. Every section is brought up-to-date and all the usual features are replete with information at once correct and copious. We commend in particular the Who's Who section which is vastly improved with fresh additions and illustrations. The alphabetical list of trades in the premier cities of India and Burma must add to the usefulness of the book to business-men in the Presidency. We congratulate the publishers on the excellence of the get-up of so voluminous a work as this.

INTRODUCTION TO THE MYSTERY OF THE MAHABHARATA. Vol. I. By N. V. Thadani. Bharat Publishing House, Karachi. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Rs. 12.)

The writer bases the whole idea of the work of the Mahabharata on principles, energies and laws and interprets its story as a picture of a philosophy of life. He maintains that all sacred books from the Vedas to the Mahabharata which is the fifth Veda, deal with the truth of life, and he tries to demonstrate his view by an ancient method of interpretation, an analysis of words and names into their component syllables and letters. He explains his method of interpretation and describes how the great epic is a conflict of different systems of thought which all meet in the region of the mind. The Kurukshetra battle is fought between Vedanta and Nyaya on the common ground of Vaisesika, described as Dharma. The interpretation is suggestive and arresting, and we await the 2nd volume in which the epic will be explained in detail.

IN THE HAG'S HANDS. By Cecil Champain Lewis. Publisher: T. Werner Lawrie Ltd. Price 7/6 net.

The book is pleasant reading as it depicts without reserve the inner life and aristocratic habits of Englishmen in the 'heaven born service' in India and the way they look down upon the coloured races of India and Burma. That domestic happiness and conjugal felicity are not attained and many young Civilians fall into the mug-way and in consequence in the Hag's hands, is also graphically described in true colours so as to serve as a warning to others similarly circumstanced.

### BOOKS RECEIVED

- THE GREATEST OF THESE. By Nikolai Gulherky Ukin. Mathews & Marrott. Bloomsbury Street, London, W.C.
- GUILTY BUT INSANE: A broadmoor autobiography. By "Warmerk". Chapman & Hall, Ltd., London.
- GOING FURTHER. By Geoffrey Mallins. Elkin Mathews and Marrott. 54, Bloomsbury Street, London, W.C. 1.
- DWELLERS OF THE SILENCES. By Alexander Sprunt. Chapman and Hall, London.
- WAY TO SWARAJYA OR A WORD TO INDIAN LEADERS. By Shri Upasani Maharaj. Vaman P. Patel, Solicitor, Richey Road, Ahmedabad.
- COORG AND THE COORGES. By Pandana Mutthanna. C. M. Ponnappa, Siddapur, Coorg.
- A SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF Mr. K. S. AIYAR, B.A., L.T., F.S.A.A. By P. Balasundaram. Srinivasa Varadachari & Co., 190, Mount Road, Madras.
- GUIDE TO INDIAN STUDIES. By M. C. Mohan, B.A., and A. N. Kashyapa, B.A. Ram Lal Suri, Anarkali.
- GUIDE TO SMALL SCALE INDUSTRIES. By M. C. Mohan, B.A. Ram Lal Suri, Anarkali.
- EPOCHS OF THE HISTORY OF BHARATHA VARSHA. By Jagadguri Kalyananda Bharathi, Munthacharya Swami Maharaj, Parini Narayana Sarma, Tenali.
- REVIEW OF THE TRADE OF INDIA IN 1930-31. Government of India Central Publication Branch, Calcutta.
- SARNATH. By Rai Bahadur Pandit Sheo Narain. Maha Bodhi Society, Calcutta.
- THE GOLDEN DEEDS OF IMAM HUSAIN. Issued by Provincial Shia Conference, Patna.
- VEDANTASARA. By Swami Nikhilananda. Advaita Ashrama, Alimora.
- REPORT OF THE POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS ACCOUNTS ENQUIRY COMMITTEE, 1931. Government of India Press, Simla.

## Gandhiji on Current Events

[In view of Mr. Gandhi's pre-eminent position in the public life of this country and of the weight and authority of his pronouncements, it is proposed in these pages to present from time to time his views on the leading topics of the day.—EDITOR, *The Indian Review*.]

### SITTING ON THE FENCE

IN an interview to *The News Chronicle*, Gandhiji said he was disturbed about the inordinate delay and vacillation in the work of the Round Table Conference. In view of the very slow progress and Government's sphinx-like utterances, it was impossible to know where they were standing. He must know how far Government were prepared to go. He had spoken gently he said, but he did not know how long he would be able to bear this hopeless uncertainty for which he could see no just reason. "Government cannot for ever sit on the fence."

### LANCASHIRE AND INDIA

Mr. Gandhi who visited Lancashire in the last week of September said in the course of an interview, that he had experienced nothing but deep affection and kindness. He had had very friendly discussions and had learned something of the distress in Lancashire and his heart had gone out to the people. He had already shown the limited extent to which help from India was possible in the event of a permanent settlement. He was oppressed by the fact that unemployment was so widespread that the help from India would affect only a small part.

The distress was largely due rather to world causes than to the Indian boycott. He believed that the loss through boycott was only three per cent.

It would be presumptuous for him to indicate other methods of alleviating or eliminating the present distress.

My two days' contact with the employers and the employed has shown me that the people of Lancashire have borne their distress very bravely, and it has given me the keenest satisfaction that they have not shown any bitterness towards India. I regard this as a happy sign.

I never expected anything but courteous treatment from the working people of Lancashire, but I was not prepared for the manifestation of deep affection the crowd lining the streets spontaneously showed me. I shall for ever treasure that affection as one of the pleasantest recollections of my life.

Asked by Reuter, at West Bradford, to clarify his attitude regarding favouring British cloth, Mr. Gandhi said that provided a satisfactory political settlement was reached, he would agree to the prohibition of all foreign cloth except Lancashire cloth, which would be admitted to the extent of non-Indian cloth still necessary to supplement India's own supply. This however was subject to the necessary conditions about the quality and prices being mutually arranged. There would be no discrimination against Japan, but prohibition would apply to all foreign cloth except British.

Mr. Gandhi added: If we are using some foreign cloth, it will be foolish not to take from England if England is my partner and take from America, Italy, Japan or any other foreign country.

### "IF CONFERENCE FAILS"

Discussing the prospects before England in view of the great economic distress now so prevalent, Mr. Gandhi said in a recent interview in London that they would be endangered if British statesmen came to the conclusion that settlement with India was unnecessary to the solution of the economic problem. If, on the contrary, they felt that India was a factor in dealing with the domestic problem, then the Indian question would gain a great importance in their eyes.

Asked for his view in the event of failure of the Conference, Mr. Gandhi said that heaven would help India. India must then go through the fire of suffering. India will not find peace unless she finds also her freedom. That is a settled fact.

## VOLUNTARY POVERTY

Mr. Gandhi told how he came to the vision of voluntary poverty—the ideal of non-possession—when he spoke at the Guildhouse, Eccleston Square, on September 23.

Before he left the meeting, he and his followers chanted Hindu prayers for a quarter of an hour. The whole gathering afterwards sang "Lead, Kindly Light," Gandhi's favourite Christian hymn.

You will be astonished to hear from me, said Mr. Gandhi, that though to all appearances my mission is political, I would ask you to accept my assurance that its roots are, if I may use the term, spiritual.

I found through bitter experience that if I wanted to do social service, I could not leave politics alone.

Do not consider that I want to speak to you to-night about politics and somehow or other mix voluntary poverty with politics. That is not my intention. When I found myself drawn into the political coil, I asked myself what was necessary for me to remain absolutely untouched by immorality, by untruths, by what is known as the political game.

It was a difficult struggle in the beginning, and it was a wrestle with my wife—and I can vividly recall it—with my children also.

Be that as it may, I came definitely to the conclusion that if I were to serve the people in whose midst my life was cast and to whose difficulties I was a witness from day to day, I must discard all wealth—all possession.

Mr. Gandhi was asked whether his wife and family shared his ideals, and he replied:

My wife is sharing the life of her husband to the best of her ability. I am blessed with four sons. The first does not share my belief or practices, but the other three are trying to struggle with me.

## INDIA'S FIGHT FOR LIBERTY

Mr. Henderson, welcoming Mahatma Gandhi at a reception given by the National Labour Club, on October 13, hoped that delegates to the Round Table Conference would get down to business after the election and secure a satisfactory termination to the Conference.

Gandhiji said,

I would consider it nothing if we had to give a million lives for our liberty; but I hope the Congress will conduct its campaign throughout non-violently and truthfully. So whether it is with one life or a million that we have to pay, I am hoping and praying that it will be possible for the future historian to say that India fought and won her liberty without shedding human blood.

## A BIRTHDAY MESSAGE

Mahatma Gandhi's birthday message to his country and to the world was given by him at a meeting held in his honour in London on the 2nd October. He reiterated the Congress demand for complete independence through peaceful and non-violent means and demanded of his countrymen that they should put forth all their energy to make the programme of the Congress a success.

He stressed the value of spinning and weaving in the economy of national life and emphasised his view that the price of freedom must be paid however high it might be.

## THE UNTOUCHABLES

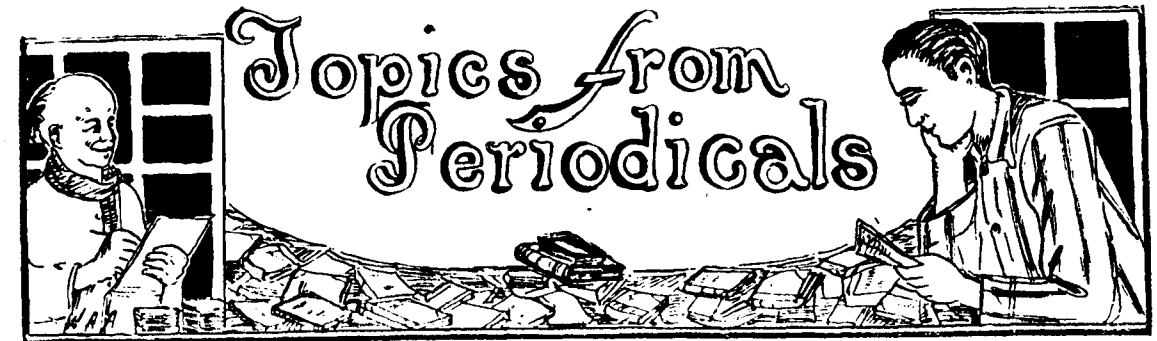
Most determined opposition to the claims of untouchables and other minorities, except Muslims and Sikhs, was expressed by Mr. Gandhi at a reception given by the Indian Students' Union on October 13. "I shall resist those claims at the cost of my life," said Mr. Gandhi, "and I appeal to you to join me in shaming the delegates into withdrawing them." He denied that he had offered to accept the demands of the Muslims if they would join him in resisting the demands of the untouchables. He was forced to agree to Muslim and Sikh demands for historical reasons, but he would not agree to the grant of special representation to any other community in any circumstances.

## THE MINORITIES QUESTION

In response to cables from India on the failure of the negotiations, Gandhiji gave the following special statement to *The Hindu*:

Though it is a matter for deep sorrow that the negotiations for a communal settlement failed, I have not given up hope of success.

In spite of the Premier's energetic disclaimer I still hold that the causes of the failure were inherent in the composition of the Conference. I am more than ever convinced that the framing of a constitution should not depend on the previous settlement of the communal question. It was therefore wrong for the Premier to suggest that further progress in constitution-making largely depended on the communal settlement. In judging events here the Indian public will do well to bear in mind these two defects in Government procedure; they will then not become nervous each time there is failure.



## BUDDHA'S TEN COMMANDMENTS

Every ethical religious system, says Mr. Bayard Elton in the *Occult Review*, contains a number of prohibitions or rules of conduct for the regulation of life; and Buddhism is no exception to this rule. But whereas in most cases these rules take the form of definite commands, the Buddhist precepts of conduct are meant to be regarded as reasonable guides to action not to be obeyed unthinkingly but to be followed only when understood and accepted as true and sensible. The Buddha, we are told,

never demanded blind obedience from his disciples, but told them always to listen to the voice of conscience and to test all things for themselves. In this way he taught them to lean on nothing and to seek guidance from nothing outside their own experience and understanding. His last words were: "Be ye lamps unto yourselves. Hold fast to the Truth as a lamp. Be ye a refuge unto yourselves. Look to no external refuge. Hold fast to the Truth as a refuge. Look not for refuge to anyone besides yourselves. Work out your own salvation with diligence."

There are ten Buddhist precepts of conduct:

1. To respect all life.
2. To respect the property of others.
3. To be chaste.
4. To be truthful.
5. To be temperate.
6. To take food only at certain times.
7. To use no cosmetics or perfumes.
8. To sleep on a hard bed.
9. To abstain from idle entertainment.
10. To abstain from the use of money.

The first five of these may be termed major precepts and are binding on all Buddhists, laymen and monks, but the remainder, being less directly important to correct living, are usually observed only by the regular members of the Sangha or Order of Buddhist Monks who are vowed to poverty and simplicity of life.

## THE PRIME MINISTERS OF ENGLAND

"The Prime Ministers of England form an imposing dynasty," writes Mr. Winston Churchill in the *Sunday Pictorial*. "To be included in that long line is justly regarded as the highest achievement. It is the 'blue ribbon' of the political 'Turf'."

In general the British standard has been very high. When we look back along a succession which includes Lloyd George, Asquith, Balfour, Salisbury, Rosebery, Gladstone, Disraeli, Palmerston, Peel, Pitt and Chatham, we feel ourselves in the presence of an array of personalities who, in fire or wisdom, in learning or eloquence, in resource or courage stood in their hey-day far above the general level of men.

There have been intervals in this famous series. Addington, Liverpool, Percival, for instance, are figures which do not make the same appeal to history. It would be invidious to complete either list. But we may ask at the outset in which category does Ramsay MacDonald stand? Is he among those great magistrates, orators, national architects or pilots to whom we owe the greatness of Britain; or is he among those who have merely filled a gap? . . .

To begin with, he certainly 'looks the part'. No more dignified and aristocratic figure has ever graced the ceremonies of the realm. He is also a man of high courage, sure of himself, and with a healthy contempt for 'popularity' and so-called 'public opinion'. More than this, he is a man of character and principle.



## THE GENIUS OF ASOKA

The *Aryan Path* for October has an interesting article on the "Genius of Asoka as an Emperor", by Prof. J. M. Kumarappa. The writer pays a high tribute to the Emperor for his efforts towards the advancement of Buddhist religion and *dharma*. Taking upon himself the duty of preaching *dharma*, Asoka went on his 'tours of morality' mixing with ascetics and mendicants of all sects. He made use of amphitheatres to amuse and instruct the masses in morality by edifying entertainments and religious conferences and induce them to live a life of piety.

In order to give permanency to his moral instruction and make his descendants follow his footsteps for the promotion of the welfare of the people in the performance of this noble duty, he adopted the method of inscribing his rules of conduct on rocks and pillars. "Asoka was a firm believer in allowing each sect freedom to follow its own convictions, but that did not make him an indifferent spectator of rites that were cruel and demoralizing."

He made regulations prohibiting the slaughter of animals; and in place of hunting and such other holiday sports, he substituted edifying performances and inspiring religious meetings. He restricted the diet of the palace to the point of vegetarianism, and put an end to blood sacrifices which, sanctioned by religions, were dear to millions.

And that was not all; he also strove to reason men out of their superstitions and "various vulgar and useless ceremonies" perpetrated in the name of religion on occasions of births, marriages and the like. Instead of worship, he preached conduct; instead of rites and ceremonies, he encouraged service of Man.

Though he effected modifications wherever it was found good, he did his best to preserve, not destroy, the faith of the millions. To dispel the darkness of ignorance, he provided centres of learning, like the historical institution of Nalanda for the schooling of the young.

The *dharma* of this Monarch was really the essence of religion which all sects possess in common.

With the help of the 64,000 monks, whom he maintained as teachers of his people, and with the assistance of his numerous officers, Asoka succeeded within a short time in bringing within the reach of the untutored masses of his empire, and making the humblest think and understand the essence of religion. The manifold

measures Asoka adopted for the spiritual weal of his people are much like what Buddha would like to have done had He not renounced the throne and taken to the yellow robe and the beggar's bowl.

Thus, the Emperor Asoka made every single year of his thirty-seven years of royal life productive of good works, contributing not only to the spiritual uplift of India, but also to the progress of the world.

Though India had thus lost her political originality and greatness through Asoka's endeavours to lay a spiritual foundation for his empire, she gained in the spirit of humanitarianism, sympathy for all living creatures and in the appreciation of the unity of all life—these form even to-day the basic principles of Indian culture.

## THE TRUE PERSPECTIVE

Dealing with the effect of world events on the ordinary person, Mr. J. T. Adams writes in *Harper's Magazine*:

"Just as even the crudest close-up on the real screen has a certain compelling quality and relaxingly relieves us of thought, so has this turmoil of journalistic and literary close-ups in which we have become almost inextricably enmeshed mentally.

Amidst this chaos of conflicting things, the difficulty is to see them with a proper perspective and get at the truth of things.

To react away from it all, to try to see things steadily and see them whole, to search amid the welter of facts and emotional appeals for the abiding and significant relationships intellectually, calls for a genuine act of will and for knowledge with a background, that is, wisdom.

Never before has the observer and thinker been able to get so much material from the public Press of all sorts, but it is only raw material and rank poison unless he can digest it and properly assimilate it.

At any rate, it would seem as though one of our chief problems were to learn how to keep our mental balance by being able to react against the emotionalistic mush of all and every close-up by clear thought in terms of relations and background."

## BRITAIN AND DISARMAMENT

The Disarmament Conference is to assemble at Geneva next February. It will contain representatives of all the nations of the world, including those of Russia and United States, and hence the session will be the most momentous one. Its decisions will determine not only whether universal disarmament is practicable or not, but whether the ideals which underlie the League of Nations are to prevail, or whether Europe is going to return to the old system of an armed balance of power, which would mean the sure and certain prelude to another great world war. The *Round Table* for September has a thoughtful article on this subject. The writer speculates:

Unless all history is to be belied, Great Britain will and should divest herself of every kind of military commitment in Europe, though she would continue to co-operate in all the pacific activities of the League of Nations. Europe has to choose between two alternatives. Either she will become a community of disarmed States using the League system as the means of dealing with international problems from the standpoint of reason and justice, or she will split into two great armed combinations which may use the League as a useful piece of diplomatic machinery, but which will really rely upon their own military strength—*Machtpolitik*—to give them security, and to impose their own solutions of international disputes upon the world, or to prevent the adoption of solutions which do not suit themselves. Of the first system, Great Britain, with the Commonwealth, can be an ardent and convinced supporter. Of the second she cannot. If it is adopted she will doubtless continue to do her best to settle disputes peacefully, but she will resume—and she ought to resume—complete freedom to decide whether she will intervene or not in the event of a European war.

The writer is of opinion that the power of the League is at stake in the coming World Disarmament Conference, and if the true League system fails, the British Commonwealth will do more for its own security and for world peace by standing outside all military commitments in Europe—including those imposed at Locarno—and by acting in unison with the United States as an independent Power, doing its utmost to bring any war to an end on reasonable terms by whatever methods may seem best at the time than by entering into obligations which will force it to participate in every war.

## ADULT EDUCATION

Mr. H. H. Peterson, in the course of an article on "Adult Education" in a recent issue of the *Young Men of India*, urges the advancement of education through wireless broadcasting. He points out that:

There are some 7,00,000 villages in India. In many of these there are schools mostly of the primary grade. A few boys from each such village are in the schools, struggling away at the A.B.C.'s of their own particular language. Only a few complete the fourth year or attain literacy. It is doubtful if genuine literacy in the villages of India is progressing much faster than the natural growth of the population, in spite of large programmes and generous expenditure of money. If literacy is to be the sole means to education, then I doubt if any child born in 1931 will live to see India more than 25 per cent. educated.

Mr. Peterson warns us against confusing literacy with education. To him the aim of education is "to help a man to understand the world in which he lives".

This aim is comprehensive, progressive and includes all possible methods. Literacy is one of these, but does not attract adults and at present can reach only a few of the children. Some of the villagers of India can slowly bore their way through the wall of ignorance which surrounds them by learning to read and write. Most have not the time nor the incentive to do so. Is there no means whereby these millions can leap this wall of ignorance: no quicker method of reaching the mind of men than through the written word? Modern science has provided us with this new means in wireless broadcasting. The human voice is the oldest and the most effective method of communication between man and man. Wireless has given wings to this voice.

He foresees a small transmitting station in each district and good receivers and powerful loud speakers in each village and suggests that the programme should include interesting dramas, dialogues and other amusing and instructing entertainments. The writer points out that some wireless enthusiasts of Lahore Y. M. C. A. have established broadcasting in the near villages for the benefit of the illiterates and appeals to the Government to help this good cause.

Up to the present time no financial help has been received from Government for carrying on these experiments, but we always live in hope. Sooner or later someone in charge of the purse strings will surely see the possibilities of this magnificent new instrument and the ether waves will carry enlightenment to the darkest corners of India.



## FEDERATION OF INDIAN STUDENTS

Dr. Tarakanath Das, in an article on "International Federation of Indian Students" in the *Modern Review* for October, reviews the work of the Conference of Students at Friburg. German, British and American scholars who were interested in promoting international co-operation through students were also present at the Conference.

During the deliberations, Indian representatives from Great Britain bitterly complained of the ill-treatment accorded to them.

It was pointed out that in some of the British Universities Indian students are termed "blackies" by the British students. In Great Britain Indian students generally find difficulties in securing opportunities for practical training, and at times they cannot get admission into colleges and universities. Indian students from Berlin, Frankfurt, Munich, and Tübingen, on the other hand, spoke of their experience in Germany. They were in agreement that Indian students are very well treated; and German professors and others try to help them in every way and, above all, they do not find any social discrimination.

The writer then quotes from a letter confirming his observations:

It will be recalled that in 1927 all the cafes, restaurants and dance-halls imposed a colour ban, but after representation being made to various authorities a compromise was reached, and soon after the ban was raised. Again this year two cafes (Strand Cafe, and Cafe Teria) refuse to admit "coloured students" as a whole without any reason whatsoever. Edinburgh Indian Association approached the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and the Students' Representative Council of Edinburgh University, but so far no action has been taken by them and the "colour ban" still continues.

Indian representatives came to the conclusion that in the best interest of India and to protect Indians from humiliation, steps should be taken to divert Indian students from England to the continental culture centres. It is not that educational facilities in England are superior to those in other countries of Europe, but because students expect better jobs in the Government Service as British degrees are a passport for a high Government position in India.

The second Indo-Europe Conference held at Friburg also decided that Indian students in the continent of Europe and America should form an International Federation of Indian Students.

This organization may co-ordinate various cultural activities of Indian students in western countries in an effective manner. It seems that the most effective way to form an International Federation of Indian students is to have national organizations of Indian students in Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and other countries in the same line as the Hindustan Association of America or the Chinese Students' Association in particular country (say Great Britain or Germany) should form a local organization. These organizations should be federated into a national organization.

The writer, in concluding, hopes that an International Federation of Indian Students will be an asset to the cause of cultural co-operation between India and all progressive countries of the world.

## MR. GANDHI AND THE CHARKA

Mr. Theodore Maynard, writing in the *Catholic World*, says that Mr. Gandhi's Khaddar programme has been most effective, since it has fought its way against the domination of Lancashire, whose machines have destroyed the greatest of India's village industries. He writes:

The spinning wheel is also the most practical means for supplementing the pitifully slender means of the *ryot*. The vast mass of the people of India live always on the verge of starvation; and the failure of the monsoon produce food, when food is not to be had, it will at least provide the means of purchasing food except at times of the complete failure of the crops. No capital is needed to set one in operation; and anyone can be readily taught how to handle the wheel, which is besides so little laborious that the aged and small children can take their part in contributing to the family fund. Moreover, the work is always done at home, and is non-competitive, since all are approximately equalized in its use. Should its re-establishment prove successful, tremendous encouragement will be given to other peasant industries which have either perished, or are in danger of perishing, owing to the flooding of India by brummagem trash of various kinds.

If Mr. Gandhi can re-establish the spinning wheel (and he has very largely done so already), concludes Mr. Maynard, he can make the people of India economically independent, since their actual needs are few:

That would give the whole country confidence and increase the national dignity; and it would practically destroy the main reason for the British occupation: the need to find in India a market for British goods, especially cotton cloth.

It is not a question here of a conflict between the civilizations of East and West, but of a conflict between God and Mammon.

## THE ART OF THOMAS

Mr. A. D. Thomas is a young Indian Christian of Agra. Of the younger generation of artists who paint in the accepted style, mannerism and technique of Oriental art, he is one of the most promising and already, at a very early age, he has established his reputation as sensitive artist of fine imagination and great originality, writes Mr. G. Venkatachalam in the *C. S. S. Review* for September.

Thus his studies of Christ are a unique contribution to art:

"Great European masters have attempted to portray The Man of Sorrows as a Divine Being, a World Saviour, a great Humanist, as a child, and some of them have given us remarkable masterpieces of painting of this great Teacher. Thomas's pictures of the Christ, as child, man and divine-man are no less valuable, and they are unique in their true Oriental colouring and sentiment. The stately figure of Jesus, the compassionate expression on the face, the simple loose garments that clothe his body, all these are treated in an idealistic manner in the usual Indian style, and they are highly suggestive of the spiritual nature of the subject. There is no attempt at the dramatization of the figure, no saintly pose, no emphasis of martyrdom. Just a lovable human person who has flowered into divinity, "man raised to God-head."

## THE HINDU-MUSLIM PROBLEM

The latest number of *Triveni* has an article on the Hindu-Muslim question by Sirdar M. V. Kibe. Mr. Kibe says that the only obstacle to the welding of India into a nation is the attitude of the Musalmans. Neither the depressed classes who will be lifted by enlightened Indian opinion, especially when it will have the control of the administration and Government, nor the Christians who possess regional patriotism, are an obstacle. Mr. Kibe says:

The fact that Turkey, Iraq, Egypt, and the Hedjaz not to speak of such older States as Afghanistan or Persia, have developed regional patriotism, creates the hope that the Indian Muslims too may give up Pan-Islamism. Under the strong, even tyrannical, rule of the Bolsheviks in Soviet Russia, and perhaps the nationalist military Government of China, the Musalmans in those nations have been moulded and absorbed into them. Perhaps when India acquires a National Government, what has happened to Islam elsewhere may happen here. What to do till then is a problem that staggers imagination and baffles prophecy.

A powerful section of Musalmans oppose joint electorates based on adult suffrage. The writer says that the mentality of such people is obsessed by Pan-Islamism. He concludes:

There is an unanimity among all thinking men that, without the ghost of communal electorates being buried, India cannot have a place in the comity of nations. If it cannot be buried now, it will be so in due course, as the course of events is in that direction. It will be helped and even expedited if the Musalmans are weaned away from Pan-Islamism, by means of creating Provincial patriotism, at the same time taking care to keep the Central Government an unifying body and the principal in international affairs. Fear of losing communal culture will be minimised by the laying down of fundamental rights, such as the National Congress has in view and under consideration at the present moment. 'Nation first and everything afterwards,' should be the watchword of the inhabitants of the country, especially of the youth; and it can only be brought about by doing the constructive work of making India economically self-dependent, as she is meant to be by Nature, and banishing such evils as untouchability and religious bigotry, by abolishing the use of intoxicants, especially spirituous liquors and such deleterious drugs as opium, and by pursuing the principles of charity, liberty and truth.

## INDIA IN PERIODICALS

INDIA: THE TASK AHEAD. By Sir John Marriot. [The Fortnightly Review, October 1931.]

THE SEPARATION OF BURMA. By Mr. B. Shiva Rao, M.A. [Triveni, May-June 1931.]

DOUBTS AND DIFFICULTIES IN INDIA. [The Round Table, September 1931.]

MODERN INDIA THROUGH GERMAN EYES. By Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar. [Prabuddha Bharata, October 1931.]

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE BENGALI THEATRE. By Brajendranath Banerji. [The Modern Review, October 1931.]

REACTIONS TO RELIGION IN INDIA TO-DAY. By Mr. P. Chenchiah, B.A., M.L. [The Young Men of India, October 1931.]

INDIA'S INDUSTRIES: FACTS AND DREAMS. By Mr. M. P. Gandhi, M.A., F.R.E.S. [The Calcutta Review, October 1931.]

## UNITY OF RELIGIONS

Under the heading "The Unity of Asiatic Thought", Babu Bhagwandas contributes an article to the October number of the *Theosophist*. He says:

All religions have sacraments, *samskaras*, *sunnats*, initiations, solemn ceremonies originally intended to refine and improve mind and body. All use physical appliances to help concentration of the mind during devotions, like the *tasbeeh*, the *mala*, the rosary. All have *japa*, *askar*, litanies; *upavasa*, *roza*, fast; *jagarana*, *shab-bedari*, vigil. Vaidika Dharma, Islam, Zion, all unhappily believe that the Great God (as distinguished from personal sprites) can be propitiated by ceremonial bloodshed, and all therefore practise animal sacrifice; but all happily believe that *tark-i-haivanat*, *mamsa-varjana*, avoidance of flesh-meats, and *nafs-kushi*, *atma-tyaga*, self-sacrifice, are the higher and better way of life and worship.

Mr. Bhagwandas sees unity even in diversity. For he says that the agreement amongst various religions is so great that the followers of several religions all agree in the disastrous error of saying: "My religion is the only true one, or at least is far better than all others, and all others are heathen, pagan, *kafir*, *mlechcha*, and must be suppressed." Mr. Bhagwandas concludes:

All religions are in essence exactly the same, and that the essence comes from God, and is intended in all to lead back to God by the same processes of *Yoga* or *Suluk* (the seeds of which are sown in *sandhy-opasana*, *namaz*, prayer), and its accompaniments of *yama-niyama-asan-pranayama-pratyahara-dhyana-dharana-samadhi*, or *mujahida-ashghal* — *habs-i-dan* — *mura-giba-mukashifa-mushahida* (or *didar* or *muayyina*), i.e., vows, restraint of limbs and breath, abstraction of the mind from the senses, concentration, contemplation, rapt trance, ecstasy, beatific vision. All religions finally declare that He is all, *Hama U-st*, *Sarvam khal-vidam Brahma*, All is God, the Universe is I, from which it follows—in all, that since Man is in essence God, the service of fellow-men is the service of God.

## REAL EDUCATION

Professor Julian Huxley, writing in the *Contemporary Review*, asks: "Is it possible during education to give the average boy and girl such a taste for various values—beauty in art, say, or beauty in nature—that they will cherish them throughout life?"

"At present we for the most part stuff them with facts so as quite to ruin their taste for knowledge, and leave other values to look after themselves. It is the custom to say that modern

psychology delights in revealing the most unsavoury motives to our most respectable actions. It was Freud himself, however, who said that if the average man was in some ways much more immoral than he suspected, he was in others much more moral.

"There is, in fact, a reserve of the angelic in ordinary people which is unused and even unsuspected, because it does not fit with every-day ideas, because, in fact, we most of us are sub-consciously rather apologetic about such unpractical and inconvenient idealisms. Is there a way of tapping this reserve of moral power without letting it loose in the form of irrational prejudice or wild fanaticism, moral, religious or patriotic?"

"On these and hundreds of similar questions we are blankly ignorant. We build laboratories to test out how we can harness and concentrate electrical and chemical and mechanical forces; but the corresponding problem of harnessing and intensifying the latent powers and activities of human nature we have scarcely even begun to envisage."

## WORLD DEPRESSION

The events of the post-War years, says the *Indian Finance*, Calcutta, have oft been interpreted as the yearnings of war-worn humanity for abiding peace. The Hague gave place to Geneva; and an inane, non-moral body of international law was sought to be superseded by a new code of international morality. Pacts and protocols embody the feeble, but unmistakable desire for universal peace. But under the acid test of disarmament, the nations failed miserably. Then came the setback; over political failure, came economic disruption, and then chaos with its power of illimitable expansion. No phenomenon in the long history of man has embraced the whole world so thoroughly as the present economic depression. The last war was not a world war; the present depression is most unquestionably a world depression.

## BRITAIN AND INDIA

The Archbishop of York (Dr. Temple) writes in the *York Diocesan Leaflet* for September:

"Our thoughts are bound to be increasingly directed towards the Round Table Conference on India. Let those thoughts as far as possible be prayers. We are conscious of the critical importance of that Conference. We know that the future development of a great portion of the human race depends upon it. We appreciate the delicacy and intricacy of the problems. If we are trusting only to human wisdom, we must be filled with anxiety; and we are most of us without the special knowledge that would guide us to form even hopes with confidence. But we can all bring to this task which our statesmen have to discharge a contribution of priceless value. There is need for the expert's knowledge and the statesman's wisdom; but there is need above all for mutual good will, apart from which knowledge and wisdom must be futile. While we may fitly pray to God for guidance in particular decisions, we have no right to expect that guidance except when we have taken all possible pains to equip ourselves with information; and that part of the process we must leave to the responsible people. But for mutual good will prayer is itself the one supreme, indispensable, and sufficient means. And here what is possible or even right for the responsible statesmen to do depends on the mind of the public whom they represent. Let us then constantly pray that God will inspire both us and the people of India with the spirit of good will; that they and we may seek first His kingdom and His righteousness; and that those who represent both them and us may be guided to give effect wisely and practically to that good will, so that it may be strengthened and deepened. I warmly commend the Call to Prayer for India issued by the Indian Committee of the Conference of British Missionary Societies."

## UNEMPLOYMENT IN GERMANY

Prof. Arnold Toynbee who recently visited Germany, writing in the *Contemporary Review*, observes that the crux of problem in Germany is the future of the unemployed. The difficulty there is not in coping with the people who are work-shy. And it would indeed be easier if only they would be content to take the dole and not bother about work: "but here were people who were mad if they could not get work again":

I think that we have a particular interest in preventing a great nation that is now very near the end of the road, in their own estimation only five months off, from falling over the precipice in which this road ends. We are all tied together; and if one of us goes over the edge, it will put a strain on the rope and will drag us all nearer to the brink.

So not only on grounds of common humanity but on grounds of self-interest it is very much our concern, says Prof. Toynbee, to do what we can to save Germany from disaster at the beginning of next winter.

The time is short, and one thing that they said was, 'If you do find something that you can do, and decide to do it, for Heaven's sake don't do it by dribblets. If you do give us a Moratorium, don't let us off one penny at a time, or let us off this week for one week and next week for one month, and so on, like cat and mouse. The purpose of such a gesture is largely psychological, and if the remission is made by dribblets, it will not have the indispensable psychological effect. Let it be a big gesture.'

## THE PENALTY OF SUCCESS

Sir John Foster Fraser, writing in a British paper on "The Penalty of Success" says: There is much spilling of sympathy over folk who struggle and fail.

Just as the rich have no friends, the men who reach tops of trees may be looked up to, but nobody ever murmurs "Poor chaps!" I know that the loneliest man in the world is Signor Mussolini; the most harassed man Mr. Hoover, President of the United States; the most frightened man Comrade Stalin, of Moscow; the most nerve-racked man our own Mr. Ramsay MacDonald; the most sleepless man Kemal Pasha; the most perplexed man Mahatma Gandhi; the politically most unhappy man M. Briand, Foreign Minister of France—all perchers on the tree-tops.

## BRITAIN'S FINANCIAL CRISIS

Writing in the *Young India* about the financial crisis which was tackled on the 3rd week of September in Europe by suspending the obligation imposed in 1925 on the Bank of England to exchange gold bars for sterling notes, Mr. J. C. Kumarappa says that Britain's present trouble is not due to any sudden or temporary crisis but is the outcome of a steady downward movement during the last two decades.

"Since 1914, and especially during the period of the war, a great deal of the gold, which was held by Central Banks to back up the Currencies of European countries, found its way into the vaults of American Banks due to the enormous purchases of ammunition and armaments by the European powers from the United States. Ammunition is a commodity of wasteful nature and continuous buying of such materials in large quantities necessitated a flow of gold to America, as Europe was not then in a position to supply America with anything else in exchange. If a man bought fireworks continuously and sent them up in smoke, in course of time all his money would have found way into the pockets of the fireworks dealer; and that is what has happened to the European gold stock. In ordinary normal trade the inflow or outflow of gold is regulated automatically by the level of prices. A large stock of gold in the United States would have sent up the prices and thus checked American exports. But during the war the belligerent countries were not deterred by high prices nor could they find other suppliers, and America turned its virtual monopoly to good account and now owns over 40 per cent. of the world's stock of gold."

Great Britain, on the other hand, has been steadily losing ground as the financial or "sleeping" partner of the industrial world.

(1) She has not curtailed her wasteful expenditure on armaments to such proportion as to enable her to recover from the extravagance during the war. She still spends about £300,000 a day on it, while her indebtedness to the United States may be stated to be about £100,000 a

day. (2) Her people have increased their standard of living, and so they now consume 59.2 per cent. of their production as against 51.5 per cent. in 1924.

If her foreign trade had increased her income, an increased expenditure and large consumption could have been met without export of her gold stock. But unfortunately for her, even here she is losing ground steadily. In 1913, her export trade was 25.4 per cent. of the world trade in manufactures, while now it is only 19.9 per cent. Her total export this year has fallen by 44 per cent. over last years and her export to India by 60 per cent.

"The large decrease in England's exports is a very serious matter, as Great Britain is not a self-contained country but depends on her imports for her food and raw materials. She has to pay for her imports by her exports, and if these are not sufficient, then she has to ship gold out of the country. Her balance of trade in 1920 was £280 millions while last year it fell to £39 millions. Similarly of the loans issued in the London Money Market, 82 per cent. in 1913 was for undertakings abroad, while in 1928 it fell to 26 per cent."

Even last May when the Government of India issued 6 per cent. loans, of the 10 millions offered only 38 per cent. of the issue was taken up by the public, the rest falling on the underwriters who had to be paid up heavily. These reflect the steady decline in England's foreign credit and financial standing. Mr. Kumarappa contends:

Great Britain to-day is much in the position of a merchant who has increased his standard of living while his business is contracting. Although she has enormous accumulations of wealth, unless she takes drastic steps to remedy the evil, she will have to be prepared to yield the leading role in international finance to America. The facts stated above show clearly that the decline is not a mere temporary fluctuation but they register a continuous down grade movement. Since July last, Great Britain has had to export about £200 millions in gold. Hence she has found it expedient to suspend the obligation to exchange gold for lending long to Germany. Under such conditions can we wonder that foreign financiers have been insisting on a retrenchment in Great Britain's expenditures before they would be prepared to lend. This led to the fall of the Labour Government and the formation of a 'National' Government.

## Questions of Importance

## THE SUPPLEMENTARY BUDGET

In his Supplementary Budget Statement in the Legislative Assembly, on September 29, Sir George Schuster, Finance Member, declared the following deficits for the current and the next financial year:

## FALL IN REVENUE

1. Customs estimates by Rs. 10 crores.
  2. Income-tax by Rs. 1¼ crores.
  3. Railway Traffic Returns, Rs. 5,36 lakhs.
  4. General financial headings, Rs. 2,96 lakhs.
- Expected total for the current year, Rs. 19,55 lakhs.

Expected total for the next year, Rs. 19,50 lakhs.

Grand total of the two years' deficits of Rs. 39 crores and 5 lakhs to be made up barely within 18 months.

## RETRENCHMENT

Sir George then mentioned the following reductions expected to be made by the Government, as the result of the Retrenchment Committee's recommendations:

1. Civil side, Rs. 2½ crores.
2. Reductions in Army expenditure, Rs. 4½ crores.

## EMERGENCY REDUCTIONS

The Finance Member said that these cuts were considered absolutely essential and would operate from December 1, 1931. But they would not remain in force beyond March 1933. Necessary Parliamentary measures would be undertaken for giving effect to this decision.

## THE VICEROY'S SACRIFICE

Sir George Schuster announced that His Excellency the Viceroy had decided to impose on himself a cut of 20 per cent. and the members of his Council 15 per cent. of their pay.

## FRESH TAXATIONS

Fresh import duties, increased existing duties, a surcharge on all customs, tax on incomes between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 1,999, increased existing

income-tax, a surcharge on existing Excise duties, and increased inland postage rates are among the provisions of the Finance Bill.

A summary of the proposals for fresh taxation is as follows:

1. Import duty of six pies per pound on raw cotton.
2. Import duty of 10 per cent. on machinery.
3. Import duty of 10 per cent. on dyes.
4. Increase of duty on brown sugar from Rs. 6-12 to Rs. 7-4 per cw<sup>t</sup>.

## YARN AND PIECE-GOODS

5. Increase in import duty on artificial silk yarn and thread from 10 per cent. to 15 per cent. *ad valorem*.

6. Increase in import duty on artificial silk piece-goods, camphor and electric bulbs, from 20 per cent. to 40 per cent. *ad valorem*.

7. Surcharge of one quarter of existing rates on all Customs (import), including surcharges imposed by last Finance Act and also new duties except those on raw cotton, machinery and dyes.

## INCOME-TAX

8. Tax on incomes between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 1,999 at two pies in the rupee in the current financial year and four pies in the next financial year.

9. Surcharge of one-eighth of existing rates of income-tax and super-tax in the current financial year and of one quarter in the next financial year.

10. Surcharge of one quarter on all existing rates of Excise duties, including salt.

11. Increase in postage rates on all inland letters and post cards by 50 per cent., i.e., the rate for an ordinary inland letter will be 1½ annas, and for a post card nine pies.

## DATE OF EFFECT

The provisions regarding Customs and Excise duties, including salt, will take effect from the morning of September 30. Those for postal rates will take effect from a date to be fixed by the Governor-General-in-Council.

## BRITAIN'S FINANCIAL CRISIS

Writing in the *Young India* about the financial crisis which was tackled on the 3rd week of September in Europe by suspending the obligations imposed in 1925 on the Bank of England at the exchange gold bars for sterling notes, Mun of the Kumarappa says that Britain's present conversations: is not due to any sudden or temporary to our utter shame is the outcome of a steady down. The causes of the during the last two decades, composition of the Indian "Since 1914, and espays whom we are presumed to of the war, a great deal are those whose presence was held by Central Bank for an agreed solution to be found by League machinery, was limited to European countries alone. He said:

The members of the Indian delegation are convinced believers in the ideals of the League. They have been consistently loyal to those ideas and are keenly anxious for their progressive realisation. There are some who say that very little achievement can be claimed on the credit side of the League's account. I dispute that. What is it that the League is attempting to do? The war spirit which dominated nations for centuries, cannot all at once be transformed as by a magician's wand into international goodwill. What the League can legitimately claim is the creation of the appropriate atmosphere. Simultaneously with the creation of that atmosphere, the League has started on a career of winning victories of peace by fighting ignorance, disease, economic maladjustment and other maladies which afflict the body politic.

There is one aspect of the work done by the League during the past year that we in India find particularly satisfying. It has often fallen to the lot of the Indian delegation to criticise the League on the ground that its activities have taken little account of the countries east of Suez. We note with pleasure the very substantial effort the League has made this year and is continuing to make to come to the rescue of that great country China in the midst of her troubles. We further note the proposal to establish an office of the League in India, which should do much to increase the knowledge of the activities of the League among our population of 350 million inhabitants. We also express our cordial appreciation of the visit to India under the auspices of the League of that eminent economist, Sir Arthur Salter.

Nevertheless before I resume my seat, there is a note of warning that I feel I must sound. Though it is true that this year the activities of the League have covered a larger area than before, its European activities would appear to us to have to some extent trespassed on the purely diplomatic field. In our view the League machinery ought not to be employed for the purpose of arriving at regional agreements in the economic sphere. No doubt the urgency of the economic crisis accounts for this development, but we in Asia share in this crisis, and, to take an example, I do not think that the Agricultural Mortgage Credit Company should have been set up by means of League machinery in a form limited to European countries without Asiatic countries having an opportunity of putting forward their views at this Assembly.

## MR. MACDONALD'S EXHORTATION

At the same Meeting, the Premier said:

What I would like you to have in your minds after the rather depressing statements to which we have listened is this, that the British Government wants to go on. The British Government wants you to go on. The British Government will take its action if you cannot go on to the end, because we are determined to make such improvements consistent with our own ideas—in the Government of India as will make the Government of India something capable of greater and greater expansion towards liberty. That is what we want. Do not stand in our way because that is what is happening.

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## INDIA AND THE LEAGUE

Sir B. L. Mitter who has so ably led the Indian delegation to the League, emphasised again the obsession of the League with European problems to the exclusion of the problems of Asia. India's contribution to the League entitles her to a more adequate proportion of its service. Sir Brojendra points out, for example, that the Agricultural Credits Company which was set up by League machinery, was limited to European countries alone. He said:

The members of the Indian delegation are convinced believers in the ideals of the League. They have been consistently loyal to those ideas and are keenly anxious for their progressive realisation. There are some who say that very little achievement can be claimed on the credit side of the League's account. I dispute that. What is it that the League is attempting to do? The war spirit which dominated nations for centuries, cannot all at once be transformed as by a magician's wand into international goodwill. What the League can legitimately claim is the creation of the appropriate atmosphere. Simultaneously with the creation of that atmosphere, the League has started on a career of winning victories of peace by fighting ignorance, disease, economic maladjustment and other maladies which afflict the body politic.

There is one aspect of the work done by the League during the past year that we in India find particularly satisfying. It has often fallen to the lot of the Indian delegation to criticise the League on the ground that its activities have taken little account of the countries east of Suez. We note with pleasure the very substantial effort the League has made this year and is continuing to make to come to the rescue of that great country China in the midst of her troubles. We further note the proposal to establish an office of the League in India, which should do much to increase the knowledge of the activities of the League among our population of 350 million inhabitants. We also express our cordial appreciation of the visit to India under the auspices of the League of that eminent economist, Sir Arthur Salter.

Nevertheless before I resume my seat, there is a note of warning that I feel I must sound. Though it is true that this year the activities of the League have covered a larger area than before, its European activities would appear to us to have to some extent trespassed on the purely diplomatic field. In our view the League machinery ought not to be employed for the purpose of arriving at regional agreements in the economic sphere. No doubt the urgency of the economic crisis accounts for this development, but we in Asia share in this crisis, and, to take an example, I do not think that the Agricultural Mortgage Credit Company should have been set up by means of League machinery in a form limited to European countries without Asiatic countries having an opportunity of putting forward their views at this Assembly.

## Matters of Importance

## SRINAGAR RIOTS INQUIRY REPORT

Striking observations are made in the course of their report by the Commission that enquired into the Kashmir disturbances. The campaign of vilification of the Government was stage-managed by a handful of malcontents who failed to secure appointments to high posts or lost them for sheer inefficiency or worthless character. No Muslim can assert, says the report, that sedition and race-hatred are not inculcated in the masses of the Muslims through discourses in the mosque. That the Muslims have a legitimate grievance in regard to employment in the public services, is acknowledged by the Commission. The inference, however, that Muslims are excluded from service as Muslims, is wrong; the exclusion is due to backwardness in education.

Both intelligence and foresight were absent in the officers responsible for the preservation of law and order. The C. I. D. is inefficient and incompetent.

His Highness the Maharajah, the report notes, was the only person who acted with promptitude and foresight in any of the riots. Praise is bestowed on the Military also.

The report justifies the firing on July 13 and observes that it was not prolonged beyond necessity. The allegations of the Military helping the Hindus are found to be fabricated.

The Commission are fully satisfied that the Muslims enjoy complete religious freedom in the State. Employment of Muslims in larger numbers in the service of the State is recommended by the Commission, who do not favour restriction against domiciled subjects and employment of only hereditary State subjects.

## ANOTHER INQUIRY

A Committee consisting of Sir B. J. Dalal, President, Mir Waiz Muhammad Yusuf and Pandit Chanderjee, Advocate, High Court, has been appointed to inquire into cases of shooting at Srinagar, Anantnag and Shupian during September.

income-tax, a surcharge on existing Excise duties, and increased inland postage rates are among provisions of the Finance Bill.

ing criticism of the proposals for fresh taxation by Sir A.

Maharajah of Jy of six pies per pound on raw Sir Akbar Hyda.

to say that the position per cent. on machinery.

to a refusal to enter Fed. cent. on dyes.

had changed. All he had asked brown sugar from tion should be made such as to enter.

The Nawab of Bhopal said that silk yarn approached the problem of Federal Finance cent. spirit of active co-operation, but they must keep in view the fact that their revenue was restricted and their expenditure was likely to increase. They must know the implications of Federal Finance before deciding to enter.

The Maharajah of Bikaner affirmed that States' faith in Federation was unshaken. He added that they were not shifting ground or making impossible terms. But before entering federation they must know broadly the extent of their obligations. Expert Committee should, therefore, start work as soon as possible and indicate broad principles.

## GWALIOR AND FEDERATION

It is understood that the Gwalior State has refused to join the Federation, because the Minority Administration does not feel justified to commit the young ruler to any form of constitution which he may not approve of when he comes of age. It will be for the young Maharajah to decide to join the Federation or not when he comes of age.

## KASHMIR MUSLIMS

The Maharajah of Kashmir, replying to a Muslim Deputation which put forth a number of demands, assured it that he was appointing a Commission of Inquiry for the better association of the people with the Government of the State.

## INDIANS UNEMPLOYED IN SOUTH AFRICA

The serious unemployment among Indians in South Africa was brought to the attention of the Mayor of Durban in the course of an interview by Mr. John L. Roberts, President of the Natal Indian Vigilance Association. Mr. Roberts pointed out how the operation of the Wage Act had thrown thousands of Indians out of employment in South Africa.

A suggestion for the grant of a substantial subsidy to relieve the acute economic distress among all classes of the people was put forward by Mr. Roberts, who urged the Town Council to get in touch with the Union Government for this purpose. He was compiling statistics, which he would shortly submit to the Minister of Labour.

The creation of an Indian Labour Bureau on the same lines as the European organisation was also proposed. The extent to which the Indians have been hit by the unemployment may be seen from the fact that under the repatriation scheme, 345 Indians left Durban recently for India, the biggest number in the past 18 months.

## EMIGRATION TO NYASALAND

A communique issued in the last week of September says: Intending emigrants to Nyasaland are warned that owing to increasing unemployment among Indian immigrants to that Protectorate due to trade depression, the Government of that country have decided to enforce the condition mentioned in Section 15 of the Immigration Restriction Ordinance No. 17 of 1924 in every case in which the principal Immigration Officer thinks it desirable. Under this section an immigration officer can demand a deposit of £50 from an immigrant on his arrival in Nyasaland which amount is returned to the immigrant after six months if he is able to show that he does not come within Section 4 of the Ordinance.

Under Section 4 (C) of the Ordinance, any person who is likely to become a public charge, either by reason of infirmity or because he is not in possession for his own use of means sufficient for his support and of any dependents with him, may be deemed a prohibited immigrant and may be removed from the Protectorate by a warrant issued by a Magistrate under the Ordinance.

## INDO-UNION CONFERENCE

The Indian Conference will be held between January 10 and 15, 1932, at Capetown. As a result of the negotiations held during the last Parliamentary session between the Minister of the Interior and the Leader of the Opposition, General J. C. Smuts, two prominent leaders of the South African Party, who are members of the House of Assembly, will form part of the Union delegation to the Conference. These South African Party members will be: Mr. Patrick Duncan, M.P., and Mr. G. Heaton Nicholls, M.P.

The following are the official figures of Indians who have been repatriated since the Capetown Agreement came into force in 1927:

|       |           |
|-------|-----------|
| Men   |           |
| Women | ... 3,559 |
| Boys  | ... 1,546 |
| Girls | ... 1,484 |
|       | ... 1,393 |
| Total | ... 7,982 |

## IMMIGRATION CONTROL

The Council of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association has decided to send a cable to Mr. MacDonald, Chairman of the Round Table Conference, suggesting that in the future constitution of India, provision should expressly be made giving India full right to control immigration on the basis of reciprocity, the same as is enjoyed by the self-governing dominions.

## RAILWAY CUTS

Cuts in the salaries of all employees of Indian State Railways are recommended by the Railway Retrenchment Sub-Committee whose report is now published.

The Committee suggest that the cut should begin with half an anna in the rupee on incomes of Rs. 30 per mensem and under, and should progress gradually.

Recommendations involving economies totalling Rs. 3 crores (apart from the Rs. 5 crores already effected under instructions from the Railway Board) are made by the Committee. But a gap of Rs. 11 crores still remains to be filled, for which purpose a detailed inquiry by another body is proposed.

Referring to the office of the Railway Board, the Committee recommend that the number of directors be reduced from three to two, and Deputy Directors from five to four; and also abolition of the posts of Deputy Secretary and Assistant Director of Finance.

Other recommendations include the abolition of the post of Director of Railway Audit and of the Railway Rates Advisory Committee, and the appointment in its place of an *ad hoc* Committee.

Abolition of the Central Publicity Bureau is also suggested by the Committee, who consider that for publicity purposes two officers should work with a small staff under the Railway Board.

## EMPIRE AIR MAILS

The England-India and England-Africa air mails will be independent of each other after October 17. There will be two weekly Imperial Airways flying boats serving, instead of one, on the Mediterranean section of the Empire air routes. The Indian air line will be *via* Palestine, instead of Egypt, and India will be reached in 1½ hours under six days.

## INDIA AND LANCASHIRE

Mr. Andrews contributes to *The Manchester Guardian* the result of his recent enquiries regarding the industrial disaster caused in Lancashire by the decline of Indian trade. Giving the Lancashire side of the picture, he concludes: "I cannot help wishing earnestly some method might be devised whereby the blow so suddenly struck might be lightened and means found whereby India and Lancashire in human ways could find together an economic fellowship to replace economic boycott."

## ABNORMAL EXPORT OF GOLD

Gold valued at nearly two crores of rupees was booked by S. S. *Rawalpindi* which sailed on Saturday, October 3. This unprecedented outflow of the yellow metal created a stir in commercial and mercantile circles, and efforts are being made to have the flight of gold stopped.

The Committee of the Southern India Chamber of Commerce has sent a telegram to the Finance Member of the Government of India, drawing attention to the flight of gold from India and requesting the Government to take steps to check it and conserve the gold available in the country.

## TRADE REVIVAL

A revival of the Lancashire cotton industry is evidenced by the early re-opening of the Grenades Mill, Oldham, containing 141,000 spindles which has been closed since October 1930, and the new Regent Mill, at Failsworth, one of the best equipped mills in Lancashire, containing 103,000 ring spindles which has been closed for several years.

## DELHI CLOTH MILLS

Lala Sri Ram, Secretary, Delhi Cloth Mills, informs the *Associated Press* that in accordance with the recommendation of the Whitley Commission, and in anticipation of Government's action thereupon, the management of the mills have reduced the working hours from 60 to 54 a week.



## THE BARDOLI INQUIRY

The terms of reference of the Bardoli Inquiry, presided over by Mr. R. G. Gordon, which commenced at Surat, on October 5, are as follows:

Whether a large amount was demanded of the Khedars of the villages under inquiry than would have been demanded if the same method as that adopted to collect revenue in the other villages of Bardoli Taluq after March 5, 1931, had been adopted in the inquiry villages and whether they had been coerced to pay that amount through the police force. If so, evidence may be adduced to show what amount was collected by such coercion.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Advocate, made a lengthy statement before the Inquiry Officer, at Bardoli, in submitting the Congress case.

He reviewed the events, beginning with civil disobedience movement which led up to the no-tax campaign, the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement, Mr. Gandhi's conversations with the revenue officials and efforts to collect the land revenue from those peasants who were in a position to pay the current dues. He then went on to say how coercion was used against the very peasants who had paid at the behest of Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Vallabhai Patel to the maximum of their ability, and how Mr. Patel had informed Mr. Gandhi to that effect while the latter was interviewing the Viceroy at Simla.

He then submitted that the points to be determined by the Inquiry Officer were, whether the police were employed in collecting revenue; what were their acts and conduct in connexion with such collection; what amount, if any, was collected as the result of the employment of coercion; and whether the revenue so collected was in excess of what would have been paid if the same standard as was applied to other villages had been applied in these cases.

## INDIAN MANGOES FOR BRITAIN

The Deputy Trade Commissioner, Mr. Malik, interviewed by Reuter, states that the experiment of popularising Indian mango fruits in Britain has proved successful, and anticipates a great demand for mangoes during the next season.

## AGRICULTURAL CREDIT

The action of the League of Nations in the matter of establishing agricultural credit for certain European countries only, was criticised by Sir B. L. Mitter, Indian Delegate to the Assembly of the League, in the address reviewing the report on the work of the League.

He deplored that Asiatic countries had no opportunity of putting forward views in this matter.

Sir B. L. Mitter welcomed the work of the League in China and the proposal to establish a branch office of the League in India.

## ENGLISH BEES FOR INDIA

Mr. A. H. Bowen, of Cheltenham, is transporting to India by aeroplane two colonies of English bees, each containing about 20,000 bees. This is the first time bees are carried by air for such a long distance. Special precautions are taken to prevent the pilots being stung.

## THE WHITLEY REPORT

A correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, in the course of an article reviewing the Whitley Commission's report, says: 'It looks as if this very expensive volume which cost the Government of India about ten lakhs is likely to be filed for future reference.'

## CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES IN MADRAS

The Committee appointed by the Madras Provincial Co-operative Conference to examine the new official bill to amend the Madras Co-operative Societies Act, expresses the opinion that the Bill is a retrograde measure, that it assigns excessive powers to the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, and that its provisions are inconsistent with the aim of entrusting the Co-operative Movement to the people.

## GUIDE TO HEALTH

Dr. Anandam, Proprietor of the Tamil Medical Hall, Madras, who has for the last two decades made a speciality of treating without operation cases of hernia, carbuncle, hydrocele, piles, etc., gives some useful advice for the proper upkeep of health. To live long and healthy what is required is, primarily to lead a simple and virtuous life. To the invalid, he gives the following advice:

Don't over-exert your body and mind.  
Take rest commensurate with your exertions.  
Work in the open as far as possible.  
Drink only hot water, cooled down.  
Avoid non-vegetarian food as far as possible.  
Control your mind, not giving way to greed, grief, anger, fear, etc.  
Take your bed at 9 o'clock in the night.  
Do not wear tight dress.  
Be moderate in food and sexual enjoyments.

## OPEN WINDOWS

Mr. J. B. S. Haldane, the biologist, writes in the *Daily Express*:

"I was brought up to sleep with the window open, and had about a cold a month through the winter. Since I married, my bed-room window is shut in cold weather, and I only get about two colds a year.

"Of course, when a number of people sleep in one room, the windows must be kept open. If this is not done, any one suffering from a great variety of diseases, including diphtheria and cerebro-spinal meningitis, will give it to others.

"But, except in overcrowded sleeping quarters, or in hot weather, I do not believe in open windows at night."

## THE LATE LT.-COL. D. G. RAI

We regret to record that Lt.-Col. D. G. Rai, I.M.S. (retired), who was for some time in charge of the General Hospital, Madras, died of diabetic coma at the Ripon Hospital, Simla, on October 2.

## ARTIFICIAL FOOD

New prospects for artificial production of food-products have been opened up, according to Professor Cloud, by the success of German scientists in producing synthetic albumen from coal after many years' experimenting.

Synthetic albumen is claimed to be less expensive than natural albumen and is equally pure.

The discovery was announced by Professor Cloud in a speech at a meeting of the Coal Society at Bochum.

Albumin or Albumen was originally used to denote the main constituent of the white of eggs. It was then applied to any of the substances of similar properties and composition found in vegetable and animal cells and also in milk and eggs. These substances are now known as proteins, and the albumins are regarded as a particular group of this very complex class.

That little touch which means so much!

When the head aches and the body pains, a little touch of

LITTLE'S ORIENTAL BALM

Made in India since 1885

brings such grateful relief!



Harmless on the tenderest skin.

Sold at all Chemists and Stores

E. Dec. '31.



## DEATH OF THOMAS EDISON

The death, at the great age of 84, of the celebrated American inventor Thomas A. Edison, removes perhaps one of the greatest men of our time from the scene of his labours. The United States has many excellent men of science, many of them practical research workers of whom little is heard, some of them men of real scientific distinction, like Michelson, but Edison was far the most famous and representative of them all. "The man who has been responsible, wholly or in part, for the invention of electric lighting, modern telegraphy and telephony, the phonograph and the cinematograph has immense claims on our respect. In the last few years, Edison was still inventing, still hard at work in his laboratory. Even though in his lifetime he has become almost a legendary figure and had a memorial institute and museum erected in his honour at Dearborn, he has maintained the closest touch with youth. Twice in recent years, some lucky American boy has been selected by him to be trained in his profession of "inventing".

## COLOUR PHOTOGRAPHY

Many distinguished scientists, including Sir Frederick Hopkins, President of the Royal Society, were much impressed by a demonstration at the factory of Spicers, Limited, Cambridgeshire, of a new colour film process which that firm has developed. The guests, we are told, were shown a colour film of their arrival a few minutes after reaching the works. The invention was the result of an accidental discovery made during the manufacture of a fancy-coloured paper and has been carefully developed and perfected during the last two years. The manufacturers have now on a commercial basis what is considered an unrivalled process of colour photography, both cheap and efficient.

## FARADAY CENTENARY EXHIBITION

Five thousand of the Empire's most brilliant scientists crowded the Albert Hall to instal General Smuts as the hundredth President of the British Association. The occasion coincided with the centenary of Michael Faraday, in whose honour has been held the exhibition of electrical apparatus. General Smuts's second speech of the day was delivered at the opening of the Faraday Centenary Exhibition, at which the company also listened to a speech of American greeting, relayed by wireless from New York.

## IMPREGNATING TIMBER

A process has been developed at the University of California for impregnating timber with preservatives, while it is still in the living form as a tree. Holes are bored in the tree trunk, near the ground, and a solution of copper and arsenic is injected at the season when the sap is rising. The preservative is said to pervade the wood completely within twenty-four hours, and to make it immune to the attacks of termites and marine borers. The process costs about 5 dollars for a large tree.

## GERMAN TELEPHONE

German telephone engineers are experimenting with an attachment by means of which written words may be sent over the line in addition to sound. The listener, using the German device, switches it on whenever he has difficulty in understanding a word. The speaker then spells the word and it appears before the listener in writing. German long-distance lines, it is expected, will be the first on which the attachment will be employed.

## RADIO ON CRADLES

Wireless has invaded the American nursery, and cradles are being sold with a microphone attachment to amplify baby's cry to mother downstairs. The device has been developed further to permit parents to "listen-in on baby" even though they are spending the evening at a neighbour's house.

## A NEW TITLE FOR DR. TAGORE

The title of "Kavisarvabhowma" (World Poet or "King of Poets") was conferred upon Dr. Rabindranath Tagore by the Board of Sanskrit



RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Studies at a special convocation held at the Sanskrit College in the last week of September. The diploma was formally given to Dr. Tagore in a silver casket by Dr. Surendra Nath Das Gupta, Principal of the College.

Replying, Dr. Tagore deprecated the attempts made by a certain section of educationists in Calcutta to exclude Sanskrit from the curriculum of compulsory subjects at the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University. He maintained that there was a close affinity between Sanskrit and Bengali, and that the development of the latter greatly depended on the cultivation of the former.

## THE INDIAN DAILY MAIL

The *Indian Daily Mail* of Bombay which had suspended publication for some time past, has again made its appearance under the editorship of Mr. Pothan Joseph. It is stated in the first issue of the resurrected journal that it has been 'reorganized under auspices that ensure the prosperous career of public service for which it was sponsored eight years ago'. Mr. N. H. Belgaumwalla has acquired control of the paper.

## BOOKS AS SOPORIFICS

A curious use of books as soporifics is discussed in Mr. Holbrook Jackson's delightful book on "The Anatomy of Bibliomania". Referring to the books that are apt to send people to sleep, he says:

"As soporifics, promoters of sleep that knits up the ravel'd sleeve of care, they are of proved value. Sometimes, says a reliable witness, we read for a while and then feel as though we could peacefully go to sleep. Sometimes we struggle desperately to gum our failing attention to the acute analysis and deductions of our author. Our eyes squint and swim. Our head dizzies. We feel drunk, and dropping the book from loose hands, just manage to get the light out before falling back into a dense and miry slumber. Those neat lines of Alexander Pope tell us the same:

"Soft creeping, words on words, the sense compose,  
At ev'ry line they stretch, they yawn, they doze,  
As to soft gales top-heavy pines bow low  
Their heads, and lift them as they cease to blow;  
Thus oft they rear, and oft the head decline,  
As breathe, or pause, by fits, the airs divine.  
And now to this side, now to that, they nod,  
As verse, or prose, infuse the drowsy God."

## NEWSPAPERS POPULAR AS EVER

People are buying newspapers as much as ever according to Mr. Harold Speddings, of Sheffield.

"It is very pleasing," he says "to be able to record that despite another twelve months of acute and general depression in trade, circulations generally and in particular of morning, evening and Sunday newspapers have been well maintained. "The vast change in the tastes of the reading public is exemplified in the tremendous circulations of the Sunday newspapers."

## MUSIC IN EDUCATION

Sir Radhakrishnan, in a recent speech, emphasising the value of music in education, said:

"The politics of our country are now in a witch's cauldron wherefrom will emerge a fresh and new charter of our liberties. We are now greatly interested in altering the existing constitution in a way that would give us complete political freedom. I ask the question: If we are completely free to-morrow, how are we going to express our freedom? In what way are we going to embody our new sense of freedom? Are we to copy down the rush, the swing, and the sweep of busy life resulting from the activities of what is called modern civilisation, or are we to appreciate the true significance of the real values of life and establish an order of things that would make this world a veritable heaven for all men to live in? There is so much attention now paid to building up an adequate political machinery and constructing an economic prosperity for this land. That is, of course, necessary. But when once we gain freedom, are we going to subject ourselves to the forces of civilisation which are now invading this land? Are we going to regard man as an animal, of course a keen-minded animal, with the development of whose mind and body only we are concerned, while the soul is something deeper and a stranger to us, starving to virtual death? When we regard the soul as an essential entity in man, should not we give a proper nourishment to it in the course of our education? Our present system of education is intended for the training of our bodies and the training of our minds. Should not education touch that something which is vital and deeper in our being, that which is called the soul in man, which is other than the mere logical mind? History, science and criticism are, of course, very necessary, but our system of education should necessarily contain something that vibrates in the soul."

## BENGAL STUDENTS' CONFERENCE

In his presidential address at the Bengal Students' Provincial Conference, Mr. Satyamurthi



MR. S. SATYAMURTHI

made a spirited appeal to the youth of Bengal and propounded a scheme of rural reconstruction of which our ever-growing number of unemployed educated young men will do well to take full advantage. "Go," he said, "and settle in a village where you are not altogether unknown, take interest in its affairs, help the villagers to resist the petty tyranny of the small revenue, irrigation and police officials, represent their grievances to the higher authorities, help them to keep the village clean and sanitary, help them to fight epidemics, teach their children in a small pial school; and by and by you will find a place in their hearts, and also in their purses."

## A BAN ON SCHOOLBOYS

The Ministry of Education, Bengal, has issued a strict order that boys who absent themselves for demonstrations in honour of those convicted of terrorism must be immediately sent out of schools.

## LAW OFFICERS' FEES

The official revelation that the principal law officers of the Crown, Sir W. Jowitt, Attorney-General, Sir J. Melville, Solicitor-General, and his successor, Sir S. Cripps, have received £57,000 between them for 21 months' work, caused M.P.'s and the public to gasp, but it did not surprise lawyers.

Sir William Jowitt's share of salary and fees, £39,218, works out at about £24,000 a year, an amount more than the combined salaries of:

The Lord Chancellor (as Judge) £6,000 (also £4,000 as Speaker of House of Lords):

|                              |            |
|------------------------------|------------|
| The Lord Chief Justice       | ... £8,000 |
| The Master of the Rolls      | ... £6,000 |
| The Director of Prosecutions | .. £2,500  |

Legal authorities point out that while the high salaries and fees in a Labour Government have caught the popular imagination, they are by no means unusual.

Far greater sums were earned by Lord Birkenhead and other distinguished lawyers during what were for them the palmy days of the War. Some of the law officers then received enormous sums as prize money court fees.

A law officer during those years is stated to have netted £100,000 from this source alone.

## CEYLON'S FIRST LADY BARRISTER

Miss Winifred Rodrigo, daughter of Dr. W. P. Rodrigo of Bambalapitiya, has returned, says the *Ceylon Patriot*, after having taken an Honours degree in History at Oxford University. Miss Rodrigo was in residence at St. Hugh's College, Oxford, where she went up in October 1929. She is also a member of Lincoln's Inn where she has been reading for the Bar. She is returning to England next year to be called to the Bar. Before Miss Rodrigo proceeded to England, she had obtained the B.A. (Hon.) degree of the London University, taking up the examination from the Ceylon University College and being placed in the second class.

## THE LATE SIR ARNOLD WHITE

We deeply regret to record the passing away of Sir Arnold White some time Chief



SIR ARNOLD WHITE

Justice of the High Court of Madras. Sir Arnold was Chief Justice, Madras, for nearly 14 years. In 1898 he was sent out to Madras as Advocate-General, and in 1900 was elevated to the position of Chief Justice. Steeped in the best traditions of the English Bar and of the Bench, Sir Arnold was courteous and considerate to the members of the Bar and took a sympathetic interest in their welfare. He was well-versed in law and took part in important decisions during the time he was Chief Justice, one of his decisions being in the Karvetnagar case which was the last case argued before him by the late Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar. "Every litigant," declared the Advocate-General in referring to the event in the Madras High Court, "who went out of Sir Arnold White's Court did so with a feeling that his case had had a fair hearing." Praise could go no further. Sir Arnold was an old and valued contributor to the *Indian Review*, and in fact the first article in the very first Number of this Magazine, one and thirty years ago, was from his pen.

## PROF. EINSTEIN AND MR. GANDHI

Gandhiji has received a message from Prof. Alfred Einstein, the great German scientist and philosopher. It runs as follows:

"You have shown by all you have done that we can achieve the ideal even without resorting



PROF. EINSTEIN

to violence. We can conquer those votaries of violence by the non-violent method. Your example will inspire and help humanity to put an end to a conflict based on violence with international help and co-operation guaranteeing peace to the world. With this expression of my devotion and admiration I hope to be able to meet you face to face."

## THE LATE SIR B. K. MULLICK

Sir Basanta Kumar Mullick who died last month in London in his 63rd year, was appointed a member of the India Council in August 1929. He had retired from the Indian Civil Service in January of that year, after relinquishing the post of Temporary Member of the Bihar Executive Council. Sir Basanta Kumar was at one time a Judge of the Calcutta High Court and acting Chief Justice of the Patna High Court.

## TAGORE'S MESSAGE TO GANDHIJI

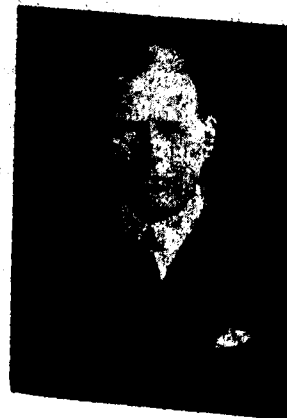
In the course of a message on the occasion of the celebrations in honour of Gandhiji's sixty-third birthday, Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore said:

The greatest enemy which has been dominating our country is the gigantic monster of unreason and superstition, caste prejudice and religious bigotry, which are more potent in their malignity than any power represented by strangers from across the seas. That is what we have to remember on the occasion of the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi, who has given us the courage of new life and determined effort for freedom.

To Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Tagore has sent the following cable: "Our combined homage of reverent love to you on the happy occasion of your birthday."

## SIR HUBERT SAMS

Sir Hubert Sams who is due shortly to retire from the Director-Generalship of Posts and Telegraphs in India, and from public service in this



SIR HUBERT SAMS

land, has accepted the appointment of Bursar at Peterhouse, Cambridge. This will take him back to his own old College, and old Fellow Collegians of his are offering him their warm congratulations.

## SIR J. A. MAUNG GYI

His Majesty the King-Emperor has been pleased to approve the extension of the term of office of the Hon'ble Sir Joseph Augustus Maung Gyi as a member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Burma until the 1st of January 1932.

## PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT

Parliament was prorogued on Wednesday the 7th October, and the King held a meeting of the



KING GEORGE

Privy Council the next day at which the proclamation for the dissolution of Parliament was signed. The King's prorogation speech reads:

"I have been following with interest and sympathy the resumed deliberations of the Round Table Conference. I trust that joint endeavour may produce an agreement on a plan which will commend itself to the judgment of wise statesmanship.

"In the last few weeks my people have been called upon to face a financial and economic crisis which continues to give cause for anxiety. The measures taken to meet this emergency involve sacrifices from every member of the community. I am confident that, as on former occasions in the history of this country, every citizen will co-operate to the utmost in restoring prosperity of the nation."

## LORD PEEL ON INDIA'S DEBT

When India's debt is thoroughly investigated, it will probably be found that India has assets almost, if not entirely, equal to the whole of her debt, said Earl Peel, explaining the report of the Finance Sub-Committee, over which he presided, to the Federal Structure Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference, on the 13th October.

## BRITAIN AND INDIA

At a reception in honour of Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Henderson observed:

"All of us who are in every way associated with the Labour Movement, have no doubt whatsoever that we must solve the problem as India desires.

"We have made our position unmistakably plain for the last so many years, and I feel there is not much difference between the position of the Indian people and that taken up by us.

"We fully sympathise with the desires and aspirations of the Indian peoples that they should have representative self-government. It cannot, in our judgment, come too soon."

Said Mr. Gandhi in reply:

"I would consider it nothing if we had to pay a million lives for our liberty, but I hope the Congress will conduct its campaign throughout non-violently and truthfully. So, whether it is with one life or a million that we have to pay, I am hoping and praying that it will be possible for the future historian to say that India fought and won her liberty without shedding human blood."

## THE LABOUR MANIFESTO

The Labour Party, in its election manifesto, advocates nationalisation of the country's banking system and re-opening of negotiations with a view to cancellation of War debts and reparations. The Party has no confidence in any attempt to bolster up bankrupt capitalism by tariffs. Instead, it urges a definite planning of industry and trade in order to produce the highest standard of life for the nation.

In this connection we may add that the Labour Party Conference, at Scarborough, unanimously passed a resolution, reaffirming its belief in the right of Indian peoples to full self-Government and self-determination, and supporting the Round Table Conference as a means of establishing this right.

## THE LATE SIR THOMAS LIPTON

Sir Thomas Lipton, the famous yachtsman, died in London on October 2nd. Born in 1850 of Irish parentage, Sir Thomas had little schooling, and at the age of nine he became an errand boy at half a crown a week. His next job brought him four shillings a week, and he lost it subsequently. At 17, Sir Thomas went to America in the steerage of an old emigrant ship to try his luck in a new country.

Lipton's to-day is a firm with a capital of nearly four million pounds. It has between six and seven hundred shops and depots scattered all over the world.

Five times Sir Thomas attempted to lift the America's Cup. *Shamrock I* tried in 1899. *Shamrock II* in 1901. *Shamrock III* in 1903; *Shamrock IV* in 1914 was prevented from competing by War and was defeated in 1920; and *Shamrock V* which raced last year met with defeat. The reward of his efforts was the admiration of the sporting world of America, where there was no more popular figure.

On Sir Thomas' return from America in December last after his yacht had failed to lift the Cup, he brought back with him a massive gold loving cup as the tribute of the people of the United States to "the world's best loser".

## GIANT STRENGTH OF A YOUTH

Karachi papers are full of praise for Dinkar Rao Kikray, a Maharatta youth of nineteen for his wonderful feats of strength. In appreciation of his prowess a public exhibition was held at the Jain Vyayam Shala, at which he was awarded medals and other tokens of esteem.

Amongst the feats which were shown at this function, was the breaking of a chain wound round the chest. Mr. Kikray, taking a deep breath and expanding his chest snapped the chain in twain with consummate ease. Keeping a heavy stone on the chest and allowing an iron bar  $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick to be hammered into two was another performance.

## DULEEP'S SHEAF OF RECORDS

A London message to *The Statesman* says: K. S. Duleepsinhji has scored over 2,500 runs in first-class cricket for the third season in



PRINCE DULEEP SINGH

succession and thus joins a select quintette who have accomplished the feat. Hendren had a sequence of four, and Hobbs also reached this aggregate during four consecutive playing seasons. Sequences of three have been registered by Abel, Hayward (twice) and C. B. Fry. Duleepsinhji already has several batting records to his credit. His 173 against Australia last year is the highest for England by an amateur in a Test match in this country, and he shares with the late R. E. Foster the honour of making two hundreds in a match against the Players at Lord's. He is one of five batsmen who have played innings of over 100 and 200 in the same match and his 333 vs. Northants at Hove last year is the greatest individual score ever made in a single day in a county championship match. During the three seasons 1929-31, Duleepsinhji has scored 28 centuries, two more than Sutcliffe, the leading professional.

## £1,000 GOLF TOURNAMENT

A. H. Padgham, assistant professional at Royal Ashdown Forest, beat Mark Seymour (unattached) by 5 and 4 over 36 holes in the final of the £1,000 Golf Tournament.

## UNIFICATION OF LAWS

Addressing the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva, on September 9, Sir Brojendra



SIR B. L. MITTER

Mitter who spoke on behalf of India, said in the course of his observations:

India is also keenly interested in the activities of the League in the field of the unification of laws. We appreciate the League's efforts in the matter of the unification of the laws on bills of exchange, promissory notes and cheques. For our part, we have recently brought our law on the sale of goods into line with the law in England and America; the law of the Dominions is practically the same. Here, as in fact in other branches of commercial law, the lead of the League will be warmly appreciated in India.

## ROYAL FAMILY'S ANNUITIES

In connection with His Majesty the King's voluntary offer of a cut in his civil list, it may be of interest to learn that the Civil List of King Edward VII amounted to £470,000, in addition to which annuities to other members of the Royal Family accounted for an additional annual sum of £106,000. The Select Committee appointed on June 14, 1910, reported on July 7, and made recommendations which were adopted by the

House of Commons. These recommendations, as modified by subsequent events, are as under:

|                                  | £        |
|----------------------------------|----------|
| Their Majesties' Privy Purse ... | 110,000  |
| Salaries of Household ...        | 125,800  |
| Expenses of Household ...        | 193,000  |
| Works ...                        | 20,000   |
| Royal Bounty ...                 | 13,200   |
| Unappropriated ...               | 8,000    |
|                                  | £470,000 |

|                                         | £      |
|-----------------------------------------|--------|
| Duke of York ...                        | 25,000 |
| Princess Louise (Duchess of Argyll) ... | 6,000  |
| Duke of Connaught ...                   | 25,000 |
| Princess Beatrice ...                   | 6,000  |
| King Edward VII's Daughters ...         | 18,000 |
| His Majesty's Younger Children ...      | 26,000 |

£106,000

## THE UNTOUCHABLES AND THE R. T. C.

The following cable has been sent to Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. MacDonald, Chairman, Minorities Sub-Committee, on behalf of the Shraddhanand Memorial Trust, Delhi:

The depressed classes do not want separate electorate. They are fully satisfied with adult franchise. No confidence in Dr. Ambedkar.

On behalf of the untouchables of Benares, Chaudhary Jagannath and Chaudhary Bharos, members of the United Provinces Legislative Council, have sent the following cable to Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Dr. Ambedkar, Lord Sankey, Mr. MacDonald, etc.:

We untouchables and elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council from Benares, the stronghold of Hindu Pandits and influential Zemindars, repudiate Dr. Ambedkar's representation and stand for joint electorates and adult franchise.

## EDGAR WALLACE

It is understood that a salary of £800 a week will be paid to Mr. Edgar Wallace who is under a contract which he signed in London recently with Radio Keith Orpheum film combine, by which he agrees to go to Hollywood for three months to write film stories for the combine, while continuing his ordinary literary work.

## Diary of the Month

- Sept. 21. Select Committee Report on Press Bill is presented to the Assembly.
- Sept. 22. Gandhiji in the Federal Committee protests against Government's decision on exchange over the heads of the Legislature.
- Sept. 23. Gandhiji addresses M.P's at the Committee Room.
- Sept. 24. Muslim malcontents defy authority in Kashmir. Police' firing in Srinagar.
- Sept. 25. Sir Ali Imam, Col. Gidney and Mr. Fazlul Haq reach London.
- Sept. 26. The All-Parties Sikh Conference at Amritsar rejects Congress Working Committee's formula for the communal settlement.
- Sept. 27. Gandhiji is welcomed in West Bradford (Lancashire).
- Sept. 28. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald opens the Minorities Sub-Committee this morning.
- Sept. 29. Sir George Schuster presents the Supplementary Budget in the Assembly. —Gandhiji confers with Sir Samuel Hoare.
- Sept. 30. Personnel of the Burma Round Table Conference is published.



DR. ANNIE BESANT

- Oct. 1. The 85th Birthday of Mrs. Besant is celebrated with great enthusiasm at Adyar, Madras.
- Oct. 2. Gandhiji's birthday is celebrated in all the principal cities of India.

- Oct. 3. Minorities Conference resumes its sitting, Gandhiji presiding.
- Oct. 4. Sir Mirza Ismail circulates suggestions regarding Federal Legislature.
- Oct. 5. Minorities Committee discussions fail. —British Cabinet decides on a General Election.
- Oct. 6. Kashmir Durbar announces general amnesty on Maharaja's birthday. —Press Bill is passed by Council of State.
- Oct. 7. Parliament is prorogued and the General Election is announced.
- Oct. 8. At the Minorities Committee Meeting, Mahatma Gandhi announces the failure of informal talks and the Committee adjourns.
- Oct. 9. Lord Sankey appeals to Members of the Federal Committee to finish the work before leaving for India.
- Oct. 10. The arbitration plan is examined by Hindu leaders of the Round Table Conference.
- Oct. 11. Benares' untouchables repudiate Dr. Ambedkar's claim to represent them.
- Oct. 12. Mr. Henderson welcomes Mr. Gandhi at the National Labour Club. —Railway Inquiry Committee meets in Madras.
- Oct. 13. A reception is given to Gandhiji at Gower Street Hostel. —Federal Committee meets in St. James's to discuss the Report of the Finance.
- Oct. 14. All-India Women's Conference Sub-Committee cables to the Premier, recognizing Mrs. Naidu as their representative at the Round Table Conference.
- Oct. 15. Retrenchment in Railways announced.
- Oct. 16. Irish Free State Parliament by 82 to 64 passes Bill suspending the Constitution.
- Oct. 17. Gandhiji goes to Birmingham.
- Oct. 18. Death of the famous American inventor, Thomas A. Edison.
- Oct. 19. Kashmir Muslims present their demand to the Maharaja who promises an enquiry.
- Oct. 20. Informal discussions at Claridge Hotel between Gandhiji and the other delegates.
- Oct. 21. Sir Samuel Hoare repudiates *Daily Herald's* announcement re: break up of the Round Table Conference.
- Oct. 22. Federal Structure Committee arrives at a compromise re: Federal finance.
- Oct. 23. Sir Frederick Sykes resumes duty as Governor of Bombay. —Gandhiji discusses army question with Round Table Conference delegates.



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"The progress I have made has been highly satisfactory. After less than three months of the German Course, I had occasion to visit Germany and Austria, and succeeded in getting about unaided even in parts where no English was spoken." (G. T. 304.)

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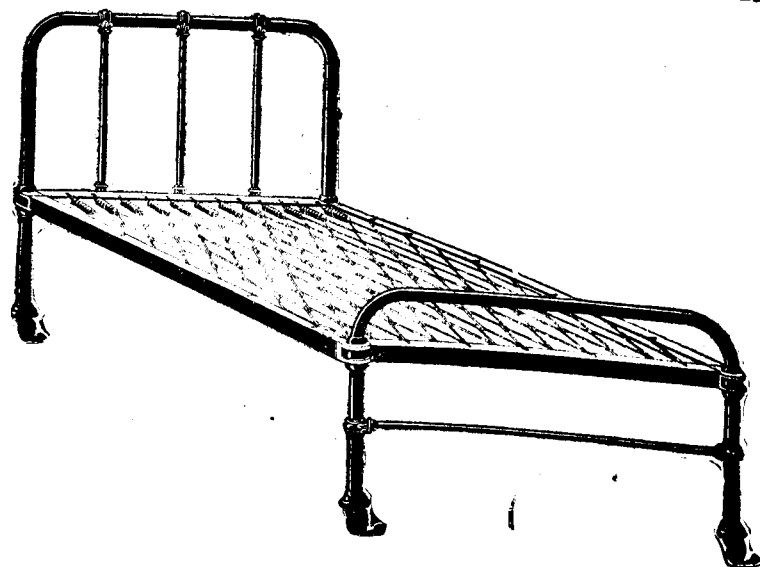
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|------------|---------|-------------------------------------|
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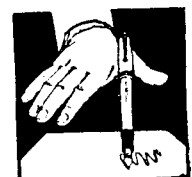
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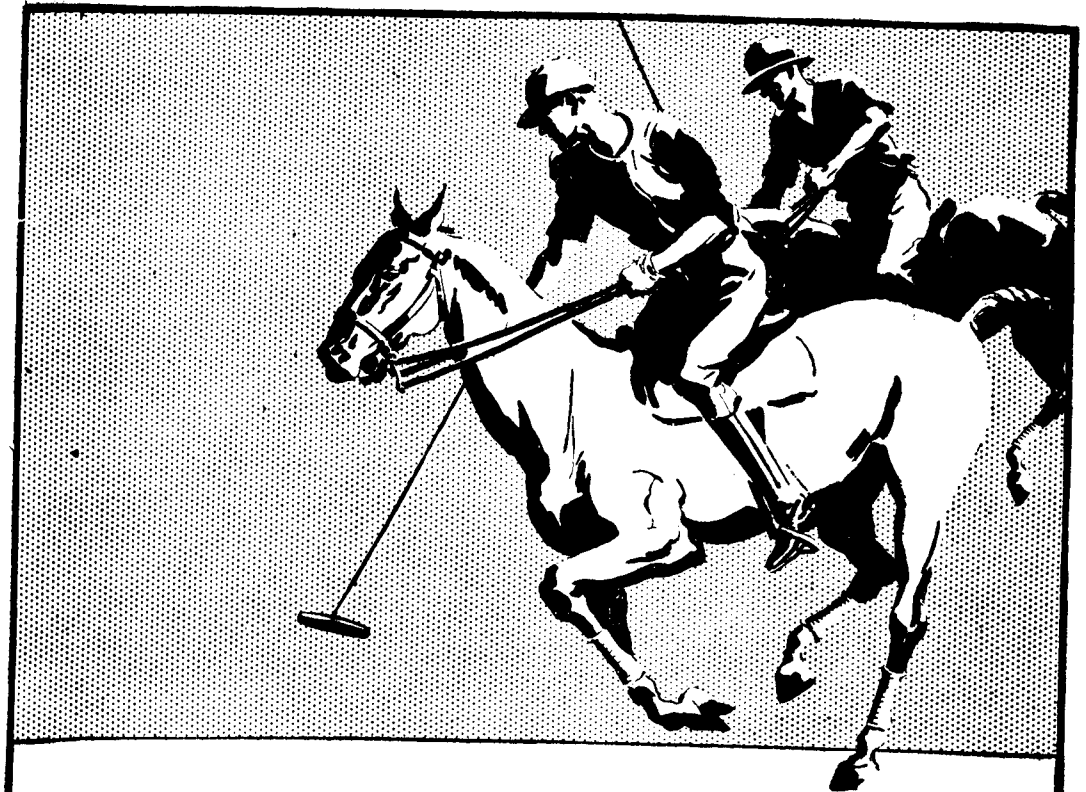
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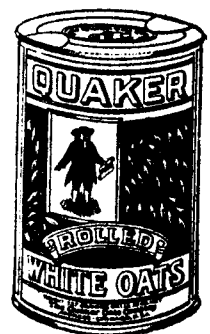


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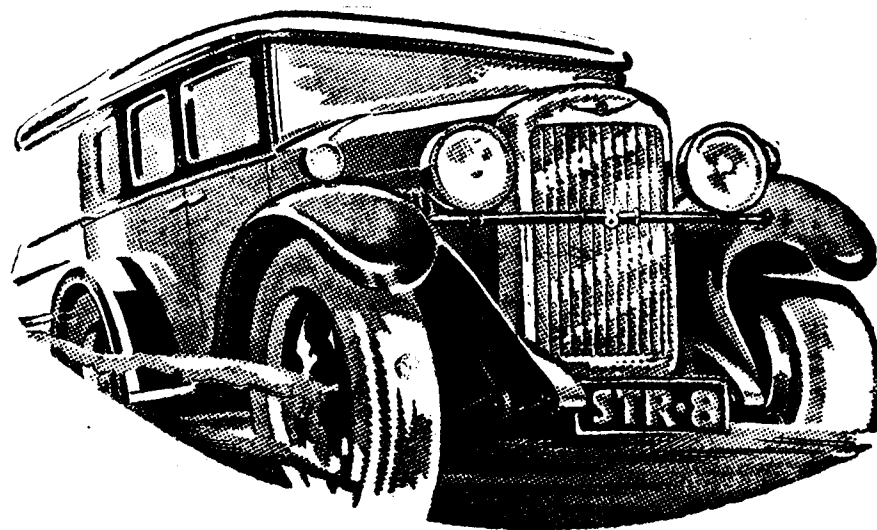
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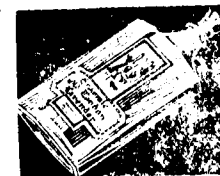


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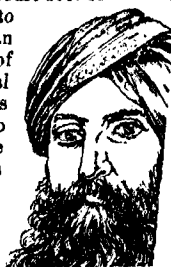
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|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
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| Increase of Life Assurance Fund 1930 | 11,51,813       |
| Premium Income                       | 30,83,936       |
| Interest Income earned in 1930       | 7,47,608        |
| Total Assets exceed                  | 1,65,00,000     |
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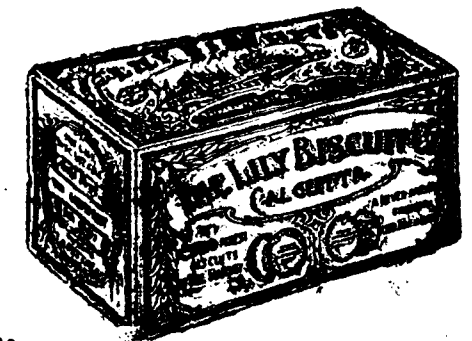
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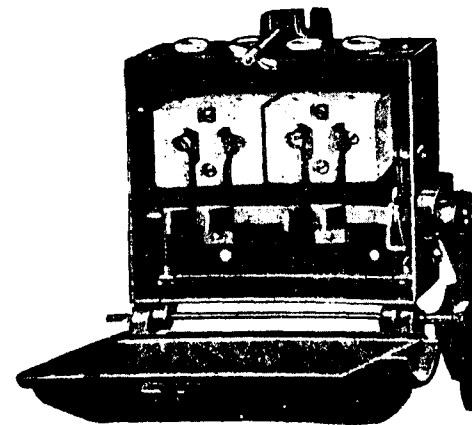
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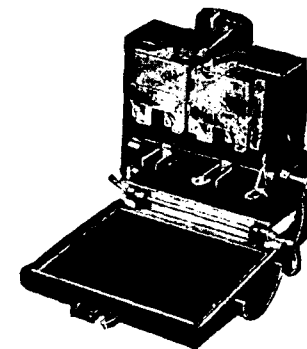
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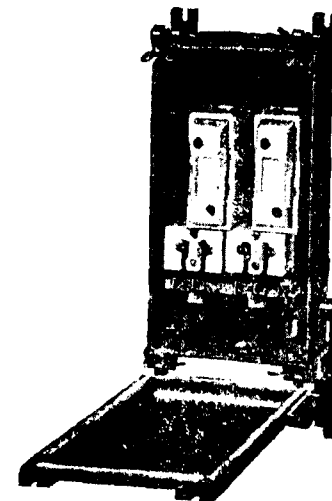
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| Raichur               | 27       | 6  | 0  | 11        | 6  | 0  |
| Oorgaum               | 34       | 1  | 0  | 13        | 12 | 0  |
| Poona                 | 26       | 7  | 0  | 10        | 15 | 0  |
| Miraj                 | 16       | 7  | 0  | 6         | 14 | 0  |
| Kolhapur              | 18       | 5  | 0  | 7         | 12 | 0  |
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| " " "Ranchi"             | 16,650 | 24th " "       | " " "Kaisar-i-Hind"    | 11,518 | 28th " "       |
| " " "Chitral"            | 15,248 | 31st " "       | " " "Mooltan"          | 20,847 | 5th Dec. "     |
| " " "Narkunda"†          | 16,572 | 7th Nov. "     | " " "Viceroy of India" | 19,684 | 12th " "       |
| " " "Ranpura"            | 16,601 | 14th " "       | " " "Strathnaver"†‡    | 21,000 | 19th " "       |

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| " " "Novara"    | 7,000 | 30th " "        |
| " " "Bhutan"    | 6,000 | 13th Nov. "     |
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|                | 7,929 | 24th Oct. 1931 | 28th Oct. 1931 |
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| " " "Morvada"  | 9,100 | 21st " "       | 25th " "       |
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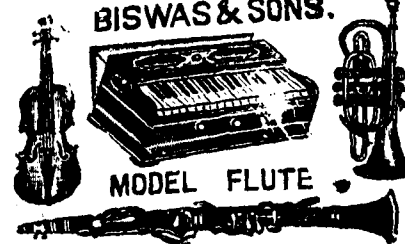
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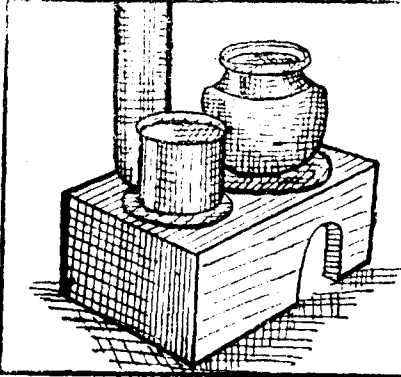
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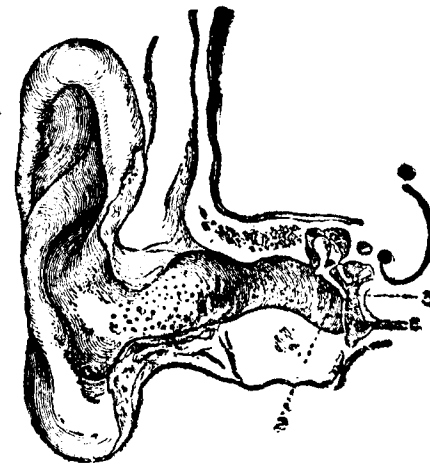
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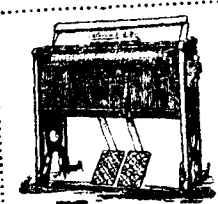
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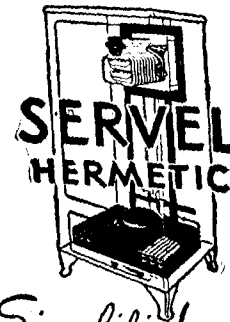
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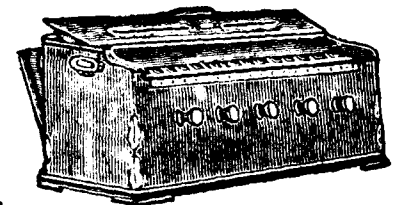
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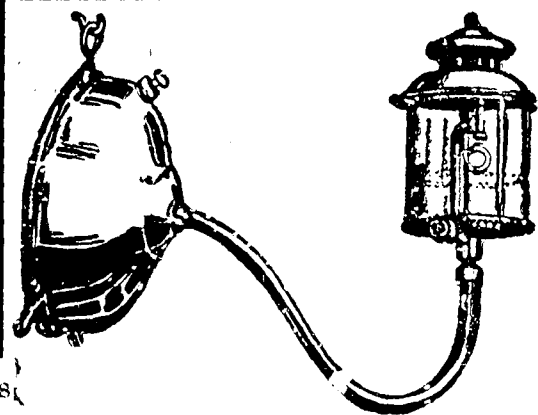
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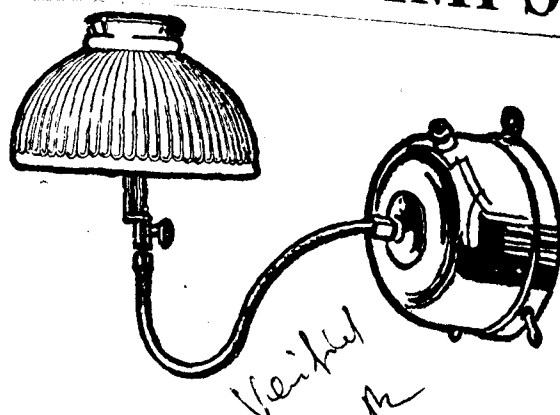


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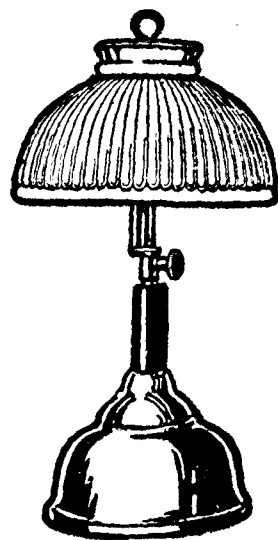


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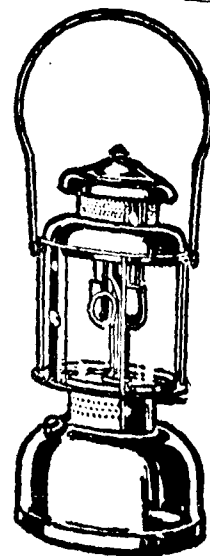
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