

# THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL

DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST.

EDITED BY MR. G. A. NATESAN

VOL. XXXIII.

JANUARY: CONTENTS.

NO. 1. 1932.

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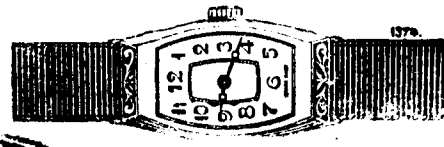
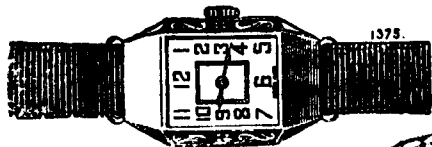
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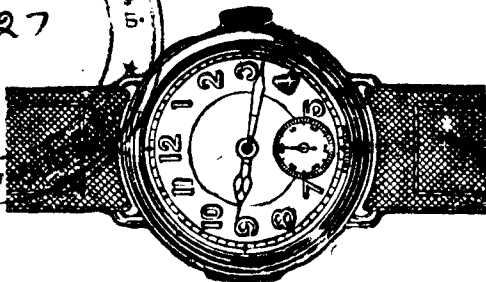
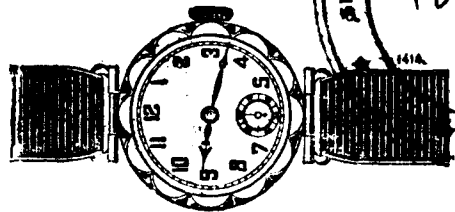
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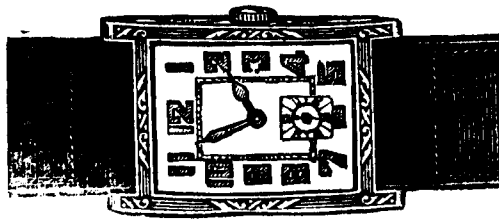
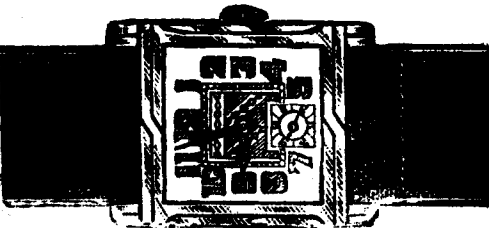


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| MON.  | 4 11 18 25    | 1 8 15 22 29  | 7 14 21 28    | 4 11 18 25    |
| TUES. | 5 12 19 26    | 2 9 16 23     | 1 8 15 22 29  | 5 12 19 26    |
| WED.  | 6 13 20 27    | 3 10 17 24    | 2 9 16 23 30  | 6 13 20 27    |
| THU.  | 7 14 21 28    | 4 11 18 25    | 3 10 17 24 31 | 7 14 21 28    |
| FRI.  | 1 8 15 22 29  | 5 12 19 26    | 4 11 18 25    | 1 8 15 22 29  |
| SAT.  | 2 9 16 23 30  | 6 13 20 27    | 5 12 19 26    | 2 9 16 23 30  |
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| SUN.  | 1 8 15 22 29  | 5 12 19 26    | 3 10 17 24 31 | 7 14 21 28    |
| MON.  | 2 9 16 23 30  | 6 13 20 27    | 4 11 18 25    | 1 8 15 22 29  |
| TUES. | 3 10 17 24 31 | 7 14 21 28    | 5 12 19 26    | 2 9 16 23 30  |
| WED.  | 4 11 18 25    | 1 8 15 22 29  | 6 13 20 27    | 3 10 17 24 31 |
| THU.  | 5 12 19 26    | 2 9 16 23 30  | 7 14 21 28    | 4 11 18 25    |
| FRI.  | 6 13 20 27    | 3 10 17 24    | 1 8 15 22 29  | 5 12 19 26    |
| SAT.  | 7 14 21 28    | 4 11 18 25    | 2 9 16 23 30  | 6 13 20 27    |
|       | SEPTEMBER.    | OCTOBER.      | NOVEMBER.     | DECEMBER.     |
| SUN.  | 4 11 18 25    | 2 9 16 23 30  | 6 13 20 27    | 4 11 18 25    |
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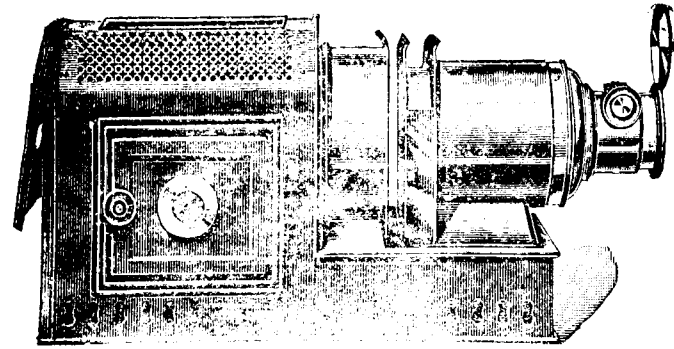
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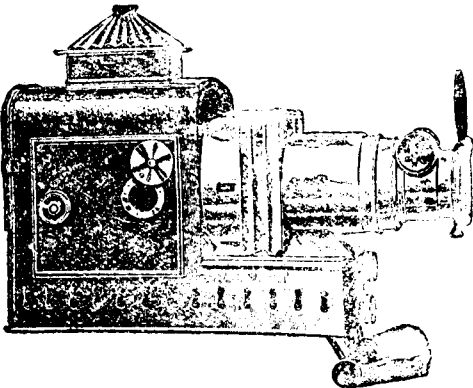
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# THE INDIAN REVIEW

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[NO. 1.]

## Mandates at the Round Table Conference

BY THE RT. HON. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI, P.C., C.H.

**O**NE of the important differences between the first and second sessions of the Round Table Conference was the greater prominence in the latter of mandates by which some members were bound to certain courses of action. The effect on the final work of the Conference was not beneficial. The issues before the Conference were of the utmost gravity and complexity. They went to the roots of national life and touched the fundamentals of the British connection. Many, various, and conflicting interests had to be reconciled; several communities, long at variance in public life, came together with the avowed object of seeking mutual agreement. If ever the art of compromise was needed in human affairs, it was when British and Indian, Hindu, Mussalman, Sikh, Christian and Untouchable met one another in St. James's Palace in the closing months of 1931. It was essential that the delegates should not only talk frankly to one another but be free to negotiate, both on the questions bearing on the general politics of India and on the particular matters in which they were separately interested. In point of fact, however, several representatives came tied down to certain definite views and to



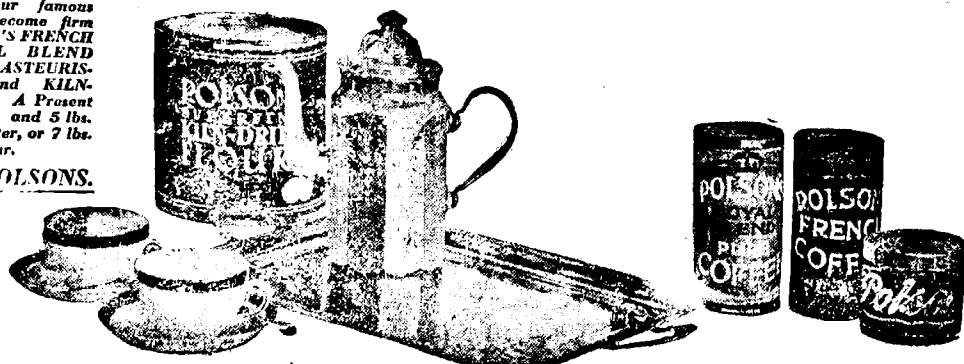
SRINIVASA SASTRI

the end remained so. Mahatma Gandhi himself was the most remarkable example; he was heard again and again expounding the Resolutions of the Indian National Congress and avowing that he had no authority to depart from them except in small details, and that, if any considerable change was proved necessary to his satisfaction, he would have to cable to India and await the sanction of the Congress Working Committee. If this was the case with one who was sole representative and had formerly been dictator, that of other mandataries can well be imagined. The Sikh spokesmen repeated their instructions so often and with so little change that we all knew them by heart. Dr. Ambedkar changed, it is true, but in the direction of stiffening his demands. The Mussalmans were led ably and skilfully. Last year, when the informal discussion was in progress, they were willing to accept compromises; but as the negotiations went on, they showed less adaptability, largely because the mandates from India hardened. The British representatives, both those that came from India and those that represented Parliament here, evinced throughout the keen political sense of their race and felt themselves free to be influenced by the necessities of the situation and to give and take as seemed best from time to time. Let us think for a moment of the various bodies or associations from which members of the Round Table received their mandates: The Indian National Congress, the All-India Muslim League, the Hindu Maha Sabha, The European, Indian Christian and other organisations. Each of these

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has its own definite aims, programmes and watch-words. They appeal to communities and interests which are distinct and which mean to be distinct for ever. It is not conceivable that they would ever abandon their separate existence and merge together for a common line of action. If on momentous occasions like the present, their representatives were mere instruments of speech of their executives, how is the business of the country to be carried on? The phrase, the greatest common measure of agreement, would be meaningless. A treaty or pact to which the parties are many, postulates that the various negotiators should have power to yield some points in the programme of those whom they represent in order to secure other points. The Mahatma came prepared for separate electorates for the Muhammadans and the Sikhs, and unwilling to continue that privilege to other communities, or grant it for the first time to the Depressed Classes. From this position he did not budge an inch to the end. He started by asking for complete popular control over defence and external affairs. No argument from any quarter could prevail on him to moderate this demand. On minor matters, like the examination of public debts, his attitude was equally firm. It is difficult to say of him that during these fourteen weeks of incessant discussion and negotiation, he allowed himself to be moved in any important particular in order to make a common understanding possible. True, it was stated here on his behalf that, if his views on any head of discussion did not prevail, he would not necessarily break away, but wait till the end to see how the picture shaped and might even acquiesce if, on the whole, it was satisfactory to him. Surely that contingent promise, assuming that it was made, would have been but poor encouragement to those who wished to come to terms with him on specific issues. If he had only been a little more of a realist on the claims of the Minorities and on the reserva-

tions, what could he not have accomplished? To speculate is to be unhappy. He might have been the leader of a united Nationalist Party. But he preferred to be a mere Congress mandatory. To enunciate principles, to fight for ideals, to make propaganda—these are high duties and require rare ability. But when agitation has come to a head, it is no ignoble part to make the most of the occasion and get the people some return for their sufferings. Col. Wedgwood's recent letter to the present leader of the Opposition raises a question of the first importance in public life. One hopes it will be quoted widely in the Indian Press. We talked at the Round Table with glib tongues about the united responsibility of a future Indian Cabinet. What would happen when several groups had to combine to form the Government of the day, and each Minister was bound by a mandate from his group and could not accommodate himself to the views of his colleagues? The persons who issue the mandate, sit in their own club rooms and have no need to test the validity of their views by placing them in juxtaposition with the views of other organisations. A cabinet minister, whether at the federal centre or in a provincial capital in India, would find himself at every turn compelled to choose between loyalty to his party caucus and loyalty to his cabinet colleagues. All government would become impossible if he was not free, whenever he thought fit, to prefer the latter to the former. Well-established and strong organisations like their spokesmen to be independent; it is the weak ones that prefer dummies. An experienced Parliamentarian writes:

It will be a bad day for the Labour Party when its parliamentary discipline is so rigid as to exclude a Jos. Wedgwood. No party can afford to exclude all sincere and erratic heretics. The Conservative Party has never banned its Cecil and its Henry Bentincks and has gained in strength thereby, and the Labour Party is going to weaken itself seriously if it tries to goose-step its Wedgwoods and Maxtons into the division lobby by means of these signed pledges.

# THE CYCLE OF CHANGE

BY SIR J. C. BOSE, F.R.S.

EVERYONE would feel despondent regarding the future advancement of the world; for never has there been such an effective organisation



SIR J. C. BOSE

for the suppression or distortion of truth as at the present time. The world is, however, ultimately guided not by the self-seeking many but by the rare few who, by their dedicated lives, have

given new impetus to human aspirations. For the lure that draws such heroic souls is not success that can be easily won, but defeat and tribulation in the pursuit of the unattainable. And men, at a crisis like the present, learn to discriminate the Real from the Unreal and seek to see Truth face to face.

In the pursuit of Truth, though science is of the East nor of the West, but international in its universality, yet India, by her habit of mind and inherited gifts, handed down from generation to generation, is specially fitted to make valuable contributions in furtherance of knowledge. The burning Indian imagination, which can extort new order out of a mass of apparently contradictory facts, can also be held in check by the habit of concentration. It is this restraint which confers the power to hold the mind in pursuit of knowledge in infinite patience.

The material advances secured by science have, no doubt, brought great accessions of power and wealth. There has been a feverish rush, even in that realm, for exploiting applications of knowledge, not so often for saving as for destruction. In the absence of some power of restraint, civilization is now trembling in an unstable poise on the brink of ruin. Some complementary ideal there must be to save man from that senseless rush which will end in disaster. He has

followed the lure and excitement of some insatiable ambition, never pausing a moment to think of the ultimate object for which success is to serve as a temporary incentive. He forgot that far more potent than ruthless competition is mutual help and co-operation in the scheme of life. In the disinterested pursuit of knowledge, the motive power is to be found not in personal ambition, but in the effacement of all littleness, and in the uprooting of that ignorance, which regards anything as gain that is to be purchased at another's loss. No vision of truth can come except in the absence of all sources of destruction, and when the mind has reached the point of rest.

In the pursuit of investigations I came upon a mysterious Cyclic Law of Change, which is manifested in organised life and its diverse manifestations. Inertness may thus pass into a climax of activity, which is perilously near its antithetic decline. This basic change puzzles us by its seeming caprice in the cycle of life and death, not only of individuals but also of nations. We fail to see things in their totality, and erect barriers that keep kindreds apart. Even science, which attempts to rise above human limitations, has not escaped the doom which limited vision imposes. We have caste in science as in religion and in politics, which divides one into conflicting many. The Law of Cyclic Change follows us relentlessly even in the realm of thought. When we have raised ourselves to the highest pinnacle, through some oversight we fall over the precipice. Men have offered their lives for the establishment of truth; a climax is reached after which the custodians of knowledge themselves bar further advance. Those who fought for liberty, impose on themselves and on others the bond of slavery. Through centuries men have striven to erect a mighty edifice in which Humanity might be enshrined; through want of vigilance the structure crumbles into dust. Many cycles may have to be gone through before man can establish a destiny which is above change.

We need not, however, be discouraged by temporary aberrations of man, but we should be inspired by the nobility of his aspirations. It is not by passivity but by active effort that we can serve the world in better ways. The strong has thus taken the burden of the weak, a common sorrow having filled his life with pity and compassion. And in his ceaseless struggle for the cause of the weak and disinherited, he will win his own true freedom.

# The Round Table Conference and After

BY SIR ALBION BANERJI, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

**T**HE Round Table Conference, having created a stir and sensation throughout the civilized world during the past year, has at last dispersed



SIR ALBION BANERJI

to the four corners of India, so far as the Indian delegates are concerned, and the British Delegation also has scattered itself to the four corners of the United Kingdom, to gain breathing time till the real fight begins in Parliament on the momentous issues that have been raised in the Prime Minister's final pronouncement, indicating the policy of His Majesty's Government towards India. If there is any achievement which can be marked down as the most important in favour of the Round Table Conference, it is the success with which it has enlightened itself as to the difficulty of the problem for a Federal Constitution in India. The result, therefore, has, for the most part, been negative in character, in the sense that the Conference has not recorded one single point of agreement in regard to those chief ingredients which would go to constitute as it were the corner-stones for the new Federal structure. The British public, on the other hand, have been

educated beyond the region of their expectations, not only in regard to the existing form of administration in British India and the Indian States, about which the average Englishman had very hazy ideas, but also in regard to the difficulties that have to be faced before India can be set up on a federal basis under the new scheme. This is in a sense a gain, but also a drawback. The educative value of the Conference no one wishes to minimise, but the dangers that are involved in the tendency to exaggerate the difficulties, a tendency which, since the second session of the Conference closed, is bound to grow more and more in intensity and volume, cannot be overlooked. The spirit of caution is a trait of wise statesmanship, but when coupled with fear, doubt, and a disinclination to take risks, becomes a great obstacle in the path of progress. All those statesmen of the world who have achieved great things, had the daring and the courage to take risks and to face the consequences. Will the British Parliament, on which lies the ultimate responsibility to pass the final judgment, be able to rise to the occasion and dissipate such fears and doubts as will stand in the way of their doing the right thing at the right moment.

As regards the representatives from India, they have acquitted themselves remarkably well, and at the bar of the judgment of future historians will surely be given the credit for good sense, moderation, and ability to plead their case well and with effect. But they have shown one defect, and that is the inherent weakness of the national character, the lack of co-operation and the spirit of mutual trust and confidence. They have also indirectly shown a great deal of ignorance of the implications and the preliminary stages of preparation which any scheme of Federation involves. Such ignorance, however, is no discredit to India, for she can only learn by experience, as

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all nations seeking freedom have done in the past. But if the ignorance has been so much in evidence, it behoves those Indian delegates, when they have returned to India, to continue to work assiduously in their own representative groups, to secure those conditions that would help in the construction of the edifice, after the foundation-stone has been surely and truly laid. This means study and strenuous work, not for months, but years, and the sooner the Princes as well as the Representatives realize that the Federal structure cannot be built in a day, and that even two years or three years will not, in all probability, suffice to put up the main outlines of the structure, the better it will be for the success of the Constitution and the future Government of India as a whole.

Two things therefore are needed. One is an Indian Vigilance Committee in England to watch carefully the reactionary forces that may be working amongst certain group of public men in this country. This is all the more necessary as there is a reasonable fear amongst all classes of Indians that the present Parliament, consisting as it does of a majority of Tories, is not likely to countenance any very great and liberal measure of self-government in the new Act of Parliament, without stout opposition. The Indian Vigilance Committee should forthwith be organized in England, and the work should be entrusted not by way of propaganda, but by way of contact, persuasion, good understanding, and sound argument, to capable hands. It is possible to form a strong Committee of Members of both Houses, in which may be associated one or two permanent Indian residents of London, to watch, discuss, and to take necessary action, stem the tide of reaction, and prevent further misunderstanding and bitterness. This work is essential because, as time goes on, and even the most ardent politicians of India recognize the fact that there will be considerable delay, mischief-makers in England will have a longer lease of life which will encourage them

to undo the good work that the Round Table Conference has so far accomplished.

In India, on the other hand, new parties and groups of workers have to be formed, not only to safeguard the interests of the Minorities within their respective spheres, but also to organise a strong body of public opinion in favour of the general scheme as has been outlined by the Prime Minister's closing declaration. Such a body of public opinion cannot be formed in India, if the Indian representatives as well as the Princes work without proper combination between themselves, a combination which must be considered essential at the present juncture, when there is a likelihood of the National Congress Movement standing out with a view to offer resistance and opposition. It is my firm conviction that there are now only two parties in India, one for upholding at all costs the policy of a free united India within the British Commonwealth of Nations, subject to such temporary conditions as would enable her to gain adequate strength and independence in course of time, and the other, the party which, though not ostensibly revolutionary, is a party pledged to a policy of negation, that will lead ultimately to chaos and suffering to millions of people amongst all castes and creeds in our Motherland.

Will our people have the courage and the boldness to foresee the consequences of the Congress creed of obstruction and non-co-operation? Will they have that spirit of sacrifice which will be entailed under the veiled terrorism of those who act for the Congress? Will those leaders who have openly declared themselves to be on the other side of Mahatma Gandhi, when they go back to India have the spirit of true patriotism, and openly declare themselves to be not merely indifferent non-co-operators of Gandhi's policy, but active opponents of his propaganda and his agitation? These are the questions that demand the most earnest consideration of our fellow-countrymen at the present moment. May we all fervently hope that Providence may, in the New Year, so guide the destinies of our country that peace and goodwill may be restored, not only between community and community, but between England and India, to the mutual moral and material advantage of the two great countries, and also in the interests of the peace of the whole world.

# Women on the Legislatures in the New India

BY RADHABHAI SUBBARAYAN

*Member, Round Table Conference*

TO a very great extent in the modern world, a nation's standard of civilisation is judged by the status—political and social—of its women. In contemplating the prospect of a new constitution for India, the speculation inevitably arises as to what part the women of India are going to play in the building up of the new Indian nation, and what their status is going to be. These two questions are very closely interwoven, because the status of any section will play in the life of the country; and moreover political opportunity is largely dependant on status.

There are two main channels through which women can advance politically. There is the franchise; and there is actual participation in legislative work. I do not propose here to deal with the question of franchise, beyond saying that it is very necessary for the voting strength of women to be brought up to an equality with that of men.

The question of their presence on the legislatures is also a matter of very great importance. Women, after all, form nearly half of the population of India, and as such they have a deep interest in every legislative enactment. They have, in addition, a special interest in questions such as education, public health, and social reform. It, therefore, seems necessary and desirable that they should take their due share in the legislative functions of the nation.

We must, however, recognise that there exists in India, as in many other countries, considerable prejudice against their coming on to the legislatures. Our social system distinctly discourages the participation of women in public life—and here I am of course referring, not to the thousands of pioneer women who have taken up public and political work, but rather to those many millions of women whose lives are still

dominated by the old traditions. There will, too, be many and practical obstacles against their standing for election. There will be, for instance, the problems connected with touring in large constituencies—difficulties of transport and lodging problems of canvassing, etc., and there will also be the initial obstacle that very few women have sufficient private means to become candidates. Consultation with many of my fellow delegates to the Round Table Conference, who come from many different parts of India, has confirmed my view of the extreme improbability of women being returned to the legislatures of the future through the ordinary poll.

And yet in the first formative years of the new constitution, when the foundations of our economic and social policy—indeed of our whole future development—are laid, it seems very important to have women present on our legislatures. They should be there in their capacity as citizens; but they should also be there to impress on the legislatures the necessity for social and educational legislation. Their presence on the legislatures should also be a means of educating the public, and of cultivating in women a due sense of responsibility and administration. Unless some special provision to secure their presence on the legislatures is made, it seems possible and probable that their claims will recede further and further into the background. It will have a very great effect if, from the start, it is shown in practice as well as in theory that the co-operation of women on the legislatures is normal and desirable.

Let us examine the possible methods of such special provision. Nomination is obviously undesirable. The ordinary reservation of seats, involving separate electorates, appropriation of a share of the existing seats and a permanent claim to them, is equally unsuitable. The

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solution which Begum Shah Nawaz and I, after much deliberation, put forward last year to the Round Table Conference, and which I again pressed this year—namely that, for a temporary period the legislatures themselves should elect a fixed proportion of women to the legislatures—seems to me the most suitable. This proposal has been elaborated by the suggestion that the proportion of women to be elected should be five per cent. of the legislature; that the temporary period should be for three elections; and that the election of women should be made by proportional representation.

It seems to me that this proposal is a practical and sensible one. Its chief features are: that the special provision for women shall be purely temporary; and that the method of proportional representation is designed to avoid the complications of the communal question and will also obviate the difficulty of distributing a few seats among many territorial constituencies.

There is undoubtedly much support for this proposal among educated and thinking women in India. There is also opposition to it. A Memorandum has been issued in the name of three important women's organisations which disclaims any desire for special provision, and which is supported by Mrs. Naidu and also now by Begum Shah Nawaz.

I would like to emphasise that the ideals of both these points of view are the same, namely, the securing of equality. The difference exists in the methods of achieving them. In my opinion, it is not sufficient to think of ideals alone. We must think of constructive and practical steps to secure those ideals; and it is with that purpose that this suggestion for temporary provision has been made. It is impossible to believe that equality of civic rights will immediately bring equality of opportunity. Equality of civic rights can be obtained in a moment by enactment, but

to secure real equality of opportunity, there must be a fundamental change in the public mind. That fundamental change has not yet come. In my opinion, it will be far more quickly and surely achieved by a practical and concrete proposal such as has been outlined, than by any vague generalisations about an equality which does not in practice exist.

It seems to me as if the women's organisations are taking a very grave responsibility in disclaiming special provision for women. If women do not secure representation on the legislatures from the outset, it is well within the bounds of possibility that they will never secure it. If that should be the case, I cannot but ask myself on whom the loss is going to fall. Not so much will it fall on the educated and politically-conscious thousands, who are ready and able to fight their own way. It will fall rather on those inarticulate millions of their less fortunate sisters, on whose account this proposal for special provision has been put forward.

To seek such special provision is not in the least derogatory, nor is it asking either a privilege or a favour; (indeed membership of a legislature should be a heavy responsibility and duty rather than a privilege or a favour). It is rather a practical and common-sense device for meeting existing facts. If such a measure were to be adopted for the initial and transitional period, I feel convinced that the position of women in the India of the future would be made secure.

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# A PEN SKETCH OF GANDHI

By Miss N. E. BEGGS, B.A. (Oxon)

AN October evening in London.

A spacious room, a flaming fire, soft lights, and the smell of incense. There were interesting



people there whom one felt one wanted to talk to, and one talked, yet with a preoccupation, a feeling of waiting expectancy. Was he coming or not? After supper the feeling

grew, and with it a doubt—a fear. Was he after all a poseur, a stage manager of the highest order? His “vanguard” had arrived to announce he was on the way. Again that doubt . . . . . “The Mahatma”.

He came in, and one had for a moment a feeling of resentment against all picture papers, photographers, and “movie-tone news”. They had portrayed him too well, and robbed the actual moment of his coming of its thrill. But that passed swiftly enough when he began to speak: nothing then could compare with the actual presence.

We sat in a circle round him. Miss Slade sang the evening prayer, and we sat motionless, thinking thoughts impossible to describe. Later he talked: a beautiful voice, with the gift of words, perfect command of English, and a soft “Welsh” intonation. The doubt vanished. Here was absolute sincerity, high idealism, albeit unrealisable desire. One might disagree, but one respected his opinions, especially when voiced with such a touch of humour. *(He had a delightful chuckle.)*

And yet whence came that feeling that things were not quite as one had expected? The personality was there, the thrill was there: what then did not come up to expectations? Was it perhaps that he took everything just a little too much for granted? Or was it not rather that perhaps one had identified him too closely with one's idea of Christ? So like Jesus in so many ways, so often quoting Jesus's words, yet were the aims of the Mahatma more narrow, less universal than those of the Christ? So much, then, for too strong a pre-conception: it served one right! . . .

And yet when he left, something vital left with him: the spark had gone. The interesting people were no longer interesting: no longer did one want to talk with them. There was nothing left for one but to go too—and quickly.

“Such stuff as dreams are made on” . . . The words might be applied to Mr. Gandhi's ideals: they might also be applied to my visit to the Maharanee's on Wednesday evening, October 21st,

# The British General Election\*

By MR. H. S. L. POLAK

NOW that Mr. MacDonald is in the saddle at the head of a “National” Government, with an overwhelming majority in the House of



MR. H. S. L. POLAK

Commons, we may take stock of the situation and see how it is likely to develop. In the last Parliament, the Liberals held the balance of power whenever they chose to act substantially as a unit. So soon, therefore, as the Labour Government resigned, the Liberal Party came to the support of Mr. MacDonald and the group of Labour members that remained with him, and, by agreeing to work with the Conservative Party, enabled the Prime Minister to secure an effective working majority in the House. He, however, could not feel that he had the moral authority of the nation behind him that would enable him to participate in international conferences then pending, both of a financial and a political character unless he had made an appeal to the electorate, asking for a general mandate to heal the nation's wounds, and to take all necessary steps to re-establish international confidence in Great Britain's financial stability.

\* This article was received too late for our December Number.

After discounting the fraud, the exaggeration, and the false issues inevitably associated with a General Election, and especially at a time of great crisis when deep passions are aroused and fear of social and economic insecurity is widely prevalent, it is clear that, for the time being at least, both at home and abroad, the British Labour Party has lost the confidence of the people. There are many loyal members of the Labour Party who feel that the conduct of its affairs has been very badly managed. For the second time in five years, the impression has been created in the public mind that the Trade Union Congress has sought to dictate policy without responsibility from outside Parliament. Whilst the parliamentary system is undoubtedly passing through difficult times, the electorate has not yet begun to tolerate the prospect of parallel government, nor is it likely to do so. In another sense, too, the electorate has been gravely disturbed. It has derived the impression that, under Trade Union Congress auspices, the Labour Party has become a class party rather than a national one, and until it is believed to have purged itself of this tendency and has re-established confidence among those voters who sway elections one way or the other, it is unlikely that the Labour Party will be returned to office with an effective majority; though it may be, if the Fates are unkind to the present National Government, that, at the next General Election, whenever that may occur, the electorate may return a Parliament of a more progressive complexion somewhat along the lines of that which has just been brought to a close.

In the meanwhile, Mr. MacDonald is obliged to rely upon the progressive element composed of his own followers, the bulk of the Liberals, and that element of the Conservative Party that is prepared to follow Mr. Baldwin. The latter has declared that he does not regard the result of

this General Election as a party victory, notwithstanding that the Conservatives have a majority over all other parties and groups, and in a National Government there must be a great deal of give and take, if the objective of such a Government is to be attained, and its working is to be smooth. The principal difficulty, however, with which Mr. MacDonald is faced, is the fact that something like three hundred Conservatives regard themselves as having been returned pledged to support a tariff policy. When a midget and a giant are compelled to occupy the same bed, the midget is apt to regard the giant as an uncomfortable bed-fellow, and the giant to regard the midget as an unnecessary nuisance. Much will, therefore, depend upon the extent to which Mr. Baldwin and his group are able to set a limit to the pace at which the Conservative tariffites want

the Government to travel, and it is probable that, because of the overwhelming character of its majority, and the inefficiency and numerical insignificance of the Opposition, the Government party may suffer from indiscipline of appetite.

So far as India is concerned, it is believed that the Government party is still on the whole friendly, or at least not unfriendly, to the Prime Minister's declaration of the 19th January, which, as the head of the new National Government, he has taken care expressly to reiterate. But there is undoubtedly a big "no nonsense" group that Mr. Churchill will lead for destructive purposes. The die-hards will not yield without a struggle, and the MacDonald-Baldwin Brothers will have their work cut out, even in the best of circumstances, to drive their headstrong team along the straight and narrow path.

## The Japanese Population Problem

By SIR FRANK NOYCE, K.T., C.S.I., C.B.E., I.C.S.

THIS valuable and well documented study\* of a problem of immense importance, not only to Japan but to all nations which have interests in the Pacific, is the outcome of its author's election to a Fellowship of the Commonwealth Fund. He is to be congratulated on devoting the funds and leisure thus placed at his disposal to such good purpose. It is his view that the opinion commonly held regarding the political importance of the Pacific, requires considerable modification. He maintains emphatically that the Pacific region is to-day and for the immediate future, from every point of view, unusually pacific. Nevertheless, there is an issue of major importance in the foreign politics of that part of the world. That issue is the pressure of population. But, although pressure of population is general along the Asiatic shores, it is only in Japan that

it has any implications for international politics. Mr. Crocker proceeds to explain carefully and at length why this should be so. Japanese statistics are not very trustworthy, but he gives good reasons for his conclusion that it will be some twenty or thirty years from now, before a pronounced turn towards a stationary level in Japanese population is reached, and that at least fifteen to twenty million persons will be added to the present population of over 62 millions before then. How are these additional millions to be fed and clothed? He holds that it is fairly certain that Japan cannot grow the extra rice needed for them, unless the rate of consumption per head is considerably reduced. All the probabilities in Japan point to a reduction in the number of farmers so as to permit of an enlargement of the farm holdings, in order that the amount of land supporting one individual may be less inadequate to supply him with a reasonable income." But

a transformation on these lines would only result in less men being required to grow the harvest and in less economic effort being spent on it, not in a bigger harvest. The outcome would most probably be a smaller—though, as regards the



SIR FRANK NOYCE

price per bushel, a less expensive—harvest. But Japan could, in no case, ever raise all her own rice if the rate of consumption per head were to remain unreduced. Even if she were to substitute other foods, more especially wheat for rice, she would still be compelled to import several hundred million bushels of cereals from abroad every year. In short, Japan of the future can only live, as England is now living, by buying food from the foreigner. Imports can, however, only be paid for by exports, and from whence are the exports to come? The kernel of the Japanese position to-day is, that the Japanese raise raw silk which they export in payment for imports of raw cotton, and by making up this raw cotton into yarn and piece-goods, re-exports enough of it to pay for the rice and other food-stuffs which they are now obliged to seek from the foreigner. Can this arrangement be multiplied to ten times its present extent? Can Japan raise and sell so much more raw silk? Can

she buy so much more raw cotton with the proceeds of it, make it up and sell it abroad so as to purchase food for her additional twenty millions? His readers will unhesitatingly agree with Mr. Crocker that the answer is "No". But, if the present economic system cannot be extended to this degree, can other industries be built up to the height necessary to support the twenty millions? To an answer to that question, Mr. Crocker refuses to commit himself. He will go no further than to conclude from his study of the facts, that the drawing off of 50,000 to 100,000 of Japanese unemployed annually during the coming twenty or thirty years, would probably be sufficient to save the stability of Japanese society, not so much for the actual physical relief it would afford but because of its psychological effect—the infusion of a tranquillising hope among unoccupied and despairing people. Where are they to go? Mr. Crocker's first suggestion is Manchuria, and it is interesting to note, in the light of recent events, that he considers that a possible arrangement should be to give Japan, in the event of a Manchurian crisis arising, a mandate over Manchuria, or at least over a part of it, from international society; or, if a mandate is not possible, then a Protectorate under guarantees. He does not appear to have examined with sufficient care the difficulties that would arise with China if any such proposal were put forward. Similarly, he thinks that a Protectorate or Mandate might be arranged later on when it became desirable, over parts of Borneo and over some of the Southern Pacific Islands. Other possibilities are Brazil where Japanese immigrants are apparently welcome at present, and Australia where they certainly are not. Mr. Crocker is himself an Australian, but he holds that there seems no valid reason why a line should not be drawn across Australia from east to west, following the Tropic of Capricorn, and why Japan and Italy which is also faced with a population problem, should not take over the country to the north of that line. "Both countries would find, to their astonishment, that an incomparably smaller proportion of this northern land was utilizable than they had believed; but of this very small proportion they could make more good than the Australians, because they need it. And the Australians would lose nothing by their doing so." We fear that Mr. Crocker's statement of the problem is likely to command more general acceptance than his suggested solution of it.

\* THE JAPANESE POPULATION PROBLEM: The Coming Crisis. By W. R. Crocker, Balliol College, Oxford. George Allen and Unwin. 10s. 6d. net.

# THE POWER OF THE PURSE

BY PROF. HARICHARAN MUKERJI, M.A.,

*Midnapur College, Midnapur.*

THE Power of the Purse is one of the most coveted privileges which is possessed by the lower chambers in the various democratic countries of the world. It was after a long, long struggle extending over hundreds of years that the British House of Commons has come to occupy its present position of pre-eminence in money matters. The initiation of money bills has come to be looked upon as its special privilege, and at the same time the upper house has been deprived of all rights of amending them or even rejecting them, for if they are held up for more than a month after they have been passed by the lower house they can receive royal assent and thus become law. But other democratic countries which have copied the British constitution, have not had to go through the same tedious process, for they got their constitutions ready made as it were, and their lower houses come to occupy all the privileges of the House of Commons without going through the latter's experience. In order to trace this process of the growth of financial responsibility of the lower house, we must go back to 1215 when the Magna Charta was signed. Then the barons were fighting for this right. They played the most important role and opposed the king's illegal exactions. The Commoners had then no seats in the Parliament. It was in the Model Parliament of 1295 convened by Edward I, which, again, was in imitation of Simon de Montfort's Parliament of 1265, that knights from the shires and citizens, and burgesses from the cities and boroughs, were first invited to take their seats. This step was taken by the king, not that he was at all democratic but to enlist the support of the lower orders, so that he would not have to depend solely upon the barons who had imprisoned him after the Battle of Lewes in 1264. It was in

the fourteenth century that the clergy as a body began to abstain from attending the Parliament, and the knights from the shires, after much hesitation, threw in their lot with the burgesses from the towns, and thus the two houses, the House of Lords and the House of Commons, came into being. The important principle that money grants should be initiated by the latter house was recognised by Henry IV as early as in 1407. The Tudors tried to rule through Parliament, but they made it the engine of their will. During the Great Rebellion and the constitutional struggle that led up to it, the House of Commons had asserted itself and was most vehement in opposing the illegal exactions and acts of the king. Thus the process of transference of financial responsibility from the upper to the lower house was at first unconscious, but subsequently it became conscious and deliberate. In the year 1671 and once again in 1678, we find that the Commons had become fully conscious of this power and wanted to assert it formally and distinctly against the other house. They deliberately and emphatically affirm that granting aids to the king is the exclusive privilege of the Commons, and they would not put up with any exercise of it by the House of Lords. The language they used on the latter occasion is quite explicit. They resolved "that all aids and supplies, and aids to His Majesty in Parliament, are the sole gift of the Commons; and all bills for the granting of any such aids or supplies ought to begin with the Commons; and that it is the undoubted and sole right of the Commons to direct, limit and appoint in such bills the ends, purposes, considerations, conditions, limitations and qualifications of such grants, which ought not to be changed

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or altered by the House of Lords". (Sir Courtenay Ilbert's "Parliament", p. 205.) This claim for exclusive jurisdiction was made as relationship between the two houses had become very much strained on account of the difference in their complexion, for by that time the upper house had become Whig and broadchurch as opposed to the lower, which was decidedly Tory and highchurch. During the eighteenth century and the earlier part of the nineteenth, due to the decay of many old towns and growth of new ones in places which returned as members, and the general shifting of the centre of political gravity from the south to the north and the north-west, the House of Commons had lost its representative character and hence its independence. The majority of seats of the lower house was at the disposal of the great territorial magnates having seats in the upper, and hence we come across no such spirited reminders as those of 1671 and 1678, re-affirming the exclusive jurisdiction of the Commons in financial matters.

But with the passing of the Reform Bills of 1832, 1867 and 1884, the house became truly representative and democratic and completely established its privilege regarding money bills. The principle that such bills should not only originate in the lower house, but that they should not be also amended by the upper, was once again emphatically affirmed, when Mr. Gladstone in 1861 presented the entire budget in the form of one bill. But not even content with the ground that had been gained, the Commons further claimed that the Lords would not have even any right of rejecting money bills when they would come to them with the sanction of the lower house. The greatest constitutional battle of this century was fought over this question, and when the Finance Bill of 1909 was rejected by the Lords, the Commons exasperated by their repeated opposition passed the Parliament Act of 1911 effectively

curbing the Lords of all prerogative as regards financial matters.

Thus the lower house has not only usurped this privilege but it has also secured to it the right of determining what is a "money bill". It is for the Speaker of the Commons to declare what is it after consulting two other members. Whenever the house is of opinion that its "privilege" has been infringed, it conveys a curt message to the other house to remind it that it is trespassing on its preserves. How we wish that the President of the Federal Assembly would also exercise the same prerogative.

The Parliament at Westminster has verily been called the Mother of Parliaments as all democratic countries have more or less copied the British model. Hence we find that the lower houses all over the world exclusively possess the power of the purse. The Dominion Parliaments, though they are federal legislatures, are in many respects close imitations of the British Parliament, and hence all effective power in them as regards finance is lodged in the lower houses. So is also the case in France, Belgium, Germany, and other civilized countries. In the U.S.A., though the two houses, the Senate and the House of Representatives, possess concurrent powers in all matters, still it was laid down in the constitution that money bills must originate in the lower and though the upper can amend them, these amendments must have to be adopted by the former before they can go up to the President for his signature to become law.

Of all countries which have copied either the English or the American model, we find that there are three, *viz.*, Switzerland, Italy, and Japan, in which money bills can originate in the upper house. But in Switzerland, the people are ultra-democratic and there is no hereditary aristocracy, and hence it is immaterial in which house money bills originate. In Italy, in spite of the statutory provision that both houses should enjoy equal

powers, we find as a matter of fact that the upper house has been thrust into a secondary place and the lower house has usurped all power, including control over the purse. In the case of Japan, concurrent powers given to the upper house have been the cause of constant friction and the blocking of progressive and radical legislation, and hence the Japanese constitution should be ruled out as a model for imitation.

When this has been the uniform practice in almost all civilized countries, and when the British House of Commons was conceded exclusive control over money matters from so early a date as the fourteenth century, when the people were wholly illiterate and the constitution far from democratic, we cannot but deplore the decision of Lord Sankey who, in his draft report, has laid down that both the branches of federal legislature should enjoy concurrent powers, and that the estimates must be simultaneously laid in both and the upper house will have unrestricted powers of amendment of such money bills or their rejection. This provision seems to us to be a highly retrograde one and has been introduced to effectively curb the activities of the lower house and to deprive it of control over the executive government, for it is a truism to state that the chamber that votes supplies, exercises the strongest influence over the government of the day. In England, Parliament virtually means the House of Commons, and when the ministers consult the Parliament, they consult only this house and it is on an adverse vote of this body the ministers are unseated. In the proposed Indian constitution various safeguards are likely to be introduced, to make the legislature as impotent as possible in order to prevent it from gaining control over the executive, and if in addition to these the power of the purse is to be partly taken away from the lower house and is to be shared with the upper which will be mostly composed of obscurantists and reactionaries, then

the so-called responsibility at the centre will be reduced to a farce. In view of this recommendation of Lord Sankey, it seems to be a pity that the majority of the delegates did not accept the suggestions of Mahatma Gandhi, Sir Akbar Hydari and Mr. Joshi of having a unicameral legislature, in which the representatives from British India at least would have been returned by democratic constituencies though by the indirect method of election. But no blame can attach to the delegates, as undoubtedly they must have been influenced by the motive of having an upper house of the truly orthodox type, which would be a revising body and which particularly would be able to curb the communal proclivities of the lower when passions would run high. The utility of such a revising chamber has been admitted even in the Nehru report and provision has been made for the same. It seems to be a pity that when during the discussion of the draft report, all the prominent British Indian delegates pressed for the deletion of that objectionable provision, and put in a strong plea for the grant of exclusive jurisdiction in money matters to the lower house, Mr. Gavin Jones opposed the claim. He should have remembered that the time has long since passed when it was possible to check the democratic movement in India by following this policy of suspicion and distrust. Trust has been said to be the cure for distrust, and if he and men of his community can trust the Indians, he can rest assured that the Indians will not prove unworthy of this trust, and the help that may be rendered by the Europeans in framing a liberal constitution for India will be gratefully remembered by us, and will constitute the best safeguard on which they can insist.

THE SYSTEM OF FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION IN BRITISH INDIA. By P. K. Wattal, M.A. A work of great value to members of Legislative Councils, Ministers of Indian States, Students of Economics and Indian Finance and others. Rs. 10.

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

# "CRUCIFIED ON A CROSS OF GOLD"

BY SIR ALEXANDER CARDEW

WHEN this phrase was uttered in Chicago forty years ago by an American politician, the world regarded it as little more than a party move; to-day it has become the vivid expression of a living idea. The world is suffering not from over-production, not from international rivalries, but first and foremost from an insufficiency of gold to do its every-day work. Two-thirds of the total gold supply of the world are locked up in vaults and are rendered sterile and useless by two countries: the United States and France. One thousand millions of gold are laid up in America, and five hundred millions in Paris, and the world is vainly trying to carry on its work with the small residue that is left.

The result of such a state of affairs was predicted by political economists long ago and is now being realized in actual fact. As the supply of gold dwindles, its value appreciates and the prices of all commodities, as measured in gold, fall. The farmer, the cotton-grower, the coal-miner find that the price they can obtain for their produce every day diminishes. The great producing industries: agriculture, coal-mining, cotton-growing and the like cease to be profitable. Wages are reduced and men are turned off, so that poverty and unemployment increase *pari passu*. As the purchasing power of the population falls, manufacturing industries find their sales and their profits diminishing. Trade becomes stagnant; factories are closed down; banks are brought into difficulties through the inability of clients to repay advances; and the evil extends in ever widening circles. The Government is in turn affected; its budget cannot be balanced, salaries have to be lowered and taxes increased, each step producing a further diminution in the purchasing power of the people.

It has been contended that the fall of prices, which has produced these disastrous results, is due to over-production. It is suggested that the

application of scientific methods, and increased capital, have raised output beyond the world's power of consumption. The cases of wheat, cotton, rubber, and coffee are pointed to in support of this explanation. But if the actual facts are examined, it will be found that the fall has not been confined to these commodities. If wholesale prices in July 1931 are compared with those of July 1930, it will be seen that the collapse is general. Thus iron, copper, tin, lead, spelter, quicksilver, aluminium, antimony; copra, linseed, palm-oil, rape, soya, tallow, shellac; flax, hemp, silk, wool, hides, maize, rice, hay, lard, butter, cheese, sugar, tea, and cocoa all show the same feature—a heavy decline in price. Some more general cause than over-production must, therefore, be looked for, and the most likely cause is the appreciation of gold.

In no part of the world has this appreciation been felt more keenly than in the East. There the great hoards of silver, the traditional coinage of India, China, and other Oriental countries, have suffered a catastrophic fall in value through the rise in the value of gold. Silver which touched 88*d.* an ounce eleven years ago is now only 17*d.* an ounce in Great Britain, and 30 cents in the United States. Until something is done by international agreement to improve the position of silver, and to restore gold to its proper place in the world's circulating medium, it is difficult to believe in any real improvement.

INDIAN CURRENCY & EXCHANGE, 1914-1930 How the Government have managed them? A very informative book issued by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. As. 8.

RESERVE BANKS & THE MONEY MARKET. By W. R. Burgess, New York Federal Bank. Rs. 9-6.

ORGANISED BANKING. By E. E. Agger, Ph.D. Rs. 9-6.

MONEY, BANK CREDIT AND PRICES. By Lionel D. Edie. University of Chicago. Rs. 9-6.

G. A. NATESAN & CO., PUBLISHERS, MADRAS.

# THE GAEKWAR OF BARODA

SAYAJI RAO III of Baroda has had a remarkable career, since his accession fifty years ago from the humble position of a cowherd to the throne of a great historic house in India. His Highness has succeeded in raising the State from comparative medievalism to its present position as one of the most advanced of Indian States. And yet his career has been beset with trials and difficulties of no mean order, and the personality that emerges from the copious records of these two volumes\* has decidedly something heroic at the background. When Prince Jaising died in Europe, Reuter by mistake announced it as the death of the "Gaekwar of Baroda", and His Highness had the unique opportunity of reading his own obituary. The *Times* wrote of his restless and combative nature which had sometimes brought him into collision with the Government of India. For his controversies over the Curzon circular touching his long and continued absence from the State, and the mysteries of the famous Durbar incident, caused him no little annoyance, and for long His Highness had lived in a cloud of misunderstanding and embarrassment. Time has brought relief, and Mr. Rice himself who speaks with the authority of an ex-Civilian and a retired official of the State, offers a grudging apology:

The constant references to his health which extend over years, though honest enough and true in fact, may well have seemed insincere to those who saw him return to Baroda apparently well enough to carry on the administration. It might naturally be asked whether Europe was the only remedy; His Highness had not shown any sign of a total inability to live in India.

Mr. Rice gives a good account of His Highness' lead in social matters and his constant fight with worn out customs and superstitions. His Widow Remarriage Act, and other legislations for the emancipation of women, are a proof

\* Life of Sayaji Rao III Maharajah of Baroda, Vols. I and II. By Stanley Rice, Oxford University Press, London; Humphrey Milford. Price 31s. 6d. net for the two volumes.

of his genuine sincerity for the cause of social reform. "We have," says the Maharajah, an ancient regime of custom and prejudice to overcome. Let us meet them by a new liberty, equality, and fraternity—liberty of action, equality of opportunity, and the fraternity of a great national ideal.

In regard to the depressed classes, the Maharajah has said in a speech that:

Our progress is no progress at all if we refuse to extend the feeling of equality and brotherly kindness on the same lines to the Antyajias and the backward communities. Men like Gandhi have done and said much about the uplifting of the status of the depressed classes. If they have failed, it is the people who have failed to adopt his wise counsel. It is they who are to blame.

His Highness has introduced many reforms in the internal administration of the State and raised it to its present pre-eminent position. Mr. Rice has also indicated the directions in which his work for the State has borne fruit. He has put the land-settlement upon a rational basis; he has introduced compulsory education and given the people libraries; he has built railways almost lavishly; he has fostered art and tried to encourage industry; he has set up a department of agriculture with its veterinary handmaid; and to crown the whole, he has introduced co-operation. These and other marks of His Highness's regime are copiously set forth in the two volumes, in which Mr. Rice has assiduously collected all the facts and opinions connected with the life and career of the illustrious ruler of Baroda. This semi-official biography is not altogether a mere record of events, however absorbing in their interest. Mr. Rice has given us a full size biography of a man of exceptional power and opportunities, such as are written of the English statesmen of the last century. And the crowded pages reveal a personality, at once strong and nervous, somewhat perplexed and embarrassed by circumstances beyond his control—a character not wholly free from the frailties of the flesh but genuinely sincere and sympathetic, at once passionate and patriotic.

# Congress and the R. T. C.

BY

MR. RICHARD B. GREGG

THE opinions I am going to express in this article are only tentative, because I am writing it the first week in November, before the representatives of the British Government at the Round Table Conference have made any very definite or complete statements of policy. Nevertheless, events seem to have gone far enough for us to give some sort of answer to the question whether Gandhiji was right in going to London. I write as a Congress sympathizer living in the United States. While the distance from India and London keeps me ignorant of much, yet perhaps it gives me some perspective.

It seems to me highly probable, indeed almost sure, that Britain will not yield the essential Congress demands without further intense struggle in India. British high finance is in difficulties and regards the Congress demands as tantamount to very severe loss of British investments in India. The interests of British industry, trade, and navigation fear that a free India would mean much more severe competition with other nations for Indian supplies and trade, and the ending of the practical monopoly of British shipping in Indian sea-borne commerce. The British ruling class fear that the loss of British control over India would mean so great a loss of British prestige that there would be unfavourable reactions in all fields of British activity. The conservatism, pride, and prejudice of an alien ruling nation do not permit the British ruling class to believe in the ability of Indians to manage their own affairs, and also do not allow the British to realize that matters could be managed in any way other than their own. Hence I expect that, in relation to the immediate granting of the Congress demands, the second Round Table Conference will be a complete failure,

and that there will almost surely be a resumption of the civil disobedience struggle in India.

Nevertheless, the Conference has not been wholly barren. It seems to me that the attendance of Mahatmaji in London and the events there have accomplished certain results which will prove to be of great value to the eventual securing of a rightful place for India in the world. Indians in India have no realization of the meagreness of the knowledge of the outside world about the details of events in India since the spring of 1930. Enough has been told to stimulate world curiosity and imagination, but both knowledge and the necessary preliminaries for knowledge have been largely lacking. The general assumption in the outside world has been, that the British were such successful rulers all over their empire that probably their estimate of people and events in India was correct. But now enough has happened to weaken that assumption. World opinion changes very slowly, but it is now changing in respect to India.

First of all, the Conference has made clear to all the world that the other Indian delegates, and the British delegates, regard the Congress with Gandhiji at its head as the most powerful single political factor to be reckoned with in India. The fact that the Government deems it advisable to pit against the Congress, or at least take advantage of, not only its own power but also the communalist Moslems, the communalist untouchables, the Indian Princes, the European community in India, and the Anglo-Indians, all this seems a clear tribute to the power of the Congress. The great efforts made by Lord Irwin to secure the Delhi agreement constitute a similar admission. The attitude of all the delegates, both British and Indian, towards Mahatmaji

at the Conference meetings, and the attitude of people at private meetings with him, have the same meaning. All the world can see now that the earlier British assertion that the Indian National Congress is a "negligible handful of intellectuals" is not true.

Secondly, the passage of months since the Delhi Truce have proved to world opinion that the Indian National Congress has discipline, patience, reasonableness, confidence in its chosen representatives, and a sense of responsibility. Gandhiji's attendance at London has showed the world that the Congress and its leaders are reliable,—are men who stick to their word.

As long as Gandhiji was in India, world opinion, especially that of the ruling classes in different countries, was inclined to accept British reports about him. But now the transactions in London have proved to the world that Gandhiji is not a firebrand, that he is tactful, patient, skilful in discussion, gentle and courteous yet firm as a rock, incorruptibly honest, frank, kind, courageous, proof against flattery, quick-minded; that he has great grasp of detail as well as of the broader and deeper principles of Indian problems; that he is a great leader of men, a great statesman. It appears to the world that in Gandhiji, the British politicians and statesmen have met their equal and perhaps superior in political skill and certainly their superior in frankness.

Thus world opinion now realizes that India is more united and more effective politically than British statements for many years had led the world to believe. It is now clear that the Simon Report was badly mistaken in paying such light attention to Gandhiji and the Nationalist movement. Hence it would seem that both British and world opinion can now place less reliance upon the statements of Sir John Simon in relation to India. Looking back for only two years over the files of such British journals as *The London Spectator*, *The Round Table*, *The New Statesman*

and *Athenium*, *The Manchester Guardian*, *The London Times*, *The Saturday Review*, *The Nineteenth Century and After*, *The Contemporary Review* and many others, one thing is clear. All leaders, sections and parties of British opinion, with the possible exception at times of the Independent Labour Party, have steadily underestimated the power of Gandhiji and of the Congress; have underestimated the growth of the general desire for greater control of Indian affairs by Indians of all sorts; have overestimated the extent and depth of divisions among the various groups in India. These are mistakes natural to an alien ruling people. These mistakes still continue. But because of these mistakes over so long a period, world opinion henceforth will accept British assertions about Indian affairs with more caution and doubt. The British allegation that Indians are not fit for self-government now seems to the world open to question. There has been displayed some evidence to the contrary.

All shrewd observers can now see that Britain is taking advantage of Indian divisions and is relying on conservative forces in India which singly are not as strong as the Congress. In view of recent history, there is at least a question whether Indian Nationalism, and the melting and uniting power of Mahatmaji's methods, may not bridge over these divisions and gravely weaken the conservative groups. Hence there is certainly a question as to the security of British power in India.

From time to time in the past, British journalists, politicians and former Government officials have stated or implied that the Indian National Congress is hasty, impatient, violent of speech, unwilling to negotiate, intransigent, weak, irresponsible, wild, impractical, lacking in foresightedness and statesmanship. If there was any hope that the second Round Table Conference would prove these allegations true before the eyes of the world, that hope has been disappointed.

These British allegations have failed to materialize.

Gandhiji's contact with the British working classes both in London and in Lancaster has won their hearts. His long talk with the large assembly of Labour Members of Parliament brought cheers from them at the end. His private talks with thoughtful and religious middle class people have gained their regard and even reverence. Both British opinion and world opinion respect Gandhiji and the Congress more than ever before. All this will make it more difficult for Britain to remain united against India as the struggle proceeds. It may help to lighten or shorten whatever sufferings India may yet have to undergo in the winning of her freedom.

If Britain now denies the Indian National Congress demands, and if the Congress then renews the civil disobedience struggle in India, I believe that world opinion would not blame the Congress. Without the second Round Table Conference, probably such blame would have accrued. But now the world would watch the struggle with much more careful attention and interest, to see brave, skilful and high-principled men and women trying to win freedom for their nation without violence.

The second Round Table Conference has lessened prejudice against India, gained her more respect, aroused more interest, removed barriers, and thus laid the foundation for greater understanding and sympathy and moral support for Indian freedom.

## Rejection of the Finance Bill

### A REVIEW OF THE DELHI SESSION

BY MR. A. SESHADRY IYENGAR

**R**EJECTION of the Finance Bill is always a matter of deep political significance. In March 1924, the Government of India's Finance Bill introduced by Sir Basil Blackett was thrown out at the second reading by the Swarajist Assembly, by a majority of 3 votes on the motion of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Leader of the Nationalist Party. That was to record a protest at the Government's irresponsible attitude to the National Demand for a Round Table Conference. The present Assembly which is considered to be a comparatively "tame House" rejected the Supplementary Finance Bill during the Special Session held at New Delhi in November last. This time, however, it was not in any way a constitutional protest, but a vote of censure against the Government for its overriding attitude in respect of the cuts made by the Assembly, after ten days' elaborate discussions. It was also meant to register the peoples'

inability to bear the burden of taxation which the Government of India wanted to impose. It is true that the Bill was certified by the Governor-General and recommended to the Council of State which passed it, but even there in a House of 33, there were 9 elected members who voted against the third reading. In fact, the Special Session of the Central Legislature over the Supplementary Finance Bill (there was no other subject discussed and no adjournment motion moved) has left a record which is an eye-opener in many respects.

There were several factors, and many currents and cross-currents, which led to the rejection of the Finance Bill at the third reading by the Assembly. The Government had deliberately designed the Bill to last for 18 months, because as Sir George Schuster pointed out, in introducing the taxation proposals in the September Session at Simla, there was expected to be a deficit

of 19.55 crores of rupees at the end of the current financial year, and another deficit of 19.50 crores of rupees during the next financial year, and that in the interest of maintaining India's credit in the world, Government wanted, at the end of March 1933, a surplus of 5 crores of rupees. While the Finance Member introduced these proposals on the ground of "national emergency", Sir Hari Singh Gour called them "staggering". Although it was the fag end of the autumn session, several members took the unprecedented step of opposing the introduction stage of the Bill. Fortunately for the Government, the non-official ranks were thin and the first reading was carried by 57 to 43 votes. By the time the Assembly met in Delhi, public opinion had gathered round the various proposals of taxation, but the Assembly did not oppose the second reading, as the Swarajist Assembly did in 1924. This was because there was general recognition that there was a real emergency and, as Sir George Schuster put it, this was "the time for determined and combined effort, a time to tighten belts". But opinion differed very much as to the items on which and to the extent to which there should be increase in taxation.

The four days' general discussion on the Bill did not serve much to clarify the issues on which the Assembly would concentrate. There was, however, agreement among the non-official parties, with the exception of the Anglo-Indian group, that the life of the Bill should not be tenable for 18 months but must be limited to the end of the current financial year. This was given expression through the amendment of Mr. S. C. Mitra which was, however, defeated by 56 against 48 votes. The main point of criticism against an 18 months' bill was, that the retrenchment operations were not in full swing yet, and without knowing what their effects would be next year, it was unjust to impose heavy burden on the already overburdened people. But Sir George

Schuster defended by pointing out that 5 months' taxation would have disastrous effects on the revenue, as people would try to depend on their existing stocks in the hope that next March there would be a change. The next day the Government majority of 8 swelled to 11 in spite of lobby influence, associated with the cable from His Highness the Aga Khan to Sir Muhammad Yakub, supporting, in the interests of Indians overseas, the case for the abolition of import duty on cotton. But within a few hours thereafter the non-officials were able to record a narrow victory, when they carried by the majority of one vote the motion of Mr. Hari Raj Swarup, a Whip of the Nationalist Party, against the duty on machinery. By this vote the Assembly made a cut of 155 lakhs of rupees.

When the House dealt with the "poor man's salt", there was not much feeling noticed against the surcharge, at any rate not in the lobbies. Or was it a case of approval of Sir George Schuster's dictum that "salt is the ultimate reserve for any Government in a national emergency"? Whatever the reason, the motion of Mr. Lalchand Navalrai against the surcharge on salt was defeated by 48 against 55 votes. When, however, the Postal Rates came up, the House asserted itself in full force, even though Sir Joseph Blore took special pains and argued with admirable skill the Government case for increase. He emphasised that considering the distance covered, the Indian Postal Service was "the cheapest in the world" and in the interests of a continuity of the policy of extension of postal facilities in rural areas, it was necessary to make the Postal Department solvent. He even offered to have the rates revised in 1933 if there was any surplus. Even this assurance was of no avail in the face of the determination of the Assembly which carried Mr. Sitarama Raju's amendment by a majority of 17 votes and made the second cut in the Finance Bill to the extent of 100 lakhs of rupees.

The third cut was to the extent of 108 lakhs in respect of the lowering of the Income-tax level from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 1,000. The debate on this subject covered a wide field, including the grievances of the educated middle class community. Mr. Desanges and Dr. DeZouza, nominated members from Anglo-Indian and Christian Communities respectively, made effective contributions. Though both of them remained neutral, the Assembly carried the cut which was in the name of Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda by 65 against 44. The margin of 21 recorded in the cause of the hard-pressed middle class community was remarkable, especially in view of the flights of eloquence to which Sir George Schuster rose when he sought to justify the lowering of Income-tax level on moral and financial grounds and held it as sound because it broadened the basis of taxation. When the question of surcharge on Income-tax and Super-tax was raised, opposition came from the Nationalists and Independents beside the European group. But Sir George Schuster managed to stave off a defeat by warning the Assembly of the dangers of forcing the Government hands to meet deficit by borrowing as was done in 1921-22, when Sir Malcolm Hailey was the Finance Member. During the voting time the United India Party threw its weight for the rejection of the Amendment. The attitude of Mr. Yamin Khan and his friends was taken to heart by some members of the Nationalist and Independent Parties, like Messrs. Shanmukham Chetty and H. P. Mody, with the result that they remained neutral and thereby helped the defeat of the motion of a member of the United India Party against surcharge on Income-tax on incomes up to Rs. 10,000 in the current year. This attitude of reprisal was soon given up, and the motion of the same member of the United India Party exempting surcharge on all incomes below Rs. 10,000 was carried by 63 against 48, thereby making a further cut of Rs. 50 lakhs. The total of all the four cuts was 4 crores of rupees.

The question was whether the Government would be prepared to have the surplus of 5 crores estimated at the end of the next financial year reduced to 1 crore. A meeting of the Viceroy's Executive Council was held, and immediately Party Leaders conferred with His Excellency Lord Willingdon. Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sir Abdur Rahim, and Mr. Yamin Khan emphasised at the Viceroy's House that there was no need to leave a large surplus of 5 crores, and therefore the country need not be saddled with so much additional taxation. One or two members particularly sought for compromise, but the Government was in no mood to compromise. In the language of the Governor-General's recommendation, all the 4 crores of rupees cut from the Government proposals were essential "for the protection of financial stability". The Bill, therefore, came up in a recommended form and after the unrelieved failure of the Conference at the Viceroy's House, the feeling of helplessness created in the minds of leaders of Nationalist and Independent and the United India Parties led to an emergent decision to stage a walk out. The walk-out was accordingly practised without causing much surprise, but three members of the Nationalist Party—Raja of Kollengode, Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer and Mr. B. Das—stuck to their seats like "casabiancas" as they called themselves, and compelled those who had walked out to re-enter and throw out the recommended Finance Bill by the surprising majority of 63 against 48 votes. The curtain thus rang down over the Supplementary Finance Bill in the Assembly.

The next stage for the Government was simple. The Finance Bill was certified by the Governor-General and placed before the Council of State for the adoption without alteration of even a comma. The Finance Bill of March 1931 was taken to the Council of State in a recommended form, because the Assembly had adopted an incidence of Income-Tax different from that

proposed by the Government. In November again the same Finance Member went up with a certified Bill and requested the Council of State to pass it "in the form recommended". The non-official attendance in the Upper Chamber was rather poor, but there was a band of 9 elected members who solidly voted against the Bill at every stage. It was significant that the vocal opposition emanated first from a few nominated members, who emphasised that but for the fact that the Bill bore the certification of the Governor-General, they would have adopted a different course. The criticism of the Bill in the Council of State was directed mainly against the military expenditure, but here the Commander-in-Chief supported the Finance Member, when the latter said that there was no room for economy except by reducing the fighting troops. The Council, helpless as it was, in the face of Governor-General's certification to make an amendment, passed the Finance Bill, 9 members including 3 Muhammadans voting against. Though the nominated members who had launched the main opposition did not vote against the Bill, they combined to put forward a demand for relief to the tax-payer when after the 18 months there was found any surplus. This was how the Emergency Finance Bill was placed on the Statute-Book.

The Session has left behind bitterness which could have been avoided, had the Government only agreed to a compromise with the elected representatives of the people and restored only two out of the four crores of rupees cut by the Assembly. The suggestion that it was at the Secretary of State's behest that all the 4 crores were restored, was denied by the Finance Secretary in the Council of State, but that has not helped to allay the suspicion or relieve the tension. While the Government have now the satisfaction of having got placed on the Statute-Book a Bill, which is expected to yield about 40 crores of

rupees of additional taxation during the next 18 months in order to run the administration, the popular representatives have left with a feeling that, after all, "the Reforms are a farce".

This review cannot be complete without some mention of Parties and their leaders. The Nationalists under the leadership of Sir Hari Singh Gour, and the Independents under Sir Abdur Rahim, acted throughout the Session as if of one party. While there were occasional rifts among the Nationalists, there was none among the Independents. The European group also had difference of views expressed occasionally, but at the voting time it stood solidly on the side of the Government whose one plea was: "We want every pie that we can scrape." Mr. Yamin Khan and his followers of the United India Party, though looked upon with some suspicion now and then by the other Indian elected parties, were largely instrumental in throwing out the Finance Bill at the third reading. The nominated members both in the Assembly and in the Council of State did not mince matters either. On Government side Sir George Schuster, Sir George Rainy and Sir Joseph Blore displayed their debating talents. Their powers of advocacy, however, did not help to prevent the Session, which commenced with a succession of victories for the Government from slowly warming up, leading to the rejection of the Bill itself.

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# Vaswaddatta and Upagupta:

A STORY IN VINDICATION OF MARRIAGE.

By MR. GANGA CHARAN LAL.

(Adapted from Buddhist Scriptures.)

IT was Phagun the month of merriment in Mathura, the city of joy and pleasure, but the Sethi family of Mathura knew only one joy, one pleasure, the joy of inviting the sons of Buddha to their morning meal.

It was *Amavasya*, the day of *upvas*, and a company of hundred *bhikkus* was invited to their morning meal and administer the eight precepts to the Sethi family. In this company of hundred *bhikkus* was Upagupta—a youth of five and twenty, fairer and handsomer than any other son of man. It was, however, not only his beauty of person that distinguished him from this saffron-robed company but there was also a certain veracity about him, a certain charm and fascination in his face which seemed to express that here is a man who is not only a symbol of holiness and morality but life itself. Vaswaddatta was the only child (daughter) of the Sethi family, she had become of age and had begun to help her mother in preparing the meal and serving the same to family members and guests.

The *bhikkus* having washed their hands and feet, seat themselves with trays of green leaves spread before them.

Enters *Vaswaddatta*: A floating fairy vision of sweet seventeen, holding in her hand a tray full of sweets.

All eyes are turned in the direction of Vaswaddatta but for a moment, for the law of Buddha was explicit a *bhikku* must not gaze at a woman.

But one gaze was enough, both Vaswaddatta and Upagupta were shaken, both felt the surging tide of a supreme and fathomless emotion which they knew not and entered into the realm of ecstasy which they never tread before. The meal was served with trembling hands and partaken with equally trembling hands.

Upagupta returns to his monastery with a restless heart and pulsating with emotion which he had been taught to avoid and subdue. He increases the time of his devotion and study and tries to banish all thoughts of Vaswaddatta. With Vaswaddatta the experience was quite different. Poor girl! she had not the training and discipline of life to help her which Upagupta had. Moreover, she had never viewed her feelings in a sinful light.

Every month the Sethi family invites a company of *bhikkus* for a meal, and every month Upagupta evades going to the Sethi family. Having despaired of seeing Upagupta at her house, she escapes to the monastery one dark night.

It is already late when Vaswaddatta reaches the monastery, the moon has risen and Upagupta is seen lying on a platform chanting in slow melodious tones.

Appears *Vaswaddatta*: Again a floating fairy vision of sweet seventeen. Upagupta's heart shakes, his voice trembles, and he does not know whether it is Vaswaddatta that he has seen or a phantom of his fancy.

Upagupta with a trembling voice: Art thou Vaswaddatta.

It is "I" comes the prompt reply.

Upagupta: "I", little does the girl know that this "I", this aggregate of past *karmas* is leading her astray.

Vaswaddatta: To-night I came for thy love—not for thy sermons. I have been pining for thy moon-like face but the same did not appear on the horizon of my life. (*Vaswaddatta advanceth towards Upagupta.*)

Upagupta (recoiling): Tempt me not thou enchantress. This heart is not for thee and not

for a moment shall thy sweet face find abode therein. This mind and heart are suffused with the light of *dharma*, they owe fealty to Lord Buddha and are subject to the discipline of Sangha. (*Warming up:*) Away, away, away, wretched girl, evil are thy ways and evil is the fate that awaiteth thy career.

*Vaswaddatta*: Stands struck with indignation. She gazes at Upagupta and turns back, but not to the house of her parents but strays into the highways of pleasure. She becomes the favourite of a king and lover of a rival claimant. Having been found out, her hands, feet, ear, and nose are cut away at the order of the jilted lover.

*Upagupta*: (Hears of Vaswaddatta's fate and repairs to comfort and console her in a dilapidated cottage where her shambled body lies writhing with agony.) Poor unfortunate girl, thy fate is sad and pitiable, but a better fate awaiteth thee hereafter. Great have been thy sins but thy sufferings have been far greater. Take thy refuge in Buddha—*Buddham Sarnam Gachami*.

Suffering the pangs of a most pitiful death, intensely passionate and also religious, Vaswaddatta rebelled against this eleventh hour sermon from one whose love she had sought in vain, the long drawn misery of her life found vent in a passionate protest to Upagupta:

Upagupta, more than any person, thou art responsible for my sad fate, and it pains me to know that face to face with the misery of my life and agony of my death thou still seest in me a sinner. Know thou Upagupta, that my feelings towards thee were quite natural and thou canst deny to me that thou was not indifferent. Both of us had an irresistible mutual magnetism for each other, and both of us had a desire to be linked together in a permanent union, not only for satisfying purely physical wants rooted down deep in human nature, but also for sharing our joys and sorrows together and for making our lives a symbol of spiritual union which cannot in any

other way be so completely effected or expressed. But for the fact that thou belonged to an order where this subject is most profoundly misunderstood, where sex is considered something to be ashamed of, something unclean and sinful, my life would have had an happy ending. It was the tragedy of my life to love a man who had formed a fantastic and degraded conception of womanly love.

But know ye *bhikkus* that this feeling of human love, this desire of man and woman to have each other is as strong as life and as ineradicable. It is a craving as universal and compelling as hunger, and I really cannot understand you monks when you denounce it as unclean and its complete suppression as meritorious.

*Upagupta*: (Shakes his head.)

*Vaswaddatta*: You may not be convinced but I cannot yet follow why celibacy should be placed at the highest pinnacle, and marriage, instead of a holy state, a sanctuary for worship, merely a compromise between good and evil.

All-knowing, however, is Buddha, and it may be that in this reign of unrestrained indulgence and its orgies of blood and licence, he had thought it fit to proclaim the satisfaction of this instinct as sinful, and it may be that but for this root and branch protest it was not possible to save humanity from a wreckage. But this cannot last, before long a new church must rise which shall recognise feeling like mine as worthy of respect and joys mutually had between wedded lovers as noble and uplifting. Marriage is the normal and wholesome state for normal and wholesome persons—men and women like you and me—and unless the path of *Nirvana* is thrown open to people partaking of marriage, the path of Buddha is likely to be lost to humanity as all untrodden paths are lost in the overgrowth. The ship, oh *bhikkus*! that you have made for yourself is too frail and small to take humanity to the shore of *Nirvana*, and the hope of a dying humanity lies in the greater vehicle—the *Mahayana*, and as a sacrifice to that hope I die, for celibacy is only a discipline while marriage is life itself.

The dew is on the lotus—Rise great Sun  
And light my leaf and mix me with the wave.  
*Om mani Padme Hum*—the sunrise comes  
The dew drop slips into the shining sea,

# Dangerous Moments in My Life

BY MR. HAROLD LLOYD

LOOKING back at the early days of my struggle to "make good", I can recall



MR. HAROLD LLOYD

a number of things that scared me *then*, but which would not scare me *now*.

Somehow the years have brought a different perspective, and situations that assumed the tragic dimensions of mountains in one's youth reveal themselves as comic mole-hills as one travels away from them.

Take, for instance, that fatal day when I watched the "try-out" of my first two-reeler. While my shadow self, in the character of "Lonesome Luke", bobbed up and down absurdly on the screen, falling about and rolling its eyes in ludicrous fashion, I sat on an aisle seat in the theatre and regarded his antics with the utmost solemnity. All about me people roared with laughter, but it was far too critical a moment for me to relax into a smile. "Lonesome Luke" held my screen fate in the hollow of his hand. I had created him and sent him forth into the world to make my fortune. I was responsible for every moment, every gesture the little dunce made. Wasn't it enough to make a man perspire? No doubt I looked—as I felt—as though sentence of life or death were hanging over me!

You may not believe me, but it is much more difficult for an actor to make people laugh than it is for him to make them cry. You

don't really have to be an actor at all to make people cry. Audiences—women especially—come to the theatre, most of the time, fully prepared and in readiness to have "a good cry". It's just as if they were holding out bags of tears for the actor to puncture. Circumstances, human obstacles, unplanned things, put our fellow-creatures in this sad plight. To make them laugh is to make them forget their troubles, to bring them out of themselves, to renew their spirit, enabling them to take with a smile the next nasty knock that Fate may have in store, just as the clown has taken the "bumps" in the film they have just witnessed.

That's why I'm thankful for all the bumps I've had to take on the screen. "Reel life" is quite a good apprenticeship for "real life".

Here's a list of some of the minor casualties suffered in the course of "shooting" a recent picture:

Painful burns when a chemical compound was used on the seat of my trousers.

A cold in the head from standing on a block of ice for long periods at a time.

A pain in the neck when a too zealous property man hit me with a "Good Luck" horseshoe.

A lump on my forehead when a group of rough-necks carried me through a low doorway.

To be quite honest, my early career, in common with a host of other motion picture players who have since won success, was as rocky as the well known road to Dublin.

When I first tried to "break into pictures" in Hollywood, the thing that scared me stiff was the gatekeeper on the Universal "lot". I had grown tired of sitting about, waiting to be called, in the bull-pen reserved for extra players, and I determined at all costs to "crash the gate". Unfortunately the gatekeeper was a crabby old soul, who took no pains to conceal the fact that it would be a pleasure to keep me out.

In the noon hour I had noticed that a crowd of film players and extras drifted out of the studio in full-make-up to eat at a lunch-counter over the road, passing the gatekeeper without challenge each way. Next morning I brought my make-up box with me, and shortly before noon I dived behind a hoarding, "made-up", and returned with the extra players through the gate without being challenged. Once inside, it was assumed that I was an extra on the job.

Although my little ruse got me no work, I learned some useful things about studio routine and picked up some information from "old hands" at the game. I learned the names of the directors and assistant directors and after a time began to register on their minds as a regular. I used to make a point of speaking to the gateman on my way out; and on future entrances, if he looked the least suspicious, I would say, with an air of bravado I was far from feeling, "With Macdonald"—J. Farrell Macdonald being one of the directors on the "lot" at this time.

Needless to say, although I had "crashed the gate", my path was not one of roses. Many a young assistant director wiped his shoes upon my self-respect in those days. My armour was paste-board, and my wounds were many!

Later I left Universal and went into partnership with Hal Roach—an optimist if ever there was one. His optimism even extended to putting me to bed with a skunk in one of our comedies. The polecat's first line of defence had been removed and Roach told me that he read somewhere that a skunk so treated makes a perfect pet, playful, affectionate and gentle as a kitten. Evidently the skunk had not read the article, for he bit me, and from that moment ceased to be bedfellow or playfellow of mine!

A disagreement with Roach led to my joining the Keystone company. The major qualification of a Keystone comedian was to be able to "take a fall"; and, believe me, some of those falls were

sensational! At the end of an ordinary studio day, a comedian's one ambition was a feather mattress!

On one occasion I was cast as an Italian fruit vendor, and the action called for a motor cycle to rip through my barrow and for me to take a comedy fall in the midst of the fruit. The director thought I was too young and slender for the part and hesitated about giving it to me. But 2 dollars a day meant a lot to me then, and, although I wasn't crazy about having a 60 H.P. motor cycle crashing at me head on, I begged him to give me a trial. The cart was a break-away built in two sections. It burst asunder as the motor cycle charged through, the fruit erupted in all directions, and I leapt into the air and fell as no one has fallen since Adam or Niagara.

"Safety Last"—the silent comedy I made over eight years ago—contained perhaps the most sensational scene in which I have ever appeared—the scene in which I dangle by my fingertips for sixty seconds from the hands of a clock twelve stories in mid-air! The dizzy drops in the picture were partly illusion; but neither this, nor any other of my "thrill" pictures, contained any doubling, double exposure or trick photography in the usual sense.

While scouting round recently for a thrilling idea for a new talkie, I hit upon another skyscraper theme, which is making the spines of the film fans tingle with the same excitement. The title, "Feet First", conveys some idea of the precarious situation in which I find myself in this picture, and the personal risk to which I am exposed in its more breathless and nerve-wracking moments.

In addition to the purely physical dangers encountered in "Feet First", I am continually getting into hot water of quite another kind. As an ambitious young shop assistant in a shoe-store, I involve myself in all sorts of humorous situations, putting bun-boat-sized shoes on the

dainty feet of my employer's wife; crashing a society ball in order to impress a young lady I fall in love with; finding myself aboard a trans-Pacific steamer without a ticket; hiding in a mail-bag only to be picked up and carried with the mail on a ship-to-shore aeroplane, and finally landing on a scaffolding in mid-air, wrapped up in the mail-bag, when the slightest jolt will catapult me hundreds of feet to the ground below.

I have not mentioned here the most terrifying experience of my career—the day when a real *bona fide* bomb got mixed up with the dummies in a bin of property grenades, and exploded full in my face. It was all over in an instant, and I hadn't time even to be scared. It was only afterwards, during the weeks I lay in hospital

with a face like raw meat and my eyes bandaged, that a sense of the catastrophe overwhelmed me, and I wondered whether I should ever see or act again.

Through the skill of the specialists, however, I was able to regain my sight, and took up the filming of "Haunted Spooks", a two-reel comedy, at the point where the explosion had halted it eight months before. Yes—

I've had some awful illnesses,  
And accidents that stretched me flat,  
But, anyway, I'm still alive,  
And lots of people can't say that.

I'm not sure about the metre, and the sentiment may not be very profound, but this doggerel rhyme has often cheered me when I think of the things that have scared me.

## Women in Ceylon Politics

BY MR. PERRY DE LANEROLLE

### NO-VIOLENCE CAMPAIGN

Unlike in Britain where women waxed violent and fought pitched battles with the men in their endeavour to obtain political emancipation, the women in this country have neither adopted aggressive tactics nor have they broken any windows in official institutions and residences.

There was in this country, at the time of the arrival of the Donoughmore Commissioners four years ago, what was called a Women's Franchise Union whose avowed object was to obtain the vote for women. At the head of this movement was Lady Dias Bandaranaike, the wife of Sir Solomon Dias Bandaranaike, till recently the Chief of the Chief Native Headmen. With her were prominently associated the wives of a few of the Councillors who occupied seats in the old Legislative Council. The activities of this association were spasmodic. They were largely confined to public lectures by men espousing the women's cause, while now and

WOMEN in Ceylon have broken loose from the hide-bound conventions which enveloped them for centuries. They no longer love the *purdah* which ruled their lives and emotions in the past. One of them has even secured a seat in the State Council of this country by popular election.

In these days of democracy and enlightenment when women in the West are seeking equal places with men in every field of professional and political activity, it is not to be wondered that women in Ceylon should be infected with the fever of business and political ambition.

The Donoughmore Commissioners who gave this country a novel scheme of reforms, the like of which does not obtain in any other part of the world, conceded the vote to women for the first time in the island's history. The Commissioners went further and gave them equal opportunities with men to seek election by popular suffrage to the State Council which they created.

then the women growled and spat the fire of their rhetoric on an unheeding public opinion. They took the Commissioners in, as much by the record of their work in the field of social service and their eagerness for higher endeavour as by the charm of their personality and made them concede full political status to them.

#### NEGLECTED AND FORGOTTEN

It must be said for the Women's Franchise Union, that it was responsible for obtaining the franchise for women, largely by reason of its banding the women of this country together and bringing about some cohesion of thought and action where none existed.

The elections to the new State Council created by the Donoughmore Commissioners were held in the middle of this year. As far as women were concerned, they were diffident to venture out and engage in battle with men. The only woman who announced her candidature for a remote constituency withdrew at the last moment, leaving the field for her man rival to be returned unopposed.

But women—at least some of them—hoped and aspired to get into the Council by the back door of nomination. They were disillusioned to find that not one of their number was included in the Governor's nominations.

Internal strife and disagreement among the women themselves have sundered the Women's Franchise Union. There are to-day about half a dozen women's organisations under various names in the country, which do not owe any allegiance to the original one.

#### IN THE STATE COUNCIL

The State Council has not been without incident during the short period of its existence. It has been the battle-ground of ministerial invective: it has justified in some degree the popular saying that the new reforms introduced responsibility without power to the representatives of the people.

The Speaker who presides over the deliberations of the State Council, has had a very difficult time. He has been faced with situations, in which even the precedents created by the Mother of Parliaments have been of little avail. The seven ministers have often figured as the infants of the storm of public ridicule.

#### FIRST WOMAN IN THE STATE COUNCIL

It is said that woman creates dissension and strife wherever she goes. But the first woman state councillor will find herself in an atmosphere already charged with strife and misgiving in the State Council.

She is Mrs. A. F. Molamure, wife of the Speaker of the State Council, a woman of charming personality and much courage. She fought a four cornered contest with three men opposed to her, one of whom is a Congress secretary and a lawyer of more than mediocre ability. She fought with clean weapons and captured a seat which her respected father, the first Kandyan Adigar, held for many years and was rendered vacant by his death.

She polled 13,866 votes and beat her nearest opponent who polled 4,468, by four figures. The total strength of this electorate is 31,652 men and women, out of whom 21,094, or roughly 66 per cent. turned up at the poll.

#### A SIGNIFICANT FACT

The fact of her victory, which is alleged in some quarters to be due to her charming personality and the respect in which her family is held in the District, is significant of many things.

It is significant of the fact that women will find equal chances with men in future politics with the scale perhaps slightly balanced in their favour. It is significant of the fact that men in this country have confidence in the ability of women to engage in serious business outside their home fires.

#### A NEW OUTLOOK

Although one woman may not be permitted many opportunities to help in social legislation and in matters affecting the well-being of mothers and infants in an assembly composed purely of men, it is likely that the influence of a woman's presence among men will make them mindful of the care and attention which problems of this nature deserve, whenever they come up for consideration.

The entry of a woman into the State Council will contribute to a new outlook in that body. It will clear the way for women in the future to stand on level ground with men, freeing themselves of the conventions and usages to which they have been bound for centuries.

From that point of view, the occasion of the first woman's entry into the State Council has not only created history, but also added a new interest to politics.

Women in this country now-a-days are gaining high academic distinction in the fields of letters and art. The handful of women doctors in the Island have made very valuable contributions to health problems, and the doors of the legal profession are on the verge of being thrown open to women.

#### NATURAL DESIRE FOR USEFULNESS.

Having achieved distinction in the social sphere, it is in the scheme of things that women should desire to enter more active fields of public usefulness and responsibility.

Women, at least those who ask to be given a hand in the government of the country, are confident of their ability to help men to solve many of the problems which confront the country. Infant mortality, maternity and slums—these are some of the problems in which women claim the right to advise men.

## The Round Table Conference

THE Plenary Session of the Round Table Conference was formally opened by the Prime Minister, on Saturday the 28th November. The discussions were continued on Monday the 30th and concluded with the Premier's statement on the 1st December.

Lord Sankey submitted the Federal Structure Sub-Committee's reports dealing with legislative powers and reserved subjects and moved their adoption.

The Premier submitted the Minorities Report simultaneously, informing the Conference that his offer to give a decision and the conditions attached to it had not been accepted.

I want to say, and with very definite conviction, that this problem can be solved still. I am as hopeful as I was at the beginning, that by further work, by the exercise of goodwill, by facing the actual facts of the situation, with the exercise of the well known pride of Indian representatives, they will find a way out of this very troublesome situation.

The general debate was then opened by the Raja of Korea. Twenty-three speakers participated before the session was adjourned to the 30th. The Nawab of Bhopal, in his speech, reiterated the Indian States' faith in an All-India Federation, which was the only solution to the problem and their willingness to co-operate to achieve this object.

The European attitude was outlined by Sir H. Carr. He declared, they insisted on separate electorates in order to secure the election of their own representatives to the legislatures and to safeguard the interests of the minorities. They would have preferred Provincial Autonomy before Central Responsibility but realizing the distrust between India and Britain, they endorsed the demand of their fellow-delegates for simultaneous changes.

Sir Manubhai Mehta, on behalf of the States, reiterated the view that there can be no Federation without Central Responsibility.

Sir P. Ginwala emphasized the importance of scrutiny of the Military Budget by the Legislature.

Speaking as one of the Indian Moderates determined to fight for the British connexion, Sir Cowasji warned the Government against granting merely Provincial Autonomy. He said :

If you make a mistake at the present critical juncture, you will wipe out men like myself from public life. . . . Don't let the masses believe that non-co-operation is the only method for gaining liberty. Otherwise you will not have a friend left in India and you will wipe out those friends who throughout their life have stood by the British connexion.

#### THE SECOND DAY'S SITTING

The second day's sitting opened with speeches by Mr. Jayakar and Lord Reading. Both showed that the Conference had not been a failure but a real success in view of the large measure of agreement reached. Mr. Jayakar particularly noticed this in respect of commercial discrimination and financial safeguards. Both spoke as convinced Federalists, Lord Reading declaring that his views, which had been carefully pondered before his January speech, had not weakened.

An alternative to the existing constitution, lasting a period measurable by years, and not months, was outlined by Sir A. P. Patro, namely, a period of transitional responsibility in British India pending Federation.

Sir Akbar Hydari proposed a transitional scheme in the form of temporary machinery of a Federal character. Sir Akbar made effective reference to Berar as a unit of an Indian State, whose Government must accord to any changes made in its administration.

Mr. Ramachandra Rao spoke next while Mrs. Sarojini Naidu followed with an eloquent speech.

Sir Phiroze Sethna opposed Army reductions.

Other speakers for the day included Mr. Benn, Mr. Sastri and Pundit Malaviya. Mr. Gandhi, who spoke after midnight—the session concluding at 2-15 a.m.—stated that he would “strain every nerve to secure an honorable settlement without

exposing the millions of India's men, women and children to the terrible ordeal of civil disobedience”. But he wanted “real independence” and did not want to break the bond between England and India. He was open to compromise. Mr. Sastri in his speech made an appeal to Gandhiji not to lead the Indian people through the valley of humiliation if it is unnecessary. In his view, it was no longer necessary. “The British people often do wrong and take unwise courses,” he said,

nevertheless, in the long run, they return to the ways of reason, moderation and justice. This is one of the occasions when it seems to me they are in a most winning and admirable mood.

#### MESSAGE TO THE KING

The delegates agreed amidst applause to the Premier's proposal to send, in the name of the Conference, a message to the King-Emperor, tendering loyal and heart-felt gratitude for the favours they had again received from His Majesty, adding that they

are deeply conscious of His Majesty's unfailing solicitude for the well-being of the princes and the people of India.

They believe that His Majesty needs no assurance that in no other part of his realm is there a livelier sense of loyalty and devotion to His Majesty's throne and person.

#### THE PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT

At the final sitting of the Conference on the 1st December, Mr. MacDonald said that he had been authorised by the Government to repeat the assurance that the declaration of last January, accepting central responsibility with certain necessary safeguards still held good. After reaffirming the Government's belief in an All-India Federation as offering the only helpful solution of India's constitutional problem, the Premier declared that His Majesty's Government intended to pursue this plan unswervingly and do their utmost to surmount the difficulties which now stood in the way of its realisation. The framing of a scheme of Provincial Autonomy, he declared, would have been simple, but as the delegates wanted central responsibility

and provincial autonomy to be coupled in an all-embracing statute, His Majesty's Government would press with the Federal plan with all possible despatch.

My colleagues in His Majesty's present Government fully accept the statement of January last as representing their own policy. In particular they desire to reaffirm their belief in an All-India Federation as offering the only hopeful solution of India's constitutional problem. They intend to pursue this plan unswervingly and to do their utmost to surmount the difficulties which now stand in the way of its realisation.

Mr. MacDonald continued :

The road to agreements is not broken but quite suddenly and generally unexpectedly the way smoothes itself out and the end is happily reached. . . . “Do remember to stand shoulder to shoulder with us in the exchange of views and by mutual co-operation and with good luck and good fortune, we shall solve problems that now confront us and see India stand self-governing and self-respecting in the world.”

The Premier announced that meanwhile the North-West Frontier Province would be constituted immediately into a Governor's Province with due regard to the question of Defence. He also announced that Sind would be separated, if finance was satisfactory. A conference would be called for this purpose.

In order that His Majesty's Government should continue consultation with the delegates, it was proposed to nominate a Working Committee of the Conference which would remain in being in India. Several other committees whose appointment the Conference had recommended, would also be set up. The Conference would then meet again for a final review of the whole scheme.

The Premier made a stirring appeal for a settlement by the delegates themselves of the communal problem. A vote of thanks to the Premier was moved by Mr. Gandhi. Without commenting on the Premier's weighty pronouncement, Mr. Gandhi said that even if they had come to the parting of the ways and whatever direction Mr. Gandhi's road took, Mr. MacDonald was entitled to a vote of thanks from the bottom of Mr. Gandhi's heart. Tributes were also paid by the Nawab of Bhopal and Sir A. Qaiyum.

In reply, the Prime Minister, in his final speech, acknowledging the vote, spoke as follows :

My dear Mahatma, let us go on in this way (of co-operation). It is the best way. You may find it to be the only way. It is certainly the way that will enable both of us to relate our political action with the glorious spiritual impulses which lie at the sources of all our being.

#### THE DEBATE IN THE COMMONS

The promised debate on the Indian question came off on Wednesday the 2nd, when the Prime Minister moved for the approval of the declaration of the National Government's Indian policy at the Round Table Conference. “Political capacity in India has enormously increased in recent years, and nobody attending the Round Table Conference could doubt it,” declared Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in ringing tones in a crowded House of Commons.

The Premier said that every debate in the Round Table Conference, which was representative of all classes, from princes to untouchables, would have done honour to any assembly of specialists in Britain.

He was certain that if the problem of building a constitution for India was faced with courage and resource, with the human material represented in the Round Table Conference and the political adaptability of Britons, they would succeed in one of the greatest contributions to democracy.

Mr. MacDonald criticised an amendment standing in the name of Mr. Winston Churchill and four other members and made an appeal, which was later repeated by Earl Winterton, for its withdrawal. Justifying the advance contemplated in the declaration of the National Government's policy in India, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald said that political capacity had advanced enormously in India in recent years.

According to Mr. MacDonald, India did not want independence, and dominion status as conceived in the statute of Westminster would be applicable to India only when India was brought within its scope by a special clause of the Act of Parliament. He however repudiated the suggestion that India

had been given an inferior status as regards the Westminster statute.

Labour spokesmen welcomed the reaffirmation of the January formula, though Col. Wedgwood remarked that the R. T. C. had failed, because no agreement had been arrived at on the fundamental questions, particularly the immediate grant of responsible government to India.

The Anglo-Indian die-hards expressed doubts and suspicions. The ex-Governor of Burma, Sir Reginald Craddock, was violent and bitter about Brahmins, Banias, Mahatma Gandhi and the "sham" of responsible government.

It is not a question *whether* India is to have responsible government, but *when* she is to have it, and under *what* conditions, declared Sir Samuel Hoare (Secretary of State for India). Sir Samuel reiterated the safeguards which the British Government considered essential in the future Constitution of India. "These safeguards," he said, "are not shackles upon India's future, but rather stays without which the new Indian Constitution will lack the sure and safe stability that it will so much need."

He further made an important statement on the subject of the Franchise. He said: "The Prime Minister, when he spoke (in the House of Commons on Wednesday) on the *status quo* in electoral matters, said inferentially that quite obviously such arrangements as the system of separate electorates, where it at present exists, cannot be altered."

Mr. Stanley Baldwin, Mr. Churchill, Sir John Simon, and other Members also spoke in the course of the debate.

The House adopted the Premier's motion approving of the Government's Indian policy, rejecting Mr. Churchill's amendment by 369 votes to 43.

#### THE DEBATE IN THE LORDS

The debate in the Lords came off on the 8th December when the Marquis of Lothian moved

a Resolution for the approval of Government's Indian policy. The die-hards rallied in support of Lord Lloyd's amendment against Government's declaration.

Lord Sankey warned the House of the consequences of rejection or delay in executing Government's intentions, and the Archbishop of Canterbury supported him in an impressive speech.

Lord Sumner and Lord Burnham denounced all concessions in a characteristic fashion, whilst Lord Snell frankly stated Labour's attitude and urged India to consider seriously the consequences of a revival of civil disobedience.

Lord Irwin's maiden speech received a respectful hearing as, in earnest tones, he stressed the futility of repression by itself, and pleaded for a conciliatory advance in the endeavour to meet India's national aspirations.

The debate was continued on the morrow and concluded on the third day, when, following a reassuring statement by Lord Hailsham (Secretary of State for War) in regard to safeguards, Lord Lloyd withdrew his amendment and Lord Middleton's motion for the adjournment of the debate until February 16 was defeated by 106 votes to 58.

Intervening during Lord Hailsham's statement, Lord Salisbury asked if the House, in voting for the White Paper committed itself to an Indian Executive responsible to the Indian Legislature, and Lord Hailsham replied that no such commitment was involved unless such an Executive and such a Legislature formed part of a Constitution which contained safeguards which satisfied the House.

Lord Hailsham, concluding, said that the best way out of the present difficulties was for Britain and India, in collaboration, to prepare a scheme which gave everybody fairplay and at the same time gave India a reasonable measure of responsibility.

## INDIAN AFFAIRS

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

#### YET ANOTHER OUTRAGE

ONLY last month we condemned the terrorist outrages in Calcutta and Dacca but the Comilla tragedy—the shooting of Mr. Stevens, District Magistrate of Tipperah by a Bengalee woman—has horrified the Indian public from one end of the country to the other. For the first time the fair name of Indian womanhood has been sullied by an outrage of this kind. Kindness and gentleness and humanity have always been the attributes of Indian women from time immemorial, and the significance of this diabolical outrage can hardly be overlooked.

Is the revolutionary spirit to be allowed to invade the peaceful sanctuary of the Indian home? It behoves all right thinking people in the country to resist this ugly development. Mr. Vallabhai Patel, the Congress President, has but echoed the feelings of the whole country when he said at a women's meeting in Bombay:

It is a heinous crime and unbecoming of the traditions of womanhood. It is a blot on Indian womanhood and a stain on their fair name. The Congress can never countenance such cowardly acts. The act is against the culture and traditions of India. It is given to a woman to create and sustain life but not to kill.

#### THE SECOND R. T. C

The second Round Table Conference has not aroused much enthusiasm: for neither the Premier's statement nor the debates in Parliament have altered the situation either way. The Conference was in fact more representative than the first, and Mahatma Gandhi's participation in its proceedings, on which such great hopes were entertained, made the position of the Congress clear and unambiguous. But that is not to say that we are any nearer the solution of the many vexed problems that confront us than before. It would appear that each party was content to maintain its own position and individuality, and neither on the question of minorities nor on other questions was there much headway made. That is deplorable, for we are again exactly

where we were. But that no worse has befallen the Round Table Conference is a matter for relief. The advantages are therefore negative. It is something that the Premier has reaffirmed his declaration of January last, and that that declaration has the backing of the Nationalist Government. Above all, the work of the Conference is to be continued in India, and already the British personnel of the three important Committees has been announced. It would appear that Mr. Gandhi is not impressed by the results of the Conference, and he gave a faint idea of it in telling the Premier "that we have come to the parting of the ways". But it all depends on what he does in consultation with his colleagues in the Working Committee, which meets in Bombay soon after his arrival on the 28th. And what awaits Mr. Gandhi and the Round Tablers who are returning?

#### THE U. P. ORDINANCE

The U. P. Ordinance which came on the heels of the Bengal Ordinance is closely modelled on the latter and a trifle more rigorous too: and it is surprising how it was thought fit to put the no-rent campaigners (an avowedly peaceful body) on a level with the terrorists who are out for violence. Now there is a distinct body of opinion in the Province, which holds that the U. P. Government is doing all in its power to afford relief to the tenants while the Congressmen are apparently of another view. But that apart, there is surely no point in some of the provisions which are, to say the least, extravagant: why, for instance, penalise newspapers in other Provinces for commenting on the no-rent campaign?

The Ordinance arms the Government with extensive powers, as in Bengal, for rounding up groups of persons whom they may regard as engaged in leading or conducting the no-rent campaign. It goes without saying that the U. P. Government will hereafter enjoy virtually unrestricted powers of restraining individual liberty and of commandeering any building for the use of the police or the military. The penalty for disobedience of orders restraining the freedom of movement of persons connected with the campaign will be a term of imprisonment running up to a maximum of two years.

And what is one to say of that novel feature of the Ordinance which penalises parents for the action of their children? These rigorous provisions have naturally evoked a storm of protest, and Mr. Chintamani who characterised the Ordinance as Martial Law minus the name, made a motion for adjournment of the Council to discuss these Emergency powers, and he withdrew it only after definite assurances were given on behalf of the Government in unequivocal and unambiguous terms by the Finance Member and the Home Member, that the Ordinance would only be used to counteract the no-rent campaign started by the Congress, and that the wide powers vested in the Government and its officers would not at all be abused. It was added that definite instructions to this effect had already been issued to all district magistrates in the province.

But the Executive armed with such arbitrary authority has never been known to exercise it with due regard to these assurances. What has actually happened in the United Provinces? Pandit Jawaharlal and Mr. Sherwani were, as every one knows, moving to Bombay to welcome Mr. Gandhi and attend an important meeting of the Congress Working Committee. And yet under the Ordinance which was ostensibly meant to check the no-rent agitation, they were clapped up on the way. The Government have thus unnecessarily precipitated a crisis, and it is deeply to be deplored that a situation is being created which threatens to take a dangerous turn and a return to the unhappy days of civil disobedience. Is that good policy so soon after the Government's declaration of faith in the R. T. C. method?

#### REFORMS AND ORDINANCES FOR THE FRONTIER

We had intended to congratulate the Frontier Province on the higher status that has been announced by the Chief Commissioner in accordance with the Premier's declaration at the close of the Round Table Conference. But the authorities seem to think that the elevation to the status of a Governor's Province is a measure of such advance that it should be accompanied by a double dose of repression—for the three Ordinances that have been hurled at the Province simultaneously, combine the rigours of all previous

Ordinances in Bengal and U. P. with some original features of their own. The power to control the supply of commodities, to commandeer the use of places and properties, to arrest any person who, in the opinion of the officer, "has acted, is acting, or is about to act, in a manner prejudicial to the public safety or peace"—these sound like war-time regulations. And yet the whole engine of law seems to be designed to crush Mr. Abdul Gaffer Khan and his "red shirts", who are pledged to the Congress creed of non-violence? Where, one wonders, is the need for deporting them under Regulation III of 1818? What a sequel to the Reforms!

#### THE BURMA R. T. C.

For the first few days the Burma Conference was going on in an atmosphere of unreality, as the delegates had no clear notion of the ultimate intentions of the Government. So in response to persistent demands, Lord Peel, the President, and perhaps the official spokesman of the Government, outlined their objective as "progressive realisation of responsible government"—a phrase reminiscent of the Montagu Reforms for India. That is to say, while the separation from India will be an accomplished fact, Burma will gain no more than a diarchic constitution with maximum "reservations" and minimum "transfers". But Burma is for effective self-government and this disillusionment led to a walk-out. Later, Government found it expedient to modify their declaration as "self-rule" with safeguards, whatever that may mean—a phrase which seems to have satisfied the Burmans. But at the meeting they made it clear that unless Home Rule was granted, they had no use for the Conference and that they chose to separate from India in the hope, that freed from the political and social complexities of this country, they could find it easier to win British support for their freedom. And so they elicited an authoritative opinion from Lord Peel, that if the delegates felt so, it was open to them to oppose separation at a later stage.

# WORLD EVENTS

BY PROF. A. J. SAUNDERS, Ph.D.

I wrote something last month in retrospect concerning the old year; I want to say something more this month in prospect concerning the New Year and what it may have in store for us. So far as we are concerned, India will occupy the centre of the world stage. The Round Table Conference has ended with very little in the nature of advance toward Home Rule in India to its credit; but the Conference has demonstrated the difficulties in the way of progress, and it has shown that progress must come slowly. India is not ready for a Federal Government yet; the communal and minorities problems are still unsettled, and they are essentially Indian problems. That which could not be settled in London is now being transferred to India to be tackled by Indian committees largely, to see if an Indian atmosphere and on Indian soil a solution cannot be found. The Indian people will find that the British Government will concede *Swaraj* just as soon as Indians will find a common basis of national government in which the interests of each are expressed in the good of all. It now remains for the Parliament to bring in a new India Bill that will show another step forward towards self-government. That step forward will be along the lines of Provincial Autonomy with some additional responsibility at the Centre, but India is not sufficiently unified yet to assume full responsibility at the Centre, much less to assume control of finances and the army; they will come when India is ready to consider a Federal system.

In the first months of the New Year, the British National Government will be seriously at work on its threefold task: to balance the budget in reality, to achieve a trade recovery, and to begin the process of sterling stabilisation. This is a tremendous task, and will require the best brains and united co-operation of the whole country to accomplish. In February will meet, at Geneva, the

first World Disarmament Conference on which so much of the world's peace and prosperity will depend. Their task consists of three possible lines of advance: to limit armament costs by at least 25 per cent., to set up a Permanent Disarmament Commission, and to charge that body with the responsibility of seeing that the armament limitations are observed in the budgets of the member nations, and to observe a ratio of expenditure on armaments according to some idea of size and need of the various nations. If this can be done, it will mean a great advance towards international peace and goodwill.

Germany may become active again at any time; the Nazis movement may bring on an explosion; they are asking for a reconsideration of the whole question of reparation and war-debt payments. Germany is on the verge of a revolution, and 1932 may see it come to a head. The United States' moratorium on debt payments will come up for reconsideration. The breathing space which it afforded has given relief, but trade recovery has not come, and to try and insist upon the resumption of debt payments at present is simply unthinkable. The economic condition of the world is largely the result of our financial and monetary problems; 1932 must solve some of them or revolution on a large scale will break out. Everything depends upon the Disarmament Conference; if that can succeed hope will revive, and on that foundation we may move towards tariff reductions, cancellation of all war indebtedness incurred since 1914, and a general revival of goodwill among the nations.

China and Japan are still in a war-like attitude; the League of Nations must settle that dispute in the early weeks of 1932, or it may become a menace to the peace of the world. Russia is watching the situation with interested eyes, and may yet be drawn into the vortex. General

Elections are coming on soon in Australia and the United States of America. I would not be surprised if we may see changes in both these countries, either a national Government set up like Britain, or a change in party government. If we have sufficient foresight to look into the early prospect of 1932, we shall see all kinds of possibilities but we hope for the best.

#### MANCHURIA AGAIN

The Council of the League of Nations is still at work trying to effect a settlement of the trouble between China and Japan. Both sides have now agreed to League "Observers" enquiring into the whole situation. Japan was inclined at first to deal with the matter herself by force of arms, but she has receded from that position because of public opinion. It shows how public opinion is now figuring in international questions. The strength of public opinion will again be felt in the forthcoming Disarmament Conference. Might is no longer right; public opinion is now might, and it very often is right.

Japan's army and military operations are regarded as necessary, because of China's inability to preserve order and to protect life and property. "Japan asserts that the Chinese forces have melted into a horde of bandits who are preying on the country. The Japanese army is compelled to employ military measures to protect life and property, and also to break up hostile concentrations." Japan has a good case; but it is much better for the League to conduct the case against China by negotiation and conciliation than for Japan to try the case by force of arms.

#### THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS' TEST

The League of Nations is passing through its most severe testing time during its whole history up to the present time. The Manchurian trouble and the Disarmament Conference will make, if they do not break, the future of the League. Sir Arthur Salter, the well known economist, speaking recently said that when that result had

been secured, the peace machinery of the world would have been recognised and strengthened. More was at stake than a local dispute between China and Japan. It was not only the mechanism of the League that was at stake, but also the world's peace machine, including the Covenant and the Kellogg Pact.

#### KING ALFONSO

Royalty in Europe has fallen upon hard times. The Spanish Cortes has at last pronounced upon the fate of their recent King. A special committee of investigation has found King Alfonso guilty of *lese-majeste*, that is, a crime against the sovereign power of the people. His guilt lies in his absolutist tendency traced back through many years of his reign and expressed in many acts against his people. The Committee were divided as to the sentence to be imposed. Most of the members were in favour of confinement for life with confiscation of all property; a minority position which was finally agreed to, was that the King should be perpetually exiled from his country, and all political rights taken from his heirs. There are still many friends of the late King in Spain, and some few are among the members of the Cortes, but very few indeed would be willing or think it wise to defend the absent King at the present time.

#### STABILISING STERLING

Sir Robert Horne has recently taken the opportunity of impressing the public mind with the real danger of being hurried or bullied or flattered into "stabilising the pound", or "pegging the pound". It is now generally admitted that Britain was too hasty in stabilising the pound at its pre-war rate of exchange in 1925; we can expect that she will not be quick to stabilise this time. In 1925, the pound was not ready to bear the exchange rate of \$4.86. Under normal circumstances the pound would have been able to maintain the old rate, but the stock slump of November 1929, and the fall in world prices; the

inability to find markets; the maldistribution of the gold supply—all combined to make it impossible for the pound to maintain the old rate of exchange. The last straw was forcing the pound off the gold standard. We may expect for some time that the value of the pound will fluctuate in the exchange market, due to demand and supply of sterling according to trade balances.

When sterling was on a gold basis, gold was used to maintain exchange, and balances were paid in gold at or near the par rate of exchange; now the value of sterling is determined by goods, consequently the value of sterling is influenced by the volume of trade, and an unfavourable balance of trade will send the rate of exchange against

sterling. The same result will be obtained if there is considerable buying of sterling abroad. There is also evidently a conflict on between gold and sterling with an advantage to gold at the present moment. The recovery of sterling depends upon an inward trend from our present state of depression, and the opening up of new markets for British trade. Until that is done, we may expect the state of sterling fluctuations to more or less continue. Sterling at least, for the present, has a value determined by trade and goods, not by gold, and its rate of exchange is bound to fluctuate when trade conditions are so unstable. If, and when, sterling will be linked with gold again is uncertain, but it will not be done soon.

## Trade and Finance

BY "SRIVAS"

THE postponement of this letter to an unusually late hour has not been altogether in vain. Reports, however scrappy and garbled, of the labours of the Special Advisory Committee which was convoked by the Bank for International Settlements at the instance of Germany, are to hand at the time of writing. And it is learned that the Committee have not minced words in describing the highly critical situation that prevails in international finance generally and in special reference to the obligations of the nations in regard to reparations and War Debts. "Germany," states the Report, "will be unable to pay conditional annuity under the Young Plan when the moratorium expires. And if no remedy is forthcoming, the crisis will spread all over Europe and destroy the credit system. The problem demands common action by all Governments, otherwise there will be a further catastrophe."

The main question referred to the Committee has been answered; and the Committee declares emphatically that "Germany is justified in

declaring herself unable from July next to pay the conditional part of the annuities. The German problems calls for concerted action which the Governments alone can take. There is no previous parallel in a time of peace to the dislocation which has taken place and which might involve a profound change in the economic relations of the nations. After July it had been evident that if the crisis which had overwhelmed Germany were not remedied, it would spread over all Europe, destroy the credit system and create profound repercussions elsewhere". The recommendations of the Committee are summarised in the press report as, firstly, that transfers from one country to another on a scale so large as to upset the balance of payments can only accentuate the crisis; secondly, the release of a debtor country from the burden of payments, which it is unable to bear, may merely have the effect of transferring that burden to a creditor country which it, in its turn, may be unable to bear; thirdly, the adjusting of all reparations and War Debts to the circumstances of the world should

take place without delay if new disasters are to be avoided. "This," states the Report, "is the only way to re-establish confidence." Thus at the close of the year 1931, the only comfort that has been afforded to a distressed and distracted world, is that the Special Advisory Committee under the Young Plan has been imbued by a very laudable honesty of purpose and has found it possible to give findings and make suggestions according to the prevailing situation, and not to suit the prejudices and the fancied self-interests of the Powers. But one has to remember at the same time that the Young Plan laid it down specifically that the Special Advisory Committee meeting, of which Germany was entitled to under certain conditions, was to be purely consultative and that its recommendations are not binding on the Governments concerned, whose acceptance and ratification are absolutely essential. It is not known whether the Committee's decisions were unanimous or whether the differences of views between the Powers also manifested themselves in their deliberations. But one may be sure that within a Committee-room it would be next to impossible for even the most purblind Frenchman to make out that the payment of the conditional annuities after July would be feasible. While agreement with the general findings of the Committee may be expected, it is still difficult to indulge the hope that their recommendations will meet with the consent of France or America; for the Committee clearly suggests not merely a postponement of payments but an actual reduction of debts and reparations. While this is distasteful alike to France and America, the chief bone of contention is priority of commercial debts over reparations or *vice versa*. This question which is of more immediate and practical importance than the volume and time of reparations payments, the Special Committee was not free to consider or to recommend on. Thus despite the unambiguous

and conclusive nature of the findings of the Special Advisory Committee, the main points of difference over which the chief Powers are agitated, still remain and only the New Year will show what mankind has in store for it. While the American Congress declares that any reduction or cancellation of War Debts is against the policy of the Congress, the French Chamber of Deputies extracted from the Premier the declaration, that the French Government will not participate officially in any discussion of negotiations regarding the commercial debts of Germany. It is sad to think that in a situation of an admittedly grave character, the principal Powers should still seek to play a kind of diplomatic dodge and leave the crying evils untended. On February 29 will expire the "standstill" agreement which is holding together the broken fabric of European finance; and if by that time France will not see her way to settling the question of commercial debts, a profound catastrophe, with its inevitable repercussions all over the world, must be deemed a certainty.

All this is quite in agreement with the trend of affairs during the last one month and more. Though this period may be generally described as a time, in which international finance was settling down to the altered conditions created by Great Britain's abandonment of the gold standard, new difficulties had also arisen. Great Britain herself had taken such action as was shown to be necessary by the crisis of September-end. The Anti-Dumping Bill was passed without much delay, giving the Board of Trade powers to increase the duty on certain classes of imports up to a maximum of 100 per cent. And within a few hours of the Act receiving the Royal assent, the Board of Trade imposed a duty of 50 per cent. on a whole class of goods. In America, it was found that the Tariff Act gave powers to the Executive to increase the duty on any class of imports to the same level to which those goods of American manufacture are

subject to in foreign countries. France had already taken action in the same line; with the result that the year-end sees a tariff war in full swing.

In the realm of finance, too, there was a marked retrogression. The last two months were a period of a continued slump in sterling. The Anti-Dumping Bill, whatever its ultimate effects may be, had the immediate effect of inducing an abnormal rush of imports of commodities on which increased duties were apprehended. The imports during the first ten days of November were more than half the imports of the whole of October. And the pressure of all the remittance that had been laid up during the crisis, had already come out and caused a depression in sterling. In America, however, conditions were somewhat better. There was a marked recovery of confidence in the dollar and in the American banking system. The flight of capital was stopped. And the banks which had closed during the crisis, were enabled to reopen by the work done by the Credit Corporation started through the efforts of Mr. Hoover. While the general financial conditions were no doubt better, the deterioration in the national finances became more and more apparent, and it was laid down by Mr. Hoover before the Congress that a deficit of £800 millions should be apprehended by the end of the current year. New taxation, especially on incomes and certain luxury goods, were announced. At the same time, unemployment is reported to be getting worse; and popular dissatisfaction is more marked than before.

The conditions of Germany on which the entire edifice of debts and reparations is raised, is too well known to call for any detailed exposition. Suffice it to say that in spite of a virtual boom in exports, and the consequent increase in the foreign credits available, the Reich-bank's gold reserves ran down to about 15 per cent. This is attributed among other causes to the leakage in the "standstill" arrangement, and the Government and the Bank had to

consider measures of tightening the control over foreign exchange. In the political sphere, Dr. Bruening had to realise that government by emergency decrees cannot proceed for long and that he must try to secure more support in Parliament. It is believed that each party is trying to secure some coalition or other with the necessary sacrifice or compromise of principles which coalition always involves; and that in this manoeuvring for power, Herr Hitler has good chances of getting into office.

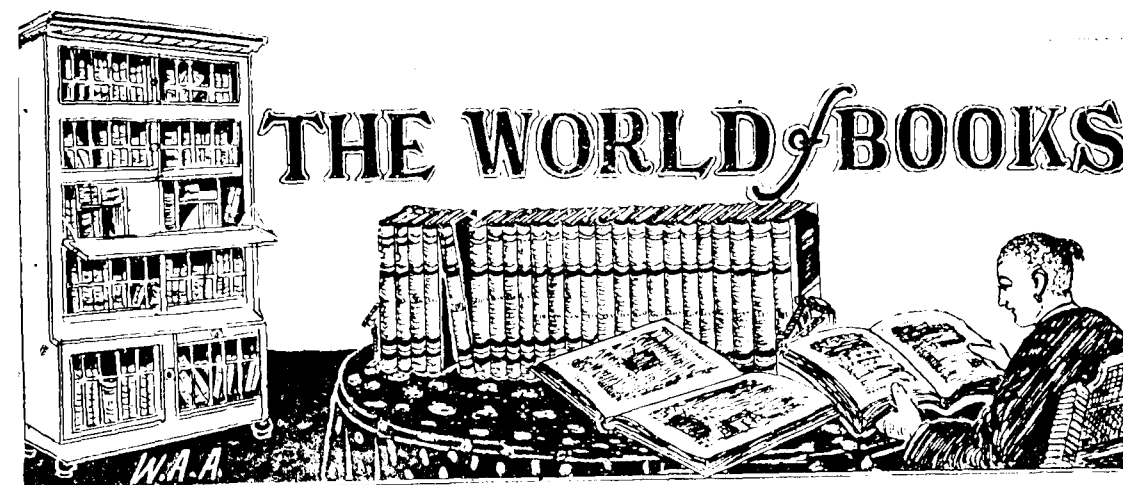
In India, the year-end closes with the financial outlook, so far as the Government's daily commitments are concerned, far better than the Finance Member could have expected. The exchange market no doubt showed the danger which was pointed out in these columns last month, of too great a dependence on gold export. But the latter have been so well maintained that, except for a drop of two points in one week, the rupee rate was both high and steady enabling the Government to buy up sterling sufficient to enable them to look forward with ease to the obligation of repaying £15½ million in the London market this January. In fact, an announcement to this effect has already been made; and sentiment in London has been to that extent altered in favour of the credit of the Government of India. At home the 6½ per cent. Treasury Bonds was closed on December 12, after it had brought in about Rs. 16½ crores nominal. The Treasury Bills maturities were paid off by fresh expansion of currency till to-day the total floating debt stands at Rs. 60 crores. While Government finance is no doubt better, the general state of the markets is not very reassuring. The double stimulant of devaluation, and increased import duties, has so far failed to bring about any marked improvement. The political uncertainty is most keenly felt now as some signs of improvement are dimly visible. So far as India is concerned, much will rest with the action of Mahatma Gandhi when he comes back. One can only hope for the best, where intelligent guess seems to be well-nigh out of the question.

# Diary of the Month

- Nov. 25. Sir John Anderson, Sir James Sifton, and Sir Michael Keane are appointed Governors of Bengal, Bihar and Assam, respectively.
- Nov. 26. The rebel chief Saya Sen (Burma) is executed in the Tharrawady Jail.
- Nov. 27. The Burma Round Table Conference is inaugurated by H. R. H. the Prince of Wales.
- Nov. 28. H. E. The Viceroy gives his assent to the Supplementary Finance Bill.
- Nov. 29. A new Ordinance for Bengal is promulgated by the Viceroy.
- Nov. 30. The Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and others are arrested.
- Dec. 1. Premier announces British policy in India. —The R. T. C. is adjourned.
- Dec. 2. Japan and China agree to the League's settling the Manchurian question.
- Dec. 3. The Commons in debate ratify Government's Indian policy.
- Dec. 4. Sir Mahomed Shafi is appointed member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.
- Dec. 5. Mr. Gandhi leaves England for Paris en route to India.
- Dec. 6. The All-Moslem Congress meets in Jerusalem.
- Dec. 7. The 72nd United States Congress opens at Washington.
- Dec. 8. India debate in the House of Lords.
- Dec. 9. Mr. Haig is appointed Home Member in succession to Sir James Crerar.
- Dec. 10. The Lords approve the Government's Indian policy.
- Dec. 11. Dr. J. Addams and Dr. Nicholas Butler are awarded Nobel Prize for Peace.
- Dec. 12. The U. S. A. Government announces opposition to cancellation of War debts.
- Dec. 13. A new Ordinance to deal with the "no rent" campaign in U. P. is promulgated.
- Dec. 14. Mr. Stevens, District Magistrate of Tippera, is shot dead by a Bengalee woman.
- Dec. 15. Gandhiji leaves Brindisi for India.
- Dec. 16. Sir M. Visvesvaraya opens the All-India Swadeshi Exhibition in Madras.
- Dec. 17. Sir Fazli Hussain and other Members of the Indian Delegation to the Cape Town Conference leave Bombay for South Africa.
- Dec. 18. Mr. Purushottamdas Tandon is arrested in Allahabad.
- Dec. 19. Bombay lawyers meet in Conference, Dewan Bahadur T. Rangachari presiding.
- Dec. 20. Dr. Ansari opens Gandhi Asram at Narela, a village near Delhi.
- Dec. 21. Kashmir Premier opens negotiations with Muslim leaders.
- Dec. 22. Frontier Reforms are announced by the Chief Commissioner at a Durbar.
- Dec. 23. British personnel of the Reforms Committees is announced.
- Dec. 24. Three Ordinances applicable to the Frontier Provinces are promulgated.
- Dec. 25. Mr. Abdul Gaffar Khan and a few others are arrested under Regulation III of 1818 and deported.
- Dec. 26. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. T. A. K. Sherwani are arrested.
- Dec. 27. Dr. Sapru and other returning Round Tablers issue a statement.
- Dec. 28. Mahatma Gandhi arrives in Bombay this morning from his European tour.
- Dec. 29. Over a thousand "Red Shirts" are arrested in the Frontier Province.
- Dec. 30. Gandhiji, in consultation with the Working Committee, sends a message to the Viceroy asking him whether the Delhi Pact is at an end.
- Dec. 31. Congress Working Committee discusses Viceroy's reply to Mr. Gandhi.



PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU



THE GREATEST OF THESE. By Nikolai Gubsky. Elkin Mathews and Marrot. 7s. 6d. net.

Russia is obviously the cradle of the richest modern fiction. "The Greatest of These" refers to the virtue of charity. The story treats about a family, of a son and three daughters and their parents. The children have all their adventures in love and marriage, and the mother has an infinite fund of patience and sympathy in facing the vagaries of her children. The book perplexes the reader with a series of dissolving pictures. The sex interest predominates the book, and though tiresome, it helps us to understand the present chaos in social morality in Russia. The Russian woman combines the self-confidence of the typical Western woman with the passionateness of the Eastern. The book gives us a tantalisingly meagre glimpse of Rasputin. The date of the story is the eve of the Great War and a few years after its outbreak.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF MAHOMEDAN LAW. By Asaf A. A. FYZEE, M.A. (CANTAB.), LL.B. (BOM.), BAR-AT-LAW. Oxford University Press.

The above is a pamphlet of 42 pages purporting to be the first of a series of lectures, which the author hopes will comprehend in itself the whole range of Mahomedan Law. The author is well qualified to deal with the subject, and his English is lucid and picturesque. We wish him all success.

THE ORIGINS OF POPULAR SUPERSTITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND CEREMONIES. By T. Sharper Knowlson. T. Werner Laurie Ltd. 7s. 6d. net.

Who is there of us who can place his hand on his heart and say that he is entirely free from superstition? Who is there in the Western World who can truthfully avow that he never walks under a ladder, that he has no objection to sitting down thirteen at table and that he is not in the least perturbed if he upsets the salt? These, with the exception of the ladder superstition which he probably thinks too puerile for notice, Mr. Knowlson, in a book which is an up-to-date edition of Brand's "Popular Antiquities" published as long ago as 1841, traces back through the ages in an attempt which is not always successful to track them down to their origin. Mr. Knowlson has dealt with the whole subject in an interesting and comprehensive manner.

THE SONG OF LIFE. By J. Krishnamurthi. Published by the Star Publishing Trust, Ommen, Holland.

The author is the famous World Teacher of the Theosophists. He says in his Foreword that he is not a poet; and that he has "merely attempted to put into words the manner of his realisation". We agree. But that is not to say that the work is devoid of delicate fancies or some beautiful ideas.

**THE FAMILY.** By Dr. Muller-Lyer. Translated by F. W. Stella-Browne. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

Although the book was written over twenty years ago, many of the phenomena studied by Dr. Muller-Lyer have a current value. He discusses with incisive acumen the interactions of institutions of modern European civilisations upon the problem of the development of human race and human culture, and of the organisation of human society. He evaluates the true significance of the progress of means of communication, the discovery of methods of family limitation and the increasing status of women to a position of equality with men; and from these, he indicates the likely lines of progress of humanity in its individualistic phase. The sociological phenomena of all ages and times are studied with care and precision, well-classified and presented to the lay reader in a very attractive form.

The translation of the work from the German language appears to have been attractively done, and a technical subject has been dealt with in a manner which would interest the ordinary reader.

**THE BUDDHA'S GOLDEN PATH.** By Dwight Goddard. Luzac & Co., London.

There is in these days a surprising interest in Buddha and Buddhism in Christian countries: and thinking men in the West find the tenets of Sakyamuni eminently rational and practical. But they are baffled by the voluminous literature on the religion and philosophy of Buddhism, and scared by the divergent practices and teachings of the Sects. The writer shows that Buddhism is primarily a way of life—sensible, practical and virtuous rather than a subtle or profound system of thought. He gives a brief but impressive summary of what may be called the essentials of Buddhism which cannot fail to interest European readers.

**IDEAS, OR GENBRAL INTRODUCTION TO PURE PHENOMENOLOGY.** By Edmund Husserl. Translated by W. R. Boyce Gibson, M.A., D.Sc. (OXON.) Publishers: George Allen & Unwin.

In this book the author seeks to trace a new line of philosophical development under the title "Transcendental Phenomenology". He treats of an *a priori* science in its original intuitability and reduces everything to the level of the transcendental. Empirical psychology as such is not the purview of this work, since the differences between the method of Phenomenology traced in this work and the workings of that science are widely marked.

Husserl has done a signal service to the cause of philosophical progress, in that he rigorously demands the breaking of mental barriers of presuppositions and certain habits of thought, which have prevented and clouded intellectual freedom. If that would be accomplished, the road to genuine philosophical problems is surely laid. Husserl in this book has taken upon himself the role of the right beginner. He has not only endeavoured to frame a groundwork of Phenomenological movement, but also tried to reform the general philosophical start which others make.

**TIT-BITS JUBILEE BOOK.** With a Preface by Lord Riddell. George Newnes Ltd., London.

When fifty years ago, George Newnes founded *Tit-Bits*, he created a revolution in journalism which has justified itself by its success. He was a pioneer if ever there was one, and he lived to enjoy the subtle flattery that comes of others imitating his methods, and profiting by the imitation. Newnes created not only the new journalism but the schemes of making it popular—competitions and free insurance and such like schemes—which are now in evidence in the periodical world. The story of a paper that is read by the million in mansion and cottage, by old and young, is vividly told.

**KEEP 'THY WIFE.** By Lady Flavia Giffard. Chapman & Hall. 7s. 6d.

The title, the paper wrapper depicting an Indian Prince looking possessively over an European girl, and a quotation from Thomas Wright on the fly-leaf, almost preconcluded the story for us as a defence of colour bar. One is often accustomed to read of the rich Indian who, with a veneer of English education, captures the heart of some innocent English girl, and when all too late, the girl discovers that behind his superficial charm there exists a cruel, lustful and barbaric nature. It was something of a surprise, not to speak of the great relief it gave us, to find Prince Syed never relapse even once into his native habits. But for the inexorable bar of public opinion, Syed and Berenice should have married and been happy about it. But Prince Syed, however much he may adhere to English conventionality, has a typically Indian mind. He takes the slaps and the taunt of "half-caste" from the governess without retaliating. Throughout he is possessed of patience, resigned to his degradation and aware of the impossible. If he had been an American, his wife would have petitioned for divorce on the ground that he is not a "he-man". But it suits Prince Syed to be just that, just as it suits Berenice, to cherish her love for him without seeking incarnation.

**LOGARITHMIC, TECHNICAL AND OTHER USEFUL TABLES.** By N. S. Nagpaul, B.Sc. The Commercial Book Co., Brandreth Road, Lahore.

This is a very useful compilation of various mathematical and physical tables. Besides logarithmic and trigonometrical tables, it contains steam tables, British standard wire-gauge tables, fuse-wire tables, etc. It would certainly prove very handy, not only for the use of the students but the practical engineer as well.

**THE WARNING OF KASHMIR.** By G. S. Raghavan. The Pioneer Press, Allahabad.

Kashmir, the abode of peace and loveliness, has of late been the scene of an incessant agitation. Its peculiar position on the frontier, coupled with the fact that a Hindu Maharajah is at the head of a numerically large population of Muslims, invests the situation with more than ordinary importance. So far, as is well known, the Maharajah has dealt with the pernicious influences of discord with tact and magnanimity. Mr. Raghavan gives a vigorous yet unvarnished account of recent happenings, and calls attention to a problem of considerable importance to the States as well as British India. The warning of Kashmir is eminently readable.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED

**THE INDIAN PEASANT UPROOTED.** By Margaret Read. Longmans Green & Co., London.

**THE DAWN OF INDIAN FREEDOM.** By Winslow and Elwin. George Allen and Unwin, London.

**CATHERINE JOINS UP.** By Adrienne Thomas. Elkin Mathews & Marrot Ltd., London.

**THE DECALOGUE OF THE INDIAN PUBLIC DEBT COMMITTEE.** Provincial Congress Committee, Bombay.

**THE MADRAS STATES' DIRECTORY, 1931.** Pearl Press. Cochin.

**ORGANIC CHEMISTRY.** By F. S. Kipping and F. B. Kipping. W. & R. Chambers, London.

**THE MAHDI OF ALLAH.** By Richard A. Bermann. G. P. Putnam's, London.

**THE WET PARADE.** By Upton Sinclair. T. Werner Laurie Ltd., London.

**A WHIP FOR THE WOMAN.** By Ralph Strauss. Chapman and Hall, London.

**MAHATMA GANDHI: The World's Greatest Man.** With an Appreciation by Lajpat Rai. Karnatak Printing Press, Thakurdwar, Bombay. As. 8.

**A NEW PROFESSION OR MANUAL OF INDIAN TALKIES.** By K. T. Dalvi, B.COM. Commercial Publishers, Ghodbunder Road, Bombay No. 20.

**CONFEDERATION OF STATES OR FEDERATION WITHIN FEDERATION: A Pamphlet.** By A. M. Arora, Vakil, High Court, Gwalior.

**THE ADEN PROBLEM.** The British Indian Colonial Merchants' Association, Bombay.

**THE PALLAVA GENEALOGY.** By the Rev. H. Heras, S.J. Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay.

**DRG-DRSYA VIVEKA.** Sri Ramakrishna Ashrama, Mysore.

# INDIAN STATES

## RAMPUR AND REFORMS

**A**N important declaration was made by H. H. the Nawab of Rampur on December 3.



H. H. THE NAWAB OF RAMPUR

His Highness used to hear appeals from judgments and orders of the High Court, but he has now constituted a Judicial Committee under the presidency of his Judicial Minister.

His Highness has also taken steps to decentralise the administration by giving wider powers to his Ministers and Secretaries with a view to accelerate progress. He has issued the following declaration:

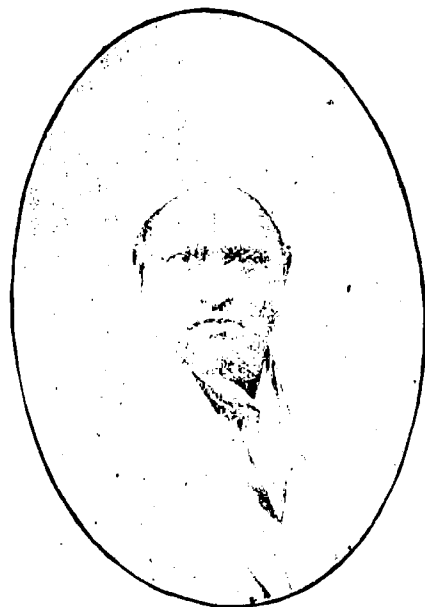
1. That no person shall be deprived of his liberty and property without a regular trial at a court of law.
2. That the dwelling or property of no person shall be entered into, sequestered or confiscated save in accordance with the law of the State.
3. That freedom of association and freedom of speech subject to the law of the land is guaranteed to all persons.
4. That the freedom of the press and publication shall not be interfered with except under the process of law.
5. That every person in the State shall enjoy freedom of conscience and free profession and practice of religion subject to public order and morality.
6. That every citizen shall enjoy equal rights and shall have equal obligations in the State.
7. That no disability shall attach to any person by reason of religion, caste or creed in regard to public employment, office or power or honour and exercise of any trade or calling.
8. That all citizens shall have equal rights of access to, and use of, public roads and all other places of public resorts.
9. That no person shall be punished for any act which was not punishable under the law at the time it was committed.

## PUDUKOTTAH STATE COUNCIL

It has been announced that the Pudukottah Legislative Council is to meet on the 18th January next. According to the Regulation IV of 1924, the Council was hitherto presided over by a Dewan. The new constitution was brought into existence from the 18th November last the date on which Mr. B. G. Holdsworth, I.C.S., assumed charge as the sole administrator. The question now is, who is to preside over the Council—a question which has now been engaging the attention of the public. The Administrator himself will in all probability preside over the Council, and necessary amendments to the above Regulation will be made and issued.

## THE DEWAN OF BARODA

Rao Bahadur V. T. Krishnamachariar, Dewan of Baroda, has been offered and has accepted the extension of the period of his services as Dewan of the State for a further period of three years. He took office as Dewan, in 1927, for three years.



RAO BAHADUR V. T. KRISHNAMACHARI

The period was extended to five years long before the original period of office had expired.

JANUARY 1932]

INDIAN STATES

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## THE NAWAB OF PATAUDI

H. E. the Governor of the Punjab installed the famous cricketer, the Nawab of Pataudi, with the powers of a ruler, and the installation ceremony took place on the 10th of December.

In the course of his speech at the installation ceremony, His Excellency recalled the historical event of more than one and a quarter century when an ancestor of the Nawab of Pataudi, Faiz Talib Khan, was severely wounded fighting for the British in an action with the Holkar's troops, and the famous General, Lord Lake, assigned to him the lands of Pataudi by a *Sanad* granted on the 4th May, 1806. This grant was confirmed by the Government. His Excellency recalled the War services of the late Nawab who offered his personal services, and 450 men representing a percentage of 14½ of the eligible male population. In addition, more than half a lakh of rupees were invested in the War loan.

Referring to the present Nawab, His Excellency said: "Your eminence as a cricketer has been a source of satisfaction and pride to all who know you, and have been associated with your training and education. To me, at least this pre-eminence seems a hereditary gift, something which came down to you from the time of Faiz Talib Khan, when courage, quick eye and shrewd stroke were qualities that were vital."

## NEW CONSTITUTION FOR MANDI

H. H. The Raja Sahib of Mandi made an important announcement on the occasion of the Durbar held in honour of his 27th birthday.

An Executive Council presided over by the Raja Sahib and a Legislative Council to help the ruler in the administration of the State are the chief features of the new constitution granted to Mandi by His Highness the Raja Sahib.

The Act also defines the fundamental rights of the citizen and provides for the constitution of a supreme court and chief court.

## EQUAL RIGHTS FOR STATES SUBJECTS

"Any constitution that falls short of our fundamental rights, to be embodied in the new federal constitution of the country, would be entirely unacceptable to the 80 millions of people living in Indian States."

This is a warning given by the signatories to a memorial that has been submitted to Mr. Vallabhai Patel, President of the Congress, on behalf of the "dumb and oppressed" millions of the States in India. The memorial, signed by about 46,778 people, supports and endorses the minimum demands put forward by the Indian States Peoples' Conference, and the following are some of them:

1. Federal citizenship and fundamental rights for the people of the States to be embodied in 'new constitution';
2. Federal judicial machinery to be provided in the constitution to protect the fundamental rights of the people of the States;
3. Direct representation of the people of the States in the Central Legislature by the same system of election and power of voting as may prevail at the time for the people of British India;
4. The judiciary in the Indian States should be linked with the Federal Supreme Court.

## BIKANER ON COMMUNAL DANGER

Grave consequences which might possibly arise as the result of the outside interference, which brought about the troubles in Kashmir, were referred to by the Maharajah of Bikaner in a speech delivered in His Highness's capital.

Pointing out that the majority of Kashmir's population were Muslims while the Ruler was a Hindu, the Maharajah of Bikaner said that if the troubles in that State were due to religious fervour, the Muslim Rulers of States in which Hindus were in a majority would be the last to feel gratitude towards those who had stirred up such religious fanaticism.

## THE MAHARAJAH OF KASHMIR

A deputation led by Bhai Permanand, M.L.A., and consisting of about thirty persons, including Bakshi Sohanlal, Seth Hukumchand, Rai Sahib Principal Kedarnath, Prof. Chhablani Lala Siriram, Sardar Gulabsingh, Lala Narain Dutt and Mr. Arjundev, waited on H. H. the Maharajah of Kashmir during his recent visit to Delhi to meet the Viceroy. The deputation in their address expressed sympathy with His Highness in the present unfortunate situation in the Valley, and wished early restoration of peace and order to which His Highness replied in suitable terms.

## GWALIOR MAHARANI'S DEATH

Her Highness Maharani Chinkooraja Scindia, Senior Maharani and President, Council of Regency, Gwalior State, whose death occurred recently in Bombay, was a remarkable woman, says *The Times of India*. After the demise of His late Highness Maharajah Madhavrao Scindia of Gwalior, the burden of administering the State, during the minority of the present Maharajah, rested on her shoulders, and Her Highness discharged her duties with such care and assiduity as to endear herself to all her subjects and to be the recipient of the high honour of the Crown of India. In pursuance of the arrangements made by the late Maharajah, the Junior Maharani will now become the President of the Council of Regency until her son, the Maharajah, attains majority.

## RESPONSIBLE GOVT. FOR MYSORE

The State People's Conference, Mysore, Mr. Gundappa Gowda presiding, adopted unanimously, on October 20, a Resolution expressing loyalty to His Highness and gratitude for the Maharajah's gracious contribution of two lakhs of rupees from the Privy Purse towards the relief of prevailing economic distress. The Conference also adopted a Resolution praying for grant of Responsible Government within the State, thus affording people increasing opportunity to associate themselves with the administration.

## PATIALA AND FEDERATION

In the course of an exclusive interview, says *The Times of India*, His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala explained his views on the Premier's statement as follows :

The feeling uppermost in my mind to-day is the same with which I started some months ago and by expressing which in good time I raised a storm. After a few more discussions in the Federal Structure Committee, a few more speeches in the preliminary session of the Round Table Conference, a few more months of negotiations spent in England, the political pendulum has completely swung back, and we stand face to face with the original proposition with the same old difficulties thrown into sharper relief. Let us courageously take stock of them once again.

So far as Indian India is concerned, if there is any meaning in Great Britain going forward to fulfil her promise to British India, it is absolutely certain that the internal sovereignty of the States which arises from definite treaties, engagements, *sanads*, accepted privileges and prerogatives, must be regarded by Britain as equally sacrosanct, and therefore the relationship of the States with the Crown must remain unimpaired and intact. If it is well-nigh impossible to secure larger chambers and a substantially larger proportion of the representatives of the States in the two houses of legislature, it automatically follows that individual representation for even those States who are members of the Chambers of Princes in their own right is well-nigh impossible. Much more hopeless would be the position of the smaller States who have not been lucky enough yet to obtain representation in the Chamber of Princes. It would, therefore, be impossible for these smaller States to resist the conclusion, that the representatives of the States should rather in their own opinion be the representatives of the States collectively instead of separately or individually.

## IDAR STATE AND SOCIAL REFORM

A public meeting of Idar State subjects, held under the auspices of the Idar Prajakiya Mandal, recently passed a Resolution protesting against the suspension by the authorities in the State of the Child Marriage Act, and inviting discussion afresh at a conference and asking the State to invite the people's representatives to the proposed conference.

Another Resolution reiterated the necessity of placing the State administration on progressive and responsible basis by admitting the people's representatives in the actual governance of the State, as declared in June 1930, the President of the Idar State Council at the desire of the then Maharajah and requested the present Maharajah to give effect to that declaration.

## INDIANS OVERSEAS

## THE CAPETOWN CONFERENCE

THE personnel of the Government of India delegation to the Conference to be held at Cape Town, in January 1932, will be as follows :



SIR FAZL-I-HUSSAIN

Leader: Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council.

Members: Sir Geoffrey Corbett, the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Sir D'Arcy Lindsay, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, and Mr. G. S. Bajpai (Member and Secretary).

Sir Kurma Venkat Reddi, Agent of the Government of India in South Africa, will be an additional member.

The Government of the Union of South Africa will be represented by the Hon'ble Dr. D. F. Malan (Minister of the Interior), the Hon'ble Mr. O'Pirow (Minister of Justice), the Hon'ble Mr. E. G. J. Jansen (Minister of Native Affairs), the

Hon'ble Mr. P. Duncan, and Mr. G. Heaton Nicholls, Members of the House of Assembly.

The Conference is expected to last ten days. The discussion, we are told, will relate, *firstly*, to the working of the Agreement of 1927 with particular reference to the scheme of assisted repatriation; *secondly*, the situation created by the Transvaal Asiatic Tenure Amendment Bill. The policy of the South African Government, since 1914, has been to reduce the Indian population settled there, and assisted repatriation scheme, to which the Government of India was a party in 1927, was part of that policy. The experience of those who returned to India under this scheme, has not at all been pleasant, and therefore, the number of repatriates which was 3,477 in 1928, dwindled down to 1,012 in 1930, and there has been a further decrease this year. Public opinion, both in India and in South Africa, has been persistent that this scheme of assisted repatriation should find no place in any agreement now to be arrived at with the Union Government.

In this connection, we are told, efforts will be made to see that the Transvaal Asiatic Tenure Bill, which has been postponed, is not sought to be revived by the Union Government.

It is gratifying to learn that Mr. C. F. Andrews, who is studying conditions in South Africa, is taking a hopeful view of the situation.

## ASIATIC COMPETITION IN S. AFRICA

The question of Asiatic competition with Europeans in Durban and other Natal towns was raised at the Natal National Party Congress, held recently at Greytown. Mr. E. G. Jansen, Minister of Native Affairs, is reported to have pointed out that in view of the ensuing Cape Town Conference on the subject of the continuation of the present agreement, he did not think it desirable at the present juncture to say much.

INDIAN STUDENTS IN GERMANY

German universities are attracting a considerable number of students from India in recent years. According to a circular issued by the India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie, there have been incessant and increasing demand for information regarding educational facilities in Germany for Indian students. The Institute offers some sound advice to Indian students who wish to pursue higher studies in German universities.

No Indian, we are told, should come to Germany without sufficient funds for his maintenance. Opportunities for outsiders are lacking in German factories in these days. No Indian student can be given any opportunity unless he knows German well enough to carry on conversation in German and has a good theoretical knowledge on the subject he wishes to master.

The Akademie seems to be receiving applications for financial help. The Circular therefore says :

We wish to make it clear that Die Deutsche Akademie is not a charitable organisation. It has secured several stipends for Indian students and has arranged for practical training for others. It hopes to facilitate exchange of Professors and students between Germany and India. It has no special fund for aiding Indian students other than those who receive stipends.

As for academic qualifications, the Circular adds :

An Indian student who has passed his Intermediate Science Examination may get along as a regular student in a German university, provided he is very diligent. Such a student will require more than four years, sometimes six years, to finish a regular university course. We therefore advise that Indian students wishing to study in German universities, should have their B.Sc. degree from an Indian university before they take admission into a German university.

INDIAN IMMIGRATION INTO PANAMA

It is announced for general information that the Government of Panama has prohibited, under Decree No. 43 of 1931, immigration into Panamanian territory of all Indians, except those who can satisfy the Ministry of Foreign Relations that they have capital to draw upon.

INDIAN STUDENTS IN LONDON

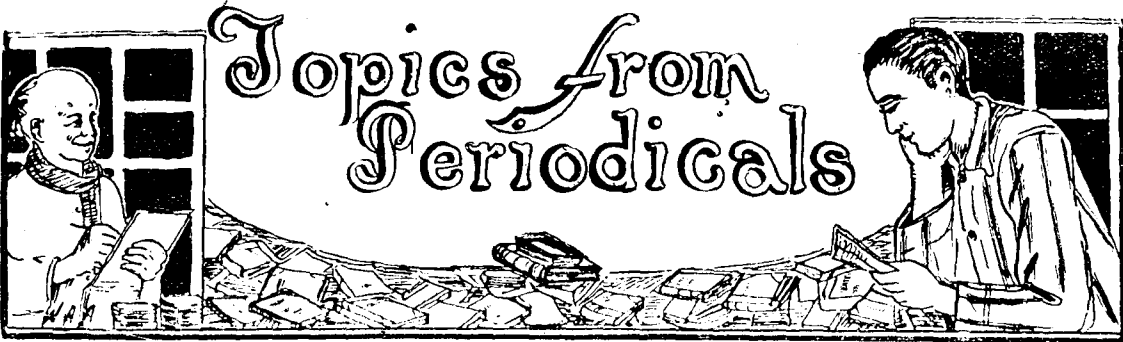
The celebration of the second anniversary of the Indian Students' Central Association in London, brought a number of Indian delegates to the Association.

A Member of the Association proposed the "Toast of India". Mrs. Naidu and Mr. Jinnah responded. "The Guests" was responded to by Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas and Sir Padamji Ginwala. Mr. Jinnah and Sir Purshottamdas made eloquent appeals to youth to unite and to put to shame their elders, who were having squabbles over communal issue. Mrs. Naidu, in her peroration, said :

"If you want freedom for your country, you can have it on the basis of common voice, common vision, and common sacrifice. You cannot take message of hope to starving millions until you cease to honour those labels of separation. I charge you, younger generation, to be united in your action. Die if you must as one body, live if you will as one soul—all in the service of your motherland which is in bondage."

HINDU CIVILIZATION IN MALAYA

Mr. C. F. Andrews, writing in the *Indian Observer*, says that the Indians who go to Malaya do not go there as foreigners. They pass out across the Bay of Bengal to a country with which India has been intimately connected from the very first. The Hindu traditions are not alien to Malaya, but a vital portion of the most ancient civilization of the land. The Malaysians themselves have already imbibed that culture, and it remains deeply embedded in their legends, folk plays and songs beneath the exterior ceremonial of Islam. There should be no difficulty whatever in its revival. There is no reason why the cultural traditions of India should not remain as the background of the whole scene of human life in this wonderful land, if only the spiritual enterprise which prevailed in India in Hindu-Buddhist times is not now lacking.



FEDERATION OF EUROPEAN STATES

Can Europe unite? asks Mr. Francis Deak of the Columbia University in the latest number of the *Political Science Quarterly*. Mr. Deak is of opinion that a complete change of approach in dealing with international problems is necessary, in order to bring about a union or a federation of European States :

It seems that unless the statesmen and the peoples of Europe, and indeed of all the world, face facts frankly and fearlessly; unless they are ready to take cognizance of grave errors committed in the past; unless they are prepared to correct such errors even at some sacrifice; unless they recognize that our completely changed civilization requires a completely different method of dealing with the intricate relations between nations, and are willing, consequently, in good faith and to the best of their ability, to substitute the technique of scientific dealing with facts for the old technique of proceeding on the basis of theories, doctrines and precepts dictated by political or emotional reasons and having frequently no connection whatever with the realities of a steadily moving civilization—unless these fundamental and indispensable changes in mental attitude are brought about in one way or another, there can be little doubt that this European union will bring just as much disappointment as did the League of Nations.

There is a close analogy between the League of Nations and the proposed European union. For, the organisation of the latter is closely modelled on that of the former.

Unless we throw off the impediments which stood in the way of the League to prevent it from becoming what President Wilson conceived it to be, the European Federation, too, will become a sort of farce, a jest thrown into the face of nations carrying with increasing difficulty and reluctance the heavy burdens imposed upon them by the war and, still more, by the peace.

The tide of discontent and despair is rising more rapidly, concludes the writer, than is ordinarily conceived. It is time for those responsible for the conduct of Europe's affairs to stop, to reflect, and to alter their course.

OPTIMUM TAXABILITY

Dr. D. Ghosh, of the Bombay University, contributes an article on "Optimum Taxability" to the latest number of *Indian Journal of Economics*. Given the psychology of a people, its optimum taxability would vary, says the writer, with the following :

- (a) the size of its national income—absolutely, though not necessarily, in proportion to the national income—;
- (b) the evenness or otherwise of the distribution of private incomes, and
- (c) the distribution of total national income between private and public expenditure; i.e., even if private incomes were absolutely equal, there would still be a case for taxation in order to secure expenditure in ways which may be desirable for the community as a whole and yet not attractive enough for private individuals.

Whereas in the actual world, non-economic factions influence the raising and spending of tax-money. That is to say, there are non-economic limits to the ways of raising and spending any sum of tax-money :

These limits may operate to rule out the economically best ways of raising and spending tax-money, and hence the best combinations of such ways and lastly, the amount which may be indicative of a nation's optimum taxability. That is, the optimum taxability of a nation, taking into consideration the various non-economic factors that affect public finance, is different from and also less than its optimum taxability in theory.

This is the central concept in the theory of public finance. In fact, the whole theory of public finance is only an analysis of this concept into its minor concepts.

The concept shows the intimate relation which exists between the two branches of public finance, viz., taxation and public expenditure. The two can indeed to a certain extent be treated separately; for there are certain general principles which govern the ways of raising and of spending tax-money respectively.

But no final judgment can be passed, concludes the writer, upon any large item of public revenue and public expenditure until it is viewed in relation to the general scheme of public finance.

## INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE

With the growth of the international community, the problem of language becomes an increasingly difficult one. Since the time of Leibnitz, attempts have been made to bring the different nations together for common undertakings, and international conferences have become more and more common. Thus the need for an international language has become more and more imperative.

"It is interesting to note that, of late years at various international meetings not especially concerned with the promotion of the international language idea, the managers, recognizing the difficulty of choosing languages to be the official ones of the conferences, have hit upon the plan of allowing each speaker to use his own tongue and to have for all talks only one language of translation, namely, Esperanto, which is the most widely known of the international artificial languages. This has been most successful and, strangely enough, has aroused no special comment from the participants. The same idea has been carried out by the Paris Chamber of Commerce which now prints its bills of lading in French followed by Esperanto."

The International Auxiliary Language Association, New York, is engaged on three different lines of research, investigating the whole question of auxiliary language.

"There is a division for educational research which is endeavouring to prove or disprove the various claims made for the beneficial effects on subsequent language learning of an initial course in a Latin-derived artificial language. There is a division for linguistic research which is studying the structure of certain chosen European languages, national and international, in an effort to find common material for an ideal structure for an auxiliary language. And, finally, there is a sociological research division which is ferreting out information concerning specific needs for an international language."

## INDIAN MINORITIES

Prof. Radhakumud Mookerjee contributes an article on the "Indian Minorities and Reference to the League of Nations" to the *Modern Review*. Some time ago the Hindu Mahasabha made a suggestion that the Indian Minorities problem may be referred to the League for arbitration. Maulvi Shafee Doodi, Secretary of the All-India Moslem Conference, and several others hold the view that the League has no constitutional powers to interfere in a domestic problem. Replying to this view, Prof. Mukerjee says that the proposal to refer the Indian Minority Problems to the League of Nations does not mean that the arbitration of the League is being invoked to settle the domestic disputes of any State member of the League. The proposal means :

(1) That India should be permitted to solve her own Minority Problems by the same method and scheme by which she has herself helped so many Sovereign States and Nations of Europe, to solve their difficult Minority and Racial Problems for the establishment of world-peace;

(2) That this scheme is embodied in a standardized form in what is known as the Minorities Guarantee Treaty, which is intended for application to Minority Problems all over the world and has been already applied in nearly twenty different States of Europe, including the premier Moslem State of Turkey;

(3) That this Scheme of Minority Protection was formulated by the collective wisdom and statesmanship of the Allied and Associated Powers (including England and India) who, as victors in the Great War, proposed its universal application as an important step towards world-peace;

(4) That, therefore, to this Scheme and to all its principles and provisions of Minority Protection, both India and England are already parties, contributors, and signatories;

(5) That both India and England have, with other victorious Powers forming the High and Contracting Parties on one side, bound the other States of Europe like Turkey by this Minorities Guarantee Treaty;

(6) That the question as to how far the proposers of this Treaty like India are themselves bound by it like the Signatory States, such as Turkey, had been raised several times at the League of Nations by the Signatory States Members of the League, and has been decided by a Resolution adopted at the Sixth Assembly of the League of Nations to the effect that all States Members of the League suffering from Minority Problems, are expected to follow the same principles and standards of Minority Protection as they have applied to the Signatory States;

(7) That, in pursuance of this Resolution, and the direct commitment and responsibility of both England and India in the matter of this international scheme

of Minority Protection, it is proposed that India should be allowed to apply the scheme to herself which has been so effectively applied to other States.

Dr. Mookerjee is of opinion that, even if the different minorities and communities of India agree to go into arbitration or to a judicial tribunal for the settlement of their differences, the settlement for which India is already responsible in Europe as an original member of the League ranks as International Law binding on the arbitral body proposed. In the case of failure of any agreement between the different minorities, and if the British Government has to intervene for a settlement, it must necessarily be on the lines of the League's scheme to which the British Government is committed in a very special manner in respect of its formulation and elaboration.

## THE HEART OF HINDUSTHAN

"However intensely necessary it may be for India to-day to reorganize her social, political, and economic systems on modern lines, she (India) should not give up her essential spiritual outlook in imitation of Western civilization," says Swami Adyananda in the latest number of the *Indian*, a monthly magazine published at Singapore. The Swamiji is of opinion that if India continues to be spiritual in her outlook, she will not be in the same confusion and crisis which we find to-day in the modern West.

Coming to the practical aspect of the philosophy of spiritualisation of life, he says: "We find that in India's civilisation the emphasis has always been on the ideals of service, knowledge, activity, with the fundamental consideration and belief in the eternal spirit, so that these can be effective of spiritual unfoldment. History bears testimony to this essential spiritual note of India's culture. Of course, when an outsider comes to India, sees her children deeply merged in ignorance and poverty, victims to various diseases, naturally he ignores the lofty idealism of India's cultural heritage. Such an observer attributes all India's failings to

her philosophy of life. Of course I do not justify these practical shortcomings of India to-day. But they are certainly not due to her philosophy of spiritualisation. The causes of India's poverty and other calamities have to be found out somewhere else."

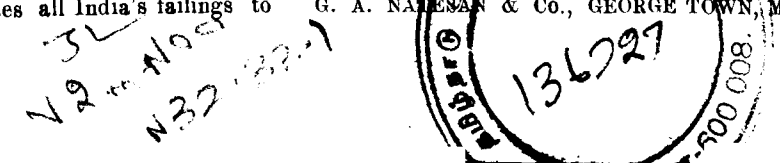
The misreading of the "Heart of Hindusthan" is due mainly to the fact that with the growth of modern intellectualism of the West, values have been counted entirely in relation to material prosperity and not in relation to the freedom of the soul. The writer concludes that:

"Within the heart of her hearts, India has been maintaining that, essential inner spiritual qualifications are not for material self-aggrandisement but for inner calmness and devotion to high ideals. India's seers, at the dawn of civilisation before the sun of glory arose on the horizon of Greece and Rome, declared 'Truth alone triumphs and not the untruth.' Compared with India's civilisation, many other civilisations are of yesterday. Civilisations, empires, material achievements have come and gone, but India, in spite of her unfavourable circumstances, has survived. Readers of the *Indian*, I ask you: 'Why is it so?' I think I may be permitted to give my answer: 'Because India's inner heart has been always in tune with the spiritual music of the universe.' As long as India will remain true to her heritage, faithful to the call of her seers and leaders in joys and woes, her position as a messenger of peace and good will, as a torch-bearer of Light Eternal will always remain. So should we not seek into the "Heart of Hindusthan" to understand her truly, so that we can sing to-day in the midst of world's chaos and confusion:

From the unreal lead us to the real  
From Darkness lead us unto Light  
From Death lead us unto Immortality?"

**The Heart of Hindusthan.** By Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan. Contents: Essays on the Heart of Hinduism, The Hindu Dharma, Islam and Indian Thought, Hindu Thought and Christian Thought, Buddhism, and Indian Philosophy. (Also with a sketch of his Life and Works by Dr. J. C. Mahendrar, M.A., F.R.S., Re. One. To Subscribers of the "Indian Review", Rs. 12.)

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## REINCARNATION

"The Eastern Idea of Reincarnation" is the subject of an interesting article in the *Occult Review*, by Dr. S. Krishna Shastri. Reincarnation means that the soul repeatedly takes birth sometimes human, sometimes sub-human. It is not a fad, says the writer, invented by some modern cult. For, its roots stretch far back into the history of civilization, and the foremost poets and philosophers have, with but few exceptions, through the intuition which is their divine gift, perceived the truth of, and proclaimed their faith in, pre-existence and Reincarnation. Even in Christianity the tradition obtained until about the fifth century; the Middle Ages lost it in their lamentable eagerness to imprison belief in precise metaphysical terminology. Far from being the mere fancy of exceptional men, the doctrine has been, in the words of the Polish philosopher and Platonist, M. Lutoslawski, "universally accepted among two of the most gifted peoples of the world (the Hindu and the Greek) by their most eminent thinkers with an unanimity such as has not even been reached by the faith in one Creator.

In the first place, it should be borne in mind that there is nothing peculiarly Eastern or Indian about the doctrine. The general principle of it, at any rate, may be found in nearly all ancient cultures, and among many primitive tribes in all parts of the world. From Madagascar to the Oceanic islands, from Ireland to China, practically every race of whom we have any record, appears to have shared the belief in one form or another. Cæsar noted it among the Druids, and Herodotus in Egypt; Plato and Pythagoras and Confucius are a few of the great names associated with it."

We may, therefore, conclude that, like many other of the basic beliefs of mankind, Reincarnation owes its origin to a combination of influences which can be identified separately but whose inter-connection is difficult to trace.

## BRITAIN AND THE MOSLEM WORLD

There are about a hundred million Moslems in close touch with Britain and British policy, particularly in the East and in Africa, who will have its repercussion all over the Moslem world. Moulana Shaikat Ali, therefore, appeals to the British people through the hospitable columns of the *Empire Review*, to regulate their policy with due regard to Moslem susceptibilities.

You have to consider not only India, but Iraq, Egypt, Palestine, and East and Central Africa. Twenty-five per cent. of the people of India are Moslem. Many sacrificed their lives in the Great War. That should never be forgotten. Moreover, British statesmen gave Moslems promises which have not yet been carried out. We are still awaiting the proof of your appreciation of our help and sacrifices. Up till now there has been little recognition. It is our wish to have a rightful and honourable place within the British Empire.

The Moulana is certain that the British people are anxious to make an honourable peace with Islam. He puts down the demands of his co-religionists:

We want our people to have a fair and square chance for development, and to be given an opportunity in our majority provinces for full expansion, and our minority rights where we are in a minority made secure.

We would give the same to others that we demand for Moslems. In India in a few provinces, the Moslems have a majority. Where there is a majority we require scope, and where we are in a minority there must be safeguards that our faith, culture, personal laws, and language shall not be interfered with.

The Moulana assures the British public that he has left his war mentality and that he now offers peace "in the interest of Islam and India", and in the interest of England and the Empire as well. His study and experience teach him that

should Hindus and Moslems live together a thousand years, there is no chance of the two cultures merging into one. This is adamant, bedrock fact, which cannot be glossed over. No settlement that ignores this fact can be of any value. Wise administration requires knowledge of the psychology of races. The Hindu, with his majority, desires to dominate. The Moslem, who ruled in India for over 850 years, has his art, architecture, his poetry, his great traditions, his warrior ancestry, and will never be ruled by the majority. We do not want to enforce any conditions on them, nor should they force our hands.

He then reiterates the Delhi Resolutions of January 1929, confirmed by the Moslem

Conference of Easter 1931 under his own Chairmanship. They are:

1. Separate electorates, both in Central and local Legislatures, until such time as the whole Moslem people, 80 millions strong out of a total of 350 millions, may feel sufficiently confident in other elements of the population to be willing to elect members jointly with them.
2. A definite majority in the Bengal and Punjab Provincial Legislatures to correspond with the population ratio in these Provinces.
3. That our present weightage be preserved in Provinces where we are in a minority, we giving others weightage where we can.

We need a share, says the Moulana, "commensurate with our former historical importance, and want definite safeguards for our cultural existence, for religious freedom, for impartial justice in the courts, carried out by an efficient agency. We want no handicap against anybody, including the British".

## HINDU CULTURE

In the course of an illuminating article in the *Aryan Path* for November, Prof. S. F. Darwin Fox says that in the present-day Europe one witnesses on all sides the deplorable results of unbridled individualism and the systematic destruction of the home. The Professor suggests a practical means whereby Hindu and Aryan culture might be disseminated throughout the countries of the West.

"It seems to me that the best and easiest plan would be the establishment in all great cities nurseries of culture organised and arranged in some such way as this: On the ground floor would be an emporium for the exhibition and sale of Indian handicrafts and objects of every kind, such as carpets, pottery, sculpture, pictures, furniture and so forth, and above that an Indian restaurant, a library, a lecture-hall, equipped with a roomy stage, where Hindu plays could, from time to time, be enacted in their proper setting. The lectures should, of course, be given regularly so many times a week at fixed hours and should be free. It will be found that many members of the audience will make some purchase on their way out. If the nursery of culture be

advantageously situated, it will be found to be a profitable business enterprise; and it will justify its existence from every point of view. Some such plan as this is, I think, necessitated by practical considerations as well as by the psychology peculiar to the Occident; at all events, its organisation will be a simple matter; and that, at least, is to its credit. It is no use relying on lectures and publications; we have already a surfeit of these. The public must be brought to realise that culture not only remoulds the individual to finer issues, but that it pours its vitality into the matrix of great works and takes effect in a firm and beautiful life-creation.

I am not, of course, suggesting that Europeans should adopt or ape wholesale the cultural manifestations of India, whether religious, political or artistic. But I particularly want to urge that intelligent appreciation of Hindu culture is altogether necessary to the man of conservative and reverent nature, who looks back to his existence with love and trust, who is careful to preserve what survives from ancient days, and who seeks to reproduce the conditions of his own upbringing for those who come after him. And such a one will immediately find that the basic principles upon which Hindu culture is founded, are precisely identical with those which we have inherited in Europe to-day, and which the revolutionary apostles are frantically working to subvert."

## INDIA IN PERIODICALS

INTERNATIONAL TRADE RIVALRY IN INDIA. By H. K. Rakbit. [India, September 1931.]

DRAMA IN ANCIENT INDIA. By Dr. Mulk Raj Anand. [The Aryan Path, December 1931.]

EMPEROR MUHAMMAD SHAH AND HIS COURT. By Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt., C.I.E. [The Modern Review, December 1931.]

LABOUR IN INDIA. By Mr. A. N. Sudharsanam, B.A. [The Young Men of India, December 1931.]

WESTERN INFLUENCE ON BENGALI LITERATURE. By Prof. Jayanta Kumar Das Gupta, M.A. [The Calcutta Review, November-December 1931.]

### THE CROWN AND THE CRISIS

Sir John Marriott, in his article in the November *Fortnightly*, discusses the position and function of the Crown in relation to the constitution.

Referring to the part played by the King during these momentous weeks in England, Sir John says that :

It may be half a century before full information on this matter is available for the Constitutional commentator. But with an instinct rarely at fault, the nation has already divined the important contribution made by His Majesty the King to the disentangling of issues and towards the solution of a problem as grave as any that has ever occurred since Great Britain attained to its present position in the commercial and financial economy of the world.

The writer takes us back to the days of Victoria and King Edward, and gives the story of the crisis of 1910-11 which has since become historic.

The breakdown of the Constitutional Conference, and the historic interview between the King and the Liberal leaders, were followed (December, 1910) by a second Dissolution of Parliament. The ensuing election did nothing, however, to clear up the situation. The relative strength of parties was unchanged. The key position was again held by the Irish Nationalists, 84 in number. With their help and that of the Socialists, who returned 42 strong, the Bill was pushed through the House of Commons. Would the Lords consent to sign their own death warrant? A strong party of Peers, led by the veteran Lord Halsbury, still full of fight, was for rejecting or wrecking the Bill. But the more prudent counsels of the "hedgers" prevailed at length over the "ditchers", and on August 10th, 1911, the Lords, after the historic debate already referred to, yielded to the *force majeure* which the King had promised, if necessary, to apply, and the Bill became law.

Sir John points out that the Queen was very vigilant in exercising her rights, and her son and grandson have followed the tradition with commendable zeal. He instances the different cases in which the Crown has exercised the right.

The first is the right to approve or veto appointments to high office in State and Church. The dismissal of Lord Palmerston from the Foreign Office in 1851; the veto on the appointment of Lord Granville (high as was the Queen's personal regard for him) to the same office in 1886; the selection of Lord Rosebery as Prime Minister in 1894—these are classical examples of the exercise of the prerogative, and there are others. The choice of Mr. Baldwin as Prime Minister in 1923 is a more recent example.

The choice of the Crown can, of course, be made only within narrow limits, and in a final conflict of wills between the Sovereign and a responsible minister, the Sovereign must give way. But a very great deal may happen, and has repeatedly happened, before that final

conflict is reached, and in the meantime the personal views of the Sovereign have a powerful influence even upon the least deferential of ministers.

In the domain of foreign affairs, the influence of the Sovereign, at one time very great, has been seriously curtailed by the collapse of the monarchy in many continental states.

The Crown has always been an object of interest and affection to the loyal subjects of the King.

It was with a sense of genuine gratitude and unaffected relief that the nation learnt, on August 22nd, that the King had interrupted his holiday, hardly begun, in the Highlands, had returned to London, and had personally taken control of a dangerous and critical situation. It is indeed significant that while criticism, in no unmeasured terms, has been freely showered upon the leaders of all the parties in the State, not a word of criticism has, as far as I know, been uttered in any quarter as to the action of the King. On the contrary, it has been widely recognised that the value of a Monarchy, strictly Constitutional in our insular English sense, has rarely been more completely vindicated.

### CIVILIZATION

The Seventh Annual Number of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette* opens with an interesting article by Prof. Robert E. Park on "The City and Civilization." The Professor says that the expansion of European and American civilization has probably added nothing fundamental to the characteristics of human nature, which is proverbially everywhere—beneath the mask of etiquette and manners—the same. He continues :

What modern civilization has done, and is doing, is to profoundly change the conditions of human life and in so doing has undermined the folkways and the traditional moral order of existing societies and peoples—peoples who are now in the process of incorporation in what Graham Wallis calls "The Great Society". By the great society Wallis means the moral and political order which has grown up and is growing up within the framework and upon the foundations of the existing world economy.

Within the limits of this world economy the inexorable and irreversible processes of present-day civilization are but repeating on a grander scale, with the aid of more powerful instruments and agencies, what civilization has done before within the limits of the ancient world. They are integrating, unifying, standardizing and nationalizing the customs, attitudes, institutions, knowledge and technique of races, peoples, and cultures.

Civilization may be said to have its origin in the market place and in the town. It was in the markets where peoples of different tribes and different cultures came together to barter and

sell, to effect an exchange of goods and services that the individual first achieved his emancipation. The exchange of goods involves eventually an exchange of ideas. And the Professor concludes that the "trader seeking to sell his wares, became inevitably, like the modern advertising man, an innovator and an educator. Introducing new commodities, he changes the style, introduces new habits and stimulates intellectual life. Change is not merely a consequence of, but a stimulus to thought, and the intensity of intellectual life is directly correlated with the changes in the environment to which man is able to respond.

"The market place and the town are notoriously the sources of the news and, moreover, is the ultimate source of that intellectual and moral ferment so characteristic of life in the urban environment. Everything new fangled and novel makes its appearance first in the city. In the city, where custom tends to give way to fashion, fashion changes more rapidly than it does in the rural community."

### EUGENICS

Dean Inge in a recent essay asserted that once a man has grasped the implications of biology in respect of evolution and inheritance, eugenics becomes for him not merely an important aim, but the most sacred ideal of the human race. Thus a change in public opinion is indeed the first requisite, says Prof. Julian Huxley in *Harper's Monthly Magazine*.

It becomes not merely an outlet for human altruism, but the outlet which is most comprehensive and of the longest range of all outlets for altruism. It becomes, in fact, in Dean Inge's words, one of the supreme religious duties.

It is this attitude which we want to see grow and spread among civilised men and women of every profession and of every class. Man has become what he is by a process of evolution which has taken perhaps a thousand million years; there is no reason why that evolution should not continue; and we can look forward, according to the astronomers, to at least another thousand million years of earth's habitability.

If the past with its crude methods has taken life from single cells, or whatever simpler units it at first inhabited, to man, what may not man do in the future with the aid of conscious reason and deliberate planning?

Once that attitude has been assimilated, the idea of eugenics will take its proper place in our repertory of ideas. On its negative side, he points out, it becomes "racial preventive medicine; on its positive side, racial hope".

And once this is so, the pressure of public opinion to get something done will become so great that something will be done. More minds will be set to amass the necessary knowledge, more will be detailed to think out ways and means of applying knowledge.

We cannot yet see what those discoveries will be, or envisage the organisation of a eugenic society. But knowledge will slowly grow, ways and means can surely be found. "And so man may take up his birthright which is to become the first organism, exercising conscious control over its own evolutionary destiny."

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S. N. POCHKHANAWALA,

Managing Director.

E. Dec. '32. S. S. R.

# KASHMIR: THE BEAUTIFUL

Dr. J. J. Banninga, writing in the *Young Men of India* for December on the above subject, describes the beautiful valley and its environs :

"The City of Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir, lies in the midst of the great plain 20 to 25 miles wide and 80 miles long, the bottom of a bowl, the edge of which is made by the grand circle of mountains round about. Srinagar is a large city, busy, prosperous, crowded with a large variety of shops, especially for the tourist. The principal mode of travel is along the river, on which there are innumerable boats of all classes. All the principal shops are on this river, and one does shopping as he does in Venice,—by boat. For those who want to do shopping and wish to load themselves down with the beauties of Kashmir manufacture, there is an abundance of opportunity. Carved wood, embroidery, papier mache, brass, silver, and gold, as well as a multitude of other things attract one almost beyond resistance."

Kashmir is noted for its lakes and beautiful valleys.

"Dal Lake is probably the centre of the universe in Kashmir. Its lower end is the City of Srinagar. The lake is gradually being occupied as residences either in boats or on little island plots that have been formed by collecting weeds and by putting a little earth on them, making them at first into floating gardens."

The house-boat of the tourist is everywhere in evidence on Dal Lake. The writer gives an idea of the house-boat, and how one could spend one's time in the lake.

"The average house-boat consists of a drawing-room, a dining-room and bed-rooms. It is about 10 to 12 feet wide and 80 to 100 feet long, and provides a very comfortable residence where one can enjoy himself to his heart's content amidst the most beautiful scenery."

Writing of Gulmarg, the summer capital, he says :

"Gulmarg is a city on a hill at least 8,000 ft. above the sea-level and just below the peaks of the Pir Panjal range. Gulmarg is indeed a happy summer colony where all the sports and festivities of those having their vacation can be found, whereas near-by there is plenty of climbing and rougher sport for those who wish it.

## INDO-BRITISH TRADE

"There could be no greater mistake than to separate the Indian political question from the economic and financial questions which have recently produced such striking developments in Parliament, writes Dr. I. M. Khan in *Indian Affairs*. The two problems are closely intertwined. Whatever is done to deal with either of them inevitably affects the other. For "the power of England depends upon her financial stability, her financial stability depends upon her balance of trade ; to balance her trade she must increase her exports ; to recover her former volume of trade with India, she must satisfy her Indian customers ; and to satisfy them nothing will serve but *Swaraj*". Dr. Khan says that British exports to India during the last year declined to a figure of 34 million pounds, showing a decline of 60 per cent., while India's imports from other countries declined by only 6 per cent. It only shows the influence of political opinion upon the demand for manufactured articles in India. Mr. Khan is of opinion that a friendly India could help Great Britain in many ways. He concludes :

"Let England face the facts. She has but two alternatives. She can have either a free and friendly India or an enslaved and unfriendly, perhaps rebellious India. The latter alternative has already thrown a dark cloud over British industry, and failing a settlement of the Indian problem which is satisfactory to Indian public opinion, that cloud will not be lifted and the present adverse balance of trade will continue. Great Britain has nothing to gain by keeping India in subjection."

# MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

## Questions of Importance

### INDIA AND THE STATUTE OF WESTMINSTER

Mr. MacDonald, in the House of Commons, declared that no power was given to India in the White Paper, no power was foreshadowed in the White Paper, and that nothing could develop from the White Paper or on the lines of the White Paper which would put India under the statute of Westminster.

Mr. Maxton interrupted and said that then there was no chance of it giving India independence.

The Prime Minister pointed out that the question of application of the statute of Westminster, although not dealt with here and not in contemplation by the Government, was not a question barred for ever : "but if India comes under it and when she comes under it, it will be by precisely the same method by which Canada, Australia, and New Zealand have come under it."

### GANDHIJI'S PARTING MANIFESTO

The parting manifesto by Mahatma Gandhi, issued by the Commonwealth of India League, reiterates that :

Congress demands complete independence, including full control of defence forces, external affairs and finance, not excluding equal partnership with Britain determinable at the instance of either party, subject to a discharge or adjustment of mutual obligations.

Congress will accept safeguards in the interests of India and is willing to take over all the legitimate obligations subject to the examination by an impartial tribunal.

Congress is committed to a purely national solution of the question of minorities, but will, if necessary, accept the principle of special reservation of seats in the Legislature for the Moslems and the Sikhs as a necessary evil for historic reasons.

The cause of the untouchables will be a special care of Congress, and it would be unjust to treat them separately and thus give untouchability a legal status when every attempt is being made to abolish the evil altogether. \* \* No political disability will be placed on any one on the ground of race, creed, or colour.

### DR. ANSARI ON CONGRESS DEMAND

"What Judas did for the crucifixion of Christ, the Indian Muslim delegates have done for stifling the hopes and aspirations of India to win freedom," observed Dr. M. A. Ansari while inaugurating the Gandhi Seva Ashram at Narela, a village 20 miles from Delhi. "When the part which they played at the behest of the British diehards was completed to the satisfaction of the latter, they were dismissed by the Prime Minister of England and were asked to go back to India and settle the communal question in this country. Yet some of my countrymen were jubilant at the results of the Round Table Conference and characterised the Premier's statement as the Magna Charta of India."

Dr. Ansari continued that Gandhiji would never agree to a dishonourable peace. If there was to be peace, it should secure for India the substance of independence.

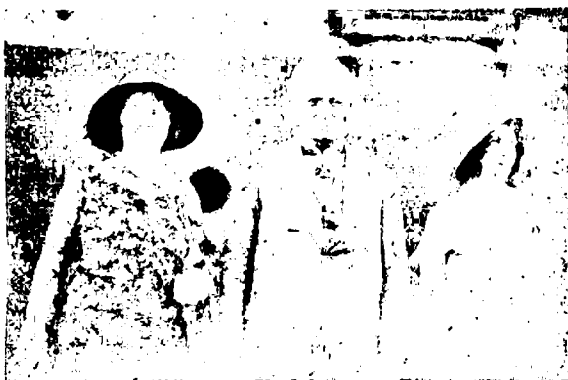
### EUROPE'S MORAL BANKRUPTCY

"Europe was suffering from a malady caused by the burden of armaments, and most countries were on the verge of moral and material bankruptcy," declared Mr. Gandhi when expounding for forty-five minutes his ideals of truth and non-violence at the crowded People's Hall at Lausanne, on December 8.

Mr. Gandhi continued that the contagion has spread to Asia, but hope was coming from India, which was endeavouring to secure independence by pacific means. Mr. Gandhi invited his hearers to study the movement impartially and critically, "and if you conclude that the movement is conducted non-violently and truthfully, place yourselves on our side. You can mould European opinion".

## MR. LLOYD GEORGE ON INDIA

"I am looking forward to the time, although I am growing in years, when we shall be treading the path of honourable freedom together,"



MR. LLOYD GEORGE

WITH HIS WIFE AND DAUGHTER

declared Mr. Lloyd George in his reply to the Corporation's Address at Bombay, on December 4 :

The last privilege which I had before I left England, was to meet your great countryman, Mahatma Gandhi, who had three hours' conversation with me, and in the course of that conversation he put before me the case of his countrymen in an incomparable manner. I am a politician and I don't mind telling you that I discovered him to be a politician too, and he made a very deep impression on my political thoughts. I see the Round Table Conference has come to an end. Although we haven't reached complete success, we have reached a measure of success which is beyond the hopes of all those who realised the difficulties that faced our country.

You may fail twice, but the third time you are sure to succeed. What you need is patience and perseverance.

## LORD WILLINGDON ON THE R. T. C.

In the course of his address to the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, on December 7, H. E. Lord Willingdon said :

The Round Table Conference have just concluded their labours. It is now for us, in India, to carry on the work. For myself, I would only repeat a statement I made in the first speech that I delivered as Viceroy at Simla—a statement which caused some comment at the time and a statement to which I entirely adhere—that I trust that they will complete their labours without delay with sincere and genuine co-operation and that I shall find myself, in a reasonably short time, much more nearly a constitutional Governor-General as I was in the Dominion of Canada a short time ago.

## GEN. SMUTS ON "ARMED PEACE"

A very stirring picture of the horrors of another world war was painted by General Smuts in his "Basil Hicks" address on Disarmament at Sheffield University :

It was the Armed Peace which led to War in 1914. But the significant fact to-day is that with the exception of the disarmed Central Powers, the Armed Peace still continues. The armaments of the world are greater than they were in 1914, and, even more so than in 1914. Europe, with the exception of the disarmed Powers, is ready for instant war.

The Armed Peace continues in an aggravated form, and as long as it continues, mankind seems to be marching to some horrible doom. Unless a real measure of disarmament puts an end to the Armed Peace, we are making for another cataclysm which will be infinitely worse than the horrors of the Great War.

## INDIA'S NATURAL RIGHT

Sir S. Radhakrishnan, in his convocation address to the Lucknow University, observed :

A nation has the right to gain experience of self-government even at the price of less efficient government. The strong desire to embody the ideas of freedom and self-determination in definite political institutions has become a burning passion owing to a number of factors of which the chief are the poverty of the country, middle class unemployment, low literacy, high death rates, costly civil administration, a heavy military budget, and the Great War fought avowedly for the principles of freedom and self-determination. I do not believe that there is a single Britisher who is loyal to his own history and true to his own traditions who will deny the legitimacy of India's claim to Indian rule. Every country in the world exhorts its citizens to buy its own goods, and it cannot be a crime if we encourage our own industries. If our leaders demand that we should control our own political and economic affairs, it is the natural result of the policy of Great Britain in this country.

## RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA

We are prepared to make advance to responsible government, both at the Centre and in the Provinces upon certain definite and specified conditions, said Sir Samuel Hoare during the India debate in the Commons. There are two conditions : The first condition is that the responsible government at the Centre must be an All-India government, representing both British India and the Indian States ; and the second condition is, the several obligations which have resulted from our long association with India must be safeguarded, just as much in the interest of India as ourselves.

## GANDHIJI'S FAREWELL MESSAGE

"I am glad to be returning to India, but sorry to have to leave England"—these were Mahatma



Mahatma Gandhi accompanied by Mira Bai (Miss Slade) visiting Dr. Howlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury.

Gandhi's last words before leaving England uttered to Reuter's special representative in a farewell message, as the Mahatma was embarking.

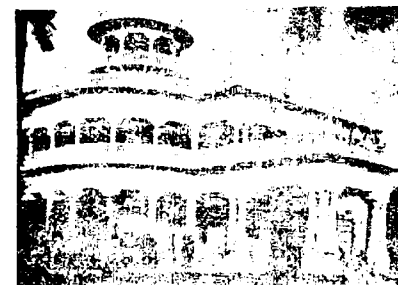
"The English people should believe me," continued Mahatma Gandhi, "when I say that if it falls to my lot to fight them I will be engaged in the fight, never out of hatred, but most surely out of love, even as I have fought some of my dearest relations. Hence I am determined to make every effort to continue co-operation as far as it is consistent with national self-respect.

I must, however, confess that the more I study the Bengal Ordinance, the more I am filled with misgivings of the gravest character. Bad as is the section which makes possible the infliction of capital punishment for attempted murder, there are other sections which are infinitely worse.

We can afford to make a present of a few innocent heads, but it is impossible to contemplate with equanimity the unmaning of the whole people. I am hoping, therefore, that the British people will study the Ordinance and insist on the withdrawal of what to me is an inhuman exercise of political power."

## "SWARAJ BHAWAN"

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has executed the deed of trust of the "Swaraj Bhawan," formerly known as the "Anand Bhawan," where Pandit Motilal Nehru lived, for the general benefit of the people of India as represented by the Indian National Congress. The deed, among other things, recites that he is desirous of carrying out his father's wishes and of transferring the property to the trustees for the benefit of the Indian people ; for the advancement of knowledge, health, social, and economic well-being, and specially with the object of promoting unity among all classes and creeds of the Indian people ; for raising the status of the Indian women, and for the elevation and betterment in all aspects of the suppressed classes in India and the Indian workers and peasants ; and for the promotion of social equality among all peoples and classes in India. The trustees appointed under the deed are :



## "ANAND BHAWAN"

Dr. M. A. Ansari, Delhi ; Mrs. Perinbai Captain, Bombay ; Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, Wardha, C. P. ; Dr. B. C. Roy, Calcutta ; and Pandit Jawaharlal.

## MUSLIM LEAGUE COUNCIL

A warning to the British Government against what it calls the "misleading and extravagant claims of Mr. Gandhi" at the Round Table Conference is contained in a Resolution passed by the Council of the All-India Muslim League at Delhi.

## SIR GEORGE RAINY

Sir George Rainy, Commerce Member, will be proceeding to England in May next, and from



there he will be going to Ottawa to represent India at the Empire Economic Conference. He will retire on the completion of his work in Ottawa. It is an open secret in political circles that Sir George declined the offer of Governorship of Bihar and Orissa although he was pressed to accept it.

## NEW APPOINTMENTS

His Majesty the King-Emperor has approved the appointment of Mr. H. G. Haig, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., to be a member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General in succession to Hon'ble Sir James Crerar, when the latter vacates office.

The Secretary of State has appointed Sir Charles Tegart, Kt., C.S.I., C.I.E., M.V.O., Indian Police, as a member of the India Council.

## SIR A. McWATERS

Sir Arthur McWaters, Secretary of the Finance Department, who has recently returned from leave, is retiring from service and leaves India to take up the post of Treasurer of Oxford University.

## IMAM SAHEB

Imam Sahab whose illness hastened Mahatma Gandhi's departure to India, had been a lifelong friend of the Mahatma. It is deeply to be regretted that Imam Sahab passed away before Mr. Gandhi could reach India. It will be remembered he came into contact with Gandhiji during his stay in South Africa, where he was a rich trader. He joined the Satyagraha fight and suffered imprisonment. He returned to India with Gandhiji from South Africa and had been an inmate of the Satyagraha Ashram. During the last Satyagraha campaign he was placed in charge of the Dharsana Salt raids after the arrest of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and was arrested and sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment. Since his release, he had been suffering from tuberculosis and his health had been gradually failing.

## THE LATE MR. HARAPRASAD SASTRI

By the death of the Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri, India has lost one of the greatest Orientalists in the country. But Haraprasad was also one of the most distinguished authors in Bengali, his mother-tongue. He began his literary career in an age whose memory is already growing dim among the younger generation, and he was the only link for many a year between the heroic age of Bengali literature and its present phase. With his death, observes a contemporary, the living continuity between the age of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and that of the writers of to-day is broken at last.

## DR. L. K. HYDER

We congratulate Dr. L. K. Hyder, of the Aligarh University, who was a member of the Legislative Assembly and of various Committees and Commissions, on his new appointment as the member of the Public Service Commission in the vacancy caused by the retirement of Syed Raza Ali.

## ELECTION TIME PHRASES

Here, according to an Australian paper, are a few of the stock phrases employed by political candidates at election time :

The mandate of the people.

Our masters the people.

The great heart of the nation.

The principles of democracy.

In this fair land of ours.

The empire to which we are all proud to belong.

The development of our vast natural resources

Parliament is what the people make it.

Measures, not men.

I will, if returned, seek to legislate in the interests of this great Commonwealth (or State) in general and the interests of this constituency in particular.

Rigid economy consistent with fair treatment of our public servants.

Merit alone should count.

This is no time for party strife.

Free and independent electors.

I trust in the intelligence of the electors.

## NEWSPAPERS AND THE ORDINANCE

"No newspaper," proclaims the Bengal Ordinance, "shall publish any information regarding the military or police forces. If any newspaper publishes any such information, the owner, publisher, editor and printer of such newspaper shall be held liable for such publication." A subsequent clause defines this liability as imprisonment which may extend to six months, or fine, or both. The Ordinance is drastic.

## THE USE OF LIBRARIES

Mr. Lionel R. McColvin (Chief Librarian of Ipswich), in an address to the Library Association on "Those Who Do Not Use the Libraries", said : Only 50 per cent. of our population read any books, 25 per cent. read regularly, and 15 per cent. borrowed from public libraries.

## THE VICEROY ON THE PRESS

Laying the foundation-stone of the new *Statesman* building, on December 9, the Viceroy said : "The power of the Press is admittedly great and in times of trouble and stress such as those through which we are now passing that power becomes greater and consequently needs to be more carefully used, and I think it is safe to say that from what I have seen and read, the *Statesman* is today living up to its well-merited reputation as an independent newspaper.

I am glad, as the head of the Government of India, to have this opportunity to impress upon those who conduct the affairs of the Press throughout India, the tremendous responsibility that rests upon them. At a time such as this, the public mind wants sound and sane guidance with regard to the constitutional changes which are in view, in the administrative life of the country and guidance too in regard to the economic depression which, owing to world causes, is giving us so much anxiety. And I am sure I can rely on them all to help to steady public opinion, to assist us by the fairness of their criticism, and to create the best possible atmosphere for the furtherance of our great administrative tasks."

## A LITERARY PRIZE

Mr. Walter Lippmann, the American publicist, has received the award of \$2,000 annually given by the *Yale Review* to the contributor of an article of special merit dealing with some question of public concern. This valuable bonus has come to Mr. Lippman on account of his article on "Two Revolutions in the American Press" which appeared in the Spring issue of the *Review*. The judges this year were : Mr. Elihu Root, Mr. Owen D. Young, and Professor Gilbert Murray. Sir George Young and M. Andre Siegfried have been previous winners of this award.

SIR VISVESVARAYA'S ADDRESS

Sir M. Visvesvaraya delivered the convocation address at the Fifth Convocation of the Andhra University, held at Waltair on December 1, His Excellency the Chancellor presiding.

Addressing the graduates on whom degrees had



been conferred, Sir M. Visvesvaraya impressed upon them the necessity of being of service to the community, and added :

"It should be your proud privilege to participate in such work.....and you will experience no greater satisfaction in later life than what you may derive by the service rendered to your neighbours, society, or the community."

The Speaker then proceeded to discuss the directions in which the system of University education might be revised and strengthened.

"If knowledge is power," he remarked in conclusion, "practical education is the source of both power and wealth."

Rs. 2,00,000 FOR SCHOLARSHIPS

Sir Ganesh Dutta Singh, Minister for Local Self-Government, has made an offer to the Patna University of Rs. 2,00,000 for the creation of an endowment for higher studies in science and medicine. Scholarships will be awarded generally to Government servants, such as doctors and professors of science, to enable them to study abroad.

TEACHERS' SALARIES

The *Ceylon Daily News* draws attention to the scandal of teachers being made to sign false receipts for their salaries. This is a disgrace to an honourable profession and unless something is done to stop it, the whole profession will be compromised and its efficiency undermined. At the meeting of the Teachers' Association the other day, the Minister of Education declared that half the work of the Executive Committee on Education was connected with complaints from teachers about false certificates they had been made to sign. It is obvious that the practice is becoming more widespread and even managers who are not actually unscrupulous, are resorting to it to keep things going in a time of difficulty. But there is no excuse whatever for the Department to connive at this practice which, on the face of it, is utterly dishonest. If the new system of grants has failed, it should be amended immediately.

THE FILM IN THE SCHOOL

*The Manchester Guardian* writes :

"If cinema education is to become fully effective, and the film is to take its integral place in the school curriculum, educational films will have to be made by experts, and supervised by the authorities responsible for the drawing-up of syllabuses. In the future, we may expect to see every school's collection of films taking a place in importance along with the school library."

PUNJAB UNIVERSITY

Malik Feroze Khan Noon, Minister, accepted, on behalf of the Government, Mr. Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana's resolution recommending the appointment of a committee to examine the working of the Punjab University and its constitution, rules and regulations, with a view to suggest such legislation and other changes as might be necessary for the better control and administration of the University.

TRIAL BY JURY

It will be seen that the "Fundamental Rights" adopted by the Congress does not include trial by jury. A correspondent of *Young India* drew attention to this, and Mr. Gandhi answered :

I am unconvinced of the advantages of Jury trials over those by Judges. In coming to a correct decision, we must not be obsessed by our unfortunate experience of the Judiciary here, which in political trials has been found to be notoriously partial to the Government. When passions are roused, Juries are affected by them and give perverse verdicts. Nor need we assume that they err always on the side of leniency. I have known Juries finding prisoners guilty in the face of evidence and even the Judge's summing up to the contrary. We must not slavishly copy all that is English. In matters where absolute impartiality, calmness and ability to sift evidence and understand human nature are required, we may not replace trained Judges by untrained men brought together by chance. What we must aim at is an incorruptible, impartial and able judiciary right from the bottom.

Mr. Gandhi stresses in the letter the importance of building up again the Village Panchayats.

A NEW PARSİ PORTİA

Miss Dilnawaz Byramji, B.A., BAR-AT-LAW, the daughter of the late Khan Bahadur B. P. Byramji,



MISS DILNAWAZ BYRAMJI

of Nagpur, has been called to the bar by the Inns of Court, London.

THE NEW BENGAL ORDINANCE

The Viceroy and Governor-General has promulgated Ordinance No. XI of 1931, which confers special powers on the Government of Bengal and its officers for the purpose of suppressing the terrorist movement and provides for the speedier trial of offences committed in furtherance of, or in connection with, the terrorist movement.

The Ordinance will apply to Bengal, but the emergency powers for carrying on operations with the aid of the military are restricted for the present to the District of Chittagong and may be extended in any other area in Bengal.

Special Criminal Courts are to be set up with summary powers and proceedings may be held "in camera" if the Court so directs or the Advocate-General so certifies. The Ordinance makes an attempt to murder in pursuance of the terrorist movement a capital offence.

JUDGES TO BE JUDGED

Seven hundred proletarian prisoners were released from the common law prisons in Moscow alone.

This is the result of Inspector Seltz's intervention in his role of President of the Amnesty Committee.

A further 112 sentences were reduced.

This follows his demand for the punishment of unjust judges and for a "sharp change in Soviet judicial administration".

"Unjust and careless judges must be brought to responsibility under the law," he declared.

Inspector Seltz has recently been examining the innermost wheels of the Proletarian dictatorship's punitive machinery.

"When a man is removed from productive work without adequate grounds, the loss cannot be estimated in money terms," he added. "The punishment must be heavier for wasting human material than for embezzling money."

## BLOOD POISONING

One of the commonest signs of blood poisoning and a lowered state of health is a crop of boils, observes "A Physician" in *The Times of India*.

Organisms which have entered the blood stream, seize on any damaged part of the skin and begin to multiply there. They destroy the surrounding parts and form boils, varying in size.

These can be treated in the ordinary way with hot boracic fomentations, but your general health must also be watched.

Keep the bowels open, not by purgatives, unless these are necessary, but by taking plenty of fresh fruit and green vegetables and a good tonic.

If the condition does not clear up, vaccine or injection treatment is necessary, and you should consult your doctor.

## DEATH-DEFYING MACHINE

Doctors at St. Bartholomew's Hospital are testing a machine sent to them from America, which battles with death and is sometimes able to snatch a patient back to life when all else has failed. It is believed to be the only apparatus which will compel a patient to breathe automatically even when his vitality has sunk so low that there is no effort on his part to breathe at all. Placed in this machine he must continue to inhale and cannot stop breathing.

The machine is boat-shaped, long, and is complicated with electrical and other gadgets.

The record case reported from America is of a patient who was in the machine for six months and then recovered.

"We have it on trial from America," said the house-surgeon.

"We use it when the lungs cease to work. If you were put into that machine you could not stop breathing.

"It is the only apparatus I know which will make a person breathe without any effort on his part."

## NOBEL PRIZE FOR MEDICINE

The award of this year's Nobel prize for medicine to Professor Warburg, of Berlin, honours a man whose researches in the field of chemical research are more widely known than his prowess in the actual science of therapeutics.

Professor Warburg, who is forty-eight years' old, a bachelor, and one of the modern types of German sportsmen, proposes devoting the amount of the prize—which this year is £8,500, calculated on the old gold standard—to further research into the breathing of cells. It is his work along these lines which has made him world famous. His discovery that the cancerous cell in anybody can exist and multiply for a long period without needing any of the ordinary supply of oxygen, without which normal cells cannot live, was of phenomenal importance for cancer research work. He is the world authority on the functions of the living and diseased cell.

# REMEMBER!

## LOB

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E. Jan. '32.

## THE ASSOCIATED CHAMBERS

The Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce was opened at Calcutta on December 14, by H. E. the Governor of Bengal. It was attended among others by Sir George Schuster, Sir George Rainy and Sir Joseph Bhore. It will be noticed that some of the resolutions were passed unanimously in spite of official explanation, especially those relating to taxation and retrenchment.

The Association, we are told,

contemplates with apprehension the heavy burden that is thrown by the Indian Finance (Supplementary and Extending) Act upon the commerce, industry and trade of India, and indeed upon every interest and community in the country.

The resolution goes on earnestly to represent to the Government of India:

the supreme importance of exercising and of continuing to exercise every possible economy in expenditure consistent with good government and efficiency.

In regard to retrenchment, the Associated Chambers' spokesman referred to what he considered as defects in the policy of retrenchment. In the first place, this organisation complained that the Government did not effect as much retrenchment in the subordinate ranks as in the superior, though Sir George Schuster who explained the Government's position, stated quite properly that there were dangers in suddenly throwing out of employ large numbers of youths. The Association further demanded a general reduction in railway freights, under which people find it impossible to move commodities, especially as the prices now ruling for them are ridiculously low. One resolution of the Association complained of the inequitable incidence of income-tax and super-tax, and profession-tax in certain cases, while another protested that the Delhi Pact proved susceptible to continued misapplication in restraint of trade and opined that:

it is incumbent upon the Government to take such measures that the trade of the country shall in future be carried on by all classes of the community with that freedom which the provisions of the Delhi Agreement appear to have been intended to secure.

## THE SWADESHI EXHIBITION

The All-India Swadeshi Exhibition, Madras, was opened by Sir M. Visveswarayya, at the Congress House, on December 15. The organisers have made effective use of the opportunity to make the Exhibition particularly attractive to the public. Apart from the stalls and demonstrations, they have installed a radio set to broadcast music from the Corporation. Cinema Shows, magic lantern lectures on topics relating to public health, prohibition and promotion of cottage industry activities also find a place in the programme.

Mr. Satyamurti, President of the Exhibition Committee, in requesting Sir M. Visveswarayya to open the Exhibition, delivered an address in the course of which he said that the organisers of the Exhibition would not be content, if the Exhibition was a success merely from the point of view of the number of visitors and the income to the Exhibition.

The organisers earnestly hope and pray, that the Exhibition will do something towards increasing the industrial efficiency of the Province, by creating and developing markets for Swadeshi products, and by stimulating people who have got money and brains to put them into Swadeshi industrial undertakings.

Sir Visveswarayya, in opening the Exhibition, made a brief but lucid speech, in the course of which he said that though he was one of those who not long ago thought that hand-spinning and hand-weaving of Khaddar, while machinery could do the work so cheap, might prove a waste of effort and that the energy and time spent on it might be more profitably employed. But in the present circumstances of the country when there is such a redundant unemployed population and there is no organisation at all to relieve unemployment, no sane person will deny that the Khaddar propaganda is serving a useful constructive purpose, and the efforts of the Congress Party in popularising Khaddar under the all-inclusive generalship of our great countryman, Mahatma Gandhi, are fully justified. When at some future time truly national economic policies begin to govern the attitude of Government, I have no doubt that the Mahatma himself will wish to divert at least part of the labour now employed on Khaddar to more remunerative occupations.

## TRADERS' DEPUTATION

Three groups of Conservative members of the House of Commons waited in a joint deputation on Sir Samuel Hoare, to urge that a Trade and Commerce Committee should be sent to India, including a Lancashire expert.

## POONA AGRICULTURAL CONFERENCE

The Poona District Agricultural Conference, on the motion of Mr. N. C. Kelkar, passed a



MR. N. C. KELKAR

Resolution requesting the Government *inamdars* and superior landholders to grant fifty per cent. remission of assessment and rent, and also suspension for one year of the remaining 50 per cent. dues, in the case of those who had no other means of livelihood except agriculture.

Mr. Kelkar said that the resolution struck a golden mean between the two extremes on the one hand of "no-tax" and on the other of recovery of all dues by the Government. The resolution was, he said, one entailing even sacrifice on the part of the Government and the peasants.

Mr. N. V. Gadgil, Mr. Shankara Rao Deo and Mr. G. N. Kanitkar urged the peasants to rally round Mr. Gandhi's banner.

## ORDINANCE AGAINST "NO-RENT" CAMPAIGN

The Viceroy and Governor-General promulgated, on December 14, the "U. P. Emergency Powers Ordinance, 1931", with a view to providing against instigation to illegal refusal of the payment of certain liabilities, and to confer special powers on the Government of the United Provinces and its officers for the purpose of maintaining law and order.

The Ordinance extends to the whole of the United Provinces, except Section 21 which extends to the whole of British India, in respect of the application of the Press Act provisions to instigation by a newspaper, in any part of British India, to non-payment of rent. The remaining provisions of the Ordinance shall come into force at once in the districts of Allahabad, Rae Bareilly, Unao, Cawnpore, and Etawah, but may be extended by the Local Government to any part of the United Provinces.

## PUNJAB COUNCIL AND LAND REVENUE

The Punjab Legislative Council has passed a resolution recommending 50 per cent. reduction in land revenue and water-rent. In doing so the Council has surely represented the popular feeling, which the present Council does not do often. Similar demands have been put forth by numerous public bodies and meetings. The principal resolution at the Maja Political Conference, held at Patti recently under the Presidentship of Syt. Purushottam Das Tandon, put forth the same demand.

## PROTECTION FOR TENANTS

In order to safeguard the interests of tenants from the clutch of money-lenders, the Government of the United Provinces propose shortly to bring about legislation to protect agricultural land and agricultural produce from sale on account of debts.

## THE SCIENTIFIC OUTLOOK

"I think the universe is all spots and jumps, without unity, without continuity, without coherence or orderliness," says Mr. Bertrand Russell in his new book "The Scientific Outlook".

"One hundred and fifty years of science have proved more explosive than five thousand years of pre-scientific culture.

"Science, as its name implies, is primarily knowledge; by convention it is knowledge of a certain kind, the kind, namely, which seeks general laws connecting a number of particular facts. Gradually, however, the aspect of science as knowledge is being thrust into the background by the aspect of science as the power of manipulating nature. It is because science gives us the power of manipulating nature that it has more social importance than art. . . . It is beginning to modify family life, and is almost certain to do so to a much greater extent in the future."

## A YOGI'S DEMONSTRATION

Sir C. V. Raman and a large audience of Science teachers and students of the Presidency College were the amazed spectators of a poison swallowing demonstration given by a Hindu *yogi* named Narasingh Swami, of Andhra.

During the demonstration, which was held in the physics theatre of the College, the Swami swallowed various concentrated acids of a deadly nature, including potassium cyanide. Pieces of glass, nails and various poisons which were taken in, were later located by X-Ray in the Swami's stomach. The Swami apparently felt none the worse for the intake.

According to the *yogi*, Hata Yoga, the age old practice of the *Swamis* of India, was able to counteract the deadliest poisons.

That the *yogi's* performance was a challenge to modern science, was the opinion of Sir C. V. Raman who felt mystified, although the whole demonstration was carried out under the strictest scientific supervision.

## THE AURORA BOREALIS

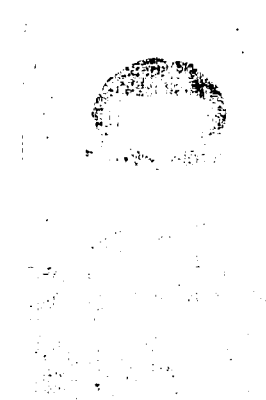
An attempt is to be made to film the Aurora Borealis. Scientists equipped with high-speed motion-picture cameras and with films sensitive to all the colours of the spectrum, have gone to Churchill, Hudson Bay, for that purpose. If they do not succeed there, efforts will be made farther north. The expedition is in connection with the investigations of Arctic phenomena to be conducted next year by parties sent from all nations interested in Arctic exploration.

## SIR C. V. RAMAN

Sir C. V. Raman has been invited to attend the Ninth Session of the International Congress of Chemists, to be held in Madrid in April 1932. He is expected to open a discussion there on "Raman effect in relation to the Chemical Constitution".

## DR. V. SUBRAMANIAN

H. E. The Viceroy is pleased to appoint Dr. V. Subramanian, B.A., B.Sc. (LOND.), F.I.C., to



DR. V. SUBRAMANIAN

the Chair of Bio-Chemistry, at the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, which was lying vacant for the past 2 years. He is a Reserved Medallist of the Royal Agricultural Society, author of several papers dealing with fundamental problems in soil science, bacteriological and enzyme chemistry, etc.

## THE RAILWAY CRISIS

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, President of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation, has issued a statement to the Press explaining the situation created by the new retrenchment in the Railways. Mr. Mehta observes that the Federation delegation informed the Board that if proper alternatives were adopted for effecting economy, there would be no necessity for staff retrenchment. And yet the Board, without even waiting for the report of the Court of Inquiry, has proceeded with fresh retrenchments. How hard the proposed cut will affect the poor wage-earners is explained by Mr. Mehta.

If for nothing else, at least in view of the fact that the cuts have been already enforced, the idea of fresh retrenchment ought to have been given up, not only while the Court of Inquiry is sitting but for all time.

The miserable wages of the sweeper-women on the railways, getting Rs. 7-8 per month or even less, will be drastically reduced by the cut which the superior services professing to accept a cut of 10 per cent. will be really subjected to a cut of 43 per cent. only. A cut in wages is not the same thing to a low paid man as to one who is in receipt of salaries running to five figures annually.

Mr. Mehta contends that the cuts in wages have accentuated the misery and wretchedness that already exist. The recent taxation has made inroads into the scanty income by the rise in prices of necessities of life, and the new retrenchment has sent a thrill of horror in their unhappy hearts. They are being goaded into desperation, and if untoward incidents happen, the entire responsibility will be that of the Railway Board.

It would appear that the Board were impressed with the case made out by the Federation against the proposals, as a result of which Mr. Mehta records:

Their original proposals communicated to me on October 10 last involved the discharge of nearly 11,000 employees; by our continuous pressure the figure is now brought down to a little above 1,100. We wish we had been able to stop the retrenchment of that number also; but as I have said before, the Board have preferred prestige to propriety. The result is that the original figure of 11,000 reduced to 7,500 in October was further reduced in November to 5,009 and has now been finally

reduced to a little over 1,100; the rest will not be touched till the end of January and some of them may not be retrenched altogether.

While this relief is welcomed, the workers are determined, says Mr. Mehta, to fight the wage cut to the bitter end, for that will mean an attack on their standard of life.

The General Council of the Federation has resolved to call upon the affiliated unions to consider the situation and to formulate proposals for resisting it; the Federation is prepared to support all reasonable proposals, including a general strike on railways if the majority of the unions declare for it.



MR. F. B. WATHEN  
Agent, M. & S. M. Ry. who is shortly retiring.

## FUTURE OF INDIAN RAILWAYS

At the annual meeting of the shareholders of the Bengal Nagpur Railway Co., Sir Treavudyn Wynne, the managing-director, made it obvious that he was not anxious to see the Railway Board perpetuated as it is constituted to-day. Referring to the future control of the railways in India, Sir T. R. Wynne observed: "The railways of India are not all alike in respect to the traffic they carry." The rates they can charge, cost of maintenance and running, and methods of reducing expenditure, therefore, would not be applicable. The railways must each work out their own salvation, and this they will be able to do, as every railway in India has a fully qualified expert in its agent, with his staff, to deal with economies, and what is wanted is to lay down the principles on which an agent should make his economies."

## MOTOR OLYMPIA

The Twenty-fifth International Motor Exhibition was held at Olympia this year, between October 15 to 24, 1931. The patron is H. M. the King. The Exhibition is not confined to motor cars, but to their components, accessories, tyres, motor boats, marine engines and a variety of connected articles.

One of the noteworthy features of the Motor Show was the exhibition of the supermarine Rolls-Royce S. 6. B., Miss England II and Blue Bird representing the highest achievement in air, water and land.

The official guide-book of the exhibition which is priced at a shilling covers about 450 pages. It is a very useful book otherwise than as a guide, as it gives the specification and prices for almost any make or model of Car. The Exhibition is reported to have attracted over 1,80,000 visitors.

Soon after the Motor Show, there was held at Olympia the biennial exhibition of commercial vehicles. While something is known here of the improvements made in private cars, we have no information at all about the progress made in the manufacture of commercial vehicles. The commercial chassis imported here from which buses are evolved, are no more than suitable adaptation of the touring chassis. Really heavy commercial vehicles capable of heavy haulage, or for carrying 30 or 40 passengers, now use engines feeding on crude oil. These engines are very efficient besides being economical.

## LOOKING BACKWARDS

It will be interesting to examine the Car features in 1931. First and foremost is the almost universal popularity of the Sedan type of body. Even the Baby Cars manufacturers make it. Some of the American and English manufacturers do not even list a touring type. These closed bodies are sometimes fitted with the sunshine roof. Like

jack in the box, one can stand on the floor of the Car and look at the world peering round through the hole in the roof.

Another feature is the adaptation of the self-changing gear. The Armstrong Siddeley people have made it standard on their cars. To persons who have never felt any difficulty in gear changing, this new innovation may not appear to be much of an advantage. But there are thousands of motorists to whom this gear-changing is a veritable nightmare. Undoubtedly it is a great boon to those people. Someone complains that the art of quilt change will disappear with the introduction of the selective gear. One is inclined to ask whether on a similar reasoning the self-starter should not disappear, as it has killed the art of deftly cranking up the Car.

Among the mechanical improvements, we must include the introduction of hydraulic brakes which have become standard with many makers. Free-wheeling is still confined to the manufacturers in America. There is no doubt that it is a delightful experience. A host of accessories are now fitted to every make. The 1932 Car had seen a great deal of improvements.

## MOTOR ON THE HIMALAYAS

Driving an Austin Seven Car, with the Maharaj Kumar of Burdwan, Mr. L. H. Dupurs has put up a remarkable performance by driving to Sandhakpu, 12,000 feet up.

The road which was no more than a pony track, was very rocky and zig-zagging. It steadily grew worse till there came a bend which it was impossible to motor round. The car had then to be lifted on to the upper track and to progress in reverse till the track broadened to allow of its being turned round.

On the final ascent twenty-five hair-pin bends were negotiated, and in one place rocks on the track had to be broken with crowbars to allow the car to go forward, the only damage being to the mudguards on the return trip.

## TO MEET THE STERLING LOAN

Mr. C. B. Mehta writes in the December issue of the *Cotton and Finance* :

"It is very problematical whether the Government would be able to secure the balance to pay the sterling loan before the due date, 15th January, 1932. If they are unable to do so, there is no other alternative for them but to avail themselves of the promise of the British Government to give a loan to the Government of India and which has been emphasised by the Finance Member in the Assembly. But looking at the present financial position of Britain, we very much doubt whether the British Government will give any loans to them. It is possible that in order to save Britain from an awkward situation of refusing a loan, Government of India will not ask for the promised loan under one excuse or another, but will ship gold from India from the Gold Standard Reserve to meet the liabilities. Such a course will cause no small alarm in this country. It will impair the confidence in the rupee value and scramble for gold will follow.

Such export of Government gold will temporarily strengthen sterling. The Government may pretend to be doing a great service to the country in exporting gold, by saying that such gold will now purchase sterling by about 25 per cent. more than before. But with the decrease in bullion holdings of the Government, confidence in the rupee value will naturally diminish."

## INDIAN ACCOUNTANCY RULES

The informal committee appointed by the Government of India, to assist them in the preparation of the Indian accountancy rules to be made under the Indian Companies Act, 1913, as amended by Act XIX of 1930, met for the second time in New Delhi, on December 17 and 18. It considered various criticisms received on the draft auditor's certificates rules and the draft restricted certificates rules.

## DECCAN CO-OPERATIVE BANK

The first General Meeting of the Deccan Co-operative Bank was attended by 50 members.

Mr. V. G. Pradhan was in the chair. Mr. Metharam Butani addressed the members on the lines on which the Bank should conduct its affairs.

Thirty-three new applicants were admitted as members of the Bank.

The rules and bye-laws were adopted with the exception of the clauses concerning the qualification of the members of the managing committee.

Mr. V. G. Pradhan, M.A., L.T., was unanimously elected President of the Bank, and Mr. G. M. Ghatwal, secretary.

## MR. DARLING'S SCHEME

"In the world's extremity, Britain has an opportunity to assume world-wide monetary leadership for world recovery," declared the well-known banker, Mr. J. F. Darling, in an address at Belfast, on December 16.

Mr. Darling elaborated a plan for its formation of an Empire bank by agreement between the Governments of the Empire with an Empire monetary unit into which both gold and silver entered, but which would not be clamped to gold. Such a unit might become so strong, Mr. Darling argued, that the dollar, franc and other currencies would be attracted towards it, because they could not afford to remain apart.

## IMPERIAL BANK DEPOSITS

The Statement of the Imperial Bank of India for the week-ended December 11, shows an increase in Public Deposits of Rs. 1,36,39 lakhs and a decrease in Other Deposits of Rs. 10.98 lakhs. On the assets side, Investments have decreased by Rs. 6.35 lakhs while Loans, Cash Credits and Bills are all up by Rs. 42.81 lakhs. Cash has decreased by Rs. 47.54 lakhs and Cash percentage from 13.24 in the previous week to 12.34. Public Demand shows an increase of Rs. 182¾ lakhs.

## HINDUSTHAN CO-OPERATIVE INSURANCE

The Hindusthan Co-operative Insurance Society, of Calcutta, has constructed an elegant building for its office in Madras, and the Directors were able to secure the good offices of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer for the opening ceremony. Sir C. P. Ramaswami, in his address, dwelt on the significance of insurance to national economy. He gave important figures to emphasise the value of insurance and, particularly, the scope of insurance in India. Seventy per cent. of the total insurance of the world, he pointed out, is held in the United States of America. That country has a population of one hundred and ten million, and each man, woman and child in America is insured to the extent of Rs. 2,000. Canada comes next with Rs. 1,200; Great Britain with Rs. 600, and India comes somewhere amongst the lowest rung with Rs. 4. The proportion of people who have insured their lives in America is one out of every four; in England one out of every ten; and in India one out of every 500. As a writer in *Indian Finance* rightly points out, the very deficiency of insurance at the present moment is the biggest factor on the side of the Indian insurance companies.

## INSURANCE IN INDIA

On the occasion of the annual meeting of the Indian Life Assurance Offices Association, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, President of the Association, was entertained at a dinner at the Willingdon Club, Bombay, on the 12th December. Insurance officials from all parts of India were present.

Mr. H. Edwin Jones, of Oriental, welcoming Mr. Sarker, asked all the insurance men to co-operate for the progress of the Indian insurance.

Mr. Sarker replying, thanked Bombay members and said that such social functions enabled them to work in co-operation without resorting to a spirit of rivalry and unhealthy competition.

## INSURANCE AGENTS' CONFERENCE

The first Conference of the Agents of the Indian Insurance Companies organised by the Indian Insurance Institute was held on Sunday, the 13th instant, at the Buddhist Vihar Hall, College Square, Calcutta, under the presidency of Mr. Indu Blusan Sen.

Sir C. V. Raman, who delivered the inaugural address, pointed out that :

Insurance was a great national asset. It created a national fund which could be used and administered for the nation's benefit. It should be by legal compulsion, if necessary, provided that the surplus funds of insurance companies doing business in India should be invested within the geographical limits of India. He was not advocating discrimination—that was the concern of the politician—but as one who desired that his country should prosper, he felt very strongly that those surplus funds should be invested in India.

The Conference adopted the following among other Resolutions :

That this Conference of Indian Insurance Agents requests the authorities of Indian Insurance Companies to sever their connection with foreign banks and insurance companies.

That this Conference of Indian Insurance Agents urges upon the Indian Insurance Companies to aim at Indianisation in their administration.

That this Conference requests the Indian Insurance Institute to form a Standing Committee of Agents with a view to safeguarding and protecting the interests of field workers.

That this Conference requests the management of different insurance companies to take suitable steps so that whole-time Insurance workers may have greater facilities in their work and that they may have security of service, provident fund, provision for old age and permanent disability advantages.

That the Indian Insurance Institute be requested to impress upon the Indian Universities the need for introducing Insurance studies in their curriculum.

That the Conference of agents of Indian Insurance Companies requests all Indian Companies to take steps so that the Insurance policies of persons convicted of political offence may not lapse for non-payment of premium during the period of their incarceration.

## THE ASIATIC RECREATION CLUB

The Asiatic Government Security Life Assurance Co., Ltd., of Bangalore, has started a Recreation Club for the employees of the Company. The recreations will be mainly in the form of indoor games. The club has been able to enlist the support of a few important outside members also.

### LABOUR LEGISLATION

It is understood among the legislative measures that may be ready for consideration at the coming session of the Assembly, to give effect to the Labour Commission's recommendations, may be those to repeal the Employers' and Workers' Disputes Acts 160 and bills amending the Workmen's Compensation Act, the Trade Disputes Act, a bill for the abolition of Assam Labour Board and its replacement by the new machinery proposed for the purpose. Government may also be ready to sound the Assembly regarding the draft convention adopted at Geneva on hours of work in the mines.

### LABOUR DISPUTES

Cotton and woollen mills figure largely among the industrial disputes that occurred in British India for the quarter ending 30th September. There were no less than 45 disputes, of which 23 were in cotton and woollen mills, 3 in engineering workshops, 3 in railways and 2 in jute mills, the rest coming under the category "Miscellaneous".

The number of men involved in all these disputes was about 50,000; 30,000 being in Bombay. The number of days lost was 4,080,000.

Twenty-three of the disputes were on questions of wages and nine over personnel. Only 7 of the 45 disputes were successful. Sixteen of the disputes were partially successful while eighteen were unsuccessful.

### LABOUR IN KOLAR FIELDS

The enquiry into the conditions of labourers in the Kolar Fields by the Officer appointed by the Mysore Government has resulted in a Report containing a number of recommendations for improving the lot of the workers, including weekly payment of wages, control of money-lending to the workers, comforts and amenities for them, and improvement of sanitation. Free cinema shows, bhajans, etc., are recommended.

### INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE

The Government of India have received intimation from Geneva that the second discussion of the following four maritime questions, which were considered by the International Labour Conference by way of first discussion at its 13th Session in 1929, will take place at the special session of the Conference to be held in 1933 consecutively with the general session of the Conference: 1. The regulation of hours of work on boardship; 2. the protection of seamen in case of sickness (including treatment of seamen injured on boardship); 3. the promotion of seamen's welfare in ports and 4. the minimum requirement of professional capacity in the case of captains and certain officers on board merchantships.

### NEW YORK UNEMPLOYED

President Hoover's recent broadcast appeal for funds for the relief of unemployment is meeting



PRESIDENT HOOVER

with a ready response among some of the richest citizens of the United States. Messrs. John D. Rockefeller, father and son, have presented approximately £200,000 to the New York unemployment relief fund. The well known financier, Mr. Edward S. Harkness, has also presented £150,000.

### INDIAN WOMEN'S DEMANDS

The Cawnpore Women's Association at its Annual Conference, held on November 28, under the presidentship of Begum Habibullah of Lucknow, has passed the following four Resolutions:

1. That this Conference requests the Government to enforce the Sarda Act rigorously and oppose the repeal of the Act in the Legislative Assembly.

2. That this Conference requests the Government to pass an Act whereby Hindu women can acquire rights to property like their Christian and Muslim sisters.

3. That this Conference requests the Municipal Board of Cawnpore to enforce the Free and Compulsory Primary Education Act for girls at an early date.

4. That this Conference requests the public of Cawnpore to elect women representatives to the Board of the Cawnpore Municipality in the proportion of at least ¼ out of the total number of elected seats.

### BRITISH WOMEN'S SUPPORT FOR INDIA

The Countess of Warwick presiding at a Conference of delegates from women's organisations, on the 15th of October at the Guildhouse, supported the demand for Indian self-government which, she said, was now inevitable, and people no longer merely discussed its desirability. She paid a tribute to the women of India for the part they played in the Indian movement.

Mrs. Hansa Mehta said that India was nothing but the slave of England. She, in common with many of her sisters, had been in the fight for freedom, and she would fight to the bitter end if need be.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said it was unusual that at an election time so many people should think it worth while to come to a Conference on India. India, she added, was a modern country, with modern problems, which could only be solved in a modern and human way.

### WOMEN IN INDIAN SOCIETY

In the course of a paper on "Women of India To-day" read to the Lotus Club, Oxford, Mrs. Subbarayan, after dwelling on the aims and high ideals of the Lotus Club, traced how women in ancient India played a great part in many spheres of life, and how the political upheavals and the consequent growth of restricting customs and laws pushed women into the background and raised a strong prejudice against their participation in public life. Referring to the forward movement in regard to women's education in India Mrs. Subbarayan said:

"That we have now in India a stratum of educated and intelligent women, who have been aroused to an active interest in what is going on around them, and to a feeling of responsibility for the world about them, whether in politics, professional life, social reform or education. The presence of a women's delegation on the Round Table Conference was in itself a tribute to the very great advance which has been made by Indian women."



Mrs. A. F. MOLAMURE  
First Woman State Councillor, Ceylon.

### WOMEN BARRISTERS

Five women are among the 81 new barristers to be called to the bar by the Inns of Court.

## A BUDDHIST MONUMENT

On Wednesday the 11th November, the Great Vihara which has been raised on the site near Benares, where Gautama Buddha preached his first sermon, was opened in the presence of a large congregation of followers and students of the illustrious teacher who had come from many countries. It is hoped the opening of this shrine will give a stimulus to the study and contemplation of his gracious life and teachings which are among the most precious heritages of this land.

## HINDU DANCE IN LONDON

The members of the Round Table Conference watched an Exhibition of Hindu Dances in Dorchester House, organised by the Maharani of Baroda for charity.

The glittering array of the Indian Princes and others present was obviously and keenly appreciated by the delightful programme, notably a performance by Nunada (Mrs. Sokhey). To the accompaniment of violin, piano and drum, she interpreted India according to the results of her studies of the old Indian sculpture and painting.

## FRENCH ART TREASURES

Four hundred art treasures destined for the International Exhibition of French Art, which opens at the Royal Academy, London, on January 4th, left Louvre Museum, Paris, on December 7, under guard. The value of the treasures is inestimable, but they are insured for no less than two million five hundred thousand pounds.

## ORIENTAL ARTS EXHIBITION

The Annual Exhibition of the Indian Society of Oriental Arts was opened, at Calcutta, on the morning of the 21st December by the Hon. Lady Jackson.

The exhibits included fresco painting, water-colour painting, wood-carving, etc.

## TAMIL NAD ACTORS' ASSOCIATION

The first annual meeting of the Tamil Nad Actors of the South Indian stage took place on the 18th December, at the Minakshi Sundara Central Town Hall, Madura, under the presidency of Mr. Madura Bhaskara Doss, a prominent music composer. Over two hundred persons, including a good number of actors and actresses, attended.

The President appealed to the assembled actors to organise themselves into a corporate body, to work for the advancement of the country and reform their fraternity. As the theatrical performances were intended for the advancement of the masses, it would be no good if they did not subserve that purpose. Originally the dramas enacted were of a religious nature. Fortunately they had still the art in them and it would not be long before Tamil drama attained again to its original exalted position.

## INDIAN SCULPTURE

In the course of a public lecture on Indian Sculpture, arranged by the India Research Committee of the Royal Anthropological Institute at University College, Gower Street, Mr. K. de B. Codrington said that Indian sculpture and architecture showed an orderly development and progression from the second century B.C. in the north to the seventeenth century in the extreme south. Early Indian sculpture was essentially bas-relief sculpture under popular inspiration. Preserving its rock-cut bas-relief character, it was scrupulously faithful to its material. The line of the silhouette was not stressed, and modelling in the sense of reproduction of muscular detail was avoided.

## NEW ROYAL ACADEMICIAN

Mr. Alfred Turner, the sculptor, whose works include the Queen Victoria Memorial in Delhi, and King Edward Memorial in Lyallpur, has been elected a Royal Academician.

## PLAYGROUNDS FOR THE PUBLIC

"We tentatively suggest that two acres be reserved for every 1,000 of population and that there should be one public playground for every 10,000 of population. We would allow the inclusion of market-stands and usable river and tank beds. The acquisition and reservation of lands for playgrounds is a matter of sufficient importance to warrant attention at the hands of a separate *ad hoc* body, and we endorse the recommendation of the Secondary Schools Committee for the appointment of local playground commissions, the functions of which would be to advise and assist in the acquisition of sites and their allocation."

Thus, says a Government Order, on the report of the Committee appointed by the Government to investigate the problem of physical education in elementary schools for boys in the Madras Presidency. In general, continues the Order, the recommendations are conceived on right lines and are calculated to effect a marked improvement in the physique and health of the masses in the presidency.

## CHAMPION BOXER DEFEATED

In an open arena inside the Bombay Shows, Pat Mills (11st. 6 lbs.) of Jubbulpore, fought "Gunboat" Jack (10st. 4 lbs.), Champion of All Weights, on 6th December, in a 10-round contest for the All-India Middle-Weight Belt. Lieutenant-Colonel G. A. Lavender was referee while Major Hall and Mr. King did the judging. The Army rules were followed.

After the supporting bouts were over, the star fight was staged. The crowd had expected much from both the exponents but the night's boxing was below standard, to use the words of Colonel Lavender, who refereed. But the big surprise was Mills' final triumph on points. Mills fought cleanly and his dodging of Jack's many hefty blows was admirable.

## NAWAB OF PATAUDI ON INDIAN CRICKET

Reluctant to hazard any opinion without studying the Indian conditions, the Nawab of Pataudi remarked in an interview to the Press at Bombay: "I am absolutely in the dark about the position of cricket in India, and, therefore, I cannot say anything definite unless I see things for myself in Delhi."

About the coming tour to England, he observed:

"I can say this much that people in England are earnestly hoping that an Indian team will go, and from what I have heard from my friends like Naidu and Nazir Ali, two of our best players, I am quite sure that we shall be able to do very well. I cannot say anything beyond this as I have not played any game in this country before. If there is the slightest possibility of sending out a team, it should not be missed in any circumstances, as I think a visit will be a great education in itself to our players."



CADET A. CHAKRAVARTI

Cadet A. Chakravarti, Bengalee youth of I. M. M. T. S. Dufferin, was awarded the Viceroy's gold medal for having shown the qualities of the best sailor.

CIVIL AVIATION IN INDIA

Replying to the criticism regarding the Government of India's aviation policy, Sir Joseph Bhole



SIR JOSEPH BHOLE

pointed out at the recent meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, on the 15th December, that elaborate arrangements regarding ground organization, system of meteorological intelligence, wireless broadcasting which are conditions precedent, for the success of aviation required time and money, which was none too plentiful during the last few years. The Government, he said, already spent over a crore of rupees in providing conditions necessary for the operation of Air Mails for Trans-India and Continental routes and such achievement called for more sympathy than criticism.

BENGAL FLYING CLUB GYMKHANA

The Bengal Flying Club's Annual Gymkhana was held on December 7, at the Dum Dum Aerodrome. The programme was a lengthy and varied one, including bomb-dropping, balloon-bursting, landing and height judging competitions and "preparation for a flight" race.

VICEROY'S PLANE

The machine bought for His Excellency the Viceroy is one of the four specially ordered for the Indian State Air Service. It has a maximum speed of 115 miles an hour when carrying full load. Its cruising speed is 100 miles an hour. It has at its cruising speed a range of 400 miles. Its maximum engine speed is 2,090 revolutions per minute. Its rate of climb at sea-level is 675 feet per minute. The machine requires 275 yards for its take-off run. Its landing run without wheel brakes is 330 yards, but it has wheel brakes and they enable it to land with a run of only 230 yards. Its baggage compartments provide a space big enough for 1,100 pounds of baggage, and when the machine is loaded with two pilots and four passengers, it will be able to take baggage up to a weight of 620 pounds.

THE DELHI FLYING CLUB

The Delhi Flying Club announces that the Club has been awarded a donation of Rs. 1,000 by Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Willingdon, and that it has also been presented with a photograph of Their Excellencies. Their Excellencies have besides given a silver cup to the Club for a certificate competition.

MADRAS TO HYDERABAD BY AIR

Raja I. V. Krishna Rao of Venkatagiri, one of the Indian Pilots, had a successful flight on Saturday the 12th December, from Madras to Hyderabad. He left Madras at 6-50 a.m. and reached Hyderabad at 11 a.m.

"AKRON" SETS A RECORD

The largest party ever to take the air together was carried by the airship "Akron" on November 3rd, when she left the aerodrome at Lake Hurst, New Jersey, with 207 persons on board.

FILM AID AT SCHOOL

The report of the experiment by the Middlesex educational authorities in fifteen schools on the use of special sound films as an aid to teaching, states that the Committee find that the films arouse and maintain interest and help to develop originality, encourage children to read more widely, enrich personal experience and correlate the work of the class-room with the life of the world outside.

Talk films, it is stated, bring the greatest benefit to the dullest children, achieving a greater awakening of intellectual consciousness than has been achieved by any other means.

BOOM IN INDIAN FILMS

The increased activity of Indian producers who are turning out a greater number of home-made talking films, is reflected in the unusual rise in the figures of imported raw stock. These reveal the fact that in three years figures have more than trebled themselves.

The new duties imposed on imports are expected to show an effect in the form of a further decline for 1931-32, and an accentuation of the boom in home production is almost certain.

CHARLIE AND LADY ASTOR

Charlie Chaplin appeared with Lady Astor at a political gathering in the east end of Plymouth, and after speeches he danced with her, enjoyed himself in a barn dance, and delighted several partners.

In intervals he did some familiar tricks with his bowler hat, which flicked mysteriously from his head, careered up the lintel of the door, twirled in the air, and returned to him.

Asked by Lady Astor "Why is it you send so many American films over here that are terrible?" he replied, "Terrible? I always thought you got the best." "What must the worst be like?" retorted Lady Astor.

HOLLYWOOD SALARIES

We understand that Hollywood studios have decided to reduce their employees' salaries by twenty to thirty per cent. We are not told whether this will affect the contracts of such highly-paid actors and actresses as Mr. Maurice Chevalier, Miss Greta Garbo, and Miss Constance Bennett, all of whom earn salaries in the neighbourhood of £1,000 per week. Hollywood, says a contemporary, has never pretended that a star is really worth £50,000 a year. The payment of these enormous salaries is part of their publicity for certain films. "Come and see the £1,000 a week star." They are quite willing for their own purposes to make out that an actress is much better than she really is.

£6,000 A WEEK

Referring to the £6,000 a week paid to a film star, Miss Constance Bennett, a protesting American theatre owner has just said: "There is no ability or genius that can justify such a salary." This "salary" is probably not quite what it seems. Miss Bennett may be paid £6,000 a week, but she is certainly not paid that every week in the year. However, a salary of £100,000 a year is not unknown at Hollywood, whether for "executives" or artists.

MR. HAROLD LLOYD

We write to draw the attention of our readers to an interesting article entitled "Dangerous Moments in My Life" from the pen of the well-known film star, Mr. Harold Lloyd, who records some of his remarkable experiences in the early stage of his career (page 25).

CHARLIE CHAPLIN TO VISIT INDIA

It is understood that Mr. Charlie Chaplin's latest plan is to visit the East, including India, and tour China and Japan.

DIET AND DISEASE

Dr. M. R. Guruswami Mudaliar, addressing a large gathering at the Y. M. C. A., Madras, on December 19, spoke on the importance of diet in relation to disease. He referred to some of the practices obtaining in India in the matter of diet and said that the traditional diet of the Hindu was based on solid scientific basis and a full realisation of their vitamin contents.

The first essential of maintaining good health, he said, was to observe a correct diet, and in determining what is correct diet, factors such as environment, had always to be considered. Besides the food value of each item in the diet should also be understood. Experiments had shown that milk and green leaves occupied a unique position among food-stuffs. They always tended to correct the defects of other foods and there was no effective substitute for these at all. But there was one danger to be guarded against. Milk was one of the best media in which bacteria flourished, and unless they were sure it was uncontaminated and that the cow yielding it was fed properly, milk would be a source of ill health and spreading of epidemics such as typhoid, cholera and intestinal disorders. In fact, one doctor even said that the bacteria in milk were somewhat greater than those contained in sewage. The best way of obviating these dangers was to take milk soured or curds as it contained all the properties of milk without its dangers. One Russian doctor, Meschnikoff, referring to Indian diet said that if, in spite of child marriage, climatic conditions and poverty, there were Indians living up to a ripe old age. It was because of the buttermilk contained in their diet. It destroyed all putrefactive elements in the bowels and this promoted longevity. In fact, this was the lesson taught them by their Hata Yogis who always emphasised the importance of completely cleansing the bowels.

CORRECT BREATHING

Children who breathe habitually through the mouth easily catch cold, partly because the air entering the lungs is not warmed and filtered, and partly because harmful microbes are apt to be drawn in through the mouth. The open mouth and dropped lower jaw frequently give a really bright child a dull and stupid expression—an expression which disappears as soon as the child becomes a nose breather.

When the lungs are not used properly, the chest becomes flattened, the shoulders round, and the abdomen protruding.

If your child habitually sleeps with the mouth open and snores, it is better to see a doctor as soon as possible and find out if there is any nasal obstruction.

If this is not done, the child will get worse as time goes on.

See that your child is able to breath deeply and naturally in and out through the nostrils, and this gives him the best chance to grow up straight and healthy.

THE GANDHI DIET

In the course of a conversation with Mr. Wrench, Editor of *The Spectator*, Mr. Gandhi said :

"I am sure that most people eat much, too much. I have never felt better than I do on my present regime and I have a horror of drugs and medicines. This is my daily bill of fare : For my breakfast at eight o'clock I have sixteen ounces of goat's milk and four oranges; for my luncheon at one o'clock I again have sixteen ounces of milk, grapes, pears, or other fruit. My evening meal is between five and six o'clock. I eat a teaspoonful of almond paste, twenty or thirty dates, several tomatoes and a lettuce or other salad. This avoids indigestion. As you will note, I eat no starch, and no cereals."

ROLL FILMS

It is a comparatively simple matter to extract and develop a few exposures before the complete roll is finished, and now that the majority of films used are of the 8-exposure type, it is perhaps a considerable time before the roll is completed.

For example, if Nos. 1, 2 and 3 have been exposed, and it is wished to develop these, the film is turned on until No. 4 appears at the window. No. 4 is then cut in half and the film is turned on to No. 5 after replacing the back.

This method has been found successful for developing an exposure for the Press, etc.

PHOTOGRAPHY IN ANY WEATHER

Now with the introduction of a new type of roll film, everyone can make pictures with ease, no matter whether there is failing light or even rain. Needless to say that the amateur gets a thrill out of his camera in beating the clock. This has been made possible with the recent invention of the Kodak Verichrome Film, which is wonderfully well suited for taking pictures under all conditions because of its increasing speed and added colour sensitivity. It is double-coated, and has extreme latitude. First-rate prints can be obtained even when the exposure was not quite long enough or much too long.

ULTRA SHORT-WAVE TRANSMISSION

Marchese Marconi is battling, says *The Daily Herald*, desperately with his rivals in the sphere of ultra short-wave transmission. Success will bring world telephone talks within reach of the man-in-the-street. Marconi will make new tests in Italy on a wave-length of 50 centimetres (19.68 in.) in an effort to get down to the 18 centimetres recently achieved by the International Telegraph and Telephone experts. The first experiments will take place in the presence of high officials of the Italian Ministry of Communications.

WHAT IS A. P. A. ?

APA is a society of men and women belonging to all nations, which seeks to remove prejudice and misunderstanding between the peoples of the world.

APA's sole purpose is to make the peoples of the world better known to one another, and to promote friendship among them.

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APA recognizes no distinction of colour, race, class, creed or political party, and membership is open to all peoples.

APA proposes to publish a monthly magazine in several languages. The magazine will be under the control of an international editorial board.

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24th July 1931.  
**K. K. SRINIVASAN,**  
Branch Manager,  
Nos. 4 & 5, 1st Line Beach, Madras.  
E. May '32.

A young man who was engaged to an actress, surprised his friends by breaking the engagement. In the club someone asked him the reason for the rift.

"Last time I kissed her," explained the fiancee, "she smelled of tobacco."  
 "But surely," said the friend, "you don't object to women smoking?"

"No," agreed the young man, "I don't. And she doesn't smoke, anyhow."

VISITOR: "What nice buttons you are sewing on your little boy's suit. My husband once had some like that on his suit."

VICAR'S WIFE: "Yes, I get all my buttons from the collection plate."

The customer whose account had been outstanding for some months, called round and paid up.

"That letter you sent me did it," he said. "I've never seen one like it. Why, it would get money out of a stone. How did you put it together?"

The business man smiled sadly.

"I chose the best bits out of the letters my boy sends me from school," he explained.

GUEST (to waiter): "Go to the proprietor and ask him to make out my bill properly! Tell him to write omelette with two t's."

Came back the waiter with a bill, reading: "To one omelette and two teas—seven shillings."

"Why did you leave your last place?"

"Because of the master, ma'am. 'E used to want to kiss me."

"That certainly was reason enough. I'm glad your principles could not permit such a thing."

"No, mum. 'E 'ad an 'orrid moustache."

"You ought to have a thorough caning," snapped the irate old gentleman. "I wish I were your father."

"Well, sir, you can be," said the youngster. "My mother's a widow."

CLIENT: "She has been saying the most dreadful things about my face."

SOLICITOR: "Yes, yes, I know. But I don't advise you to sue. It would cost you more than the thing's worth."

GATES was naturally proud of his young bride. He would never miss a chance of praising her to his friends.

One day he met Freeman who had been married for a number of years.

"MAY is a very clever girl," he said; "in fact, she is taking up law for a hobby. Don't you think that's a good way for her to spend her time?"

Freeman shook his head.

"That's nothing," he replied. "My wife has been laying it down for years."

A haughty lady in a certain post-office had been endeavouring with little success to write a telegram with a pen provided by the Postmaster-General. Exasperated, she said to the woman-assistant behind the counter: "Is this the pen originally used by King John at the signing of the Magna Charta?" And the official replied: "Enquiries on the right, please."

PATIENT (angrily): "The size of your bill makes my blood boil."

DOCTOR (calmly): "That will be £5 more for sterilizing your system."



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Here are a few extracts from letters from readers who have adopted this method:

"Some considerable time ago I completed Part I. of your Italian Course, and found it very useful on a visit I paid to various cities in Italy. I think your system of Language tuition is an excellent one." (I. C. 116.)

"Every minute I have I devote to the French lessons, and I cannot but compare them with the school method of years ago, of which I had years without being as far on as I am now." (P. 226.)

"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.)

"I am glad to inform you that I am the sole translator of Spanish and French in the company with which I am working, and am pleased to be able to state that my authority for translation is based on your Course." (S. G. 375.)

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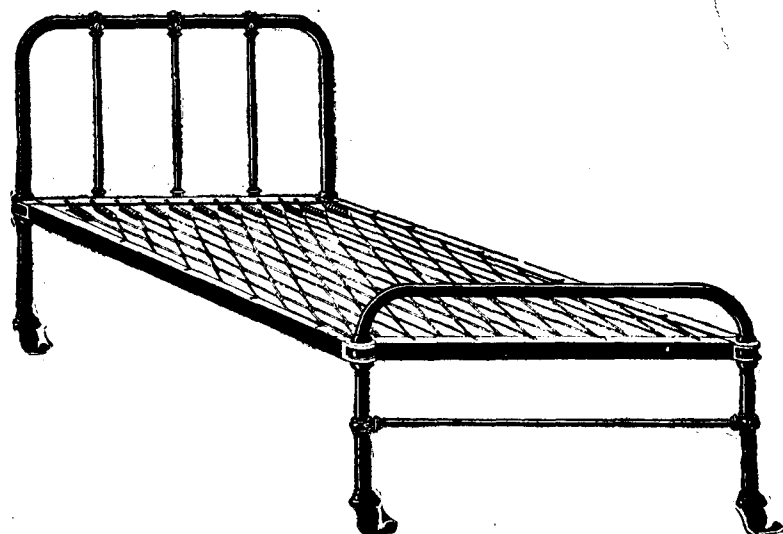
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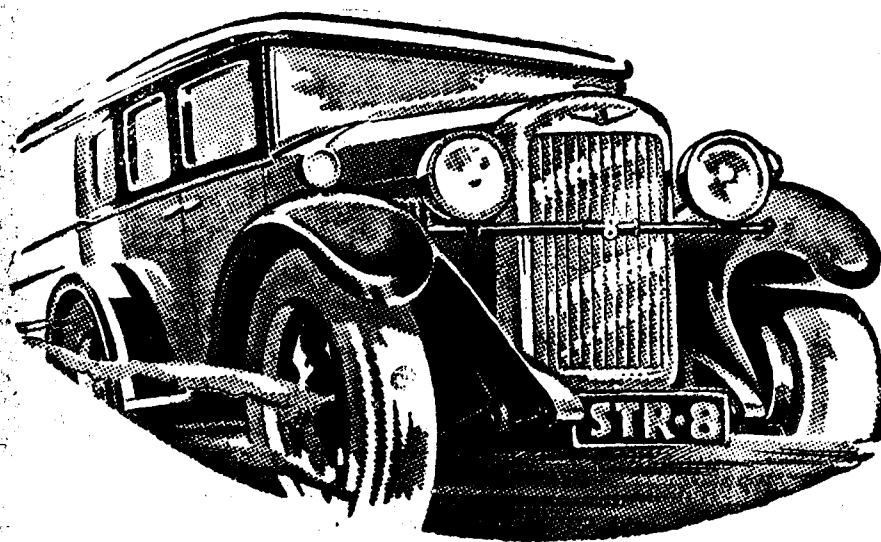
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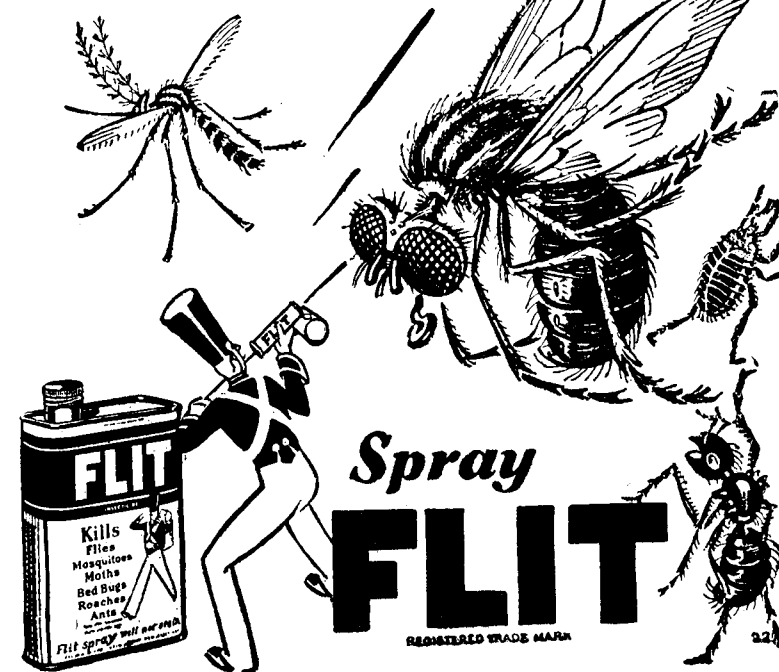
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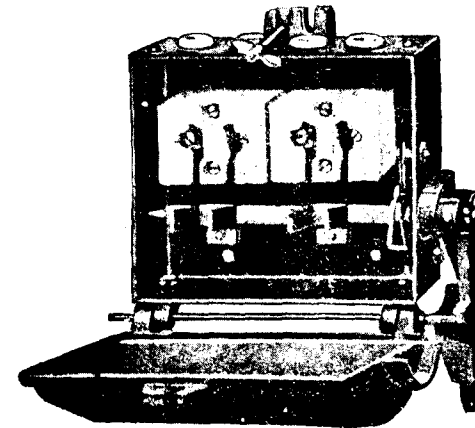
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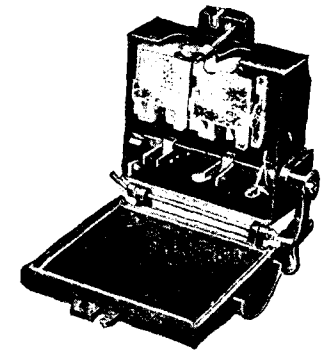
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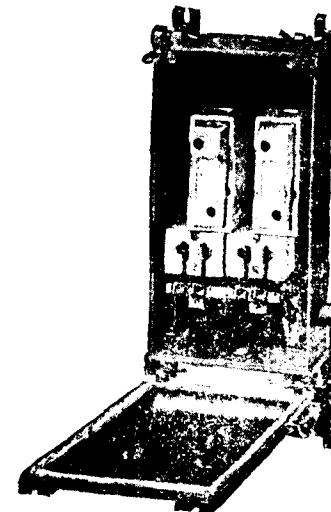
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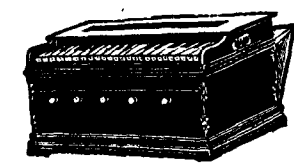
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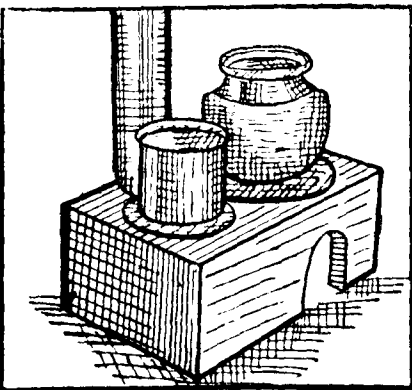
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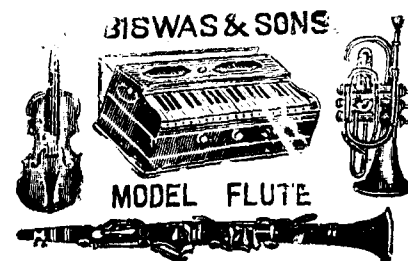
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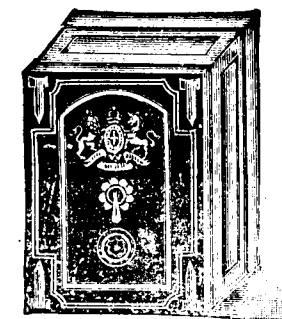
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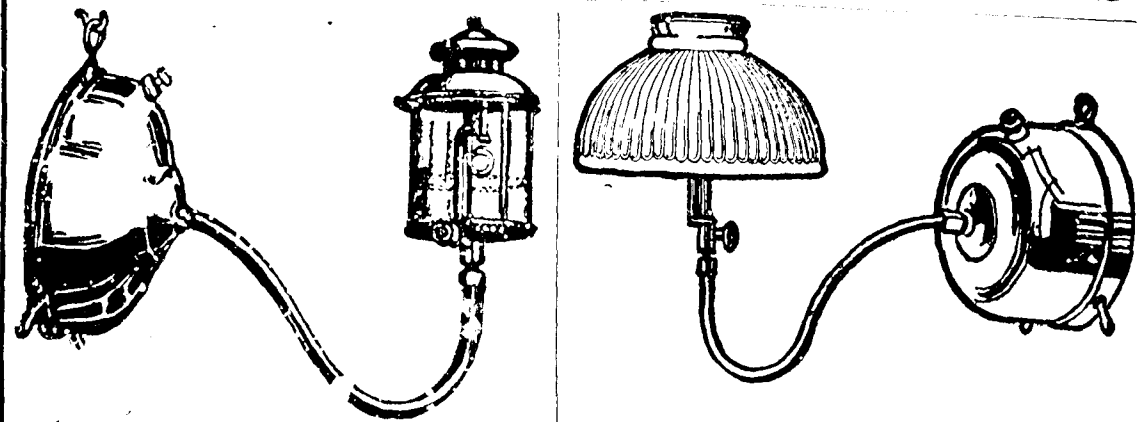
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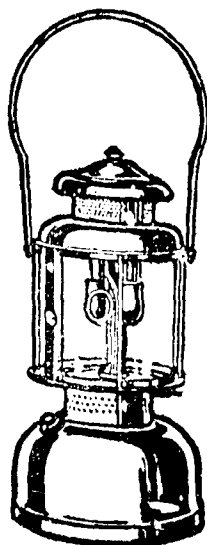
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