

THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL

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

VOL. XXXIII.

MAY: CONTENTS.

NO. 5. 1932.

The Cape Town Conference
By MR. C. F. ANDREWS
Smaller Provinces in Federal India
By MR. JATINDRA MOHON DATTA, B.A., B.L.
The Ottawa Conference
By PROF. KRISHNA KUMAR SHARMA, M.A.
The Situation in Ireland
By MR. HRISHIKESH ROY, M.A.
Japan and World Economic Expansion
By MR. ARTHUR LAMSLEY
A Story-Book of Spiritual Lore
By MR. R. P. MASANI
The Flight of Gold
By MR. P. R. SRINIVASAN, M.A.
India and South Africa
By MR. P. KODANDA RAO
A School Where No One Fails
By DR. G. S. KRISHNAYYA, M.A.
Finances of the Government of India

The Last Session of the Central Legislature
By MR. A. SESHADRY IYENGAR
The Second Cape Town Agreement
World Events
By PROF. A. J. SAUNDERS, M.A.
Indian Affairs
By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST".
Trade and Finance
By "SRIVAS".

Diary of the Month
The World of Books
Books Received
Indian States
Indians Overseas
Topics from Periodicals
India in Periodicals
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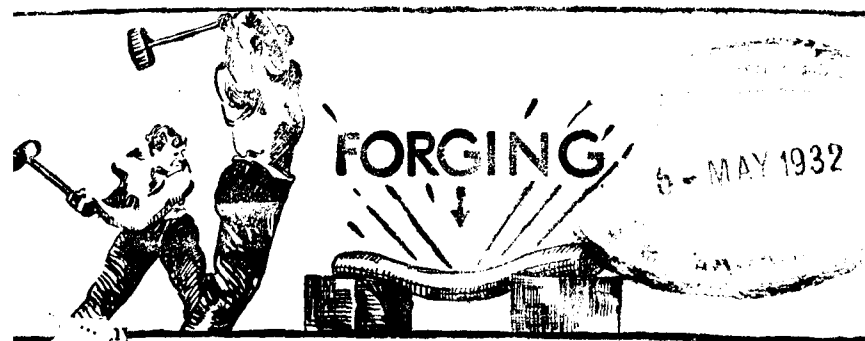
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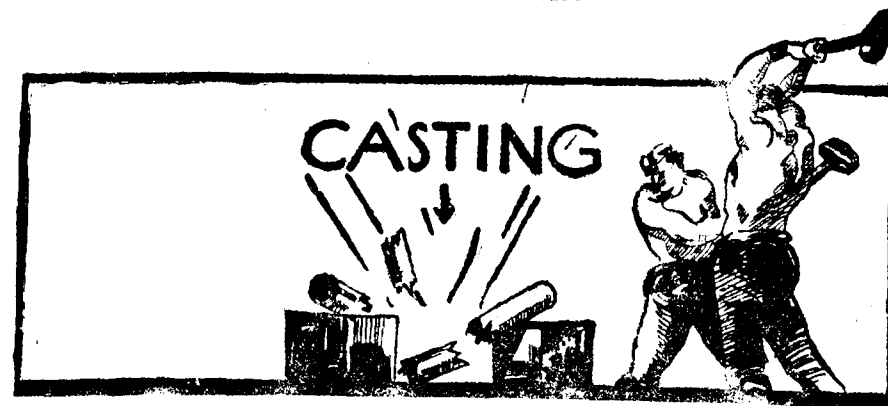
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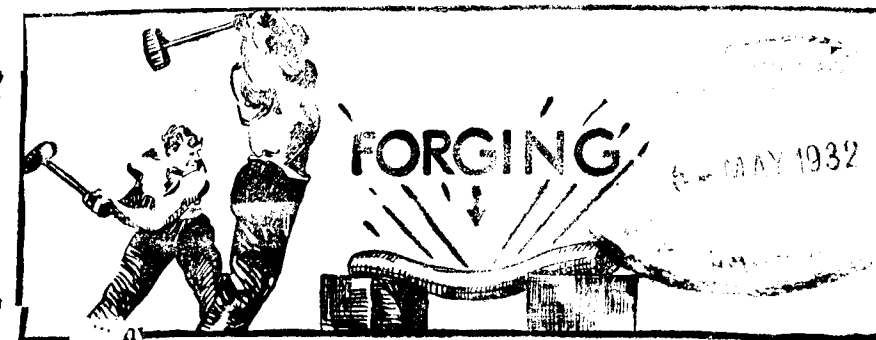
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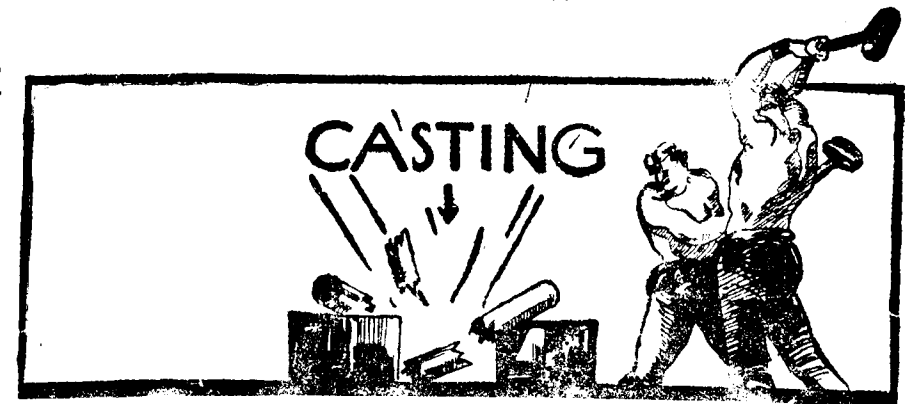
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JANUARY.										FEBRUARY.										MARCH.										APRIL.									
SUN.	...	3	10	17	24	31	...	7	14	21	28	...	...	6	13	20	27	...	...	3	10	17	24	...															
MON.	...	4	11	18	25	...	1	8	15	22	29	...	...	7	14	21	28	...	...	4	11	18	25	...															
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	...															
MAY.										JUNE.										JULY.										AUGUST.									
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	...														
MON.	...	5	12	19	26	...	...	3	10	17	24	31	...	...	7	14	21	28	...	...	5	12	19	26	...														
TUES.	...	6	13	20	27	...	...	4	11	18	25	...	...	1	8	15	22	29	...	...	6	13	20	27	...														
WED.	...	7	14	21	28	...	...	5	12	19	26	...	...	2	9	16	23	30	...	...	7	14	21	28	...														
THU.	1	8	15	22	29	...	...	6	13	20	27	...	...	3	10	17	24	...	...	1	8	15	22	29	...														
FRI.	2	9	16	23	30	...	...	7	14	21	28	...	...	4	11	18	25	...	...	2	9	16	23	30	...														
SAT.	3	10	17	24	...	...	1	8	15	22	29	...	...	5	12	19	26	...	...	3	10	17	24	31	...														

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CONTENTS

(Contd. from page 2.)

	PAGE		PAGE
EDUCATIONAL		LABOUR	
Physical Training in Schools	374	The Indian Worker	384
Mass Production of Graduates	374	Mr. Mehta and Railway Report	384
Calcutta University Fees	374	Labour and the Franchise	384
Spinning in C. P. Schools	374	Labour in Mines	384
Inter-University Board	374		
LEGAL		WOMEN'S PAGE	
A New Ordinance	375	Career for Women	385
An Indian Chief Justice	375	Freedom of Married Women	385
Fine for Breach of Parole	375	Women and Islam	385
High Court on Press Ordinance	375	Miss Suravy Sinha	385
A Decree for Damages	375	Kamalrani Sinha	385
MEDICAL		ART AND DRAMA	
Medical Aid for Women	376	Indian Art Students	386
All-India Medical Conference	376	Neglect of Music in Britain	386
Lt.-Col. Russell	376	Mr. Sarada Ukil's Water-colours	386
INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE		Oriental Art	386
Protection for Indian Tea	377	Honour for Artists	386
P. & O.'s Accelerated Voyages	377		
Indian Cotton Tariffs	377	SPORT	
Duties on Galvanised Sheets	377	Brilliant Indian Cricketers	387
Indian Cable and Wireless	377	Indian Hockey XI	387
AGRICULTURE		The Heavy-weight Championship	387
State and Agriculture	378		
"Go Back to Land"	378	AVIATION	
Cattle Improvement in Sind	378	Trans-India Air Route	388
SCIENCE		Madras to Delhi in One Day	388
New Light on Atomic Structure	379	Airmindedness in India	388
Making the Blind to Read	379	Sir H. Birkin's Feat	388
Light of the Sun	379	Hinkler Honoured	388
Indian Numismatic	379		
Complete Rainbow round the Sun	379	FILM WORLD	
RAILWAYS		Progress of the Cinema	389
Railway Administration	380	Talking Machines	389
Chamarajanagar-Kollegal Line	380	Studios and Big Payroll	389
Railway Staff	380	Jayant Pictures	389
Mr. Tylden-Pattenson	380	Ranjit's Ideal-talkie in Gujarathi	389
Bombay-Sind Link	380		
AUTOMOBILES		HEALTH	
Making Cars in India	381	Business at Meals	390
London Motor Coach Station	381	Eating for Health	390
Cars with Fluid Fly-wheels	381	Food and Health	390
Private Cars for Business	381	Vitamins in Apples	390
Morris Motors	381		
CURRENCY AND BANKING		HOBBIES	
The Central Banks	382	Coupon Circulation	391
Remittances to British Treasury	382	Early Christian Church Excavated	391
The Imperial Bank	382	Astrology	391
U. S. Bank Failures	382	Round the World on Motor Cycle	391
Uniform Audit	382	Garden Pests	391
New South African Currency	382		
Imperial Bank Rate	382	WIT AND HUMOUR	
Bank of England Rate	382		
INSURANCE		PORTRAITS AND ILLUSTRATIONS	
Suicide and Life Insurance	383	Personnel of the Cape Town Delegation	384
Oriental Results	383	His Excellency Lord Willingdon	384
Northern India Insurance	383	Mr. Chang Ming	384
Neptune Assurance Company	383	Sir John Anderson	384
India and Insurance	383	The Hon. Mr. Justice U. Ba	384
		Her Excellency Lady Willingdon	384
		Lt.-Col. A. J. H. Russell, I.M.S.	384
		Mr. S. S. Rajan	384
		Mr. Tylden-Pattenson	384

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1926	_____	Rs. 98,94,97,663
1931	_____	Rs. 148,61,63,140

Assets

1921	_____	Rs. 10,22,66,797
1926	_____	Rs. 18,53,25,230
1931	_____	Rs. 31,65,12,926

Total Income

1921	_____	Rs. 2,61,84,452
1926	_____	Rs. 5,11,44,942
1931	_____	Rs. 8,00,43,696

Dividends to Policyholders

1921	_____	Rs. 12,80,266
1926	_____	Rs. 36,37,775
1931	_____	Rs. 94,52,849

THE COMPANY'S RECORD 1887-1931

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Claims Paid to Beneficiaries	Rs.	10,11,90,123
Payments made to Living Policyholders	"	13,05,95,208
Dividends to Policyholders	"	5,74,18,299
Assets	"	31,65,12,926
Total Insurance in Force	"	1,48,61,63,139

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Index to Advertisers in the "Indian Review"

	PAGE		PAGE
Addison & Co., Ltd., Madras	... 19	Guardian, Calcutta	... 27
Advaita Ashrama, Calcutta	... 23	Gujrat Provident and Industrial Co.	...
Advance, Calcutta	... 31	READING MATTER	... 360
All-India Astrological and Astronomical Society, Calcutta	... 38	Hair's Asthma Cure, Dr.	INNER CONTENTS
Allwyn Steel Equipment Co. FACING 3RD COVER		Himalaya Assurance Co., Calcutta	... 12
Anglo-Indian Drug and Chemical Co. 4TH COVER		Hitavada, Nagpur	... 21
Appasawmy Chetty & Co., Madras	... 27	India Electric Works, Ltd., Calcutta	... 25
Astrological Bureau, Calcutta	... 37	Indian Finance, Calcutta	... 30
Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works	4	Jalal & Sons, Madras	... 17
Bhattacharya & Co., Calcutta	... 29	Kalidas Motiram, Dr.	... 36
Biswas & Sons, Calcutta	... 27	Kaviraj N. N. Sen & Co., Calcutta	... 26
Bombay Chronicle, The	... 22	Kerala Soap Institute, Calicut	... 12
Bose, Prof. S. N., Calcutta	... 31	Liberty Newspapers, Ltd., Calcutta	... 32
Burma Shell	... 9	Limaye Bros., Madras	... 29
Byramshaw & Co.	... 23	Madras Mail, The	... 24
Carnatic Studio, Madras	... 29	Madras & Southern Mahratta Railway	... 34
Castophene	... 37	Madras Type Foundry	... 25
Central Bank of India, Ltd., Bombay		Mahratta, Poona	... 20
READING MATTER	... 326	Narasinham & Co.	... 15
Ceylon Morning Leader, Colombo	... 28	Natesan & Co., P.	... 8
Chirological Society, Calcutta	... 10	National Insurance Co.	FACING CALENDAR
Commercial Union Assurance Co., Ltd., Madras	13	Neo-Komala Vilas, Madras.	... 21
Crompton Engineering Co. (Madras) Ltd.	... 6	Okasa Co., Ltd., Bombay	INNER CONTENTS
Cunniah Co., G.	... 13	Oriental Government Security Life Assurance Co., FACING INDEX TO ADVERTISERS	
Currimbhoy Ebrahim & Sons, Ltd., Bombay	2ND COVER	Osler, Ltd., F. & C., Madras	... 15
Curzon & Co., Madras	... 2	P. & O. and British India Companies	... 35
Domestic Engineering Co., Madras	... 21	Painolene Mfg. Co.	... 8
Dwarkan & Son, Calcutta	... 31	Paul & Co., S., Calcutta	... 26
Eastern Bengal Railway, Calcutta	... 7	Pelman Institute, Delhi	... 1
Erasmic Perfumers, London	... 3	Polson Manfg. Co. FACING 1ST READING MATTER	
Flit	... 11	Rane, Ltd. (Madras)	... 20
Ford Motors	FACING SECOND COVER	Saifee Automobiles	... 13
Forward Assurance Co. Ltd., Bombay	... 37	Sassoon & Co., E. D., Bombay	3RD COVER
G. I P. Railway	... 30	Sett & Co., P., Calcutta	... 11
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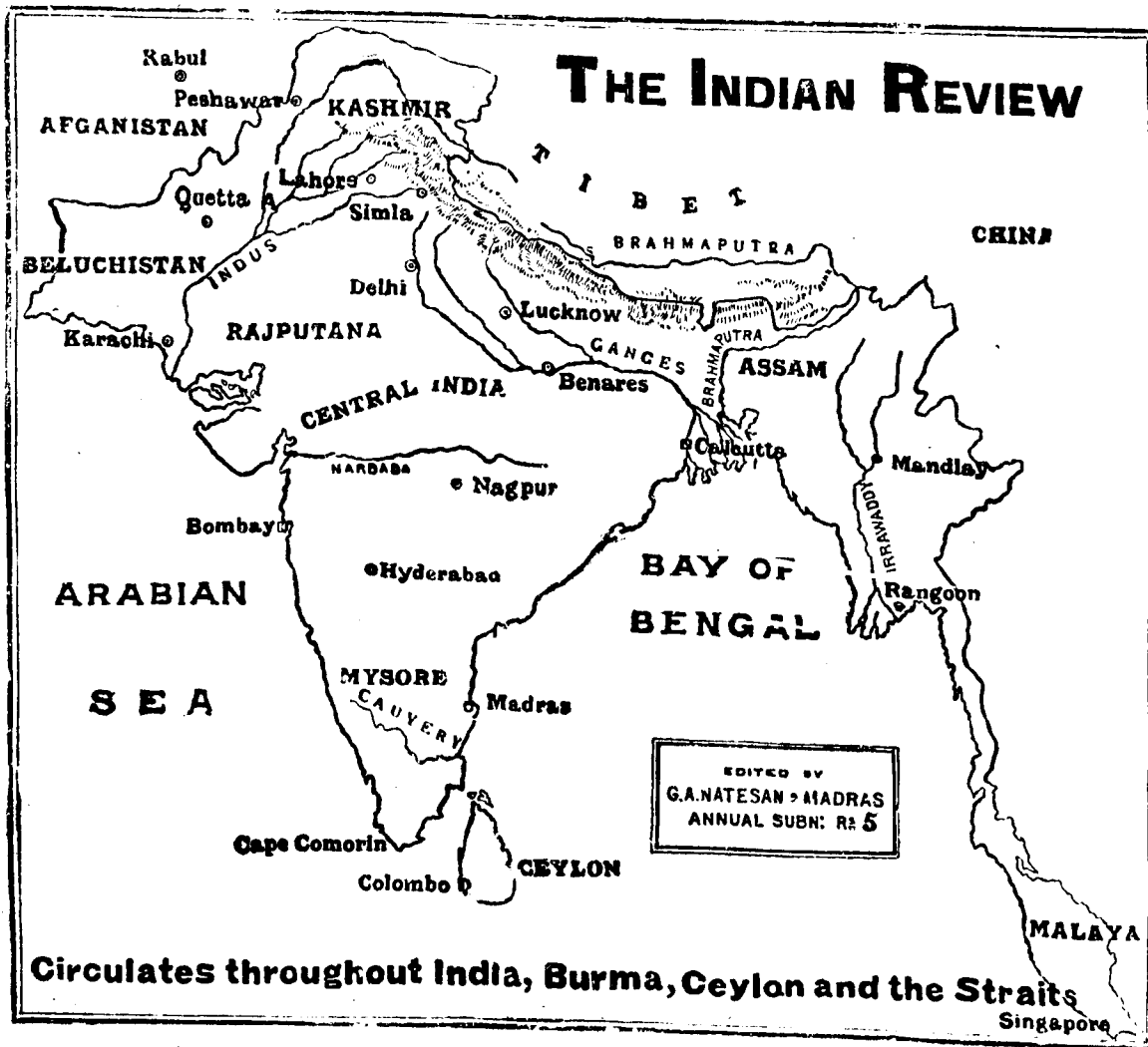
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[NO. 5.]

The Capetown Conference

BY MR. C. F. ANDREWS

THE full news about the Agreement reached at Capetown has at last been published in all the newspapers with the Government's own comments and recommendations. Here, in this article, I wish to give my own judgments concerning the results and to comment on our gains and losses. Let me say at the outset that I feel certain that our gains have been greater than any losses we have incurred.

In the first place it was decided unanimously that the experiment of the original five years' agreement with the Right Honourable Sastri as Agent has been a success both for South Africa and also for India herself. It was also agreed to continue the good work already begun, so that the Indian community in South Africa might receive the benefit of the help of both Governments.

This recognition of the benefits brought about by the Agent is, in my opinion, fully justified by results. I have personally visited South Africa four times in the course of the last six years and I can say without hesitation that the progress made in Natal since the Agreement of 1927 has been quite phenomenal. Not only in education but also in labour matters, there has been a remarkable advance. Above all, there has been a growth of sturdy independence and self-help which has raised the Indian community from within. If the same progress has not been visible in the Transvaal and the Cape Province, it must be remembered that the Indians in these two provinces are very few in number

compared with those in Natal. Furthermore there is already a great educational advance in Johannesburg, the capital of the Transvaal among Indian residents in that city.

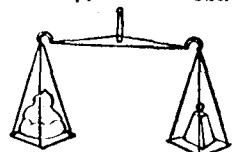
Secondly, it has been agreed between the two Governments that the Upliftment Clause of the former Agreement of 1927 shall continue from 1932 onwards. This means that all the educational and other advances which have already been made, will continue for another five years. It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of the Upliftment Clause. Even though at the present time it has not been able to remove racial discrimination and the colour bar, nevertheless yet by the very fact that Indians are able to improve their own conditions and to rise higher in the social scale, the colour bar itself is being rapidly weakened and the racial discrimination is diminishing almost imperceptibly.

Let me give some instances to prove my point. The first visit of Mr. G. S. Bajpai and Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikari on the Paddison Deputation was marked by colour prejudice of the most unfortunate character. Both these distinguished Indians were refused admission into any hotel in Capetown. They suffered other insults of a like character. All this happened in 1925. Now in 1932 the colour prejudice has so diminished that Mr. Bajpai was the Government guest at the Mount Nelson Hotel and was received with the utmost cordiality and hospitality by the Prime Minister and the members of his Cabinet. Still further than this, Mr. Sohrab Rustomji, the President of the South African Indian Congress, was invited as a distinguished guest to meet the Prime Minister, General Hertzog at a banquet at which all the Cabinet Members were present; he was also the host at a garden party given to Dr. Malan and the Round Table Members, who accepted his hospitality with every goodwill and kindness.



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Such an event as this had never happened in South African history before as far as the Indian Community was concerned. It may seem in India of comparatively little importance to mention these details in connection with the Capetown Agreement but they show which way the wind is blowing, and I, for one, cannot doubt that in another five or ten years the colour bar itself will be removed in many important directions.

Thirdly, we come to the question of Repatriation, about which I myself have written as strongly as most people, that on this question there could be no compromise in my own mind. I have taken for a long time past the same position in this matter as all the leading Indians both in this country and in South Africa itself. Here therefore we all had to stand like adamant and refused any compromise whatever. I was entirely with the Congress in their statement which was presented to the Capetown Conference, that they would hold themselves free in future to protest against any form of repatriation to India if at any time it should arise into prominence again. Pandit Bhawani Dayal's report greatly strengthened the South African Indian opinion in this connection.

As matters now stand, the Repatriation to India is condemned not only by the Indian Government but also by the South African Government itself. Both Governments recognize that it has failed.

This is a real victory of statesmanship and the members of the Indian deputation served the Indian cause well by thus insisting on so strong a statement being embodied in the very centre of the Agreement.

About the exploration of conditions of land settlement in Brazil and other countries, there is no need to write much. It is necessary however to point out that the people who would go from India or South Africa for such a purpose are of an entirely different class from those who were induced to go back to India under repatriation. They would be, not the village agricultural type, who are illiterate but the young rising educated type which finds it almost impossible to gain employment in their own country. Large fertile areas of Brazil with virgin soil are almost unoccupied. The Japanese are making every effort at successful colonisation. Their ships pass by the ports of Durban and Capetown, and the Indians in Natal watch with eager interest these young men and women from Japan starting off on their adventurous enterprise.

As a *bona fide* that the colonisation proposed is not a mere trick to reduce the Indian population in South Africa, the pledge has been given that a South Africa Indian elected by the Congress should accompany the exploring expedition and take part in writing the report. If his verdict is unfavourable, it is as clear as possible that no colonisation could have any chance of being effective. I have seen the urgent need in South Africa of some outlet for the younger men who are now being educated in such large numbers, and I regard this part of the Agreement as not unlikely to be one of the most helpful portions of it.

The last point that remains to be mentioned is the modification proposed for the Land Tenure Bill if it ever comes forward before Parliament to be passed into law. I had considerable hope that all the changes which were required, might be made without any new legislation and that the Bill which has been twice before the Parliament might be dropped altogether. This would have been the safest course, because while any Bill is before Parliament, amendments may be added which may seriously affect the Indian position. The one rule to bear in mind in South African affairs is to keep out of legislation if it can possibly be avoided.

However even if the Bill comes before Parliament, we have now the general consent of the Select Committee which contains all Parliamentary parties, to certain substantial modifications which take away any segregation clauses and make the Bill from that point of view innocuous. There is also a vital clause added which takes the final power of granting a license out of the hands of Municipal Corporations and makes the fact that a site has been granted for trading purposes a valid cause for the license being given. This licensing clause is naturally of paramount importance for a trading community. Indeed, if the Municipalities had been able to obtain final control for the licenses, in a very short time Indian trade would have been obliterated in many centres.

When we take into consideration the whole of these gains under the new Agreement, we may be satisfied that the Indian delegation which included such experts as Mr. G. S. Bajpai and Sir G. L. Corbett, has not left us in the lurch but rather increased our reputation in South Africa and placed the Indian Community in a stronger position for fighting their own battle in the future.

Smaller Provinces in Federal India

By MR. JATINDRA MOHON DATTA, B.A., M.Sc., B.L.

THE formation of separate and smaller provinces on racial or linguistic basis is the cry of the day. The Mussulmans claim it as an integral part of the settlement of their communal claims. Sind must be separated from Bombay is one of Mr. Jinnah's celebrated 14 points; it is an almost accomplished fact. Sir Geoffrey Corbett suggests the separation of the Amballa Division of the Panjab to safeguard the communal claims of the Sikhs. The North-West Frontier Provinces, originally a part and parcel of the Panjab, has been constituted into a separate Province, even though it may have to be subsidized to the tune of 160 lakhs per annum by the Central Government instead of being re-amalgamated with the Panjab. The Oriyas raised the cry of a separate Utkal, and the Orissa Boundary Committee has finished touring and taking evidence with a view to the formation of a separate province and is now finishing its report.

The question of the formation of a separate Andhra province is agitating public mind for some time. Like the Oriyas, the Andhras submitted their claims before the late Mr. Montague and Lord Chelmsford in 1917, and a debate was raised in the old Imperial Legislative Council in February 1918. A resolution was moved in the Indian Legislative Assembly in 1922, but was withdrawn on the opposition of the Government. In 1927 a similar resolution was moved in the Council of State, pressed to vote, but negatived. The question was again raised at Delhi last year and this year. A resolution recommending the union of the contiguous Telugu-speaking areas into a separate Andhra province was passed by a large majority in the Madras Legislative Council in 1927 and again in 1928. This separatist tendency is manifest in the establishment of an Andhra University for the Telugu districts in April 1926.

The Tamil-speaking peoples, desiring the formation of a separate Tamil province, found their

spokesman in Sir Sankaran Nair, who sometime in 1926 moved a resolution in the Council of State to constitute the following districts, inhabited by the Tamil-speaking race, that is to say, Chingleput, North Arcot, Salem, Coimbatore, South Arcot, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura, Ramnad and Tinnevely, into a province.

The Kanarese people, not to be outdone by their neighbours, found their champion in the Hon'ble Dr. U. Rama Rao, who moved a resolution in the Council of State for the appointment of a mixed committee of officials and non-officials to enquire into and suggest ways and means for the formation of a separate Kannada province. His proposal was to constitute into a separate Kannada province the following portions of British India, *viz.*,

(1) the Belgaum, Dharwar, Bijapur and North Kanara districts from the Bombay Presidency :

(2) the Bellary, Anantapur, Hosur, and South Kanara districts and the Nilgiris from the Madras Presidency : and

(3) the province of Coorg.

The proposed Kannada would cover an area of some 44,000 sq. miles with a population of more than 8 millions. It was claimed that the new province would possess sufficient revenues to run its own administration, even after meeting the extra additional expenditure consequent on its formation and would not thus be a drag on the revenues of the Central Government.

The inhabitants of Berar desire its separation from the Central Provinces and its constitution into a separate province. With this object in view, an All-Parties Federation was formed in which *pukka* Congressmen, sun-dried ex-bureaucrats, *bona fide* Liberals, etc., all joined. They submitted a Memorandum before the Second Round Table Conference in which all sorts of arguments from Berar being a part of the Nizam's dominion to its financial solvency were adduced.

The reasons adduced for the formation of separate provinces are various and vary in different cases. But there are three main groups of arguments common to all cases of provincial redistributions, resting upon :

(1) the general consideration that responsible government flourishes best in small homogeneous units; (2) upon the satisfaction of popular sentiment, and the preservation and development of particular systems of culture, language, and thought; and (3) upon the improvement of the day to day administration by the removal of disabilities and all possibilities of interference to which isolated or small groups of peoples are exposed if separated from the bulk of the people with whom by race or by language they should be naturally united, or if they are placed in artificial union with peoples with whom they have very little in common or who are passively hostile to all their claims for self-development along their own national line. The protagonists of formation of separate provinces on linguistic or racial basis either ignore or slur over the difficulties. As a general theoretical proposition it may be conceded that responsible government is likely to flourish best in small homogeneous units; but before that proposition can be applied, its practical limitations have got to be considered and taken into account. First and foremost among these is the consideration that the formation of administrative divisions or provinces on a linguistic or racial basis must operate to weaken the none-too-strong sense of the Indian national unity and should on that account be avoided as much as possible. Politically the artificial creation of these "sub-nations" is at best of doubtful expediency in the interests of the country as a whole.

Secondly, the creation of new provinces cannot but increase the overhead charges of administra-

tion and as a necessary consequence leave inadequate funds for the development or healthy growth or expansion of the nation-building departments of which we hear so much now-a-days. In the case of Sind, which is a simple case of separation of a sub-province, the cost of separation has been estimated by the Sind Financial Enquiry Committee to be some Rs. 11·05 lakhs per annum in addition to the capital expenditure for necessary additional buildings. The basic revenue and expenditure of separated Sind have been estimated at Rs. 182·42 lakhs and Rs. 279·82 lakhs respectively. The basic deficit is thus 97·40 lakhs, this being the extent to which, and excluding any allowance for overhead or direction charges, Sind is at present financed by the rest of the Bombay Presidency. Pursuant to the declaration of the Premier at the conclusion of the second Round Table Conference, the Government has appointed a Committee under the presidency of Mr. A. F. L. Brayne to consult the representatives of Sind to show how the deficit should be met. The advocates of separation are already strongly urging to take into account the effect of possible retrenchment, although Sind's expenditure on Education, Medical and Public Health, Agriculture and Industries totals 44·35 lakhs, i.e., about 1/4th of the total expenditure compared with Bengal's 1/3rd, which by the way is severely handicapped on account of the Meston award.

Thirdly, in any possible scheme of redistribution of provinces on racial and linguistic basis, the question of minorities is not going to be solved entirely. The Oriyas complain that they are in a minority in every province. If their entire demand as formulated by the Utkal Union Conference at the time of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms be granted, even on their own showing the province of Utkal is going to have 48 lakhs of non-Oriyas out of a total population of 149 lakhs.

The Andhras or Telugus claim a separate province of their own. The Hon'ble Mr. Ramdas Pantulu, while moving the resolution for the formation of the Andhra province in the Council of State, described the precise area which he considered should go to Andhra. The province should, in his opinion, comprise the districts of Ganjam, Vizagapatam, East Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Nellore, Chittore, West Godavari, Bellary, Anantapur, Kurnool and Cuddappa together with the northern portion of the city of Madras, which the mover stated to be largely Telugu-speaking. The area of such a province would be 73,000 square miles with a population of 14 millions. Even such a province could not include all the 16 million Telugu-speaking people in Madras. It leaves out 2 million Telugus in British Madras, to say nothing of those in the Native States, or in other parts of British India. And it would include at least some 2 million non-Telugus. Similarly, Sir Sankaran Nair's Tamil province would include some 15 to 20 per cent. non-Tamil-speaking people.

Fourthly, historical, political and commercial conditions are of equal if not greater importance than sentimental considerations of race and language in determining the boundaries of future provinces, nor can questions of land and water communications be ignored. The linguistic and historical affinities of Chota Nagpur are with Bihar; but the headwaters of all the Orissa rivers are among the hills and forests of Chota Nagpur. The Committee recently appointed by the B. and O. Government to enquire into the causes of the frequent disastrous floods in the plains of Orissa have come to the conclusion that the reckless destruction of forests in the hills of Chota Nagpur and the consequent denudation are the chief factors in the causation of such floods.

The excavation of huge irrigation canals, like the Ganges canals which are mighty rivers in

themselves, have lessened the flow and lowered the level of the headwaters of the deltaic rivers in Bengal, with the consequent loss to the province; it happened in the past. With residuary powers vested in the provinces, probably Bengal and the U. P. shall have to fight such matters in the future. Every proposal to excavate irrigation channels in the U. P. will be opposed by Bengal; and the Central Government being usually powerless, the matter has got to be fought out with a bitterness not commensurate with the importance of the subject. And there is no question of amalgamating the U. P. and Bengal. While creating new provinces, one should not shut one's eyes to such possibilities.

Lastly, purely administrative difficulties existing under the present distribution may be found susceptible of mitigation, if not removal, in other ways than by territorial redistributions which necessarily entail inconvenience and unsettlement to administrators, litigants, landlords and tenants and other sections of the public. Certain lands situated in the district of Manbhum in B. & O. pay their land revenue in the district of Bankura in Bengal. Formerly when both the districts were under the one and the same administration, if the Government stopped realisation of rents by sale of agricultural holdings to prevent agrarian troubles, it usually granted the zamindars concerned certain latitude in depositing their land revenue. But now, while the Deputy Commissioner of Manbhum prevents the sale, the Collector of Bankura puts the zamindari to auction sale for the least default of the sun-set law. Partition of provinces is bound to create minor difficulties.

While we are going to federate on an All-India basis, can't we co-operate even in matters provincial with our nearest neighbours, but must have separate provinces of our own so that a few of us may blossom into Ministers and Presidents of the Council?

The Ottawa Conference

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THE Imperial Economic Conference is going to be held at Ottawa in July next. The main item on the agenda will be the discussion of a policy of trade agreement between the different countries of the Empire. India has also been invited in particular to consider the question whether having regard to the new tariff policy of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, Great Britain and India should enter into a tariff agreement so as to benefit the trade of both countries. The Government of India have accepted the invitation and with the approval of the Secretary of State, the Viceroy has appointed the Indian delegation consisting of Sir Atul Chatterjee, the Leader, and Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, Sir Padamji Jinwala, Seth Haji Abdulla Haroon, Sahibzada Abdul Samad Khan and Sir George Rainy, members. Sir George Rainy informed the Assembly that in case a trade agreement was concluded as a result of the deliberations of the Conference, any changes in the tariff which it may involve will be duly placed before the Legislature for its approval and that the Government of India had no wish to put any such changes into effect unless the Legislature was satisfied that they were in the interest of India.

Searching questions were put to the Government, as a result of the reply given by Sir George Rainy, inquiring whether the Indian delegation would be authorised to commit India to a policy of Imperial Preference. The following are some of the questions with their replies :

MR. BISWAS :—May I take it that the constitution of the delegation has been formed on the understanding that they will support Imperial Preference ?

SIR GEORGE RAINY :—I do not know what the views of the individual members are.

MR. NEOGY :—Will the conclusions of the Conference be placed before this Legislature or the Legislature to be created after the new reforms are introduced ?

SIR GEORGE RAINY :—I have said these will come before the Indian Legislature functioning at the time.

MR. NEOGY :—Will this delegation be authorised to commit India to Imperial Preference ?

SIR GEORGE RAINY :—Mere commitment to a policy is nothing without the consequential tariffs and these must come before the Legislature.

MR. NEOGY :—The Government possesses extraordinary powers to act in spite of the Legislature.

SIR GEORGE RAINY :—I have said the Government have no wish to put the changes into effect unless the Legislature is satisfied that they are in the interest of India.

DR. ZIAUDDIN : What about the Indian industries which are under protection or may need protection in the future ?

SIR GEORGE RAINY : The interests of India come first, adequate protection of Indian industries will be an essential part of that, no doubt.

With due respect to Sir George Rainy, his replies are not clear cut and do not ease the situation. This much is certain that any agreement arrived at will be placed before the Legislature and passed only with its approval and that the interests of India will be kept in view. But it is not at all clear whether instructions have been issued to the delegates and whether the delegation has been formed on the distinct understanding that they will support the scheme of Imperial Preference that will be moved there by the shrewd British delegates.

UNSATISFACTORY DELEGATION

The composition of the delegation does not convince Indians that the gentlemen will not in every important matter follow the lead given by the British delegation. The ex-President of the Tariff Board is in favour of the Imperial Preference Policy, and Sir George Rainy and Sir Atul Chatterjee are old Civilians and they cannot be expected to oppose the principle of Imperial Preference. Leaving Mr. Chetty, the other two gentlemen are not widely known to the public and yet they have been selected by the Government to represent a case upon which the future economic destiny of India depends. Mr. Chetty finding himself to be in the minority of one cannot be expected to put up a hard fight and even if he does, he can be outvoted and ignored, for he does not command a following in the business

MAY 1932]

THE OTTAWA CONFERENCE

319

community. Mr. Baldwin is rejoiced at the fact that India has agreed to send a delegation and that the delegation is strong and well-balanced, and he is much pleased to find that the representatives of the highly important interests of Indian States have been included. Frankly speaking the delegation can neither be said to be strong nor well-balanced. It would have been said to be so, if it had been selected by the Legislature or by the Government with the consent of Indian business interests. England goes to this Conference fully prepared with a definite policy sanctioned by the British Parliament. It is difficult to see why similar opportunity was not given to the Indian Legislature. Government could have taken the advice of the Assembly which was in session then before their decision to select the delegation to the Conference.

ASSURANCE UNCONVINCING

The assurance that the conclusions of the Conference will be placed before the Indian Legislature will fail to satisfy Indians. Will the Assembly be able to set at naught the policy endorsed by the delegation specially when the Government of India will back that policy up very strongly ? Obviously not. One could understand the assurance if it were to the effect that the enforcement of the tariff agreements will depend upon the vote of the elected members of the House alone. The Selbourne and the Crewe Committees were clearly of opinion that in such matters the vote of the elected members alone should be the decisive factor. But such an assurance has not been given by the Government. There is every likelihood that Imperial Preference policy will be forced upon India as it was done two years back when the Tariff Bill was passed in the teeth of popular opposition involving Imperial Preference policy and when the Nationalists had left the House.

INDIA OPPOSED TO THE POLICY

India is opposed to the policy of Imperial Preference, because it is bound to do her harm.

The policy in simple words means that the markets of empire countries are to be reserved for the goods of empire countries and they are not to be captured by non-empire countries. Apparently there does not seem to be anything wrong with such a desire. But when we remember that India is to be looked upon merely as a market for the manufactured goods of England and other empire countries, Imperial Preference means that she must go on buying goods at prices fixed in England. If Imperial Preference is to keep protection intact as the Government have assured it will, the only way in which it can be granted is by increasing the duty beyond the schedule rate on the goods coming from non-empire countries. Price is always regulated by the higher duty and specially so when a large portion of the goods entering a country comes from those countries to which preference is not granted. The Indian consumer in this case will have to bear an unnecessarily high burden. Taking into view the fact that the per capita income of India is very low, this burden is unjustifiable.

England and empire countries will get a great advantage and Indian industries will find it very difficult to hold their own against the favoured goods of the empire countries.

A very large portion of our foreign trade is with outside countries and the policy of Imperial Preference will hit this trade very hard, and it will be disadvantageous to agriculturists and to the growers of raw produce, because foreigners may take up retaliatory measures against India. When imports from them decrease exports will also decrease to those countries, for exports are given to pay for imports. But it may be said that exports then will go to England and empire countries in place of going to outside countries. Theoretically the argument seems to be telling, but in reality it is not so, because foreign trade cannot change its direction so soon and the commodities which India sends to European countries may not find markets in the empire countries.

India has nothing to gain economically by Imperial Preference policy, but empire countries have much to gain thereby from India. India imports manufactured goods from empire

The Situation in Ireland

BY MR. HRISHIKESH ROY, M.A.

countries and manufactured goods always stand in need of markets and it is in their case that competition is very keen. When India is wedded to the policy she has much to give to empire countries. But our exports consist largely of raw materials which generally find their own market without requiring any special treatment. Even if empire countries can grant special treatment, they can do so in case of only tea, rice, jute and wheat; for these materials go out of India. India does not export much wheat now and has virtually got monopoly of the jute market. Gain to her, therefore, is not very great.

In case India accepts the principle of Imperial Preference, her fiscal policy may be directed not in her own interests, but in the interest of the other parts of the Empire. In theory Imperial Preference does not amount to a unified policy for the whole empire dictated by binding resolutions passed at periodical Imperial Conferences. In practice the case of India is different. She is not a self-governing dominion and her case is on a different footing from that of the Dominions.

As for granting preference on the goods of the Dominions, the following passage from the Minority Report of the Indian Fiscal Commission deserves a careful perusal:

(1) We are in favour of the principle of Imperial Preference on the distinct condition that India should in this matter be put on the same footing of freedom as is enjoyed by the self-governing Dominions and that the non-official members of the Assembly should be given power by legislation or other equally effective means to initiate, grant, vary and withdraw preference as may be necessary in the interests of India in all its aspects.

(2) That the condition precedent to any agreement with a British Dominion in trade matters on the basis of reciprocity should be the recognition of the right of the Indian people to a status of complete equality and the repeal of anti-Asiatic Laws so far as they apply to the people of India. No agreements based even on reciprocity in trade matters should be entered into with any dominion which has on its statute book any anti-Asiatic Legislation applying to the Indian people. To the Indian people their self-respect is of far more importance than any economic advantage which any dominion may choose to confer by any preferential treatment. We may confidently state that the people of India would much prefer the withdrawal of such preference as they would not care to be economically indebted to any dominion which does not treat them as equal members of the British Empire having equal rights of citizenship.

It must be clearly stated that Indians have no desire that India should be merely a market for other countries. India has started on her own industrial career and is passing through an industrial evolutionary stage. She has, therefore, the first claim on her own markets. The history of the past

few years clearly demonstrates that the loss of the Indian market to Lancashire has created considerable excitement in England. The English people feel that they cannot recapture the Indian market. Under these circumstances and taking into view the fact that representatives of Indian opinion have all along been opposed to Imperial Preference policy, the Government of India should have consulted the Indian Legislature first before taking the step of appointing the delegation to the Ottawa Conference. Englishmen are very anxious for the endorsement of their Imperial Preference policy and on this issue all parties are unanimous. They are not sure whether the colonies would support their scheme, but the men in power in London have no use for any alternative suggestions. In India, the Government can always do by Executive action what it cannot get passed by the Legislature. Although Sir George Rainy has assured the people that no tariff changes will be made without consulting the Indian Legislature, yet this statement does not inspire confidence. A delegation whose composition is unsatisfactory, and which is chosen by the Government, cannot be expected to put up a tough fight against proposals which come from Whitehall. When these proposals are passed there, it will be very difficult and improbable for the Assembly to overthrow them when they will be backed by the Government.

A WORD TO THE INDIAN DELEGATION

It is unfortunate that under the present state of India's position, this question should be treated with indifference. It is the duty of various representative bodies, and Indian business community in particular, to give vent to their opinion for the guidance of the delegation. The Indian delegation should not forget that Indians have always given their verdict against the Imperial Preference policy. It was only two years back that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya had resigned his membership of the Assembly, because he could not swallow the bitter pill of Imperial Preference which was to be and actually was thrust upon India through back door. The political conditions of India are such that any scheme of Imperial Preference will work to her disadvantage. We want our own markets to be reserved for our goods first. Those who count and dominate politics in England, will do their best to get a verdict of the Conference in favour of their policy. The Indian delegates should not fall into the trap of the Conservatives in England.

THE victory of Fianna Fail (the Republican party) in the recent Irish elections for the first time since the creation of the Irish Free State more than a decade ago, has brought into political power a party whose avowed intention is to wreck the Irish constitution as provided by the Treaty of 1921 and to establish in its stead a full-blooded Republic, and has consequently given rise to a good deal of speculation regarding the future relationship between Great Britain and Southern Ireland. The Republicans as a whole led by Mr. de Valera, that redoubtable champion of Irish freedom, had until recently kept themselves scrupulously aloof from taking any part in the elections of the country, because they could not reconcile themselves to accepting a constitution which fell far from their demands. But it is significant to note that this indifference on their part in no way detracted from the large following they had throughout the length and breadth of Ireland, as was amply borne out by the elections held in 1923 in which Mr. de Valera headed the poll in County Clare and his party returned no less than 44 members out of 128. In the elections held in September 1927, Mr. de Valera's party further swelled in number and including the Labour members constituted an Opposition bloc of 67 members to the Government bloc of 85 members. Thus, the popularity of the Republicans, instead of waning, had all along been increasing and ultimately led to the wresting of political power in the year of grace 1932. In the elections held in February last, the Republicans have returned no less than 72 members and with the Labour group consisting of 7 members only exceed all other parties in strength. The state of parties, as officially announced, is as follows:

Fianna Fail	... 72
Cumann na nGaedheal	... 57
Independents	... 17
Labour	... 7

President Cosgrave's party (Cumann na nGaedheal) which has just now laid down the reins of government, had been in office longer than any other post-War government in Europe and had the unique privilege of guiding the destinies of the Irish Free State since her inception. During the long tenure of office which was not free from turmoils, the party claims that it established law and order where chaos and confusion reigned supreme, put the finances of the State on a sound foundation, gave a fillip to the nascent industries which were badly in need of encouragement and lastly enhanced her political status. These are creditable achievements no doubt in view of the fact that the Government at the outset of its career was face to face with a civil war. It may be remembered that the Treaty, though it put an end to the protracted and bitter Anglo-Irish struggle, unfortunately caused a serious split in the ranks of the nationalist forces of Ireland. The Sinn Féin party which hitherto stood in solid opposition to the British Government, was sharply divided into two hostile camps: one supporting and the other condemning the Treaty. On the opposition side was ranged Mr. de Valera who, along with some of his staunchest followers, announced his grim determination of opposing the Treaty tooth and nail as soon as its clauses were published. Mustering courage at this bold stand of the Republican leader, the monster of terrorism which stalked along the whole country during the dark days of Anglo-Irish struggle, once more raised its head and serious attempts in the shape of political assassinations were made by the gunmen of the Irish Republican Army to undermine the authority of the State. On January 22, 1921 Sir Henry Wilson was murdered in London by two Irishmen which was closely followed by the capturing in Dublin of the Assistant Chief of Staff of the Free State Army by the mutineers who

held him as a hostage. Later on, the Four Courts in Dublin were blown up with all their records. The Government bided its time hoping that these outrages would die a natural death; but, when they assumed alarming proportions, it could not sit any more with folded hands and had to take drastic measures for upholding law and order. Five members of the Government took rank as generals with Michael Collins as their commander to round up these rebels; but to no effect. As a further step, the Dail passed an Act empowering the Government to try and punish most drastically all rebels by court-martial which led to the trial, conviction and execution of four men who carried revolvers without license and included Mr. Erskine Childers, an able lieutenant of de Valera. It was only in the latter half of 1923 when Mr. de Valera called upon his followers to abandon hostilities that tranquillity prevailed, although sporadic cases of assassinations still continued to baffle the Government. The murder of Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, the Vice-President of the Executive Council, in cold blood on July 10, 1927, sent a thrill throughout the Irish Free State and was construed by the Government as a deliberate act against the State. A Public Safety Act was immediately passed proclaiming all revolutionary societies as unlawful and investing the Government with powers of arresting or deporting suspected persons besides inflicting death penalty. These measures however had not their desired effects and a fresh Act entitled the Constitution (Amendment) Act on more stringent lines was hurriedly passed through both Houses of the Oireachtas in October last. As its title clearly indicates, it was an encroachment upon the rights and liberties of persons and a military tribunal composed of five military members was established for dealing with political crime. This tribunal was invested with full judicial powers within its sphere including the death penalty and no appeal could lie from its decisions, although the Executive

Council reserved to itself the right of granting pardon to, or remitting the sentence of, convicted persons. The tribunal was further empowered to commandeer property used for unlawful purposes and the Executive Council could by its decree declare any society as unlawful. The police were armed with new and drastic powers such as the arrest of suspects, the suppression of unlawful associations and newspapers. Measures like these, though necessary at times, alienated the sympathies of the people and contributed largely to the unpopularity of the party in the recent elections.

So far we have dwelt upon the methods employed to uphold law and order in the country. Coming to the economic domain, we find Cosgrave's Government not lagging behind in adopting suitable measures for the economic and industrial regeneration of the State. The Land Act of 1923 was passed for completing land purchase and relieving congestion in the land. Besides this, laws were passed for regulating the butter trade and for the testing, grading and packing of exported eggs and an agricultural credit corporation was set up to provide long term loans for farmers. President Cosgrave's Government did not believe in whole-hog protection as a panacea for all the economic ills of the country and whatever protective duties were imposed, was more in the nature of experiments than forming part of a general scheme of protection. Nevertheless, a Tariff Commission was appointed to hear all applications for protection. Furthermore, an honest endeavour was made to revive the principal Irish industries by means of subsidies, by developing cheap sources of power and by providing credit facilities, of which the opening of a Belgian-Grecho-Slovakian sugar-beet factory in Carlow and the magnificent scheme of utilising the great water power of the Shannon are two glaring instances. Cheap credit facilities were provided to traders and manufacturers under the Trades

Loans Guarantee Act and by the Industrial Trust Company respectively, part of whose capital had been subscribed by the State. The finances of the State showed a sound position which created for her a good name in the credit market,—a fact sufficiently corroborated by the response of the public to the loans floated by the Government.

On the political side, Cosgrave's Government can very well point out the Statute of Westminster recently passed by the Parliament of Great Britain as embodying the fruits of its foreign policy which Mr. Blyth, late Vice-President of the Free State Executive Council and Finance Minister, stated very explicitly in a speech delivered some years ago in the Dail:—

We believe that this country within the British Commonwealth of Nations can enjoy greater freedom and security than outside it. Our policy within the Commonwealth is really to remove anomalies that exist in the relations of the different members.

Most of the anomalies referred to by Mr. Blyth have been removed by the Statute of Westminster, which defines the status of the Dominions as a free association of co-equal members in the British Commonwealth of Nations united by a common allegiance to the Crown. A cursory review of some of its provisions clearly shows that in place of a position of subordination and inferiority, the Dominions have been accorded sovereign powers by the Statute. Section 2 terminates the application to a Dominion of the Colonial Laws Validity Act, 1865, which prevented the passing by the Dominions of any law repugnant to the Acts passed by the British Parliament. Section 3 gives the Dominions the power to legislate with extra-territorial effect and thereby removes the serious drawback of the Dominions in controlling the activities of their citizens abroad. Section 4 provides that in future no British Act shall extend to a Dominion as part of its own law unless the Dominion has specially asked for it. Sections 5 and 6 give the Dominions power to legislate independently about merchant shipping and to

administer the law in their own Courts in their own way. Besides these powers which have recently been conferred upon the Irish Free State, she had already acquired an international status, in that she was allowed to make treaties, to be represented at International Conferences, to send her own representatives to foreign capitals and was an independent member of the League of Nations.

The question now may be pertinently asked, if these were the achievements of President Cosgrave's Government, how is it that they suffered defeat in the recent elections? The reasons are not very far to seek. During recent years the Free State had been hard hit by agricultural depression for which the agriculturists blamed the Government, whose de-rating scheme revealed only a tinkering with the problem, and therefore failed to satisfy them. In contrast to this, Fianna Fail's policy of securing the home market for the home producers by protecting every branch of agriculture and the retention of land annuities by the Irish Free State, the whole of which, they declared, would be employed in de-rating agricultural land and ameliorating the poor lot of the farmers easily captured their imagination and helped de Valera's party a good deal in winning their votes. Moreover, the introduction of a change in the old-age pension scheme prohibiting the assigning by aged farmers of their farms to their sons and thereafter enjoying the old-age pension further influenced the agriculturists in being converted to Fianna Fail doctrines. Unemployment on a large scale and the stoppage of emigration to foreign lands created considerable disaffection against the Government among a large body of young men and women to whom any change was a promise of better things. The rigorous enforcement by Cosgrave's Government of paying up income-taxes which sometime went to the extreme length of compelling repayment of arrears played no mean part in defeating the Government. Furthermore,

de Valera's scheme of whole-hog protection as the only panacea for Ireland already claiming many adherents in the country received an added impetus by the giving up of the Free Trade policy by Britain. The Shannon scheme which was announced with much flourish of trumpet that it would provide cheap power to the people had proved to be a veritable white elephant entailing a greater amount of capital expenditure than was previously provided for and therefore created a suspicion in the minds of the people regarding the bonafides of the Government. Recent revelations as to the mismanagement of its accounts intensified this suspicion all the more. The enactment of the Public Safety Act of 1931 which placed unlimited powers in the hands of the Executive and deprived the people of their rights and liberties as provided by the Irish Constitution made the late Government much unpopular and largely instrumental in bringing about its fall. Lastly, there was the psychological factor to be taken into consideration. Irishmen in general still cherish in their heart of hearts a hatred for Englishmen which these ten years of self-government have not been able to efface from their minds. Fianna Fail's militant policy satisfied this inner passion, because of the 'opportunities it would afford of "twisting the lion's tail" and therefore won the support of the majority of the people.

The new Government was duly installed on March 9 last; but contrary to expectations, Mr. de Valera, the President, speaking in Gaelic made no statement about the policy his Government would pursue in future. But in a recent interview accorded to a representative of the Reuter, he is reported to have outlined his future programme as follows: (a) The suspension of the Public Safety Act, 1931 by which special tribunals had been established; (b) the removal of the Oath of Allegiance obligatory on all members entering the Dail; (c) the merging of the

Governor-Generalship into the presidency of the Republic; (d) the uniting of Ireland by wiping out the boundaries between the Northern and Southern Ireland; (e) the withholding of further land annuities to London and the claim for the return of those already paid; and (f) the introduction of tariff for protecting Irish industries.

The programme, on the face of it, is militant enough, as some of its items may be construed as infringing the provisions of the Treaty and may react upon the political relationship subsisting between Great Britain and the Free State. The removal of the Oath of Allegiance is a case in point. It forms Article IV of the Treaty and reads as follows:

The Oath to be taken by members of the Parliament of the Irish Free State shall be in the following form: I do solemnly swear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of the Irish Free State as by law established and that I will be faithful to H. M. King George V, his heirs and successors by law, in virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain and her adherence to and membership of the group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The Republicans' contention is that the Oath is not mandatory in the Treaty and the Irish Free State Government has the absolute right to modify the Constitution in accordance with the wishes of the people who regard it as a burden imposed from outside. To them, such a modification is a matter belonging purely to internal sovereignty which the Treaty grants to Ireland and therefore do not amount to any breach of agreement. The British Government, on the other hand, regard it as an integral part of the Treaty, the removal of which would mean a deliberate breach of its provisions. This Oath had always been a bitter pill for the Republicans to swallow and since entering the Dail they had been consistently trying to remove it from the Constitution. Acting under Article 48 of the Free State Constitution which provides that in case the Oireachtas fails to make provision within two years for the initiation by the people of proposals for laws or constitutional amendment, it shall on the petition of no less than 75,000

voters on the register either make such provisions or submit the question to the people for decision in a referendum, Mr. de Valera secured by May 1928 the necessary signatures; but, as a counter-move, President Cosgrave's Government immediately introduced a Bill which abolished the powers of initiative and legislation from the Constitution, thus foiling de Valera's intentions.

The wiping out of the boundaries between Northern and Southern Ireland would again rake up the old controversy which was set at rest by the Ireland (Confirmation of Agreement) Act, 1925. It may be remembered that Article 12 of the Treaty provided for the appointment of a Boundary Commission consisting of three members, one each from the Free State, Northern Ireland and Great Britain for the settlement of boundaries between the North and the South. But, owing to the continued refusal by the Northern Government to appoint its representative, the power of appointment residing in that Government was transferred to the British Government and the above agreement was concluded. The unsettling of this settled fact will certainly cause bitterness. Mr. de Valera himself recognises the impossibility of the task, unless the Northerners, of their own accord, choose to come within the fold of the Southern Government and in a speech delivered by him in the Sixth Congress (Ard Fheis) of his party held in October last, he clearly pointed out that the only way of achieving it, since the employment of force was out of the question, was to set a better example of government by the Free State, so that the Northerners may be tempted to throw in their lot with them.

The retention of land annuities which are paid to the British Government by the Free State and the putting forth of the claim for the return of those already paid, though not infringing the Treaty, will undoubtedly complicate matters especially as it involves the repudiation of a contractual obligation. Under Acts passed by the

Parliament, the Free State Government is liable to pay a little more than £3,000,000 annually to Great Britain which represents annuities collected by the Irish Land Commission from tenant purchasers in repayment of the money lent by British and Irish investors without which the purchase of Irish land could not have been effected. The Fianna Fail leaders have all along questioned its iniquity and advocated its retention on the ground that it has been allowed to be retained by the Northern Government. Moreover, they contend that on the Free State Government agreeing to pay compensation for damages suffered by the British Government in Ireland during the Civil War from 1922 on, the Ireland (Confirmation of Agreement) Act, 1925, cancelled Article 5 of the Treaty which held the Free State liable for the public debt of the old United Kingdom "in such proportion as may be fair and equitable, having regard to any just claim on the part of Ireland by way of set-off on counter claims" and thereby released her from the obligation of paying them any more to the British Government. They base this argument on the assumption that land stocks come under the Public debt of the old United Kingdom as provided by Article V of the Treaty and therefore their repudiation does not amount to any breach of agreement.

The first Act of de Valera's Government had been the release of Republican prisoners from Irish prisons who were triumphantly received by their friends outside with deafening cries of "Welcome home, rebels". This was closely followed by the revocation of the Public Safety Act, 1931, and the withdrawal of the ban from all extremist Republican organisations which were declared as unlawful by the late Government. These measures, coupled with the future policy outlined by Mr. de Valera, have already caused a good deal of resentment in the British Press and political circles and a stern warning was issued a few days back by Mr. Neville Chamberlain in a

speech in Birmingham in which he is reported to have declared that "the English and Irish obligations and agreements could be varied by either side as though it concerned that side alone, would undoubtedly revive bitterness and difference which it was hoped had been removed for ever". But the situation has been further aggravated by de Valera's Government communicating officially its intentions of removing the Oath of Allegiance from the Constitution. The exact contents of the note have not yet been divulged; but, whatever the trend of its arguments be, it certainly augurs ill for the future relationship between Britain and Southern Ireland, because its removal is construed in England as tantamount to secession from the Empire and will be fought to the bitter end. The question now to be confronted is whether de Valera's Government will continue for a sufficiently long time to enable them in carrying out their subversive ends. As the election results show, de Valera's party constitutes a solid bloc of 72 members only and can therefore carry on the government only with the help and co-operation of the Labour members. The possibilities of receiving this co-operation are doubtful, because the Labour party, while agreeing with Fianna Fail on many matters, is against the removal of the Oath which forms the most important plank in de Valera's programme. Thus, the Labour party holds the key to the situation and its movements will be watched in Britain with considerable anxiety. Whether de Valera's Government whittle down their programme a little in order to win the co-operation of this group remains to be seen. Up till now his Government have not showed any such inclination. On the contrary, its continued insistence on the removal of the Oath in face of these difficulties clearly point out the fact that they do not care much for this co-operation. If the Labour party is thus estranged, the chances are that de Valera's Government will sooner or later have to face another general election and thereby

secure a fresh mandate from the electorates for their programme. In either case, the prospect for Ireland is gloomy indeed. The revocation of the Public Safety Act and the release of the terrorists have given a fresh opportunity to extreme Republican organizations like the Irish Republican Army and Saor Ire (Free Ireland),—an organization recently started with marked communistic leanings, to organise their scattered forces. As has been rightly said, these revolutionary and secret societies form the unknown factor in the Irish situation and will not be satisfied unless the whole Treaty is scrapped, lock, stock and barrel, and a full-blooded Republic is ushered into being, in place of the Constitution imposed on the Irish Free State by Britain. They are only biding their time and if de Valera's Government fails to carry out its programme or is turned out of power, will surely plunge Ireland once more into the terrible turmoils of a civil war, the final outcome of which is difficult to foresee.

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Japan and World Economic Expansion

BY MR. ARTHUR LAMSLEY

A new sphere of intriguing international interest arises in the Far East. How will Western idealism, materialised in Peace Pacts and outlawry of War, with its attendant gradual disarmament amongst the world's great powers, affect the world economic ambitions of Japan? This is a psychological problem, as well as an economic one, and both call for clarified study in the interest of continued harmony in international affairs.

The rise of modern Japan is easily one of the outstanding international facts of the latter end of last century, and gave rise to no little speculation as to the probable future of the Japanese as an imperial people. Assimilating to an amazing degree, the Japanese copied with considerable success all that was good and of service to their national aims in the political, economic, commercial, and administrative life of the world's great powers, especially the imperial powers of England, Russia and Germany. The last two powers she has seen eclipsed—Russia partly by her own effort, and finally through rebellion, and Germany in open conflict with the rest of the world. Two great imperial examples which were a source of inspiration to pre-War Japan are now shattered. England alone remains in possession of her Empire, but here again the Empire has lost its imperial status and become a Commonwealth of Free Nations. Logically the British Empire no longer exists—in its place has grown a miniature League of Nations, British in descent, but offering equal citizenship to the people of other nations. Nowhere in the world is it possible to find a spirit of imperial domination. The outlook and character of the great nations have changed—they co-operate to outlaw the very force by which they became imperial and gained their world power.

Japan, too, joined in the Peace Pact to Outlaw War, yet she was looked upon as the one

remaining nation in the world with imperial ambitions. In short, it would seem that Japan has given up all idea of imperial ambition, and will shape her future along lines of peaceful national expansion by commerce and emigration.

Besides the general peace trend of international politics since the Great War, there are other reasons which would seem to contribute towards the less imperialistic attitude of Japan, especially in the East. China has found new life, is indeed growing under the Republican spirit and administration a new national consciousness which is now strong enough to be able to allow her to stand alone in the world, and eventually free herself of all foreign domination. If Japan had any ambition, which at one time seemed to be legitimate, to use her influence in China, especially in Manchuria, the trend of world affairs in post-War days must re-shape such a claim, and more especially as future years will see all foreign territorial rights and privileges ended in China, and the Republic complete master of her own affairs.

One other reason aids this line of argument—the result of the Great War ended what little hope the Japanese Government might have had to take the place of some of the depleted powers in the partial administration of China. In spite of the German treaty and territorial influence ceasing in China by conquest, and the temporary weakening of the Allied nations' influence in China during the war years, the post-War period has seen England and the United States back in the East with renewed vigor; but the new activity on the part of those nations is commercial and economic, and not one of conquest by force of arms.

How then will Japan and her teeming citizens, who had been educated to expect some imperial gain and domination in the interest of the economic expansion of a growing population, react to the changed situation? Will the half-articulate imperial ambition smoulder in spite of

her participation in the Peace Pacts of the Western powers, or will the Japanese Government shape a new course of peaceful expansion to attain the same ends?

Taking into wise consideration the interdependence of the world's nations to-day in commerce, finance, and industry, the obvious course for Japan to take would be the one of peaceful expansion, not by conquest of territory, but by commercial influence, competitive process, and racial suitability for economic prosperity in the Far East and in the Pacific generally. Constructive emigration would be the sane course to deal with her over-population, but only as part of a policy for the imperial commercial expansion of the Japanese nation.

In the past the progress of the world nations has been along the path of conquest—indeed the conqueror was the dominant and determining force in the making of empires—but the successful imperialism of the future belongs to the nation which can give to the world constructive service in commerce and trade generally. The world

of to-morrow will be far more concerned about economics, and how to get a living, *plus* reasonable reserves for its inhabitants, than about any imperialistic disruptive tendencies of conquest by force which generally proved so disastrous to the nations in the Great War, conquered and conquerors alike.

Japan will react to Western idealism in international affairs by renewed commercial and industrial activity, working in with, and not against, the general trend of world civilisation. Thus she will gain greater confidence amongst the world's great powers, be given equal status in emigration in the Pacific countries, command a fair share in colonising and opening-up the vast lands in Manchuria, and in China, a great potential source of commercial and industrial wealth both in export and import trade, she would stand equal with all other nations. Western idealism and economic practice would thus become Eastern idealism in deed and in action; internationalism in its truest sense, socially, commercially, and economically, would be the accepted ideal for Japan's teeming, energetic people.

A Story-Book of Spiritual Lore*

BY MR. R. P. MASANI.

THIS is an interesting collection of fifty-one selected stories from the *Mathnawi* of Jalaluddin Rumi, the famous mystic of Persia who, nearly 700 years ago, founded the Mevlevi Order of Dervishes—the great Sufi Brotherhood, with “their tall drab-coloured felt hats and wide cloaks, their reed-flutes and rebecks, and their whirling dance”. The *Mathnawi* is described as the *Qurani Pahlawi*, or the Quran of Persia, also as the Bible of Persia, but while expounding the esoteric doctrines of the Quran and the mystical teaching of the great masters, it provides for the general reader instruction and entertainment in the form of simple tales and fables, anecdotes and

apologues, allegories and homilies. It is thus, as Dr. Nicholson describes it, a “vast rambling discourse”, which few would care to read through but in which every one can find something to suit his taste, from abstruse and recondite theories of mystical philosophy to old wives' tales and fables.

The moral and mystical teaching of this great classic, as of all Sufi poetry, is centred in love. In the words of the poet, love is the astrolabe of divine mysteries: “Whether Love be from this side or that,” that is to say, whether it be earthly or heavenly, “in the end it leads us Yonder.” In another place the poet describes the magic effect of Love in these words:

Through Love bitter things become sweet; through
Love pieces of copper become golden.

Through Love dregs become clear; through Love pains
become healing.
Through Love the dead is made living; through Love
the king is made a slave.

Another great mystic, Fariduddin Attar, thus sings of love's ecstasy:

Let the infidel delight in his infidelity and the beloved
in his faith,
An atom of love's anguish would disengage Attar's
heart from both.
Then grant me, O Thou, who art my pain's relief,
The pain of Thy love which alone is my life.

In the path of love there is no difference between good and evil. Nay, here neither good nor evil exists. Love transcends both. The love stories with which the poet diverts us, have therefore to be listened to, not with the ordinary ears of flesh and bone, but with the ear of the heart and the soul. To realise their deep spiritual import, one must have the power of penetration of the soul, not merely the ordinary faculties of comprehension. Allegory is the salt of Sufi poetry. Employed in the form of fables and parables, it vividly brings home to the hearer the deep moral and mystical truths which the poet delights to dwell on. Adapting this traditional method of Sufi poetry to his own needs, Jalaluddin sets the matter of his discourse within a framework of Tales, thus rendering the *Mathnawi* a superb story-book of spiritual lore. There are in the seven books which it comprises several hundreds of stories drawn from varied sources, popular tales carried to and fro by dervishes and others, legends from the Quran and its commentaries, the traditions of the Prophet, and the lives of pre-Mohammedan prophets and Muslim saints, also of scholars and philosophers hailing from the West as well as the East. Yet, as distinguished from the doctrinal exegesis with its accompanying reflections, exhortations, and arguments, they occupy a comparatively small space and one cannot expect to find in these stories those lofty flights of imagination, that vivid flow of thought and that glowing fire of eloquence which give the *Mathnawi* the foremost rank among the

mystical poems of Persia. Abounding, however, in lively dialogue, masterly satire and humorous delineation of human weaknesses, these stories present a delightful picture of life and manners illustrating the outlook of mediæval Sufism and conveying morals of universal application. Even his *jocularia*, says Dr. Nicholson, some of which are far from edifying, turn themselves into ethical homilies or philosophical discourses. Still, the Tales are worth reading, husk, kernel and all, and this review would not be complete without a few specimens thereof.

THE UNSEEN ELEPHANT

The elephant was in a dark house: some Hindus had brought it for exhibition.
As seeing it with the eye was impossible, every one felt it in the dark with the palm of his hand.
The hand of one fell on its trunk; he said: “This creature is like a water-pipe.”
Another touched its ear: to him it appeared like a fan.
Another handled its leg; he said: “I found the elephant's shape to be like a pillar.”
Another laid his hand on its back; he said: “Truly this elephant resembles a throne.”
Had there been a candle in each one's hand, the difference would have gone out of their words.

The moral is, that the intellect, groping in the dark, cannot form a true conception of the nature of God. Only the clairvoyant eye of the Sufi sees Him as he really is. Religions are many, but God is One.

FEELING AND THINKING

Someone slapped Zayd on the neck; Zayd rushed at him with warlike purpose.
The assailant said: “I will ask thee a question. First answer it, and then strike me.
I smote the nape of thy neck, and there was the sound of a slap. At this point I have a friendly question to ask thee.
Was the sound caused by my hand or by the nape of thy neck, O pride of the noble?
Zayd said: “On account of the pain I have no time to reflect on this problem.
Do thou, who art without pain, reflect on it; he that feels the pain cannot think of such things.

This apologue illustrates the attitude of emotional mysticism towards scholastic theology.

It is in this manner that the master of divine philosophy inculcates each lesson of profound spiritual significance by simple stories interspersed between philosophical discussions and metaphysical musings.

Dr. Nicholson has presented the selected stories in English as faithfully and as attractively as might be expected of a consummate Persian scholar and student of Sufism.

* *Tales of Mystic Meaning.* By R. A. Nicholson. Chapman & Hall, Ltd. Price 21 shillings net.

THE FLIGHT OF GOLD

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

THE object of this article is to afford a popular exposition of the questions connected with the problem of gold exports and particularly the standpoint to which the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce has recently lent the weight of its authoritative support. The Resolution of the Federation on this subject runs as follows :

1. (a) The Federation views with grave concern the continuous and heavy export of gold from India amounting to about Rs. 55 crores and strongly urges upon the Government of India the desirability of placing an immediate embargo on the export of gold from India as such a heavy and continuous drain of the precious metal will seriously endanger India's future monetary reconstruction.

(b) The Federation further urges on Government the necessity of purchasing gold in the open market at a price fixed on the basis of day-to-day ruling rate with a view to accumulate gold reserves which will enable the future Government of the country to establish the Reserve Bank with adequate resources at its command.

Shorn of its technical details, the resolution means that the export and sale of India's gold in foreign countries which has gone on since September 1931, is not to the good of this country ; that such exports should be stopped by State action ; and that instead of the foreign importer, the Government should buy gold from whosoever is prepared to sell it at a fair rate. The intelligent layman who is free from the habit of ready acquiescence in whatever passes for the popular view, will naturally ask himself the following questions :

(1) As no man is likely—except under compulsion which assuredly is absent in this case—to part with anything unless he stands to gain, the sellers of gold in India must be making a profit ; and if they do, how can the export of gold be harmful to the country ? And conversely, how can the restriction on gold exports, which in financial jargon is known as embargo, be to the good of the country ?

(2) Is the purchase of gold such an assuredly sound transaction that the Government of a

country can undertake to do it ? Normally the business transactions of a Government must be such that neither the Government exposes itself to any risk of loss, nor use its authority to eliminate risk by driving an unfair bargain with the individuals concerned. It is the impracticability of that ideal mean which is responsible for the well-accepted dictum that Government had better keep out of business. The layman who may be presumed to have knowledge of this maxim will naturally ask : How can the purchase of gold alone be free from such risk ?

The two questions, though they are just what any layman can ask himself, have the merit of going to the root of the matter. They enable a thorough survey of the whole set of problems connected with gold exports. Round them are gathered all the complexities which stated by themselves would seem to be the sole concern of high-browed experts. And the answers to them facilitate a consideration of the arguments of those who have supported and opposed the standpoint of the Federation as the differences have been in the main in respect of the answers to those two questions.

We shall take them therefore in their order. In regard to the question whether private individuals are not making a profit, it is necessary to urge here that it is not so simple when the commodity sold happens to be gold. This does not mean that one should have an exaggerated sense of the importance of gold. But it does mean that as gold is the measure of all values, one should be careful not to make hasty conclusions in regard to profit or loss. It is usually argued by those who favour the continuance of gold exports that the Indian bought his gold at Rs. 21 per tola and that he is making a handsome profit when he is able to dispose of the same at Rs. 29 per tola or thereabouts. What should be borne in mind in this connection is that, though on both

MAY 1932]

THE FLIGHT OF GOLD

331

occasions the currency denomination is the rupee, the rupee to-day is very different from the rupee of the days in which gold was available for Rs. 21 per tola. Neither the rupee nor the gold is worth anything by itself. Both are valued for what they can buy of the ordinary desirables of life. And if one is told that during recent times the rupee has deteriorated and gold has increased appreciably in the power to command goods and services, the usual talk of profit on gold sales will be seen in its true light as a mere claptrap. It is difficult even for acknowledged experts in economics to take all the relevant facts into consideration and determine the price in rupees at which it would be profitable for the Indian to part with his gold. And they may even refuse to do so as the present is a time of enormous flux in values. In these conditions, it is best for the average man not to be misled by figures which mean nothing and part with his gold. There is no doubt that the majority of holders of gold would have relied on their traditional common-sense ; but the pressure of the present economic distress leaves them no alternative and forces them to part with their gold.

Our answer to the first question shows that though it may be convenient for individuals to sell their gold holdings at prices which are apparently attractive, it is by no means reasonable to assert that sales of gold are distinctly profitable. There is an element of doubt which it is necessary to recognise as such.

But we are on surer ground when we consider the question from the standpoint of the nation as a whole. In the first place, there is the possibility of the event proving that the country parted with its gold for no adequate consideration. But what is even more important, the nation has itself a crying need for gold, a need so imperative that it will not brook nice calculations of profit or loss on present transactions. The layman must have gathered from his daily glance at the headlines of

newspapers that the Indian currency system has rarely merited that name, that it was always more chaos and less system and that those who take an interest in the questions connected with it have been pleading for its being put on a basis in which it will not call for constant interference of a violent kind. All those pleadings, he must know, have gone in vain. We are still as far from such a natural system as in the last century.

The reason for this has been the want of the very commodity which we have been lavishing so profusely on other countries during the last six months or so. A sound currency system is the prime requisite of economic development and progress. And this country which has got more scope for progress and development than any other country in the world has all along had to do without a sound currency system, because the amount of gold necessary for its establishment was not available, shall I say, for love or money. When the last Royal Commission on Indian currency examined this question, there were any number of eminent and authoritative witnesses to tell the Commission that it was no use expecting to get the necessary gold from abroad. The recommendations of the Commission were based on such evidence. And since then many of the leaders have thought of ways of persuading the masses, who are known to possess considerable amounts of gold in the shape of ornaments and hoards, to part with them in return for the currency of the country. The writer himself was one of those who pleaded before the Banking Enquiry Committee in favour of a scheme designed to that end. And the fact that no such scheme was adopted, is a measure of the difficulties which were apprehended.

The layman will have some measure of the issue involved if he is told that what we have been, and are still, importing abroad is just the commodity for which we have been making an anxious and well-nigh hopeless search during

the last few years. In the world at large that commodity has not become less scarce in the meantime; in fact, its scarcity has been enhanced.

We are told by the Government that India's gold hoards are so vast that the amount of Rs. 55 crores so far exported is but a fraction of the total resources. We will not enter into the somewhat narrow question of whether the Government are making a too liberal estimate of our gold holdings. What concerns us is not the total amount within the country but the amount which will be available as and when we want it. A strange mental complex,—the result of a number of complex forces, fear of invasion and of theft, a shrewd commonsense which tells him that gold is the ultimate measure of all values, love of ornaments, etc.—has impelled the Indian peasant to keep a tight fist over his gold. The present sales are due to dire necessity. If the economic condition improves, the stream will most assuredly dry up. In these circumstances, we must strike the iron while it is hot and devise measures for acquiring for the nation at large the gold which is now leaving our shores.

It has been established that the flight of gold abroad is not a clearly profitable transaction and that if it is, there is a better and more urgent use for the gold at home. It will remain, however, to examine—and here comes the second question which we supposed the layman to put himself—how the purchase of gold by the Government can be conducted without either inflicting injustice to the private seller or exposing the Government to any serious risk of loss. The resolution of the Federation with which we started points out the first. The second is a matter of argumentation which the resolutions of a business body cannot obviously enter into. So far as the individual is concerned, if the Government offer him just the net amount which he can realise by selling his gold to the foreign importer, he can have nothing to say about

the deal. And that price is calculated according to the gold value of the rupee, as reflected in the exchanges. Into the technical details of this calculation we need not now enter. And as for the Government, it will be easily seen that a loss can arise only when the rupees which they give in return for the gold come to be worth more in the future than at the time the gold is bought. The future value of the rupee is entirely in the hands of the Government to determine as they like. I do not suggest that by their arbitrary action the Government should turn the gold purchases into a profitable transaction. But the Government can make up their minds not to increase the value of the rupee far beyond its present level. If they do, there can be little fear of a serious loss on the present gold transaction. And if even there is ultimately a small loss, it will be more than compensated by the advantages that the country will derive from a sound monetary system. I may add here that if the value of the rupee is kept at its present level, it would not inflict any hardship on any individual and it would be quite in accord with the wider national interests.

I have endeavoured to outline the main features of the gold controversy bringing into consideration the major contentions, such as do not necessitate any elaborate exposition of economic principles or current practices. The arguments which are in favour of gold exports are those of the Government as expressed first by the Viceroy himself and then by the Finance Member in his Budget Speech. The counter arguments are those of the leaders of Indian economic thought. If the reader is inclined to ask why, in spite of apparently conclusive arguments against the course, gold is allowed to be exported, one who is a partisan himself should fight shy of an answer. The existence of honest difference of opinion is as difficult to disprove as it is ordinarily considered unseemly to deny. But that the export of gold from India during these months has rendered invaluable help to Great Britain during a very critical period is a circumstance whose bearing on the present controversy I must leave to the reader to guess.

India and South Africa

BY MR. P. KODANDA RAO,

Editor, "The Servant of India".

THE results of the second Round Table Conference between the Governments of India and of the Union of South Africa concluded in the first week of February in Cape Town have been announced. It will be interesting to recall the circumstances that led to the Conference and to assess, as it were, the results in the light of anticipations. The two major items on the agenda of the Conference, which far out-distanced all other issues in importance, were the review of the Cape Town Agreement of 1927 and the Transvaal Asiatic Tenure Bill. The Agreement was due for review at the end of its five years' duration in January 1932. The Transvaal Bill was introduced in the Union Parliament in 1930, but at the instance of the Government of India, its consideration was postponed pending its examination at the Conference.

The Transvaal Bill, on account of the immediacy of its provisions, may be considered first. It will be recalled that, according to the letter of the law, Indians are prohibited from owning, occupying, and in consequence trading on land in the gold-bearing area in the Transvaal which is the most promising field for business. Some Indians have circumvented the legal prohibition against ownership through loopholes which enterprising lawyers had discovered in the law. The prohibition against occupation was openly violated by many Indians with the knowledge of the public authorities. The situation was reviewed in 1919, and the illegalities as on the 1st May of that year were legalised. Since then many Indians have lost for one reason or other the protection given in 1919, and others have violated the law again with the result that in 1929 there were several hundred Indian traders in illegal occupation of premises. For fear of being accused of having

been party to the violation of the law of the land by Indians, the Johannesburg Municipality refused to renew trading licenses of Indians, pending a fresh review of the situation by the Government of the Union. The Government referred the question to a Select Committee of the Union Assembly which took evidence and drafted a bill for immediate passage. The bill proposed, among others, that all those Indians who were in illegal occupation in 1930 and since should vacate their premises within five years; and shift, if they so chose, to areas specially to be set apart for Indian occupation by Municipalities, or in the last resort by the Government. From the viewpoint of the Indian traders, this was the deadliest clause in the bill, for it meant the ruination of their present business and the starving of their future business in segregated areas which may be far away from centres of trade and business.

The case for the Union is briefly told: the law of the land which was as old as 1885, was clear in its prohibitions; Indians had openly flouted the law; the illegalities were condoned in 1919; Indians had again contravened the law, the intention of which they knew perfectly well; no Government could afford to encourage the violation of its laws by periodic condonations of their breaches, and that if in the past Government were lax in enforcing the law, Indians had no right to take advantage of it, and should not grouse if they are now visited with the consequences of their actions. For the Indian trader it was contended with considerable force and justification before the Select Committee that the policy of the Government in not enforcing the law but in knowingly acquiescing in its breaches was in accordance with the intention of the law; the deliberate policy of the Government was in conformity with the intentions of the

law-makers, though it was in contradiction to the letter of the law. The desire to enforce the law now was a departure and an unsympathetic and disastrous departure from the current intention and practice, and a serious diminution of the all too scanty rights of Indians, was calculated to negative the uplift policy proclaimed in the Cape Town Agreement of 1927. It was therefore contended that the Union Government should retain its present policy, and if the exigencies of politics did not permit of the law being brought into line with the policy, administrative action under the existing law should be invoked to sustain the present policy. This has now been conceded by the Union Government, though it has been found necessary to make a small amendment in the existing law which will transfer discretion from the Mining Commissioner, a permanent official to the Minister of the Interior, — a change for the better. Though this result does not come up to the wishes of India or of Indians in South Africa, who would wish all restrictive legislation was repealed and the law brought into conformity with the policy of uplift of the Indian community, still its significance should not be belittled. It means that, thanks to the persuasions of the Indian Delegation, the Union Delegation, and now the Union Government, have deliberately abandoned once again their intention to segregate Indians. It is not that segregation by administrative action has been substituted for segregation by legislation; segregation as such has been dropped.

Satisfactory as this is, there is still urgent need to keep a close watch on the administrative action that is proposed to be taken. It is necessary to ensure that not only vested interests are protected but some room for expansion is provided; for the Indians in the Transvaal are mostly traders and the next generation must have scope in that line.

To the students of constitutional history the vicissitudes of the Transvaal Bill offer an

interesting study. Instead of coming out with a Government bill on the subject, the Union Government referred the matter to a Select Committee of the Union Parliament, containing representatives both of the Government and the Opposition. The Committee took evidence from all interested in the matter including the Government of India through its Agent in South Africa. The Committee not only made a report but prepared a bill which it recommended should be passed at once. Is it within the bounds of constitutional propriety that the bill should be the subject of discussion in secret at the Round Table Conference between the Indian and Union Delegations? Does it amount to an encroachment on the sovereignty of the Union Parliament?

The second important item on the agenda of the Conference was the review of the Cape Town Agreement of 1927. It consisted of two parts: assisted emigration (to India) and upliftment of the permanent Indian community. It has always been an open secret that the Union Government, representing the prevailing opinion of the politically dominant white community, tested the success of the Agreement entirely by the success of the assisted emigration scheme in reducing the Indian population in South Africa. The stream of assisted emigration to India which swelled when the enhanced bonus was sanctioned, has since tapered off and has almost dried up. From the point of view of the Union Government, the Cape Town Agreement which has removed to India some nine thousand people during the last five years, has failed and may well be abandoned. If that had happened, the upliftment section to which India attached the utmost importance, however tardily it might be given effect to, would lapse and the moral hold of India on South Africa which is the only hold that India has on South Africa, would be greatly and even dangerously weakened.

The possibilities of assisted emigration to India have however been exhausted; and it has been so acknowledged. Indian opinion, both here and in South Africa, was never keen on the scheme for sentimental, economic and social considerations. The reluctance has recently stiffened into opposition. It has therefore been abandoned for all practical purposes. The Agreement of 1927 contemplated assisted emigration not only to India but to other countries. It is now proposed to investigate the possibilities of Indian emigration to areas and under conditions which would be attractive to Indians. But the new scheme will not be in the interest of Indians in South Africa alone, but of Indians in India or other parts of the world. The centre of gravity is shifted; while the existing scheme was intended solely for the benefit, as they conceive it, of the white community in South Africa and was not in the interest of the emigrant, the new scheme is intended primarily for the benefit of the emigrant and incidentally to satisfy the wishes of the white community in South Africa. If the idea develops favourably, it will be of real and considerable advantage to India whose surplus population will find congenial areas to migrate to

and colonise. In the investigation of the project, the Union Government will co-operate with the Government of India. For the first time the Union Government will associate an Indian representative in the investigation: it is a new and welcome improvement in the status of the Indian community in the Union.

Except for this important change, the Agreement of 1927, with its upliftment clause, stands and is renewed indefinitely. The Government of India will be represented by an Agent in the Union, for the advantages of that office have been recognised after adequate experience. There can be no doubt that the Agent in the past has been a tower of strength to the Indian population in the Union, and to the Union and the Indian Governments.

It is no secret that none who knew anything of the situation before the Conference met in Cape Town, entertained much hope of success; it was a forlorn and desperate venture that the Indian Delegation embarked on. The event has happily belied the forebodings, and the conclusions of the Conference are, considering the attendant circumstances, highly satisfactory and reflect great credit on the statesmen who participated in it.

A School Where No One Fails

BY DR. G. S. KRISHNAYYA, M.A., Ph.D. (COLUMBIA).

It is now a quarter of a century since Mrs. Marietta Johnson began her extraordinary experiment in a little farm-house in Fairhope, Alabama, U.S.A. Her students at that time were her own two children and a few from some of the other families in the neighbourhood. To-day the School of Organic Education of which she is the directress and founder, has a staff of twenty workers, nine school buildings, and students from all parts of the country. Situated on a high bluff bordered by pines, the institution has become the centre of a revolution in educational methods—

a place where failure is unknown, where examinations have never been given, and where children have never been marked or ranked. Its alumni have entered twenty different colleges throughout the country, won high honours in college and have been praised for the freshness of their intellectual view point and for their ability to make use of their natural endowments.

Mrs. Johnson's ideas about education must be called unique. "Childhood must not know failure. Any educational system in which one child flourishes and another languishes, is unjust. Working

for marks, ranks, promotions, to escape punishment or to please the teacher, is an insincere experience which may prevent the formation of true moral conceptions. The school has no right to obtrude into the home. When the child enters the home environment, he naturally wishes to take part in home activities. Home assignments are immoral."

These and other radical principles were easily applied in the small farm-house in which Mrs. Johnson taught. Later, a group of interested parents asked her if she would start a school along these lines for their children. She was to receive \$25 a month for expenses, of which \$15 would go towards the rent of the school building, and the remaining \$10 for the teacher's salary and the school supplies. Undiscouraged she is reported to have said to a friend: "I would gladly have paid those parents to let me try the experiment."

The children who attend the Fairhope School learn from objects and from the experiences of their every-day life before books are placed in their hands. They learn music by singing songs, by listening to their teacher play and sing to them. They learn Nature Study by going out of doors with their teachers and asking questions about what they see there. They listen entranced to the history teacher who tells them about Robin Hood. They handle different objects to get a conception of number, but they do not see the figures written down. It is Mrs. Johnson's conviction that "Nature has not adapted the young child to the narrow desk, the crowded curriculum, the silent absorption of facts. He is interested in the exploration of concrete things." So the younger children have experiences in music, folk dances, dramatization, nature stories and creative handwork. As they grow older and learn to read, geography, history, literature and arithmetic are given.

"But no child," says Mrs. Johnson, "is taught to read until he is seven years old. For,

when they learn how to read at seven or eight, they learn twice as quickly as the child of six, and often even teach themselves. We wouldn't give books until they were ten, if parents did not desire it. At first when I began teaching, I believed in the conventional theory that children should be hurried along as fast as possible. I was very proud of the fact that I had taught children of six to read four primers in three months. And then one day, the Superintendent, knowing that I was interested in modern educational theories, let me have a book on the development of the nervous system of the child, and I discovered that everything I was doing was harmful to the child's normal development."

Mrs. Johnson is more keenly sensitive to the irreparable damage done by failure than most so-called educationists. "At Fairhope," says she, "a child may not do much in one or more subjects and still move ahead with his group without being required to repeat these subjects. No child should ever fail while trying to get an education. Further, it is very essential that he remain with children of his age, and avoid the discouraging consciousness of failure. We have what we call life-classes in which children are grouped according to their chronological age, and they pass on from one class to another on the basis of age. Instead of holding examinations and promoting those who reach certain marks and keeping the others back, we promote the entire group at the same time. The more slowly developing child is given individual attention, and the very brilliant child is not hurried. The gifted one is assigned more work of a creative kind and perhaps even more dreaming, but he is never placed with a group of older children." The directress is of opinion that all knowledge is evil if it causes the child to be maladjusted socially, or to become egotistical in his belief in his own superiority. Says she: "Who cares what you know, if you spoil yourself in the knowing?"

Another feature of this school is that it is co-educational. Since men and women must live and work together, she feels that it is well that they should know each other in all moods in the school as well as elsewhere.

Finances of the Govt. of India since the Reforms

THE following tables taken from the Financial Secretary's explanatory memorandum for the 1932 Budget give at a glance the main features of the finances of the Central Government since the inauguration of the Reforms in 1921. They are also helpful in enabling the student of Economics to understand the general criticism made in regard to the taxation and exchange policy of the Government of India. It will be seen from these statements that the total deficit during the whole period of Reforms amounts to 54½ crores. It is worth noting that in spite of this large deficit, the interest on the deadweight debt has not increased during the period. In fact, from 13·7 crores in 1921-22 it has come down to 13·1 crores. This result has been rendered possible by the sound policy of debt redemption pursued by the Indian Government. During the period of 12 years from 1st April 1921, provision for reduction or avoidance of debt has been made aggregating 62½ crores or 8 crores more than the total deficit during the period. While this gives a certain amount of satisfaction that India's finances are intrinsically sound, the figures under some of the heads show that a good

deal of overhauling of the financial machinery remains to be done if Indian finances are to be placed in an impregnable position. What these steps should be, will be left to the keen student of Indian finance to think and suggest. But some very obvious steps, which even a casual reader of the tables will admit, are a readjustment of tax revenue, a more economical working of railways and a reduction of military expenditure.

(Unless otherwise stated, the amounts mentioned are in lakhs of rupees; and the expressions "last year", "current year" and "next year" stand for the financial years 1930-31, 1931-32 and 1932-33, respectively.)

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE

The following Statement gives the revenue and expenditure of the Central Government since 1921-22. The sterling amounts under revenue and expenditure heads in each year are converted into rupees at the average of the daily rates for telegraphic transfers in Calcutta on London for that year. In the revised estimate for the current year and the budget estimate for the next year, the rate of conversion has been assumed to be 1s. 5 7/8d. and 1s. 6d. the rupee respectively :

TABLE I.

Year.	(1) Revenue excluding transfer from Revenue Reserve Fund.	(2) Expenditure excluding transfer to Revenue Reserve Fund and provision for Reduction or Avoidance of Debt.	(3) Balance of (1) and (2)	(4) Provision for Reduction or Avoidance of Debt and transfers to or from Revenue Reserve Fund.	(5) Final Surplus (+) Deficit (—)
1921-22	1,15.21	1,38.40	-23.19	4.46	-27.65
1922-23	121.41	131.88	-10.47	4.55	-15.02
1923-24	133.17	127.16	+6.01	3.62	+2.39
1924-25	138.04	138.58	+9.46	3.78	+5.68
1925-26	133.33	125.05	+8.28	4.97	+3.31
1926-27	131.70	123.77	+7.93	(a) 7.93	...
1927-28	125.04	122.22	+2.82	(b) 2.82	...
1928-29	128.24	123.88	+4.36	(c) 4.68	-32
1929-30	132.69	126.68	+6.01	5.74	+27
1930-31	124.60	130.04	-5.44	6.14	-11.58
1931-32 (Revised) ...	120.77	127.54	-6.77	6.89	-13.66
1932-33 (Budget) ...	129.96	120.99	+8.97	6.82	+2.15

- (a) After adding 2.96 transferred to Revenue Reserve Fund.
- (b) After deducting 2.22 transferred from Revenue Reserve Fund.
- (c) After deducting 74 transferred from Revenue Reserve Fund.

In the figures given in the Statement above, all receipts on revenue account are included in the total of revenue and all outlay in the total of expenditure, with the main exceptions that the working expenses of railways, irrigation works and posts and telegraphs, and the surplus profits paid to certain railway companies, are treated not as expenditure but as a deduction from revenue. The figures of gross revenue given above thus include the net receipts of railways and other

commercial undertakings without any deduction on account of interest charges and also the total receipts under tax revenue without eliminating the cost of collection. Further, military expenditure is shown gross, the military receipts being included under revenue. With a view to present a real picture of the revenue available for administrative purposes and the expenditure on such purposes, an analytical table of the net revenue and expenditure of the Central Government is given below :

TABLE II

Year.	Tax revenue less cost of collection (a).	Other revenue net excluding Military receipts.	Total net revenue.	Interest on Debt.	Reduction or Avoidance of Debt.	Military expenditure net.	Other expenditure charged to revenue but omitting cost of collection of tax revenue.	Total expenditure charged to revenue.	Surplus + Deficit—.
1921-22 ...	60,78	20,52	81,30	13,70	4,46	69,81	20,98	1,04,95	—27,65
1922-23 ...	64,41	24,23	88,64	13,87	4,55	65,27	19,97	1,03,66	—15,02
1923-24 ...	66,66	34,03	1,00,69	15,97	3,62	56,23	22,48	98,30	+2,39
1924-25 ...	67,54	31,91	99,45	14,90	3,78	55,63	19,46	93,77	+5,68
1925-26 ...	68,10	28,11	96,21	13,37	4,97	56,00	18,56	92,90	+3,31
1926-27 ...	67,96	27,09	95,05	11,77	4,97	55,97	19,38	92,09	+2,96 (b)
1927-28 ...	68,12	19,18	87,30	10,57	5,04	54,79	19,12	89,52	—2,22 (c)
1928-29 ...	71,63	16,18	88,51	10,20	5,42	55,10	18,85	89,57	—1,06 (d)
1929-30 ...	71,74	20,69	92,43	10,85	5,74	55,10	20,47	92,16	+27
1930-31 ...	66,54	15,31	81,85	11,28	6,14	54,30	21,71	93,43	—11,58
1931-32 ... (Revised)	68,98	8,72	77,70	13,14	6,89	51,76	19,57	91,36	—13,66
1932-33 ... (Budget)	76,98	9,25	86,23	13,11	6,12	46,74	17,41	84,08	+2,15

(a) Excludes share of additional revenue from import and excise duties on motor spirit payable to Road Development Fund.

(b) Accounts figure is nil, as the surplus of 2,96 was transferred to Revenue Reserve Fund.

(c) Accounts figure is nil, as the deficit of 2,22 was met out of transfer from Revenue Reserve Fund.

(d) Accounts figure is —32, as the deficit was met to the extent of 74 by transfer from Revenue Reserve Fund.

The Last Session of the Central Legislature:

A REVIEW

BY

MR. A. SESHADRY IVENGAR

ONE sad reflection after another comes to my mind as I recall the events of the session of the Central Legislature which has just concluded in Delhi. In the Legislative Assembly the non-official attendance was throughout very poor, the parties were at sixes and sevens and the Nationalists were conducting a civil war almost daily even in the open chamber, so that the Government were able to carry through all their measures and defeat non-official propositions with ease. In the Council of State there was no party politics; but on the resolution of Sir Sankaran Nair for the grant of provincial autonomy irrespective of central responsibility, the non-officials, Hindus, Muslims and Parsees, combined resolutely and rejected it. At the close of the session, however, two parties were given birth to but their working remains to be seen.

The session was unduly prolonged, because the non-officials in the lower house would not make up their mind on anything. One Government official remarked in the lobbies: "The non-official parties are fighting more amongst themselves than against Government." The fact that the civil disobedience movement has been raging throughout the country and that the popular feeling against the Government is very bitter over the rule by Ordinances, was never fully reflected either by non-official attendance or by non-official votes. The Viceroy himself in his opening speech from the Throne had warned that there could be no compromise with the Congress nor any relaxation of the Ordinances so long as the civil disobedience movement was there. The deputy leader of the Nationalist Party threatened an adjournment motion, but Sir George Rainy by agreeing to the suggestion of party leaders to allot a Government day managed to postpone the discussion. This postponement did not however swell the Opposition ranks. When, therefore, Sir Harisingh Gour, on behalf of the principal Opposition parties, moved for an opportunity to discuss the Ordinances with a view to offer co-operation and mediate between Government and the Congress, Sir James Crerar asked for a vote of confidence

in Government. And it was given by 62 against 44 votes, the non-official parties consoling themselves with the fact that of the 62 votes cast on the side of Government, forty were official and nominated votes. In the Council of State the situation created by the Ordinance was not discussed till the middle of March when Rai Bahadur Jagadish Prasad declaring himself as a friend of the British Government, put in the very modest suggestion that the Ordinances, even if they could not be withdrawn, should be used with the utmost moderation. Mr. Emerson, the real author of the Ordinances, was himself in a sympathetic mood, but the non-official section of the House was definitely hostile. Some bitterness was created by Mr. H. M. Mehta's observation that it was difficult to discriminate between a peaceful crowd and ruffians. Among other elected members, Sir Philip Browne and Mr. Narayanaswami Chetty opposed the reasoned appeal of the Rai Bahadur. It was, however, a nominated member Mr. G. A. Natesan who, in spite of the depressing atmosphere, ventured to advise the Government to revise the policy of Ordinances so as to remove the atmosphere of resentment and pave the way for a new constitution. Sir John Thompson astounded many by his theory that there is no slow motion in a lathi charge and that "lathi charge is the only mildest method devised to deal with crowds". The resolution was of course withdrawn, and the Council by its attitude gave one more proof of its being completely divorced from public opinion in this matter.

An off-shoot of the Ordinances was the question concerning the press privilege raised by Mr. Sant Singh in the Assembly. Sir James Crerar held that the right of free speech remained unaffected by the Ordinances, but that it did not extend to publication of the speeches in the press. Mr. Ranga Iyer's attempted motion for adjournment gave the President an opportunity to obtain from the Law Member the revised opinion of the Government of India that the Ordinance does not affect the existing press law. This was considered "satisfactory", though the present law, compared

to that obtaining in Britain, was admitted by Government to be unsatisfactory.

The main business of the session consisted of the Railway Budget and the General Budget. The funds required to carry on the administration having already been obtained by Government last November by certifying the rejected Finance Bill, the Assembly had only to vote the grants under different heads. The Railway Budget disclosed that the Government was meeting the deficit of the year by a temporary loan from the depreciation fund. When the Council of State suggested a revision of the convention providing for contribution to general revenues, the Railway Member preferred to wait for two years before undertaking the task. The voting in the Assembly on Railway grants was made the occasion for exhibition of rank communalism and sectional particularism. Sir George Rainy's desire to placate the Muslims in the centre group by promising to consult the Railway Advisory Council for steps to ensure one-third Muslim representation was evidently resented by many members who remained neutral and thereby defeated Mr. Maswood Ahmad's next motion criticising the policy underlying retrenchment in the railways. Mr. Maswood Ahmad monopolised practically the whole of the time allotted for moving cuts so that the Government obtained, under guillotine, all the 105 crores without a single pie thereof being touched. Still some time was snatched for raising the controversy over the proposal to create a Statutory Railway Board. Both by his speech and conduct, Mr. Ranga Iyer who initiated the discussion, made himself the much misunderstood person. Sir Abdur Rahim, Mr. Shanmukham Chetty and Sir Harisingh Gour, helped by the vigilance of Messrs. Neogy and B. Das, were able to lodge a protest against the curtailment of popular control over the Railway Board, and they further obtained an assurance that an expert enquiry, as envisaged by the Government of India's Despatch on Reforms, would be made into the functions, composition and powers of the Board to be finally determined by an act of the Federal Legislature.

Not only were the Railway Grants all passed to the satisfaction of Government, the demands under the General Budget found an equally fair weather. There were only two cuts made of Rs. 100 each, one by the Independents recording protest at Government not giving full effect to the Retrenchment Committee's recommendations, and the other by the United India Party for lack of Indiani-

sation of the commissioned ranks of the Army. But before these grants were thus disposed of, a serious opposition was voiced to the Finance Member's plea for continued export of gold. In the Council of State, Mr. Jagadish Prasad suggested that Government should buy all the distress gold now being exported to foreign countries. In the Assembly many members echoed this view. But in both the places, the Government resisted the suggestion and stuck to its own preference for export. On the political side of the Budget discussion there was a motion by Sir Harisingh Gour relating to the constitutional development. His followers revolted against his not yielding place to Mr. Harbans Singh who wanted to raise a debate on repression and reforms. He was even threatened with dethronement from party leadership. If pressed to division, his motion would have been defeated at the hands of his own followers. So he wisely had it talked out. Not only was there a schism among the Nationalists over this Constitutional Debate, there also developed a fight, as Sir George Rainy aptly described it, "between the Anglo-Indian lion and the Indian Christian lamb". Luckily it did not result in the absorption of the lamb into the lion. The strained relations between the chief and the deputy in the Nationalist Party were further demonstrated by a combative speech of Mr. Ranga Iyer during a debate raised by Sir Abdur Rahim for a 15 per cent. cut under "Customs". It so much side-tracked the subject that the leader of Independents wisely decided not to press it to a division.

The budgets having been cleared out of the way, the Legislature was faced with Government Bills. The Bengal Detenus Transfer Bill alone occupied ten days. Originally there was opposition to it. But the attempt on the Bengal Governor's life at the Calcutta Convocation weakened it. When, therefore, Sir James Crerar came again with the Bill, the Nationalists and the Independents vied with one another in sending it to a Select Committee. Mr. Ranga Iyer, Mr. Neogy and Mr. Amar Nath Dutt throughout struck a discordant note. There was no material change in the Bill as it came out of the Select Committee. Several amendments were therefore moved and lost. The only amendment carried was that of Mr. Raju limiting the life of the Bill to three years. There was also the assurance given by the Home Member that every endeavour would be made to create for the detenus transferred to Ajmer Merwara from Bengal

conditions similar to those that obtain in their own province.

The rest of the legislative bill of fare was gone through without much difficulty. The only sufferer was Sir George Schuster. There was such a rare combination among the non-official parties over his Income-tax Evasion Bill that not all his persuasive utterance and even promise to recirculate the Bill could help him in saving the Bill from being torpedoed. Sir George Rainy added to his record as a Protectionist by securing the easy passage of Bills extending protection to bamboo, paper pulp, galvanised iron and steel sheets, wheat, salt and sugar industries. The Assembly generously acknowledged Sir George Rainy's record and has promised to watch the efforts of his Indian successor, Sir Joseph Blore, in this sphere. Sir Joseph before handing over the Industries Department gave life to the broadcasting in India by the State taking over control, while Sir B. L. Mitter with comparative modesty placed on the Statute Book the Public Suits Validation Bill and the Partnership Bill. Mr. Mackworth Young, the Army Secretary, also had an easy time with the Air Force Bill.

Of non-official bills there is no creditable record. Sir Harisingh Gour's persistence with his Bill for dissolution of Hindu marriages in cases of husbands being impotent blocked the normal progress of other measures. It was not until the House refused to consider his Bill by twice creating want of quorum that Sir Harisingh realised the futility of his persistence. Thanks to the ruling of the Chair, all private bills on the Order Paper were introduced lest they become still-born. The only private bill seriously discussed was that of Mr. Sarda intended to give a share to Hindu widow in her husband's property. The Government, to the last, remained unconvinced of public opinion behind this Bill. Sir B. L. Mitter regarded it as in no way improving the social position of the widows. Mr. Sarda was thoroughly disappointed at Government attitude. But soon after, he heard that in the Council of State, the Government put up a stout fight against the attempt of Raja Raghunandan Prasad for repeal of Mr. Sarda's Child Marriage Restraint Bill. As for non-official resolutions, while Mr. B. R. Puri and Sir Harisingh Gour succeeded in carrying a motion for early establishment of a Supreme Court, Mr. Khaparde in the Council of State bewailed the lot of families of those Government servants who die in harness and obtained the assurance from the Finance Secre-

tary that a Superannuation Scheme (and not gratuity) was now under active consideration.

Twice did Burma figure in the session. Mr. Jehangir Muhsini's suspicion of Sir Charles Innes' mind in connection with the separation question led him to ask for a declaration from the Government of India that the people of Burma would be given freedom to choose in favour of or against separation without the threat uttered by His Excellency that, that if Burma federated with India she could not afterwards separate from her. Sir George Rainy's assurance that no threat was ever implied in Sir Charles Innes' speeches was satisfying. Then there was discussion over the financial adjustment between India and Burma. The Assembly made it clear that this adjustment must not precede the vote on the separation question.

Before the session concluded, there was another discussion on the political situation. The Benthall Circular was characterised as an attempt to blow up the Congress. The Government's profession of innocence in the matter did not convince Mr. Harbans Singh. His adjournment motion pleading for the release of Mahatma Gandhi was lost without even a division. Sir James stated that the Congress itself had not been declared an unlawful association. But before even the members had time to entrain for their respective stations after the conclusion of the session, they came to know that the Congress session proposed to be held under the presidentship of Pandit Malaviya in Delhi was banned.

To sum up, never had the Government an easier session. They had only to keep in humour the Muslims seated in the centre bloc against any possible combination of all the Nationalists and Independents. Party politics were in a hopeless state, the more so amongst the Nationalists whose leader thought it better to leave Delhi earlier than was expected. The Independents as a party showed remarkable unity, and their leader Sir Abdur Rahim exercised patience and firmness in many delicate situations. Non-official party Whips and secretaries were no match against the official Whips who were vigilant even in hopeful circumstances. Mr. Yamin Khan's United India Party more definitely allied itself with the Government than in any previous sessions. The debating skill on the side of Government was not great, and if they succeeded in carrying through all their plans, it was because of the weakness of non-official parties rather than the inherent soundness of their plans.



The Indian Delegation and Establishment: Round Table Conference, Cape Town, January 1932.

The Second Cape Town Agreement

[The agreement concluded between the Government of India and the Union Government, as a result of the Conference held at Capetown from 12th January to 4th February, 1932, was announced on the 5th April in the Council of State by the Hon. Sir Fazl-i-Hussain the leader of the Indian delegation and in the Assembly by Mr. G. S. Bajpai, Secretary to the Delegation, and simultaneously by Dr. Malan in the Union Parliament of South Africa. The aim of the Conference was to review the working of the first Agreement of 1927 with a view to bring about any modifications that experience might suggest. In view of the importance of the Settlement, the excerpts from the statements of leading men on the subject may be read with interest.—EDITOR, *The Indian Review*.]

THE RT. HON. SASTRI

INDIANS everywhere will be happy to learn that the Cape Town Agreement of 1927 has been renewed, ensuring the continuance of friendly relations between the Government of the Union of South Africa and our own Government and the maintenance of an Indian Agent to watch over the interests of our countrymen in that part of the world. The significance of this event is enhanced because it was unexpected. * * * The end, however, as we believe and as our readers will perhaps agree, is happy. Our brethren in the Transvaal have been relieved of the worst features of their recent trouble. No Indians will return to India unless they choose to do so. If any pressure is exercised by the officials or Agents of the Union Government in this direction, the leaders of the local Indian Congress will be free to make counter propaganda. The upliftment clause continues. An Agent of the Government of India will, as during the last five years, watch over the interests of our countrymen and be their guide, philosopher and friend, besides serving as the medium of communication between the two Governments. A South African Indian, chosen by the Congress, will be a member of the Committee which explores on behalf of the two Governments the possibilities of colonization for Indians from both countries in such places as Brazil, British Guiana and Tanganyika. No period of years is prescribed for the life of the renewed agreement.

SIR K. V. REDDI

The question of investigating the possibilities of settling South African Indians in countries other than India is not altogether a new one. It was contemplated at the time of the Agreement of 1927, but never proceeded further. Now a serious examination will be carried on. In

the first place a country suitable must be found. The Government of that country should be prepared to admit Indians on terms of equality, without any restrictions on trade or purchase of land, owning houses or on political rights such as franchise, eligibility to public services and so on. Emigration to such a country will be even entirely voluntary. The Association of a South African Indian in the investigation will be a guarantee that the country chosen, if any, is suitable for occupation. It will also be a recognition for the first time by the Government of the Union of the privilege of South African Indians to be represented officially in matters affecting their interest—by no means a small privilege. It will be noticed that the Scheme, if realised, will be available not only to South African Indians, but also to Indians in the motherland. Considering that our population has increased by no less than 32 millions in a single decade, that this increase is likely to continue in the coming years, and that the practice of birth control is not popular in our country and is opposed to our religious conceptions, it will be admitted that the necessity of finding outlets to our surplus population will soon reach the arena of practical politics, if it has not already reached. The proposed investigation therefore deserves to be accepted as the first step, though a halting one, in that direction.

MR. H. S. L. POLAK

Both India and South Africa may be congratulated on the outcome. Indians have not got all they justly claimed, but despite the ambiguity on certain points a scheme which in substance commends itself to Mr. Sastri, Mrs. Naidu and Mr. Andrews may well receive Indian support as offering a fair settlement of the difficult problem.

MR. C. F. ANDREWS

The new Agreement between the two Governments is on the whole satisfactory. Sir Fazl-i-Hussain and the members of the deputation are to be heartily congratulated on their achievement. But it must not be thought, for a moment, that the conditions under which Indians live in South Africa are free from injustice and humiliation. These have still to be removed, and such a change can only be slowly accomplished.

In political matters, the colour bar remains absolutely rigid. Outside the Cape Province, Indians have no franchise, nor is there any hope in the near future that franchise will be extended to them. Therefore, everything depends on the Agent from India. It is a great point in the Agreement that the Agency is to be continued. On the choice of a new Agent, the future of South African Indians will greatly depend. He is to-day undoubtedly the most powerful influence in fostering friendly relations.

Perhaps, the chief gain in the new Agreement has been the frank acknowledgment by both the Governments that repatriation has proved a failure. This really means its death-blow. Here, the unanimous voice of India has prevailed. That other countries are to be explored with a view to colonisation need not arouse fear or alarm. The country specially contemplated is Brazil, and its exploration was fully approved by the South African Indian Congress. An outlet is badly needed for the rising educated generation, which is cramped by the "White Labour policy". As the barriers remain, preventing the Indians in Natal from migrating freely to the other provinces of South Africa, the congestion of population round Durban will continue. If Brazil is able to afford an outlet, it should certainly be explored. The Japanese Government have already undertaken land settlement there on a large scale, with highly successful results. Even though the present moment may be unpropitious owing to the world economic depression, yet the future is with Brazil. It has a favourable climate, a good rainfall and a very fertile soil and no colour prejudice whatever.

With regard to the Land Tenure Bill, it appears to me that the complete withdrawal of Clause 5 has now definitely prevented segregation. This is the thing we aimed at all along. Furthermore, we have obtained other substantial gains, such as protection of property right up to May 1930, and the prevention of trade licences falling into the hands of municipalities. This was the immediate

danger and it has now been forestalled. At the same time, it is a loss that when mining areas are re-proclaimed so as to pass back into ordinary lands, the old evil of racial disabilities should continue. While this will not severely hurt Indian traders who usually seek mining areas for trade, yet it is an extension of colour bar which should call for a strong protest from the Indian Government. It is also very regrettable that nothing has been done in the Agreement to restore to their full value the Transvaal registration certificates.

Beyond these immediate gains and losses, there has come about in South Africa, owing chiefly to the status of the Agent, a relaxation in social matters from some of the worst forms of colour prejudice against Indians at Cape Town. During the Conference it was quite noticeable that friendly relations between Indians and Europeans had advanced. If the new Agent can carry this still further forward, he will have accomplished one of the most important works which yet needs to be done in South Africa.

THE HON. MR. G. A. NATESAN

Considering the difficulties that faced the delegation I have no hesitation in saying that the agreement is fairly satisfactory and probably the best that could be desired under the present condition of things. Repatriation may be considered as dead. Exploration of other countries such as Brazil has advantages from the point of view of the younger generation of Indians in South Africa who are faced with unemployment consequent on the White Labour policy.

Regarding the Transvaal Land Tenure Bill, deletion of Clause 5 takes away the sting of segregation. The promise of the Minister to set up a court to validate sites for Indian occupation is also hopeful. A clause which will be added to the Bill taking away from municipal bodies the formal right of granting trading licenses is of great importance. Above all, the fact that the Agency is to be renewed makes the position more secure.

From all sides one hears that colour prejudice is slowly disappearing and that the old policy of harassing Indian residents by a policy of pin-pricks is being given up. The condition of our countrymen in South Africa ought to be more secure and hopeful in the future if the terms of the new agreement are faithfully carried out.

WORLD EVENTS

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

THE OTTAWA CONFERENCE

MORE than passing interest in another Conference is being shown in all parts of the British Commonwealth in the forthcoming Economic Conference which will meet in Ottawa, Canada, in July. It will be remembered that the Canadian delegates led by Mr. Bennett brought forward specific proposals in reference to a system of imperial trading at the last Imperial Conference in 1930, but so important and far-reaching were they that it was decided that more time should be given to their consideration at a special meeting. The Conference in July at which representatives will be present from all parts of the British Empire, will consider the whole question of closer trading and imperial preference. India will be strongly represented by such well-known men as Sir Atul Chatterjee, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, Sir Pestonji Ginwala, and Sir George Rainy.

A system of Imperial Preference will be squarely faced and seriously considered. It may be timely to recall that the writer read a paper at the Seventh Indian Economic Conference at Bombay in 1924 on British Imperial Economic Relations in which he advocated Imperial Preference, but that paper was not convincing and in fact brought forth strong opposition, but the question is now before us for full consideration. In that paper the writer said :

Our former policy, or more correctly speaking, lack of policy was a practice of *laissez-faire*. Each country set up its own form of house-keeping and its independent spirit would not allow it to be dictated to by any other sister country, not even by Mother England herself. And so Canada, Australia and South Africa have formulated their own economic and fiscal policies irrespective of Britain; and India is doing the same thing under her Tariff Board. I am not condemning this practice, for it is the absolute right of free nations. But what I am pleading for is a policy arrived at by Conference that shall determine Imperial Economic Relations in which imperial advantage and national advantage shall be so adjusted that the result will be the greatest good to the greatest number in both the Empire and the individual nation. I am an Imperialist, but not at the expense

of the nation; there must be worked out an economic relationship that will be able to conserve the interests of both. The two most important considerations in such a relationship at present, as it seems to me, are the protection of our own production against foreign competition and especially dumping which shall lead us to a consideration of Imperial Preference, and the allied question of conserving and extending our own markets within the British Empire. These are the two great economic problems—Protection and Markets—before the British Commonwealth to-day.

We have the question before us this year, and as Mr. Walter Runciman, President of the British Board of Trade, said recently in addressing the Canadian Chamber of Commerce in London :

The first preliminaries must be carried through by men who know their job, sitting round a table working out the problems in a unified spirit, and in the long run registering their conclusions. We are doing what we can to initiate the process on this side. If your suggestion, Mr. Chairman, can be adopted on the other side, I think there is every prospect of turning the Ottawa Conference into a great imperial and commercial success.

INDIA AND BRITAIN

As a general rule we do not discuss Indian politics in this column, but there are times when in considering subjects like Imperial preference, or the British Commonwealth, or world events wherein India is interested, Indian attitudes and political tendencies are in order of consideration. During the past year and especially since the second Round Table Conference, American opinion has been changing concerning Indian political affairs.

Evidence that all newspapers in the United States of America are not anti-British is provided by the following article which appeared in a recent issue of *The Watchman Examiner* :

We have never claimed to have the gift of prophecy, but occasionally we do foresee things. Months ago we declared that the second Round Table Conference in London would amount to little or nothing, not because the British nation was unwilling to grant increasing autonomy to India, but because the Hindus, Muslims and Untouchables in India could agree on no policy. Gandhi added nothing of value to this second Round Table Conference. * * * * *

No doubt the present Parliament will liberalize the British policy in India, but the Indian people themselves would receive more if they demanded less. It is our candid opinion that at present independence for India

would mean religious wars at home and wars of conquest from without. Sympathizing wholly with subjugated people, we believe that India still needs Great Britain to keep peace among the inhabitants and to protect the country as a whole from outside depredations. India's political and social problems are far from a satisfactory solution.

IRELAND

For the last ten years during the administration of Mr. Cosgrave's moderate Government political interests in Ireland have been quiet, and the Irish Free State has been enjoying a period of peace and prosperity. But with the overthrow of the Cosgrave Government in the last election and the advent to power of the Republican Party with Mr. De Valera as President the peace has been broken; we do not know what may now happen in Ireland. The Irish Republican issue has been raised over the question of the oath of allegiance to the British Crown. That is the tie which binds together the various States of the British Commonwealth; each unit is absolutely free and independent in its political life, that is equally true of Canada, Australia, South Africa, the Irish Free State, and it will be true under the new Constitution in India. Allegiance to the Crown is the link which holds the chain together, remove that and the British Commonwealth will fall asunder. The Oath was inserted and accepted by the Irish in the Anglo-Irish Treaty; now De Valera wants to remove the oath.

Mr. J. H. Thomas, speaking for the British Government, has made it quite plain that the oath must remain; the Irish Republicans want to force the issue, but the latest reports indicate that De Valera's hand is being held, because Australia, New Zealand and South Africa have all written expressing the influence of Ireland's example may have upon their countries; they are opposed to the abolition of the oath, and are just as much interested in this question as Britain, being co-equal partners in the Commonwealth. Then there is the question of representation on such British Empire bodies as the Imperial Conference and the Imperial Economic Conference. It is a

real issue, and has split the Irish Free State into two hostile camps. Mr. Cosgrave has stated the case clearly as follows:

At a special conference, his party pledged itself to resist Mr. De Valera's attempt to remove the oath of allegiance on a resolution declaring that any policy which would endanger the Treaty would injure the Free State economically, lessen the security of the people, lower the reputation of the State, greatly reduce the power of the Free State to negotiate international agreements and destroy the hope of a national re-union. The Free State now has full political freedom, the resolution added, all limitations and anomalies having been amicably removed.

CONTROL OF DRINK

Not only is the control of drink a moral question, it is also a political and economic problem. America is still having her troubles in trying to maintain prohibition; the moral question there is settled, but it has now become a political issue with the American people, and may again figure in the Presidential Election this year. Finland by vote of the people has returned to the open saloon, we shall soon see the result of this backward move in the spread of drunkenness. The British Licencing Commission under the Chairmanship of Lord Amulree have recently issued their report, and as one of the Commissioners, Rev. Henry Carter, himself an ardent temperance worker, has said of it: "A reformer's document from first to last." The Commission did not consider Prohibition, for that was not in its terms of reference, but it did consider and make recommendations concerning the control of the drink traffic,

the working of the laws relating to the sale and supply of intoxicating liquors, and into the social and economic aspects of the question, and to examine and report upon proposals that may be made for amending the law in England and Wales in the public interest.

One great improvement noted by the Commission is the lessening of drinking in Britain, another is the growing demand for local option especially in newly developing areas, and yet another thing is the increasing desire of the people that the nation must strengthen its control over the drink trade.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

THE IMPASSE

THE Secretary of State for India in his periodical reports as well as in his replies to questions in the House of Commons has been reassuring the British public that, barring a few disturbances here and there, the situation in India is on the whole improving. If that is so, one wonders why there is any need for extra executive action. If we may use a war time expression, Government seems to be active in all fronts. Only the other day the Reception Committee of the Delhi Congress was banned. Arrests and imprisonments are as vigorous as before, over 650 arrests having been carried out in connection with the Congress Session. Apparently the dual policy of reform on the one hand and coercion on the other is not working well. And grave doubt is expressed in thoughtful quarters in England if the present impasse could at all be ended and mutual confidence restored. Neutral observers, we are told, have laid bare a different story from what the departments have thought fit to report, and the Cabinet is "anxiously considering the situation with a view to the earliest restoration of mutual confidence". Prof. Laski who has watched the course of events in India with considerable sympathy and understanding, warns the authorities of the futility of repression:

They are bound to fail. They tried that policy in Ireland, they tried it in America. Russia tried it in Poland. Austria tried it in Italy. The end of such a policy has always been disastrous to the people which attempts it. I believe it is still not too late to make a genuine agreement with the leaders of Indian opinion if we remember the great axiom of Burke that magnanimity in politics is not seldom the greatest virtue.

THE PRINCES AND FEDERATION

For over a month the Princes and their ministers were meeting in formal and informal conferences in Delhi, and the results of their deliberations are embodied in a resolution. That resolution, we are afraid, takes us no farther than the old

position, except in so far as the Chamber as a body has signified the willingness of the States to join the All-India Federation. But the vital issues remain undecided, and we are told that "negotiations" are still to go on. The Chamber will "retain the right to examine the whole constitution" *de novo*. Not only the Chamber as a whole but each individual State should be satisfied before any decisive step is taken. Surely this is no more than marking time! And then the guarantees that are required take us to the original position.

(a) That the necessary safeguards will be embodied in the Constitution; (b) that under the Constitution their rights arising from the treaties or sanads or engagements remain inviolate and inviolable; (c) that the sovereignty and internal independence of the States remain intact and are preserved and fully respected, and that the obligations of the Crown to the States remain unaltered.

And yet the Princes in a way committed themselves to the unanimous conclusion arrived at by the Federal Structure Committee that

the process of Federation will involve the creation of a new State which will derive its powers in part from the powers which the States will agree to concede to the Crown, to be placed at the disposal of the new Federation.

How then keep the treaties "inviolable and inviolable" and the sovereignty of each State "intact"? There can be no "federation" under such conditions!

Apart from the question of Confederation, there is the further difficulty of allocating seats on the Federal Legislature. No agreement has yet been reached on this all important subject and as Sir Mirza Ismail pointed out in a Press interview "there neither was nor is any likelihood of the States agreeing upon it." Unanimity on even the most vital points cannot be expected in the present circumstances of India, and it is no use trying to obtain it.

But India cannot wait indefinitely. If responsible government is to come with Federation, then the Federation must be brought about without delay:

Those States which wish to come in at once, let them do so. Those which prefer to remain outside should be equally at liberty to do so. If this point is made clear,

the work of Constitution-making could go on unhampered and unhindered to a more speedy and satisfactory conclusion than seems possible otherwise.

Now the Princes, according to the resolution adopted by the Chamber, demand 50 per cent. in the Upper House. We are not sure what proportion they would demand for their representation in the Lower Chamber. Let us suppose they ask for the same proportion. Then with 50 per cent. reserved to the Princes and 33 to the Muslims and 5 more to other interests, the Hindus will be in a clear minority. That is a queer situation for a majority population in any country!

THE MUSLIM ULTIMATUM

The Muslim Conference at Lahore which concluded amidst scenes of rowdyism, thought fit to give what may be called an "ultimatum" to the Government. The British Government have agreed to arbitrate on the communal question—the leaders of the communities concerned having expressed their inability to come to any terms among themselves. But one of the parties to the dispute now threatens to non-co-operate and even resort to direct action if the Government does not accept its conditions. It grants three months' time to the Government to surrender to its terms! Surely this is bad strategy and altogether ill-advised. But lest there should be any misapprehension on the matter, it should be made clear that an important section of Muslims—the nationalists—have nothing to do with this bluff; and certainly not all Muslims at the Conference could subscribe to this threat!

THE HINDU VIEW

Whatever may be the ultimate effect of the Muslim Conference resolutions on the British Government, the reaction of these extravagant demands on the Hindus has been instantaneous. For, the Muslim demands which began with the Legislatures and the local bodies at first, have now extended to all the administrative and public

services. This is just the danger of communalism. One false step leads to another. The Hindu leaders of the Central Legislature promptly issued a statement protesting against the Muslim demands and declared that they

have throughout stood for joint electorates without claiming any weightage or reserved representation even where they are in a minority. The same is the position of Sikhs. They all stand for pure and genuine democracy, undefiled by devices of communal electorates and representation for which there is no precedent or parallel in any civilised State in the world.

They plead for the application to India of the Minorities' Guarantees Treaties of the League of Nations and demand that the contributions of the communities should be a determining factor in granting the safeguards. The signatories go on to say:

Communal electorates and representation will give India only a form of communal government and tyranny and not the democratic and dominion constitution she has been striving and suffering to achieve and which England is pledged to grant her.

EUROPEANS AND THE MINORITIES PACT

Not only Hindus but Europeans also would seem to be affected by the Muslim ultimatum. Mr. Villiers, President of the European Association, speaking at the farewell function at Calcutta, took occasion to define the European attitude in regard to the position outlined in the Minorities Pact. When the Pact was entered into by the representatives of the two communities at the second Round Table Conference, it was feared that it would prove a double-edged weapon with which the majority community could be defied. That fear has proved, alas, to be only too true: and it was the realisation of this position that urged Mr. Villiers to declare unequivocally:

While we are determined to give them (the Mussalmans) all possible help, we do so only on the understanding that the safeguard as represented by that pact is of a defensive and not an offensive character. In other words, we shall have nothing to do with any of those who adopt such resolutions for example, as those recently passed by a section of the Mahomedans at Lahore.

Surely the Pact was by no means to be a weapon of offence in the hands of the minorities,

and Mr. Villiers did well in emphasising its true character

that it was for the purpose of securing to the Moslem and other communities certain rights rather than for the purpose of depriving others of their rights.

THE NIZAM: A PRACTICAL REFORMER

We congratulate H. E. H. The Nizam of Hyderabad on the enlightened and courageous lead he has given to Muslim India in the matter of discarding the *purdah*—a relic of old-time superstition. Addressing the Muslim Girls' School at Lucknow, during his recent visit to the U. P., H. E. H. urged the girl students who had discarded the *purdah* for the first time in his honour, "to discard it altogether", and told them it was their duty to march with the times. This is a timely and much needed lead to Muslim

womanhood, and all the more valuable as it comes from one of the most respected and zealous of Muslim princes in India. H. E. H. has a reputation for being a true and orthodox son of Islam as testified by his varied services to the cause of Islam. He cannot, therefore, be charged with having lightly disregarded the traditions of old Islam. The example of his Turkish daughters-in-law who have thrown off the veil, can not but be regarded as a significant move in the right direction, and Indian Muslims have every reason to feel gratified at this instance of practical social reform emanating from the most aristocratic and orthodox quarters in Muslim India. Enlightened Muslims will hardly hesitate to follow the lead so nobly given by His Exalted Highness.

TRADE AND FINANCE

BY "SRIVAS"

THE NEW LOAN

THE period under review was one of minor changes at home. The new loan as a topic discussion, conjecture and forecast, was more to the fore. The feeling has been that the new loan would be announced much earlier than usual; and that the market must base its calculations on the assumption that Treasury Bills will be suspended early in May. The result is that bankers are tempted to keep a somewhat over-invested position in Treasury Bills; and this naturally tends to keep the money position more on the stringent side. This is bound to be the most marked feature for some time, till the Treasury Bills are suspended by way of preparation for the issue of the new loan. Thus so far as the monetary factor is concerned, exchange is sure of a good support; and no one can have any doubts about it. But judging from the course of exchange during the last four weeks, it has apparently not sufficed to prevent the rupee-rate from suffering marked and even

extreme fluctuations. Immediately after the banks reopened after the Easter holidays, the rupee-rate experienced a subsidence. From the high level of 1s. 6 3/32d., there was a sharp and steep decline to 1s. 5 15/16d. No attempt was made to arrest the rot and the recovery, when it came, was the result purely of the inevitable reaction. The market was in a face of absolute drift, the fall and rise being alike allowed to run its course without let or hindrance. The volume of business during this time was of the smallest dimensions. Beginning on March 31, the retrogression continued up to the first week of April. Then the rise which began lasted till about the 15th of April. Thereafter there was a slightly steadier feeling, the fluctuations being of inconsiderable extent.

Looking to the intrinsic position one cannot help feeling that the market was at the mercy of the unreasoned sentiment of the hour. It should always have been possible to forecast the continued stringency of money and to have

relied on it as a source of strength to the rupee-rate. It could also have been possible to foresee that with a fall in the rupee-rate, the Government would reduce the amount of sterling on offer from £1 million to £500,000 or even less if the occasion demanded it. In fact, such a course was actually taken by the Controller of the Currency. That in spite of such evident sources of strength, the exchange market behaved itself as it did should be attributed more or less solely to the sudden drop in the amount of gold exported abroad during the days following the Easter holidays. It must be admitted that at that time there were certain developments which tended to exaggerate the significance of the fall in gold exports. The Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry had met and had passed a resolution confirming the opinion prevalent in the Indian press that the export of gold abroad was inimical to the best interests of the country and that Government and people alike should do their best to discourage it. At the same time, the Bullion merchants of Bombay had passed a resolution to the effect that transactions other than those in discharge of previous commitments would not be countenanced by the Association. Nationalist sentiment, too, had been whipped up to more than its usual pitch; and it was natural that, when a fall in gold exports actually coincided with these developments, it should be regarded as a sign that public opinion was beginning to assert itself and make itself felt on the activities of the exporters of gold. Since that time, there has been a slight increase in the volume of exports of the metal though it has not reached the height of the earlier part of the year. But the exchange market has not recovered from the shock which it experienced after the Easter and the rupee-rate is still hovering about the lower levels.

JUTE TRADE

A review of the month's developments in trade and finance would be woefully incomplete without

a reference to the very serious and distressing situation that has now arisen in the jute trade of Calcutta. It is a matter of common knowledge that the prosperity of the jute mills of Calcutta has depended in the post-War period on a judicious adjustment of production to changes in demand. This has been more feasible and fruitful in the case of the jute industry than any other industry of the world for the obvious reason that the jute mills of Calcutta have a virtually monopolistic position in regard to this commodity. Neither this position nor the methods adopted by the Jute Mills Association had been much affected by the presence of a large number of mills in Dundee and the Continent, as the latter had been devoting themselves to different lines in the same trade. The prevailing economic depression has, no doubt, affected the jute trade in many respects; but the conduct of the business could still have continued without any serious threat but for the emergence of a few mills in Calcutta which have held aloof from the larger body belonging to the Indian Jute Mills Association. The non-Association Mills have for various reasons found themselves in a position of hostility to the Association. They have even in the early days of the regime of restriction pursued their production programme without being affected by the decisions of the rest of the mills. The subsequent events are very much in the nature of the fate which generally overtakes a restriction scheme which has failed to enlist the support of all the producers. To keep out of an Association which has adopted restrictionist methods is an obviously profitable course; and this has naturally led even some of the members to withdraw from that body, so that a position has now been arrived at in which curtailment of production without all the mills being committed to that course would be a patent folly. The recalcitrance of the non-Association mills has persisted up to the moment of writing and negotiations, far from being successful, have

entered on a phase of increased misunderstanding and embitterment. Naturally there are many who look to the State for interfering with a proper legislative sanction to protect what is assuredly the source of prosperity, not only for the industry concerned but also for the large mass of the people of Bengal and the Government, too.

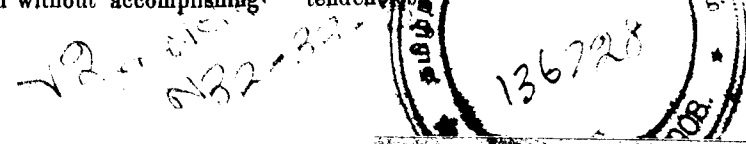
THE DANUBIAN CONFERENCE

Abroad, the month has afforded a new shock to the hopes of an enlightened and amicable settlement by the Powers of the outstanding economic and financial problems. The Danubian Conference which met in London about the middle of the month, was universally regarded as the first organised attempt to repair the economic depression. The problem was taken up because of its imperative urgency. A Committee of the League of Nations pointed out that the States of Eastern Europe were in a state of progressive insolvency and that the powers of Western Europe, who had lent large sums to them, must in their own interest as much as in the larger interests of the world, attempt to resuscitate them financially and economically. It was thought that the best way of doing it would be first to bring about a Tariff Union among the Danubian States themselves and then to grant them a loan to be subscribed for by France, Britain and the United States. The Conference consisted of the three above mentioned Powers, the Danubian States and Germany and Italy. It was found that it was easier to secure support for the loan than to prepare the ground in which new investment would bear fruit. The difference of opinion was among the Western Powers as to the method by which the question of the Tariff Union was to be approached and considered. Germany and Italy were opposed to the Balkan States being allowed to deliberate among themselves as they were afraid that the advantages which they had under the Trade treaties with them would vanish. The Conference adjourned without accomplishing

anything; and to that extent there are less hopes to-day of Europe taking the initiative and leading the way to recovery.

BRITISH FINANCIAL POSITION

As a result of the developments of the last six months, Great Britain which had a slump in its export industries much earlier than the present depression has become the least dark spot in the picture of world economy. The devaluation of the pound and the consequent relief from the embarrassments of the gold standard gave her a valuable advantage over other countries in the matter of industry and finance respectively. The series of protectionist measures which she has adopted since then, has balanced her trade and induced a fresh spell of productive activity at home. Unemployment figures have shown a decrease, and the Bank of England has followed a policy of cheap money which culminated in the reduction of the bank rate to 3 per cent. The crowning achievement of Britain is, however, in regard to her national budget. The emergency budget which Mr. (now Lord) Snowden produced in September last is an unqualified success; and for the coming year the fall in income-tax and super tax which, it is feared, will reach to about £27,000,000 has been covered mainly by a 10 per cent. tariff and additional import duties. The credit of Great Britain thus assuredly stands very high to-day. But one should not overlook the tremendous sacrifices that the attainment of this position has involved, nor mistake the effects of a lower currency and a protectionist tariff for a natural and permanent improvement. In any case, whatever may happen to Britain in the future, there is no reason for thinking that that nation has enough strength in her, not only to save herself but drag the rest of the world out of the bogs of depression. So far as world economy is concerned, the outlook remains darker than ever; and if the coming conferences reveal the same lack of touch with reality as on previous occasions, there is nothing too calamitous to be ruled out even by the most optimistic amongst the observers of present tendencies.



Diary of the Month

March 26. Meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce at New Delhi.

March 27. All-India Medical Conference meets at Calcutta, Sir Nilratan Sircar presiding.

March 28. Viceroy opens Eleventh Session of the Chamber of Princes in New Delhi.

March 29. Sir John Anderson assumes charge of the Governorship of Bengal.

March 30. Government carry Bengal Detenus' Bill with one amendment in the Assembly.

March 31. Sir James Crerar leaves for England, and Mr. Haig takes charge as Home Member.

April 1. Maharajah of Kashmir is entertained at a Garden Party in Delhi.

April 2. "Buy Indian" procession is banned in Lahore.

April 3. Ex-Crown Prince of Germany issues a sensational manifesto against Von Hindenburg.

April 4. Sir George Rainy announces the personnel of the Ottawa Conference.

April 5. The terms of the Cape Town Agreement are read out in the Central Legislature.

April 6. Congress Session in Delhi is banned. —Sir Bomanji Dalal is dead.

April 7. Mrs. Naidu opens Swadeshi Bazaar in Bombay.

April 8. Sir Frank Noyce is gazetted a member of the Governor-General's Council.

April 9. It is reported that Col. Lindburgh is double-crossed by the kidnappers.

April 10. Von Hindenburg is elected President of Germany.

April 11. The Lothian Committee meets in Simla.

April 12. Mr. Gokulchand Hirachand is fined Rs. 20,000 and 18 months' R. I. for breach of parole regulations.

April 13. It is reported that eight volcanoes in Andes are erupting.

April 14. Lord Sankey defends Government's policy in *The News Letter*.

April 15. Western India Liberals protest against the classification of prisoners.

April 16. The Viceroy leaves for Peshawar to inaugurate the new Reforms.

April 17. Prof. Patrick Geddes is dead.

April 18. The Reception Committee of the Delhi Congress is banned.

April 19. Dr. Malan declines to interview South African Congress representatives.

April 20. Viceroy opens Frontier Council.

April 21. A restraint order is served on Mrs. Naidu directing her not to leave Bombay.

April 22. Mrs. Naidu is arrested in Bombay and Pandit Malaviya in Delhi.

April 23. Japanese War Minister warns the League and the Soviet against interference.

April 24. Delhi Congress Meeting dispersed by Police. 400 persons are arrested.

April 25. Sir Samuel Hoare declares in the Commons that the meetings of the Congress are illegal and not the Congress itself.

April 26. Madras Corporation presents addresses to the Rt. Hon. Sastri and Sir K. V. Reddi.

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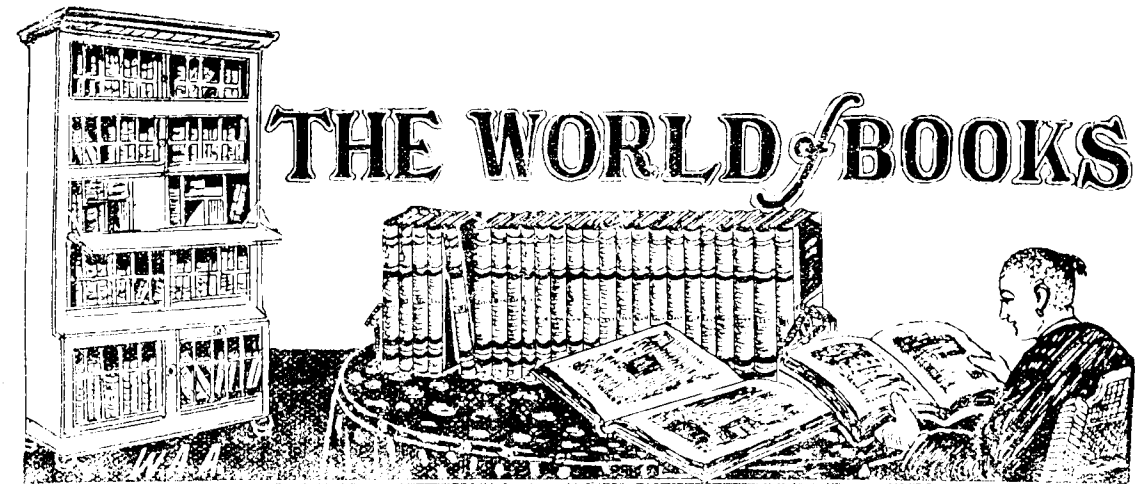
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EDWARD CARPENTER: An Appreciation. Edited by Gilbert Beith: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.

Edward Carpenter who died in 1925 at the age of 85, was one of those personalities whose influence on the thought of their generation was out of all proportion to the place their writings hold in popular esteem. A member of a middle class family in comfortable circumstances, he took a good degree at Cambridge, became a Fellow and Lecturer at Trinity Hall, took Orders in the Church of England and held a curacy under Frederick Denison Maurice. Gradually, however, as Mr. Lowes Dickinson relates, he lost his theological beliefs.

Something was driving him away to find love, and he could not find it, as he wanted it, in Cambridge. He resigned his Orders and for the next five years became an Extension Lecturer. He found the work hard and wearing, partly because of the fatigues of travelling and society, but more because he was trying with all his might to break down the barrier of class and get into close touch with working people. He succeeded in the end, but it took him five years and his health nearly broke down in the process. His deliverance came in the year 1879 when he went to live with his friends of the working class near Sheffield.

In 1883, he moved to Millthorpe, a little village between Sheffield and Chesterfield. There and at Guildford, he spent the remainder of his long life, leading, as he himself explained, "a rather plain and Bohemian kind of life, associating with manual workers, speaking at street corners, growing fruit, making sandals, writing verses and what not," doing these things primarily and

simply because of the joy he had in doing them and to please himself. "If the world or any part of it," he adds, "should in consequence insist on being reformed that is not my fault." Mr. Lowes Dickinson finds the key to his Socialism in his personal affections. He wanted a society in which men and women could be lovers and friends, and he found our society badly organised for that purpose. To the economists and politicians of the movement, this approach seemed to be sentimental nonsense. Carpenter was in reality a philosophic anarchist rather than a socialist.

In 1916, Carpenter published the story of his life up to the age of seventy in a book entitled "My Days and Dreams". After his death, his friends felt that no formal biography was therefore called for and its place has been taken by this composite memoir, to which no less than twenty-nine of them have contributed, among them, the Prime Minister, Mr. Lowes Dickinson, Mr. Nevinson, Mr. Havelock Ellis, and Mr. Laurence Housman. It cannot be said that the result is altogether satisfactory but the book undoubtedly establishes the truth of the first sentence in the first of the essays that

it was the personality of Edward Carpenter that was chiefly attractive; one can conceive of a person remaining indifferent to the prophet and the reformer and yet succumbing to the charm of the man.

THE AMERICAN SENATOR. By Anthony Trollope. Oxford University Press, Bombay.

Trollope has an undying charm for many English readers. He himself seemed to estimate poorly the magic of the novelist's art by stating that it was just similar to the bricklayer's. But the copiousness of Trollope's writing should not be reckoned against its quality, for we have in him obviously the instance of a writer who can lay claim to inspiration. Though he has somehow missed the foremost rank among the English novelists, Trollope is one of the greater among them. "The American Senator", though outside the clerical stories of the Barchester novels, is quite characteristic of Trollope. The American Senator himself need not be regarded as important. He is only a convenient centre from which to study the English types of character in the quiet country world. But the careful differentiation between English and American characteristics has a revived interest in modern times when writers like Sinclair Lewis are offering fresh comments on English national characteristics. Opinion has not been unanimous about Mr. Gotobed the American Senator. Some have called the picture a failure but an American testimony has been quoted to say that it is real. We may, however, note that the Senator's naturally hostile view of all English institutions is a little ingeniously sustained. Turning to the story of the novel we are reminded of the charm of the background of Jane Austen's novels though it is certainly made much richer in Trollope. Miss Arabella Trefoil, though born of an aristocratic family, is almost verging on Becky Sharp. Lord Rufford, the fox-hunting gentleman, is the occasion for some admirable sketches of that English sport. The glimpses of the foreign office, converging on Mounsel Green, the clerk who became the Patagonian Ambassador later, are among the delights of the novel.

RISE OF THE PESHWAS. By H. N. Sinha, M.A. (Ald.) The Indian Press, Allahabad.

The first of three volumes devoted to a detailed survey of the role of the Peshwas in the history of the Maratha State, this book is a succinct account of the rise of the Peshwas which traces the story up to 1752. The author is a young scholar who, after working sometime as Research Scholar in the Department of Indian History, University of Allahabad, now holds the place of Assistant Professor of History in Morris College, Nagpur. The most serious, if also the most obvious, shortcoming of the work is thus acknowledged by the author in terms which completely disarm the critic: "I rather regret that I did not wait for another three years, and take advantage of the latest pamphlets, embodying the selections from the Poona Daftar by Mr. G. S. Sardesai. This is a drawback which I hope to get over in the future." Otherwise the work is based on a fresh and thorough study of original sources and adds much to a detailed knowledge of one of the most fascinating chapters of India's history. The strength of national consciousness among the Marathas, as well as the weak points in their armoury, the astute diplomacy and the indefatigable industry of the Chitpavan family of the Bhats, and the tangled skein of personal ambition and patriotic endeavour are all skilfully exposed. The author has admiration for Maratha militarism as advanced by the Peshwas, but not for their administrative talent or their political wisdom. They were not successful in the tasks of Empire. "They extorted every pie of their due, but did not do anything for peace and justice." They threw the Chhatrapati into the shade and pushed themselves to the front; but they "could never fill the position of the king in the eyes of the people" and the Peshwa "was no substitute for the symbol of unity—the central authority". Some of these judgments may have to be reconsidered by the author in the course of his further work.

MONETARY LEADERSHIP. By J. F. Darling, C.B.E. Ernest Benn, Ltd., London.

The present crisis and its manifold phases are a temptation for every theorist to press his pet theories as the best solution for current problems. Mr. Darling has long been the exponent of a new form of bimetallism in which silver and gold will be linked together by a new money of account to be called the "Rex". It is to be primarily an Empire currency to be administered by a Super-Bank of the Empire aiming at the full development of the resources of the constituent nations. The increasingly financial nature of the crisis increases the importance and value of schemes which can minimise troubles arising from the shortage of gold. But the more important advantage in Mr. Darling's scheme is the resuscitation of the purchasing power of India and the East through the remonetisation of silver and the consequent rise in its value. The pamphlet under review is a collection of lectures delivered over a long period and shows little attempt to grapple with the practical difficulties in the way of an economic or currency union. Even on the theoretical side, one cannot help wishing that Mr. Darling had devoted more space to show how the relative value of gold and silver could be stabilised. But so far as it goes, it is a well-reasoned thesis, an impetus and an aid to monetary thought, whose value during the present crisis is beyond question.

"GOD HAVE MERCY ON ME." By O. W. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London.

This book is based on the diary of an unfortunate woman who lived a life of utter shame and became a victim of drugs and despicable men. The author paints a picture at once real and repulsive of the lives of "her men", who in the name of love thrust her down deeper into the mire of vice and torment from which there could be no escape, and who shamelessly lived on her loathsome earnings.

THE MAHDI OF ALLAH. By Richard A. Bermann. Putnam, London and New York.

This "remarkable book" is translated from the German. It "throws a running commentary of light" on a strange figure whose "wonderful" life "is a romance in miniature." "The balance between East and West," says Mr. Winston S. Churchill in his Introduction to the book, "depends on the advance of knowledge of arms. When arms were equal, the East as often won as in the Crusades." "The Mahdi conquered Gordon"; "he had died in the consciousness of his divine message and power," but "when the Mahdi's successor (Khalifa) met Kitchener, he met a weapon of undreamed power, the machine gun." "The Mahdi and his Caliphate might well have endured to to-day and developed as stately a power as that of the Moors in Spain," but fate had willed otherwise and the mastership of the Sudan forms now a bone of contention between Egypt and Great Britain whose joint forces finally crushed the Khalifa at Omdurman.

This "Drama of the Sudan" by a German author is worth reading, specially as it is claimed that the description of the life of the Mahdi in this book is not founded on invention but in all its details on historical evidence. [All the quotations are from Mr. Winston Churchill's Introduction.]

COMPRESSION IGNITION ENGINES FOR ROAD VEHICLES. By the Editor of THE COMMERCIAL MOTOR. Temple Press Ltd., London.

This is a book of outstanding interest to all concerned with road transport. It is the first comprehensive and authoritative Manual on the development and use of the oil-engine and deals with some 30 different makes. There are chapters dealing with the working principles, types of fuel pump, engine auxiliaries, fuels and lubricants, and operating costs and maintenance. Most of the subject matter is also applicable to compression-ignition power units for marine work and aircraft.

PALESTINE ILLUSTRATED. By Frank Scholten. Edited by G. Robinson Lees, M.A. With an Introduction by Sir George Adam Smith. 2 Vols. Longmans, Green & Co., London.

To the student of the Holy Land and its age-long history, the two volumes of selected photographs and notes culled from the literature of antiquity, will be a welcome treasure. The quotations from the Bible, the Talmud and other scriptures, at once so apt and inspiring, reveal the author's wide and deep study of the classics, while the photographs of men and animals, of rocks and billows, and the trees, bush and fruits in the neighbourhood of Jaffa, are rendered so impressively vivid that throughout we see the hand of a master of the craft. The volumes are beautifully printed on special paper without a blot or blur, and we congratulate the publishers on the superb style in which the work has been executed. They will prove an excellent prize-book and also for the drawing-room of the wealthy and cultured.]

IF IT HAD HAPPENED YESTERDAY. By Dermot Morrah. George Newnes Ltd., London. Price 5s. "As dull as history" is a slogan that is as old as the world. This peculiar conception of History has been gaining ground in these days of sensation-mongering. In this interesting little book, Dermot Morrah takes up the cudgel against this narrow interpretation. By a dramatic rendering of certain landmarks in the History of England, from the Battle of Hastings to the Bloodless Revolution of 1688, he shows the reader how such events could once have been exciting and sensational news in the Dailies of their time. "If news is really more interesting than History," he asks, "then why should not History be made again." The book claims to put the reader back in imagination into the actual time of each great historical event by presenting that event in the newspaper dress.

BOOKS RECEIVED

JAINISM IN NORTH INDIA. By C. J. Shah, M.A. Longmans, Green & Co., London and Calcutta.

THE DOCTOR EXPLAINS. By Ralph H. Major. Chapman and Hall, Ltd., London.

DISCOVERING OURSELVES. By Edward A. Strecker and Kenneth E. Appel. Chapman and Hall, Ltd., London.

MALADETTA. By J. B. Meston. Chapman and Hall, Ltd., London.

MORTAL MEASURE. By P. Whitehouse. Chapman and Hall, Ltd., London.

RELIGION, MORALS AND THE INTELLECT. By F. E. Pollard. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.

MY HUMBLE BIL. By K. V. Subba Rao, L.M.P., Sub-Assistant Surgeon, Government Headquarters Hospital, Masulipatam, Krishna District.

CHINA IN REVOLT. By S. K. Vidyarthi. Vanguard Publishing Co., Bombay.

THROUGH THE BOX-OFFICE WINDOW. By W. H. Lenerton. T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London.

THE WORLD CRISIS AND THE ONLY WAY OUT. By Sir M. de P. Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E. Daily Gazette Press, Ltd., Karachi.

MY JOURNEY THROUGH JUNGLES. By P. Joseph. Sole Agent: M. P. Pillai, 24/26 Pidiarlar Koil Street, Madras.

CASTE AND CREDIT IN THE RURAL AREA. By S. S. Nehru. With a foreword by Radhakamal Mukerjee, M.A., Ph.D. Longmans, Green & Co., London & Calcutta.

SOME MATERIALS FOR THE STUDY OF AGRICULTURE AND AGRICULTURISTS IN ANCIENT INDIA. By R. Gangapadhyay, M.A., M.Sc. N. C. Mukerjee & Co., Serampore.

ETHICS. By Nicolai Hartmann. Translated by Stanton Colt. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.

INDIA AND CEYLON: A FEDERATION. By Kalmane. P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London.

DROP YOUR FOREIGN ACCENT. By G. N. Trentle. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.

VEER BHUMI CHITTOREGARH. By B. Ramnarayanji Dugar. Khemraj Dugarartist, Jalorigate, Jodhpur.

INDEX TO SRIMAD BHAGAVATAM. Madhuvilas Book Depot, 63, East Iyen Street, Kumbakonam.

LIMANORA: THE ISLAND OF PROGRESS. By Godfrey Sweven. Oxford University Press, Bombay.

RIALLARO: THE ARCHIPELAGO OF EXILES. By Godfrey Sweven. Oxford University Press, Bombay.

HINDU PHILOSOPHY AND ETHICS OF THE GITA. By S. Subrahmanya Sastri, M.A. Bhaskara Press, Trivandrum.

INDIAN STATES

Princes and Federation

The informal meeting of the Indian Princes and Ministers of Indian States which met in Delhi in the closing week of March, adopted a resolution expressing the willingness of the States to join an All-India Federation subject to certain provisions. The resolution will, however, have to be approved finally by the Chamber of Princes. It runs:

This Chamber declares that the States will join an All-India Federation on the assumption that the Crown will accept responsibility for guaranteeing to them the following conditions:—

(a) That the necessary safeguards will be embodied in the constitution of the Federation.

(b) That under the constitution, the rights of Indian States arising from treaties or sanads or engagements will remain inviolate and inviolable and

(c) That the sovereignty and internal independence of the States remain intact and are preserved and fully respected and that the obligations of the Crown to the States will remain unaltered.

To secure this end this Chamber authorises its representatives further to carry on negotiations in accordance with the mandate given to them at the informal meeting of the Princes subject to final ratification by the Chamber and by each individual State.

At the suggestion of His Highness the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, who was supported by Sir Akbar Hydari, it was decided to refer to an *ad hoc* Committee the question whether the Federal Legislature should be bi-cameral or unicameral. The Committee will submit its report on the question to the next meeting of the Princes' Chamber eight months hence.

Bhavnagar

BHAVNAGAR CHARITIES

The following donations have been announced by H. H. the Maharaja of Bhavnagar on the occasion of the birth of the heir-apparent: Rs. 10,000 to the Barton Library for the purchase of books and the increase of its annual grant from Rs. 1,100 to Rs. 3,000; the establishment of a technical institute at a cost of five lakhs of rupees: Rs. 3,000 to the School and Home for the blind.

The Bhavnagar Government will also defray half the expenses of the construction of the Vanita Vishram building.

Baroda

THE BARODA ADMINISTRATION

The Report of the Baroda Administration for the year 1930-31, is a record of steady work and general progress. Of course, the State could not escape the world-wide economic depression, and the general fall in agricultural prices is reflected in the fall in the revenues. Land revenue, excise and income-tax have all been equally affected: but Mr. Krishnamachari, the Dewan, must be congratulated on pushing through the activities of the development departments in the face of the financial stringency of these times. The larger industries seem to have fared well, and during the last three years 125 lakhs of private capital have been invested in the extension of textile and cement factories and salt works. The scheme of well-sinking—so freely availed of by the agriculturists—has gone on unimpeded. After a thorough examination of the scheme of elementary education in the State, the Dewan is satisfied "that compulsion has justified itself by the results". The programme of feeder roads and the boring of artesian wells are other ambitious schemes that have borne fruit.

BARODA AND THE UNTOUCHABLES

The Baroda State has been devoting its attention to the amelioration of the condition of the depressed classes. The State rightly recognised that in education lay the principal solution to the problem of the removal of untouchability and several years ago established separate schools for the children of the untouchables. The special primary schools provided for the education of the children of the depressed classes were recently ordered by the Baroda Government to be abolished, and the ordinary primary schools to be thrown open for the benefit of these children who were hitherto denied admittance to them.

Kashmir

KASHMIR FOR HOLIDAY MAKERS

The Publicity Officer to the Government of Jammu and Kashmir, wires under date March 19 :

As numerous inquiries have been received from intending visitors, European and Indian, to Kashmir, asking whether it is safe for them to visit Kashmir this year, and whether their holidays are likely to be interrupted and spoilt by civil unrest and unpleasant conditions, the Government desire to emphasise the fact that conditions in Kashmir are normal, and that intending visitors to Kashmir need have no apprehension of any discomfort or inconvenience. The unfortunate happenings in January last took place in a remote district of Jammu Province. Even there normal conditions are being restored. Intending visitors will find Kashmir as peaceful and as attractive as ever.

THE JAMMU INQUIRY

The revelations contained in Mr. Middleton's report on the recent Jammu riots make infinitely worse reading than his earlier report on the disturbances in the Kashmir area of this premier northern Indian State. Mr. Middleton is quite definite in his finding that the Muslim agitation in Jammu took the form of open defiance of authority and that the mobs were encouraged in their reckless course by outside agitators. Perhaps more important than this reaffirmation of what is after all a fact of common knowledge, is Mr. Middleton's measured denunciation of the officials of Jammu.

Hyderabad

HYDERABAD RESIDENTIAL AREA

A sign of the cordial relations which exist between the Government of India and Hyderabad, is the retrocession of the Residency area to the State.

The Residency area is a small enclave within the capital city of the Nizam which until now has been under the jurisdiction of the British Resident who has his residence there. It dated from the old days of uncertainty when it was considered necessary for the British Resident to have a strip of British territory around his residence for his greater security. Those days have long passed and rendition by removing the anachronism is a graceful act on the part of the British Crown towards the Nizam.

Mysore

MYSORE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

At a meeting of the Mysore Chamber of Commerce, representations were made to the Chief Transportation Superintendent and Traffic Manager of the M. and S. M. Railway Company requesting him to lower the rates of freight on certain goods exported from the Mysore State. He was also asked to consider the wharfage conditions and charges of the goods shed at Bangalore. The railway authorities have promised to look into the matter.

GARSOPPA FALLS IN MYSORE

The Mysore Durbar, in consultation with the Bombay Government, have completed arrangements for preliminary survey of gauging operations and work in other details in connection with big electric power generation scheme at Garsoppa Falls.

Cochin

THE LATE MAHARAJA

We regret to record the death of His Highness Sir Rama Varma, Maharaja of Cochin, who was one of the most far-sighted and benevolent rulers of that historic State.

His Highness who was 74 years of age at the time of his death, ruled over the State for 18 years during which the State made remarkable progress in all directions.

His Highness Rama Varma, the Elaya Rajah, who is the successor to the *gadi*, has given abundant evidence of his knowledge of the State and of India in general, and of his affection and solicitude for the people of Cochin. He has travelled all over India, visiting all important places of religious, educational and historical interest.

EDUCATION IN COCHIN

The Government of Cochin has sanctioned the extension scheme of the Maharaja's College at Ernakulam. The scheme will cost Rs. 3,60,000.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

INDIANS IN BRAZIL

In view of the announcement of the terms of the Capetown Agreement in which reference was made to a scheme of colonisation of Indians from South Africa in countries outside India, the interpellations and replies on the subject in the Assembly regarding opportunities for Indians in Brazil will be read with interest.

The following questions were asked by Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh, M.L.A., in the recent session of the Indian Legislative Assembly :

(a) Is it a fact that the approximate number of Indians in Brazil is about 2,000; and are Government aware that Brazil is a vast country with abundant natural resources and climatic conditions similar to that of India?

(b) Are Government aware that the Government of Brazil has opened her door on equal basis, and without racial prejudice to all emigrants?

(c) Are Government aware that from 1920 to 1930 an annual average of one lakh of emigrants landed in Brazil from Europe, Japan, and other countries?

(d) Are Government aware that much propaganda is done in many European countries and in Japan, with a view to encourage emigration to Brazil?

(e) Are Government aware of the existence of the Indo-South American Travellers' Aid Society, 189 Hornby Road, Bombay, which disseminates information on Brazil to intending emigrants and travellers?

(f) Do Government propose to explore the possibility of assisting the colonial returned Indians to settle in Brazil by issuing necessary passports and affording other facilities for emigration?

(g) Is there any officer located in Brazil to look after the interests of the Indians in Brazil? If so, who is he?

Sir Evelyn Howell replied :

(a) Government are prepared to accept the information supplied by the Hon. Member as substantially correct.

(b) Government have no special information as to the general immigration policy of the Brazilian Government; but they are aware that it issued a decree prohibiting all foreign immigration for a period of one year with effect from the 1st January 1931.

(c), (d) and (e) Government have no special information.

(f) In view of the answer to part (b), Government do not consider that any useful purpose would be served by taking up the Hon. Member's suggestion at present.

(g) His Majesty's Ambassador in Brazil at Rio de Janeiro is responsible for looking after the interests of all British subjects in that country.

INDIANS IN PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA

An official communication from the Portuguese East Africa has announced that a new trade and business draft ordinance, adversely affecting Indian traders, is now likely to be passed into law without delay. It has been unanimously recommended by the Select Committee on unemployment appointed by the Portuguese Government and, therefore, is likely to have the official sanction. This Committee has also recommended that a deposit of £100 in gold must be made before any new immigrant is allowed to enter Portuguese East Africa. The draft ordinance, in its original form, proposed that 75 per cent. of the assistants in any business must be Portuguese subjects. The Select Committee has reduced this proportion to 70 per cent.

Mr. Andrews, who has recently made the fullest enquiries on the spot, stated to the *Associated Press* that such ordinance would give a death-blow to the flourishing Indian trade in this part of Africa. In India itself the Goans who are Portuguese subjects, are not restricted in any way in their trade relations when residing in British India and, therefore, reciprocal treatment should be given to Indians residing in Portuguese Territory in Africa.

KENYA LAND QUESTION

A Commission will shortly be established to investigate the land questions in Kenya. This announcement was recently made in the House of Lords by Lord Stanhope replying for the Government to the debate on the East African questions.

Lord Stanhope said that under the terms of reference, the Commission would deal adequately with native reserves for the present and future and also questions of detribalised natives and the claims of natives for land alienated to non-natives.

INDIANS IN TANGANYIKA

The position of Indians in Tanganyika and the difficulties suffered by them under the new ordinances was the subject-matter of a question by Mr. Gaya Prasad in the Assembly. Mr. G. S. Bajpai, in replying on behalf of the Government, said that there was nothing in the Tanganyika Traders' Licensing Ordinance to show that monopolies would be created in favour of non-Indians and added that the Governor was reported to have given an assurance that the law would be applied with equal impartiality. But Indian opinion in Tanganyika feels that the ordinance will produce in the long run injury of a serious character to the Indian community, which has nearly 90 per cent. of the trade of that territory in its hands. Under the Trades Licensing (Amendment) Ordinance of 1932, observes a contemporary, the Governor has got the power of declaring the areas in which the purchase of native produce may be controlled and regulated by means of licenses issued by the Governor-in-Council himself or persons authorised by him, to persons whom they think fit. Provision is made in the Amending Ordinance to revoke or suspend these licenses without assigning any reason, or prescribe conditions as to the purchases of specified native produce in a declared area for cash.

The object of the Ordinance is, in the words of Mr. C. F. Andrews, to give a single trade license to one person or company to have a monopoly of purchasing, in certain specified areas, native produce such as rice, maize, groundnuts, cotton, etc. Any person other than the holder of a license who is found guilty of disobeying the ordinance and purchasing any specified native produce in a declared area, is liable to a fine not exceeding five hundred shillings, and produce so purchased by him and found in his possession is liable to forfeiture. The Ordinance also provides for a general penalty of fine not exceeding 500 shillings for infringement of its provisions.

FINANCIAL SITUATION IN KENYA

The Joint Select Committee of Parliament on Closer Union in East Africa recommended (says a Press *communiqué*) that a careful and detailed examination of the financial situation in Kenya should be undertaken by an independent authority with respect to :

(a) the contribution made to taxation, both direct and indirect, by the different racial communities.

(b) railway freights and import duties, with a view to discovering the extent to which each community benefits or suffers by them ;

(c) the amount of money expended in the interests of each community, in particular on natives and non-natives ; and

(d) the degree and manner in which financial responsibility should be conferred on the native councils.

In accordance with this recommendation, His Majesty's Government have selected Lord Moyne to undertake the proposed inquiry.

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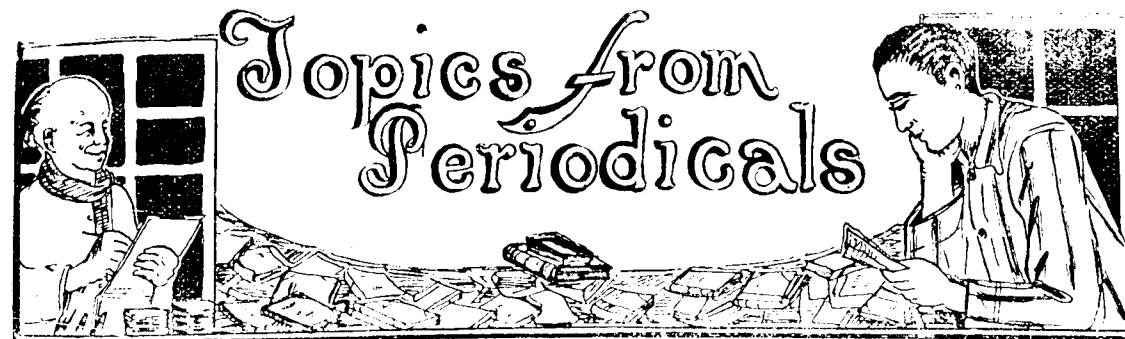
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THE STRUGGLE WITH THE CONGRESS

A writer in the *Round Table* for March, reviewing the course of events during the last quarter, compares the results following the two sessions of the Round Table Conference. The first Conference with all the limitations arising from the Congress boycott held out great hopes which, unfortunately, have not been fulfilled by the second. The writer blames the Congress for plunging the country again into unrest and says that the work of the Round Table Conference will yet go on unimpeded with whatever help that could be counted on. But he doubts the wisdom of a course of perpetual non-co-operation :

The Franchise and Finance Committees are likely to find much the same elements boycotting them as boycotted the Simon Commission. Some of the Liberals, and, this time, all the Mahomedans, will co-operate with the Committees, but the question inevitably arises, how long can we go on with our schemes of reform while large and influential sections of Hindu opinion boycott them and render the co-operation that we desire impossible? The Government of India must maintain order—Lord Irwin is just as strong upon this point as Lord Willingdon. The road to an all-India federation is by no means so smooth or so straight as many people imagined. That is the lesson of the Round Table Conference up to date.

In another article the writer describes the Government's struggle with the Congress and the methods adopted by Government to put down the Congress with a firm hand. The methods, he says, are succeeding, but he finds no organisation strong enough to capture the electorate and replace the Congress in the esteem of the public. "On the other hand," he goes on to say :

It seems likely that attempts may be made to bring pressure to bear upon Government to moderate their present policy against Congress. It is impossible to disguise the fact that the refusal of an interview by the Viceroy to Mr. Gandhi rankles in many quarters on

sentimental and quite illogical grounds. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has put this point of view in moderate language when he pleads for an early resumption of discussion, and contends that no final solution can be found by the methods now adopted. Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore, though not a politician, has expressed himself with greater force

And he finds everywhere "a certain sympathy with the Congress leaders and the general aversion of many politicians from strong measures in times of emergency".

EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP

Mr. E. M. Gillett writes in the April issue of the *Modern Review* on "Education for the Free Community." He says: "Our schools must produce an environment which will develop initiative and responsibility. We cannot begin too young. The home, of course, is the normal starting point; for even a child of two or three can learn to do many things for himself if the adult will have the patience to let him, even if it takes a much longer time. School, however, offers opportunities not possible in the home, because there he is always surrounded by his elders. Self-government is one of the essentials of modern education most held in suspicion by those who have never tried it with perseverance, and yet it is no use trying to teach responsibility without a large measure of it." * *

"At Santiniketan even the youngest pupils keep their own laundry accounts and have entire control of the discipline of their group. This means that the teachers must expect mistakes to be made and frequent failures, but all the time the children are learning what the world has not yet succeeded in learning, the adjustment of the individual to the demands of a society."

THE EFFECT OF THE ORDINANCES

Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, C.I.E., in the course of an article in the *Manchester Guardian*, urges that it is time to put aside the big stick and adopt methods of conciliation :

The might and majesty of Government have been upheld, and the claims of law and order as against the Congress organisations have been vindicated. Having thus re-established their undivided and indivisible authority, they must revert to the normal rule of law. The continuance of the present policy of repression by ordinances is fraught with grave consequences alike to the Government and to their supporters in the country.

Though the Government have scored a certain measure of success in suppressing all manifestations of public protest, they are merely driving the discontent underground and the continuance of the ordinance rule is "alienating the undecided and making those already in sympathy more actively sympathetic" :

Only recently I heard that a dealer in foreign cloth tore off his muslin shirt and vowed never to wear it again, as the result of his actually witnessing the treatment administered to the volunteers. A gentleman present at the narration confessed that he had been slowly driven to a determination not to buy foreign cloth as a result of the ordinance and its administration. The Government do not look below the surface. They are impressed, or affect to be so, by reduction, if reduction there be, in the volume of external demonstration. If sullen resentment has any advantage over what you may call open revolt, that has been secured by the ordinances. If, on the other hand, open expression of opinion in the press and on the public platform has advantages over burrowing discontent and mouth to mouth dissemination of deeply-moving tales of outrages, in that you can deal with the latter by open contradiction or denial, the position is distinctly worse than before.

The demoralising effect of ordinance rule, he continues, is apparent and he cannot believe "that the wise men in the ranks of the Government do not see it". One thing, however, is certain :

—and this is the time when all the well-wishers of the Government and the country must say it openly and courageously—that six months to a year of ordinance rule will leave nothing of that fair name for the rule of law and impartial judicial administration which generations of able and wise British statesmen have laboriously built up in the course of a century. To my mind, the Bengal Ordinance,—whatever good it might have done, whether it has brought the terrorist under control or not,—has done the great harm of firing even the minds of the generally peace-loving sections of the population, and adding, to those existing, a new class of terrorists.

CHRISTIAN COLLEGES IN INDIA

The value of Christian Colleges in India has been a matter of acute controversy for the last forty years. And now the publication of the Lindsay Report has brought the question once again to the forefront of public discussion. Dr. Henry Whitehead, well known in India as the Bishop of Madras, commenting on the recommendations of the Report in the current issue of the *Church Overseas*, observes

that this ideal of service to the Christian Church and to the community as a whole will dominate the whole work and atmosphere of the colleges, so that they may become what they ought to be—institutions in which scholars and teachers will make their characteristic contribution to the Christian movement in India.

To bring higher education into close relation with the Church is undoubtedly the true ideal, but, asks the Bishop, "can this ideal be realised through the colleges while they are town-minded, bound hand and foot to the present University system, with the large majority of their students enslaved to the examinations and with a large proportion of both staff and students non-Christians?"

For the creation of a Christian atmosphere it is necessary to reduce from thirty-two to eight the number of colleges connected with existing Universities. These eight colleges would be able to have both their entire staffs and 50 per cent. of their students Christian, and with this more Christian atmosphere it would be possible for them to undertake these new functions of extension and research in the towns where they are located.

But it is strongly urged that the true line of development for higher education is in close connection with the Church in the villages. Hence, says the Bishop, the Missionary Societies of Great Britain and America should for the future

greatly contract their activities in connection with the existing University system making the colleges they support far fewer in number but far more efficient and more Christian, and then steadily direct their policy for higher education towards pioneer work in the villages as an integral part of the work of the village churches and the life of the village communities. This policy may seem revolutionary, but it is not really so. It is simply a development of work that has been carried on successfully in many parts of India for the last twelve years or more, and has already proved its value both for the building up of the Church and the regeneration of village life.

JOURNALISM AND LITERATURE

Ivor Brown writes entertainingly of "Journalism and Literature" in the *Fortnightly Review* for January. Shakespeare came to a London that had no Fleet Street and with the quick eye of journalist turned to the theatre which in those days served the purposes of a modern newspaper :

For Shakespeare was the perfect journalist, with an eye like a hawk, a hand like a racehorse, always quick with his copy, never blotting a word, holding no strong political views, but as ready to abuse the corruption of the Court as the stupidity of the mob, and as quick to revile the rascal beadle and the sin that is plated with gold as to denounce the gross habits of the "base mechanicals".

The fact is he turned to the theatre first because the theatre was the obvious place for a needy youth, whose head was crammed with brave notions and on whose tongue "there tripped the silken terms precise".

And now journalism serves the youngster as the playhouse served the Elizabethan. It is the nurse of literary talent, often no doubt, a bad nurse, a clumsy nurse, one who overlays the child, but all the same invaluable. Here is a list of authors who could not have been what they were but for the help they derived from journalism. To the more distinguished writers of the past as of our time, says Ivor Brown, journalism has yielded an invaluable grant-in-aid :

I need not mention the periodical journalism of Hazlitt, Lamb, and Hunt. But the daily reporter's grind of Charles Dickens was important. It taught him while it sustained him. The Poet Laureate once attended nightly in the office of the *Manchester Guardian* to edit the miscellany column, and it is recorded that when there was not enough copy from outside, he used to write a poem as a fill-up, one of those poems which were afterwards published as *Salt Water Ballads*, a volume whose first edition value subsequently ran extremely high. Kipling's apprenticeship to journalism is too well known to need comment; Shaw lived by criticism until the world was ready for his creation; Wells derived enormous help from the Fleet Street of his youth. Barrie wrote leaders at Nottingham; and Bennett edited a woman's paper while he applied himself to the masters of French fiction, the better to be the master of the English novel. There was a rumour that he had contributed a serial to *Chatterbox*, that splendid journal of the nursery which some of us may remember with gratitude, but he denied it. J. B. Priestley could not afford to

proceed straight to his major novels; he had his brilliant journalistic interval. Of course, hundreds of authors have helped to keep the bailiff from the door by taking in each other's washing in the form of reviewing.

But journalism does not need the defence that it has served "as a corridor of literary genius". It can and must be championed as a craft worthy to be practised and honoured for its own sake. It is a social necessity: but it has also been a ladder.

THE COMPLICATIONS OF MODERN LIFE

Though it is generally said that modern life is so complicated that there is no time for reflection, no time to consider the needs of the spirit as distinct from those of the body, Miss Helen Veale of the Theosophical Society of Madras, in an article in the April issue of the *New Age*, observes that there is ample scope for real happiness even under modern conditions. She avers that the only way to happiness lies through simplicity.

"We owe it to ourselves to be happy, and yet most of us let ourselves drift in desperate unhappiness, just because we have never examined our inmost needs and tried to satisfy them. If we ask ourselves where and when we have felt happiest, how often shall we find, it has been wandering with some dear friends or children on the sea-shore or on mountain paths, thrilling at wonderful colours in sky and earth, or reading in solitude some book that lays a spell on our spirit.

We need not be slaves to our age but can be its masters if we try to use only those things in it for which our nature craves. Another man has a motor car, but does that mean that I should be happier in possession of one?—only if I have need of it to transport me to a place where I am called for duty or pleasure of the best kind. The much travelled man is not always the wiser for his travels, and the stay-at-home may have gained more fruit of experience if he has tried to cultivate his own soul."

INDIA : THE LATEST PHASE

Sir Michael O'Dwyer, reviewing the course of events in India during the last few months, expresses gratification at the results of the strong measures taken by the Government in dealing with the Congress. He assures the British public through the *Empire Review* that :

"While there is general approval of the measures taken so promptly and effectively against the seditious programme of the Congress, there is in some quarters a feeling that Mr. Gandhi's hand had been forced by the extremists in his absence and that he deserves some sympathy."

And he hastens to point out that even this sympathy towards Mr. Gandhi is misplaced.

Sir Michael goes on to say, however, that the Congress, though deprived of its chief leaders, has not given in without a struggle "and its attempts to defy the ordinary law and the special ordinances have compelled the courts to imprison over 20,000 offenders."

But the courage shown by Lord Willingdon in taking up Mr. Gandhi's challenge, after giving him every opportunity to behave reasonably, and the steady support given to him by Sir Samuel Hoare and the Government here have been amply vindicated by results. The action of Government in striking first and striking hard has been publicly applauded by a large number of the Indian Princes, supported by all the Minorities who were growing restive under Congress tyranny, and welcomed at heart, if not publicly, by the majority of the Hindus, from whose ranks the Congress is almost exclusively recruited. Lord Willingdon in India and Mr. Cosgrave in Ireland have faced a crisis with equal resolution; both have succeeded; both have added to reputations already great.

That is Sir Michael O'Dwyer's reading of the situation. He makes no pretence to the need for responsible government, and the Prime Minister's declarations and the Government's repeated pledges do not deter him from offering his own prescriptions.

The only safe line of advance is, as proposed by the Simon Commission and contemplated in the Act of 1919, to begin with self-government in the Provinces, but, in view of the existing extreme tension between the Hindu majority (in most provinces) and the various minorities,

to withhold the transfer of law and order (the police and the courts) till something approaching communal harmony is established. Apart from the ambitious politicians who aspire to control the All-India Government, most reasonable men, and their number is steadily growing, desire that provincial autonomy should be the first stage. Nearly all the minorities, including the Muslim delegates to the Conference, have recently expressed themselves in that sense. The only doubt is whether the communal question should be first settled, and, obviously, till it is no working constitution for the provinces can be framed.

THE DRINK EVIL

Mr. K. A. Padhye writes in the recent issue of *Maha Bodhi* on Lord Buddha as "The Apostle of Prohibition". The problem of prohibition has been engaging the attention of the civilized world for some years past. The labours of Pussyfoot of America and the temperance reformers of England are well known. They had spread the network of temperance societies all over America and Europe for stamping out the drink evil. In India too people are trying to get rid of the evil in a variety of ways. The writer refers to the days of Lord Buddha and points out how he was able to achieve his object :

"Lord Buddha was clearly of opinion that the complete stopping of drink evil was highly necessary for shaping one's character. His was a bold step to put an end to an evil which had become a second habit with the people of India. Lord Buddha was more of a social and moral teacher. He was a great disciplinarian. He was the first historical personage, who aimed at striking a deadly blow at the general habit of drinking by religious injunction. The Buddhist literature is full of references to his great success in the matter. The kings who came under his influence stopped the performance of sacrifices and the drinking of spirituous drinks. The masses who welcomed his message of love and brotherhood, looked upon his ten commandments with reverence and followed them scrupulously. Thus five hundred years before Christ, India produced a great religious founder who tackled this problem of prohibition in a masterly way."

RELIGION AND HEALTH

Mr. K. Subramanian, writing on "the Relation of Religion to National Health" in the *Vedanta Kesari* for April, says that religion moulds the mind and morals and takes care of the physical well-being of a nation.

Disciplining the mind and morals, religion does a positive good in training other senses of the body. Some of the daily practices and rituals that all religions enforce on an individual, educate the will-power and enable him to focus his thoughts upon objects which elevate the soul, thus forming a habit of happiness and goodness to enrich the whole life. Take, for instance, Suryanamaskaram performed while the sun is rising. It involves concentration of all nerves and muscles of our body which get ample opportunities for exercise. Man bathes in the life-giving energy of sun light and feels a halo of delight all through his senses.

In fact, exercise and diet have a great deal to do with the religion of the Hindus, Mahomedans and Christians.

Hindus have to fast according to Shastras for nearly four or five days in a month; Mahomedans for nearly a couple of months in a year and Christians also have likewise. Whatever the tenets of individual religions be, they are all agreed in advocating regulated diet and fasting in the pursuit after the knowledge of God.

Realising that the spiritual environment is God "in whom we all live and move and have our being," it then devolves on us to keep our souls pure. The soul, that is tenanted our body, can be said to grow in purity and divine grace only in proportion to the cleanliness of the body it occupies. Religion enforces the universal law of keeping one's body clean as a first step towards spiritual advancement. To create an atmosphere congenial to the growth and development of the divinity in us, we must keep a clean body and a cleaner heart.

THE BHAGAVAD GITA

Mr. G. V. Ketkar, the founder of the Gita Dharma Mandal, Poona, writes an article on "the best verse in the Gita" in the April Number of the *Aryam Path*. "Best" is rather a too vague and general term. And as Mr. Ketkar says the highest epithet does not decide the question in favour of any particular verse.

The writer does not choose verse 66, in the 18th chapter, though it is universally acknowledged to be the best. This verse runs as follows :

*Sarvatharman parithyagya mamekam saranam-
vraja,
Aham theva sarvapapebhyo mokshayishyami masucha.*

which when translated will mean,
Abandoning all duties come unto Me alone for shelter;
Sorrow not, I will liberate thee from all sins.

The writer says that it is a last appeal.

This final resignation can be possible only after necessary mastery of knowledge, devotion and works, which is described in detail in the eighteen chapters, and which Arjuna is to consider fully before this last appeal is made to him. No doubt this verse contains the highest secret of devotion or bhakti. But it is one of the three threads in the *Gita*, which are skilfully and inseparably woven together.

From the point of view of Karma or action, verse 47 of chapter II is regarded as the final word. Indeed that verse does summarise in a terse manner the *Gita* attitude towards action. But it only deals with man's relation to action. It does not mention the other two important elements of knowledge and devotion without which the scheme of the *Gita* would be incomplete.

The best verse, according to the writer, must epitomise, combine and harmonise the best in knowledge, works and devotion. Such a verse must show us the way to salvation. With this view he quotes verse 46 of the eighteenth chapter :

*Yatah pravrittribhuthanam yena sarvamidami
thatham,
Sakarmama thamabhyarchya siddhim. vindathi
manarah.*

He from whom is the emanation of beings, by whom all this is pervaded—by worshipping Him in his own duty a man winneth perfection.

The catholicity of the verse is clear. It will be clearer to those who can understand the original Sanskrit; for, it loses much of its significance in the translation. It shows the way in which man can attain perfection (*siddhi*). The path of the *Gita* is in essence one for all human beings. The word perfection (*siddhi*) is a very general word. The highest spiritual ideal can be described in different ways by different people. For each one lays particular emphasis on one or other of the many aspects in which the ideal can be viewed. To one who lays stress exclusively on knowledge the highest ideal is Be-ness or *Brahmabhava*. To a devotee—the state of those who have become one with my nature (*mama sadharmyamagatah*) those who have come back to my Essence (*mathbhavanagatah*). To a believer in works it is to become one with Deity in universe (*sarvabhutatma bhutatma*) or to see God in the Universe (*vasudharassrabhutamiti*). All these aspects are described in their proper context; but in this verse the general and all comprehensive word perfection (*siddhi*) is purposely used. It is perfection in all the three: works, knowledge and devotion (*karma, gnanam and bhakti*).

Practically the whole of the *Gita* can be arranged in the form of a commentary of the different words in this comprehensive verse.

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THE FUTURE OF INDIAN FINANCE

How and in what manner India can be made a creditor country is discussed by Prof. B. Ramachandra Rao of the Calcutta University in his paper on this subject which is given the place of honour in the Conference Number of the *Indian Journal of Economics*. India is at present debtor to a large extent while being a creditor only to an incredibly little amount. The following is a summary of Mr. Rao's recommendations to improve India's finance :

Significant changes would have to take place, firstly, to reduce the outward capital outflow for interest payments, dividends and repayments of old capital issues and service charges. Secondly, the financial, industrial and business structure should be so altered that their control is being exerted with the single aim of making India a creditor country. While this is being accomplished every effort should be made to minimise the evil effects of economic disturbances. Nothing is more important than a properly organised capital market and money market which would facilitate the outflow of capital after satisfying properly and reasonably all domestic demands for capital.

The building up of such a financial structure is the important task before the country. The immediate problem would be to mobilise small dormant balances lying scattered here and there, satisfy every legitimate domestic demand for capital supply and reduce any further dependence on outside markets for capital funds. For a long time the problem would be similar to that which now exists in Canada, *viz.*, the streams of outflow and inflow of capital would exist till extraordinary circumstances may give us an opportunity to develop into a mature creditor country. It would take indeed a long time to play the permanent role of a creditor country such as Great Britain, the United States, France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland and Sweden. This would be conditional on the fact that a steady uninterrupted growth of economic activity leading to surplus savings, when considered from the standpoint of domestic demand exists in the future.

Mr. Rao contends that the present and future debtor position should be restricted and even gradually reduced. He advocates the starting of a Central Reserve Bank and a national economic policy towards industrial development and improved ability and capacity on the part of Indian nationals to satisfactorily discharge all services

which the foreigners are rendering at present. When these exist, concludes the Professor, it would be time enough to think of consciously guiding the investment outflow into proper channels so as not to disturb economic peace nor at the same time sacrifice the financial, commercial and industrial advantages flowing out of suitable markets for our capital employment.

A CODE OF ETHICS

"A London Judge has listed what he considers the Fourteen Great Mistakes of Life," says *The Campanile*. They are :

1. To attempt to set your own standards of right and wrong and expect everybody to conform to them.
2. To try to measure the enjoyment of others by your own.
3. To expect uniformity of opinion in this world.
4. To look for judgment and experience in youth.
5. To endeavour to mould all dispositions alike.
6. Not to yield in unimportant trifles.
7. To look for perfection in our own actions.
8. To worry ourselves and others about what cannot be remedied.
9. Not to alleviate, if we can, all that needs alleviation.
10. Not to make allowances for the weakness of others.
11. To consider anything impossible which we ourselves cannot perform.
12. To believe only what the finite mind can grasp.
13. To live as if the moment, the time, the day were so important that it would live for ever.
14. To estimate people by some outside quality, for it is that within which makes the man.

THE SOVIET FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Has Russia succeeded in carrying out her five-year plan till now? asks every student of international politics. A writer in the current number of the *Prabuddha Bharata* quotes some authorities to show how the plan has succeeded beyond all expectation :

Foreign observers like Prof. Calvin, B. Hoover and Dr. Paul Haensel admit that a great capitalist expansion is actually taking place in Russia. Says Paul Haensel—"Soviet Russia has made a great and astonishing progress in her industrialization policy." In 1921, the Secretary of Commerce of the U. S. A. Government remarked that Russia would have no considerable commodities to export and consequently no great ability to obtain imports. But to-day, instead of being regarded as an economic vacuum, she is supposed to be an economic high-pressure tank ready to shoot endless streams of goods in all directions.

What are likely to be the possible effects of the successful pursuit of the policy underlying the Five-year Plan? The writer answers :

The obvious and the most important consequence would of course be that Russia would cease to be an economically backward country and would pass through that first stage of industrialism through which England, the U. S. A., Germany, France, etc., have already passed and through which countries like Italy and Japan, and especially India, China and the Balkan States of Europe are at present passing. It may be that the rate of progress in Russia would be far quicker than that in the other countries which are also passing through, what may be called, first industrial revolution. It is also true that Russian industrialism is being raised not on a capitalistic but on a socialistic basis. But the fundamental similarity still remains. Communist Russia, Fascist Italy and dependent India are treading the same path of industrialization. And, the successful pursuit of the Five-Year Plan would mean nothing more nor less than that Russia would leave countries like Italy and India far behind in the contemporary race for industrialization.

"But with all its good points," concludes the writer, "the Russian system is not a perfect one". Nevertheless the Russian system has staged an experiment unprecedented in the history of the world, and the well-wishers of humanity can only hope and pray that these two economic systems would gradually and peacefully lead on to the evolution of such a one the world over as would absorb the virtues and reject the defects of both.

A PLEA FOR JOINT ELECTORATES

The current Number of the *New World* contains an article from the pen of Mr. M. C. Chagla who considers that the scheme of Joint Electorates is any way better than separate electorates. He points out that the opponents of 'joint electorates' never base their case upon realities or existing state of things. Mr. Chagla illustrates this by proving with figures how the cause of joint electorates has never had a more resplendent victory than the one gained in the last Municipal elections in Bombay.

"In the last Municipal elections out of 86 seats to be filled up by ward election, the Mussalmans have gained 22 seats—a proportion of 24·8 to the total number of seats. At the last general elections the Mussalmans had 15 seats out of a total of 76—a proportion of 19·7. Thus they have increased their strength in the Corporation by 5·1. The population of Mussalmans in the City of Bombay, according to the census of 1921, was 184,685 out of a total population of 11,75,914—which comes to 15·7. So according to population, the Mussalmans have obtained 9·1 additional seats. Taking a different standard, the number of Mussalmans on the electoral roll is 26,306 out of a total number of 138,804 voters. Here the Muslim proportion is 18·9. Even so the Mussalmans have gained 5·9 additional seats."

WAR AND PIRACY

There never was a cause of war, aside from those that were frankly freebooting and piracy, that could not be settled peacefully, just as disputes between man and man are settled in all civilized countries. Fighting settles nothing but which is the best fighter, says Earnest Elmo Calkins, in *The Atlantic Monthly* for December. "There was a time when duelling was allowed even in this country. If a man called you a liar, you challenged him and ran him through. He died, and your honor was satisfied. But you might be an expert swordsman and still be a liar."

MIR KASIM: HIS POLICY & CHARACTER

Mr. K. K. Datta of the Patna College, writing in *The Journal of Indian History*, stresses on Nawab Mir Kasim's capacity and intelligence and achievements. He learnt valuable lessons from the weak regime of Nawab Siraj-ud-Dawla and was convinced that the strength of his government would depend on the improvement of the economic condition of the State and the proper reorganisation of the military department. In certain points he carried his measures too far. His officers were afraid of him, because of his skill in accounts and the rigour of his government. Some of his revenue measures were somewhat strict and arbitrary. He wanted to exclude the zamindars altogether and collect from the ryots all that they were to pay. In two years he drew double the ancient revenue from the country; he laid an additional tax on the original Crown rents and took possession of all local collections. He reorganised his military department under the Armenian captain, Gurgin Khan, admitted English sepoys and their officers into his service and arranged for the manufacture of guns and flint-muskets at his capital. His treasury was full; his army was well organised and he suppressed the refractory zamindars as part of his general policy of consolidating his position. He discharged the Company's debts and the heavy arrears of his army, retrenched the expenses of his court and moderated them between the extremities of parsimony and prodigality. He secured facilities for the country merchants, protected the indigenous manufactures and stopped the abuse of the *dastaks* (trade-permits) on the part of the servants and officials of the Company. But his suspicious nature and cruelty in temperament, his espionage, increased the tenseness of the political atmosphere and detracted from the otherwise great merits of his rule.

TOWARDS A FEDERAL INDIA

Lord Sankey who was the Chairman of the Federal Structure Committee, at both the sessions of the Indian Round Table Conference in London, contributes an article to the new National Labour periodical, *The News Letter*, in which he says that the Committee under his chairmanship is steadily drafting the Federal Constitution subject always to such adjustments as may prove to be necessary when the communal question itself is settled, and with regard to parallel work which is being carried out by the Consultative Committee in India.

He declares with emphasis that the present Government is no less unanimously agreed than was the last, that a great forward move must be made to India and says that no Labour Government could have acted differently from the present Government in the face of the difficulties that have been encountered.

He adds: Meanwhile revolutionary insolence has forced this Government, as it would force any Government, to meet it with adequate weapons. Such a policy must always be adopted and is being pursued with caution and moderation. My confident hope is, that "the meanwhile" will be brief and that the New India towards which Government after Government has advanced, will at no distant date be achieved by the Government.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

CONSTITUTION BUILDING IN INDIA. By Viscount Knebworth [The English Review, March 1932.]

MUSIC IN INDIA: YESTERDAY, TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW. By Rev. H. Popley. [The Hindustan Review, March 1932.]

COTTON IMPROVEMENT IN INDIA. [Indian State Railways Magazine, March 1932.]

BY AN INDIAN STREAM. By Sister Mary Carter. [Empire Review, March 1932.]

GOLD EXPORTS FROM INDIA. By Professor P. S. Loganathan. [The Socialist, December 1931.]

THE DEPRESSED CLASSES. By J. M. Datta, M.Sc., B.L. [The Modern Review, April 1932.]

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Questions of Importance

THE I. L. P. ON INDIA

The Independent Labour Party has issued the following statement on India :

The nature of the Government's repressive policy in India, and the measure of reliance that can be placed on the official reports of the collapse of the Congress movement, are clearly indicated in three aspects of their repressive policy which have recently become known. The first is the censorship of letters and telegrams; the second, the practice of threatening newspapers that the printing of critical comments on the Government or on officials can be punished under the Ordinance; and the third, threatening the newspapers with punishment if they dare to print critical speeches in the Legislative Assembly. A Government which is compelled to resort to such terrorist devices supplies its own condemnation. The truth is, that the Government of India is being maintained by a policy of naked repression, every successive act of which merely adds strength to the forces working for Indian freedom. It has filled its jails with 15,000 leaders and members of the popular movement; suppressed the free expression of their views by speech and writing; proscribed the political organisations of the people and confiscated their funds and property and then boasts of its "pacification" of India.

The National Council of the Independent Labour Party views these proceedings with disgust and loathing, repudiates the Government and the political parties which are responsible for it, and calls for a united protest from the British people and a demand for the abandonment of these terrorist policies which are being pursued in their name.

The Council demands that the Government shall immediately reverse its present policies and make a public declaration that it proposes to take steps in consultation with the representatives of the Indian peoples, to secure agreed measures for the liquidation of British responsibilities in India and the establishment of full self-government and independence. As an expression of the sincerity of its intentions, it should grant an immediate amnesty for all political offenders, including the Meerut prisoners and the Garhwali riflemen, abolish the repressive ordinances and restore the confiscated property and funds of the political prisoners and the proscribed organisations.

THE GOVERNMENT'S INDIAN POLICY

Professor Harold Laski strongly criticizes in the *India Review* Sir Samuel Hoare's recent statements on India in the Commons. Mr. Laski marshals the following facts and asks if they invite satisfaction :

(1) Some 40,000 persons have been arrested since January 1st, 1932. (2) Most of the leaders of the Congress

are in gaol. (3) Scores of A proclaimed as illegal. (4) The b its intensity in Bombay. (5) The of serious clashes with the pol begun to take part in the terroris disturbances in the N. W. F. such proportions and have been that Muhammadan opinion is grav Press censorship increases in inter

As regards Sir Samuel's der the part of the Executive aut cites Pandit Malaviya, Mr. Fro to the contrary effect and pro

Any one who knows the histor Ukraine, of the clash between Wh of the Black and Tans in Ireland, of the Panjab in 1919 under Marti Government always denies its e enquiry (always made too late) proves that they have substanti challenge Sir Samuel Hoare to sub in existence to the examination over by a British judge, and Mr. Wedgwood Benn, Mr. Lowes Tawney, and Mr. R. J. Boothby, m

INDIA AND THE OTTAWA

Replying to questions, Sir C the following statement in the

The Government of India have delegation to the Imperial Econo will meet at Ottawa in July no informed that the principal item the discussion of the policy of a tra the different countries of the Em invited in particular to consider having regard to the new tariff p Government in the United Kingd India should enter into a tariff agr the trade of both the countries. Th have accepted that invitation an Viceroy, with the approval of the appointed the following gentlemen the Conference : Sir Atul Chatterje Shanmukham Chetty, Sir Peston Abdulla Haroon, Sahibzada Abdul George Rainy (members). If the agreement is recommended as a re any changes in tariff which it may placed before the Legislature f Government of India have no changes into effect unless the legi they are in the interests of India.

THE VICEROY AND THE PRINCES

Addressing the Chamber of Princes on March 28, H. E. Lord Willingdon referred to the implications of the doctrine of Paramountcy and said :

The Viceroy, as representing the Crown, has the duty of maintaining to the States the absolute security of their rights and privileges which have been assured to them



HIS EXCELLENCY LORD WILLINGDON

under their treaties, sanads and engagements, and, if the necessity arises, to give protection to any Ruler; while the Rulers, on their part, have the duty of administering their States in a sound, satisfactory and progressive manner for the welfare and benefit of their subjects, which will strengthen their position under their treaties, and, let us hope, render entirely unnecessary the effective protection of the Crown.

Referring to the political situation in the country, the Viceroy said :

In these days when efforts are being widely made to subvert law and order throughout this country, it is my duty to give you all possible assistance in maintaining your lawful authority, and this I am determined to do. I acknowledge gratefully the many messages that have reached me from members of your Order approving my decision to enforce the law and maintain order at all costs in British India and offering any assistance that may be required. You, I am sure, recognise that the States cannot stand entirely apart from their neighbours in British India, for disorder and lawlessness if unchecked

must spread from one end to the other. Your Highnesses, therefore, are closely concerned with the stability of conditions beyond your borders, just as in the converse case unsettled conditions in the States may have their repercussions in British Provinces. It cannot therefore be said that in conveying to me your sympathy and approval in the policy which I have been compelled regretfully to adopt within the last few months, you are intervening in a matter that does not concern you.

Moreover, your Highnesses realize as well as I do that force and repression cannot be an end in themselves. It is in the firm belief that we shall before long be able to inaugurate a new era in the constitutional history of this great country that I am determined at all costs to secure and maintain peaceful conditions under which alone such progress may be made.

DR. LANG ON DISARMAMENT

The sermon on Disarmament delivered by Dr. Lang, Archbishop of Canterbury, has been widely quoted. In the course of the sermon, the Archbishop observed :

The claim of the old evil maxim, 'If you wish for peace you must prepare for war,' has been for ever shattered. The lesson of the Great War has been written large—literally in letters of blood—that great armaments can only lead to war.

It is as certain as anything can be that it was the enormous growth of armaments and the sense of insecurity and fear which they caused, which made the Great War inevitable. Most rightly, therefore, the nations, our own included, who signed the Covenant which is part of the Treaty of Paris, declare that 'the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations'.

Well, more than ten years have passed. Yes, still, in spite of all the reductions achieved by the Naval Conferences at Washington and London, the level of armaments remains as high as ever. The world is spending on them no less than £2,000,000 a day; we in this country £200 a minute.

Truly the time has come when a deliberate attempt must be made by international agreement to remove this intolerable burden, this continuing menace, from the peoples of the world.

THE NEW DOMINION STATUS

Professor J. H. Morgan, delivering the Rhodes Lecture at the University College on the New Dominion Status as affected by the Statute of Westminster, said they could not reduce the British Government to Dominion Status :

As long as foreign affairs remained in its hands that Government would remain the Imperial Government and nothing less. In the last resort the protection of the lives, property and honour of British subjects rested on the power of the British navy, and so long as the whole burden of Imperial defence rested on the Admiralty in the Whitehall, it was idle to talk of the British Government as though it were nothing more than a Dominion.

THE VICEROY ON THE ORDINANCES

In reply to a recent communication, His Excellency the Viceroy has written to the Western India National Liberal Association that, while deploring the circumstances which necessitated the Ordinances, His Excellency would remind Liberals that the movement which the Ordinances are designed to meet has its proclaimed object—the subversion of Government through the paralysis of the administration. It was the desire of the Government of India that the Ordinances should not be used in excess of the requirements and action taken should not be arbitrary or vindictive. This desire had been communicated to local Governments some weeks ago and was being given full effect to.

ARMY MEN FOR I. C. S.

It is understood that on account of the difficulty of filling offices in the districts in India and especially in Bengal, a scheme is being considered to recruit district officers from the ranks of Indian Army officers.

The proposal is to circularize units and to take the officers selected into I.C.S. in Bengal. Their first appointment would be as probationers for a year.

It is understood that only serving officers between the ages of 30 and 35 would be considered under this scheme which has yet to be approved by both the civil and military authorities.

ADEN'S NEW STATUS

The Settlement of Aden and adjoining dependencies, hitherto included within Bombay Presidency, has been taken under the immediate authority and management of the Governor-General of India in Council and formed into a Chief Commissionership to be called the Chief Commissionership of Aden.

Lt.-Col. B. K. Reilly, Resident and Commander-in-Chief, Aden, is appointed Chief Commissioner of Aden from April 1st.

MR. LANSBURY ON INDIAN POLICY

"We have got to clean up our own door-step and the first call is from India. By doing that Britain will give an example that might save the world," declared Mr. Lansbury at a meeting of the India League at Friends' House, called to protest against the coercive policy of the Government in India, urge the withdrawal of the Ordinances and the release of political prisoners and demand immediate re-opening of negotiations with the Congress.

Mr. Lansbury accused Japan of blatant disregard of public morality and right, but he added : "We cannot throw stones knowing what the British Empire has done throughout the world."



MR. CHANG MING

New Consul-General for China in India.

DE VALERA'S ATTITUDE

"Ireland is not a British colony. She is one of the oldest nations in the world with all the rights of nationhood. British statesmen must abandon the insane ambition to dominate the Irish." With these words President de Valera, in a speech at Ennis to a crowd of 6,000, has disposed of any hope of a change in his attitude.

He added that their relations with Britain would be friendly, but there must be complete equality.

SIR JOHN ANDERSON

Prof. Harold Laski writes in *Time and Tide* about Sir John Anderson, the new Governor of Bengal:

"I have sat with him for over two years on a department committee. It is difficult to exaggerate the impression of power and the judicial



SIR JOHN ANDERSON

temper that the working of his mind displays. His knowledge is immense. He is never at a loss for the right word. In my experience of him, he is wholly devoid of the bureaucratic temper. He has courage and ideas of his own. I do not know whether any man can make a success of Bengal under present conditions. I do not know either, whether Sir John will be allowed a sufficiently free hand to allow his great abilities full play. But I am confident that if any man can administer so disturbed a province at once justly and firmly, Sir John will, if he is given the opportunity, find the secret of that combination."

JAPANESE PATRIOTISM

An instance of self-sacrifice by Japanese soldiers at Woosung was praised by General Uyeda. Three men acted as human bombs by binding high explosives to their bodies and flinging themselves against Chinese barbed wire defences, thus making a gap for their comrades to follow.

THE LATE MR. K. V. RANGASWAMI

Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, who passed away at the comparatively early age of 46 at Delhi in the closing week of March, had been a familiar figure in the social and public life of Southern India of which he was an elected member in the Council of State. Indeed, Mr. Aiyangar had been connected with the Central Legislature for about 15 years since the days of the Morley-Minto reforms. Handsome tributes were paid to his memory both in the Assembly and in the Council of State. The Hon. Mr. G. A. Natesan, a friend and colleague of Mr. Aiyangar on the Council of State, made the following touching reference to his character and public spirit:

As one who knew Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar almost from his boyhood, I should like to associate myself with the very generous tributes that have been paid to his memory. Coming of a very ancient and aristocratic family of Southern India noted for its philanthropy and public charities, it may be truly said that Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar almost till the last day maintained the reputation of his family. There was hardly a public institution or private body which did not appeal to him for assistance and which did not get it in a very generous manner. Many a poor family and many a poor student have received help from him. Indeed, those who knew Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar always used to say that he was generous to a fault. His activities were many-sided. Education, civics, industrial development, politics, all alike engaged his attention. He has died amidst some of his intimate friends, but, alas, thousands of miles away from his dear old mother, his two daughters and his only son. Forty-six is a comparatively young age in any country and it is very sad to think that such a sweet and genial soul like him has passed away. May his soul rest in peace!

VON HINDENBURG

Field-Marshal von Hindenburg has been re-elected President of Germany, his chief rival, Herr Adolf Hitler, the Nazi (National Socialist) candidate, being defeated by nearly six million votes.

The final unofficial figures were:

Von Hindenburg (Republican) ...	19,367,680.
Herr Hitler (Nazi) ...	13,419,603.
Herr Thaelmann (Communist) ...	3,705,898.

THE PASSING OF THE DAILIES

The *Indian Nation* of Patna which was started by the wealthy Maharaja of Dhurbhanga, has closed down. During the thirteen months of its existence, it had about six editors. During the last ten years, as a Patna correspondent has reminded us, several daily newspapers have disappeared, the most important among them being: the *Englishman* of Calcutta (now a weekly), the *Daily Chronicle* of Delhi, the *Independent* of Allahabad, the *New India* and the *Daily Express* of Madras, and now the *Searchlight* of Patna and the *Daily Mail* of Bombay.

THE ORIGIN OF "O.K.!"

The expression "O.K.!!" has passed into the vocabularies of all nations. Its origin is thus explained by a *John O' London's* contributor:

"O. K.," he says, "comes from an old Indian phrase. Gen. Andrew Jackson learned it from General Pushmataha, the great leader of the Choctaws and Chickasaws, buried in the Congregational cemetery, and possibly the greatest fullblood Indian who ever lived. Pushmataha was at the Battle of New Orleans with Jackson. He had a habit of ending all his statements with the Choctaw-Chickasaw expression, '*si Hoka*', meaning 'That's me', or 'That's what I said'. Jackson took the two letters in the English alphabet that gave the closest approximation of '*Hoka*'—O.K."

FUNERAL: A PAGAN WORD

The word "funeral" is a relic of pagan times. Among the Romans the custom of carrying lighted torches at a funeral was so ancient that the word "funus", whence we get "funeral", was derived from the "funales"—a kind of torch which in those days was carried in funeral processions which were always held at night. The torches were of rope dipped in tar. Thus it is from the Latin word "funis", a rope, that our word "funeral" is derived.

ON SERIOUS READING

Sir Henry Newbolt recently delivered at the Royal Society of Literature a lecture on "Literary criticism". He pointed out that to some people literary criticism implied a profession; to others it was a kind of professorship. While to some literary criticism served as a guide to pleasure resorts and health cures. In Newbolt's opinion the aim of literary criticism was none of these. A serious and reasonable reader read books because he wished to be enlightened, enriched, set free and strengthened. Readers must be changed by their reading and not be merely confirmed in their present position, beliefs or aspirations. If the readers realise the importance of this high ideal, much of their time which is wasted in reading books with coloured jackets would be saved, and they would be encouraged in turning to books which under a rough shell contain the heart of gold.

THE PIONEER

The *Pioneer* of Allahabad, the oldest English daily newspaper in Northern India, has changed hands. The landowners of the U. P. by forming a syndicate have purchased the proprietary rights along with the goodwill from the present proprietors of the *Pioneer* and the *Civil and Military Gazette*, Ltd. The *Civil and Military Gazette* will however continue to be the property of the present proprietors. A leading part in the new arrangement has been taken by the Hon. Mr. J. P. Srivastava, Minister of Education, United Provinces Government.

MISS LESTER'S BOOK ON GANDHIJI

Miss Muriel Lester of Kingsley Hall, Bow, the hostess of Mr. Gandhi when he was in London, has just completed a book on Mr. Gandhi. The book, we are told, will reveal some interesting conversations of Mr. Gandhi with many European statesmen, politicians, and others.

PHYSICAL TRAINING IN SCHOOLS

With a view to improving the health and physique of school children, the Education Department of the United Provinces have recently given considerable attention to physical training. Their scheme of training aims at combining what is best in the Western and indigenous systems. Amongst the indigenous systems, one of the most renowned is the yogic system of physical culture which Swami Kuvalayananda has perfected at his well-known Ashram at Lonavla near Poona. In order that teachers and others may have the opportunity of acquiring some knowledge of the fundamentals of the system taught by Swami Kuvalayananda at Lonavla, the Education Department have invited him to conduct classes at the Men's Normal School, Lucknow. There will be two classes each day, one for physical instructors of vernacular-training institutions and the second for physical instructors of secondary institutions in Lucknow.

MASS PRODUCTION OF GRADUATES

The tragedy of the Indian educational system which produces graduates who have nothing to do and cannot all be absorbed into State service, or into the still infant commercial undertakings, was emphasised by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer in his Convocation Address to the Delhi University.

In any case, the superstition must be killed that it is beneath the dignity, or beyond the purview, of a man of learning to apply himself to agriculture or cottage industries.

After congratulating the University on the rapid progress it had made during the past nine years, Sir Ramaswami laid stress on the importance of corporate life and residential system of education as the best means of building up character and comradeship and the qualities that make for true citizenship.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY FEES

The Senate of the Calcutta University at a special meeting, on February 27, appointed a Committee consisting of the Vice-Chancellor and ten Members to consider the situation arising out of the decision of the Government to make a recurring grant of Rs. 3,60,000, increasing the previous grant by Rs. 1,16,000 on condition that the income from fees of the University should be increased by Rs. 30,000.

The University's income from fees, which was Rs. 11,17,000, has already been decreased by Rs. 70,000 and the Committee is to find out what schemes should be kept in abeyance and what steps they should adopt to increase the revenue.

SPINNING IN C. P. SCHOOLS

Rao Bahadur K. S. Nayudu, moving the resolution in the C. P. Legislative Council, said that the introduction of hand spinning would to a great extent solve the prevailing unemployment problem of the agriculturists in rural areas for more than six months, and in support of this contention quoted the opinion of Sir M. Visvesvarayya regarding the economic aspect of hand spinning. He told further that he had successfully tried the experiment in 12 schools at Wardha. He asked the Government not to oppose as it required very little cost, an expenditure of four pies per *takli* for each boy. The motion was pressed to a division and was carried by 34 votes as against 16.

INTER-UNIVERSITY BOARD

Dewan Bahadur K. Ramunni Menon, Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, has been elected Chairman of the Inter-University Board, and Mr. A. R. Wadia of Mysore as Secretary of the same.

A NEW ORDINANCE

Ordinance 8 of 1932 has been issued supplementing the Bengal Emergency Powers Ordinance 1931 and the Emergency Powers Ordinance 1932. The following is the text of Clause 2 which is the only operative clause:

(1) The Appellate Jurisdiction of a Special Tribunal under Section 33 of the Bengal Emergency Powers Ordinance 1931 shall, where the sentence is passed by a Special Magistrate in the Presidency town of Calcutta, be exercised by the High Court.

(2) The Appellate Jurisdiction of the Court of Sessions under Sections 39 and 45 of the Emergency Powers Ordinance 1932 shall, where the sentence is passed by a Special Criminal Court in a Presidency town, be exercised by the High Court.

(3) The Appellate Jurisdiction conferred on the High Court by Sub-Section (1) shall be deemed to have been conferred on the date of the promulgation of the Bengal Emergency Powers Ordinance 1931, and the Appellate Jurisdiction conferred by Sub-Section (2) shall be deemed to have been conferred on the date of the promulgation of the Emergency Powers Ordinance 1932, and the High Court may in any particular case pass any order restoring or admitting an appeal, which it may think just, in order to carry out the purposes of this Section.

AN INDIAN CHIEF JUSTICE

Sir S. M. Suleman took his seat as Chief Justice at the Allahabad High Court on March 16, and was welcomed by the Bench and Bar. The new Chief Justice is only 46 years old and is the first Indian Chief Justice of the High Court of Allahabad. After the new Chief Justice had taken the oath of office, Sir Charles Alston, Mr. Iqbal Ahmad, Dr. Vaish and Mr. Bajaj on behalf of the Bar welcomed his Lordship.

FINE FOR BREACH OF PAROLE

Mr. Gokulchand Hirachand, brother of Mr. Walchand Hirachand of Bombay, was sentenced on April 11th by the City Magistrate, Mr. Kale, to 18 months' R. I. and a fine of Rs. 20,000 for failure to comply with parole order.

In the course of his judgment, the Magistrate remarked that he had levied a heavy fine after taking into account the status, wealth and position of the accused.

HIGH COURT ON PRESS ORDINANCE

Speaking in the House of Commons on the 1st March last, Sir Samuel Hoare said that "the action taken against the Indian Press had been taken for one purpose alone, namely, to stop incentives to disorder and terrorism and not to stifle expression of public opinion". Commenting on this the *Hindu* invites Sir Samuel not merely to study the judgment of their Lordships of the Bombay High Court in the *Indian Daily Mail* case but also to reflect upon their unsaid comment on the conduct of the Government in taking this action under the Press Ordinance, implicit in their decision to make no order as to costs payable to the Crown by the applicant who has lost his case.



THE HON. MR. JUSTICE U. Ba
who has been appointed as a member of the Burma Executive Council in succession to
Hon. Sir J. A. Maung Gyi, Kt.

A DECREE FOR DAMAGES

A decree for damages to the extent of Rs. 5,500 was granted by Agha Mahomed Sultan Mirza, the Senior Sub-Judge, to Prof. Santram Savai, of the D. A. V. College, Lahore, against Mr. R. F. Neal, Assistant Superintendent of Police. The complainant alleged that Mr. Neal had given him a beating in the class-room on October 8, 1930, when the College was picketed in connexion with the death sentence passed on Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukdev.

MEDICAL AID FOR WOMEN

At the annual general meeting of the National Association for supplying medical aid by women



HER EXCELLENCY LADY WILLINGDON

to the women of India (Countess of Dufferin's Fund), presided over by the Countess of Willingdon, at New Delhi, March 22, the annual report was adopted which showed a great increase in the number of patients treated. The total increase in the number of in-patients compared with the previous year was 11,765.

ALL-INDIA MEDICAL CONFERENCE

"To placate the General Medical Council appears to be the only underlying motive of the Indian Medical Bill, and Indian sentiments and Indian interests are freely ignored in order to achieve this object," declared Sir Nilratan Sircar, presiding over the 8th Session of the All-India Medical Conference at Calcutta.

Dr. B. C. Roy (Mayor) expressed similar sentiments in connection with the Bill.

LT.-COL. RUSSELL

We congratulate Lt.-Col. A. J. H. Russell on his appointment as the Public Health Commissioner under the Imperial Government in the place of Major-General Graham. "We should say that Colonel Russell is the right man in the right place," says the *Medical Practitioner*. "The experiences gained by him first, as the Health Officer of the Corporation of Madras, then as the Director of Public Health, Madras, and his recent connection with the Whitley (Labour) Commission which gave him an opportunity of knowing the condition of labour in this country, would certainly stand in good stead in the discharge of the duties of one of the most important and useful departments contributing to the welfare of the public in this country. What place Public Health will occupy in the



LT.-COL. A. J. H. RUSSELL, I.M.S.

Federal Government is still a matter for speculation. All the same, with Colonel Russell as the head of the Public Health Department in this country, we expect reforms in every direction regarding the administration of Public Health as a whole."

PROTECTION FOR INDIAN TEA

Addressing the shareholders of the National Bank of India, on April 1, Sir Charles McLeod (Chairman) said that prices in the Indian tea industry were in most cases below the cost of production—a state of affairs brought about chiefly by excessive imports from Java and Sumatra. He considered that the outlook for Indian and Ceylon estates, representing £76,000,000 of British capital, was nothing short of desperate unless some measure of protection in the shape of discriminating duties was introduced in the next Budget.

P. & O.'S ACCELERATED VOYAGES

The P. and O. Company announce two accelerated voyages between London and Bombay during the height of the outward passenger season next autumn by the *Viceroy of India*, which will make the voyage from London in sixteen days and from Marseilles in fourteen.

The stay at Marseilles will be curtailed and the calls at Malta and Aden eliminated.

INDIAN COTTON TARIFFS

The Government of India have decided to refer to the Tariff Board the question of continuing the protection given to the Indian textile industry.

When protection was last given to the Indian cotton industry, it was for two years subject to revision at the end of that period—the present decision to refer the question to the Tariff Board is evidently in pursuance of that understanding.

DUTIES ON GALVANISED SHEETS

A *Gazette Extraordinary* has been issued extending by one year the tariff duties now in force on galvanized sheet. This action is the result of the recent approval of the Government's plan by both Houses of the Central Legislature.

INDIAN CABLE AND WIRELESS

The Indian Radio Telegraph Company, Ltd., Bombay, have concluded, subject to the approval of the Government of India, an agreement with Imperial and International Communications, Ltd., whereby the former will take over as from July 1, 1932, the working of cable services in India owned and controlled by Imperial and International Communications, Ltd., for a period of 12½ years ending December 31, 1944.

The Indian Radio Telegraph Co. will thereby acquire the distinction of running a combined undertaking of wireless and cable communications. This unified control is expected to result in economy and the proposed merger will improve India's foreign communications in as much as the Indian Radio Telegraph Co. will also operate, under Government licence, a wireless beam service between India and Japan.

As a result of the merger, cable rates will be reduced to the level of rates for the beam wireless service. The name of the company will be changed to Indian Radio and Cable Communications Company, Ltd.



MR. S. S. RAJAN

Advertising Consultant, Bombay.

The first youngest Indian representing (Publicity Department) all the principal Indian and Foreign Railways.

STATE AND AGRICULTURE

Dr. N. Gangulee, Member of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, interviewed prior to his departure to Europe, said that his object in going to Europe was mainly to obtain first-hand knowledge of the working of the administrative machineries relating to agriculture, rural industries and rural finance of the various Governments. In all the countries where the principle of decentralisation was applied, there arose a need for creating co-ordinating agencies between the constituent parts of the Government. In matters relating to agriculture and animal husbandry, the need of such a co-ordinating body was felt by the Linlithgow Commission on Indian Agriculture. Three years ago the Government of India set up a central body for the purpose. Its record for the past three years had been very encouraging. In particular he referred to this central organisation, because of the fact that it constituted an example of Federal organisation already working in the heart of the Central Government.

It was interesting to note, observed Dr. Gangulee, that some of the Indian States voluntarily joined the Council of Research and had made generous contributions to its funds.

"GO BACK TO LAND"

Presiding at the inaugural meeting of the Agricultural College Science Society, Cawnpore, Mr. N. C. Mehta, I.C.S., said: "The one solution of unemployment was that the educated classes should go back to the land. He thought that the science of raising of crops had gone ahead while the science of marketing had been greatly neglected. Indian agriculture had an international importance, but the urgent need was that discoveries be made by scientific research which will suit the existing resources of the cultivators."

Sir C. V. Raman, F.R.S., said that with the Agricultural College and the Technological Institute at Cawnpore, he had a vision of a nucleus for a great centre of learning and of attraction for students from all parts of the country. He was sorry to find that some institutions by charging outsiders a special fee were raising internal tariff walls against the export of knowledge. By this neither did the institution nor the country stand to gain anything. "All India," he said, "is one in the field of knowledge." He saw a pan-Indian atmosphere created by scientific achievement. He considered the study of agriculture as of essentially educational value and hoped that more educated people would study the science.

CATTLE IMPROVEMENT IN SIND

The Committee appointed by the Government of Bombay to examine the question of the Cattle Supply and Improvement in Sind has submitted its report.

The Committee propose a number of measures to improve the quality and increase the number of cattle. They suggest that professional breeders should be taught scientific breeding principles. Encouragement to breeders should be given by grant of lands at concession rates. Two Government cattle farms should be established. The main object of these farms would be the maintenance of a herd from which satisfactory breeding bulls could be supplied to zemindars or institutions like veterinary hospitals.

The Committee's other conclusions are: (1) The early castration of cattle is advocated. (2) The existing concession of growing natural grass at a light rate of 12 as. per acre should be continued. (3) Plantation should be made along canal banks and in the neighbourhood of inspection bungalows and should be maintained by the Public Works Department. (4) The growth of private *huris* should be encouraged by concessions. (5) The storage of fodder should be encouraged. (6) The better housing of cattle should be encouraged by propaganda. (7) Cattle fairs and agricultural shows should be encouraged.

NEW LIGHT ON ATOMIC STRUCTURE

New light on the structure of the atom is expected to be thrown by the discovery of a new kind of X-Rays which have approximately half the wave length of the usual K. and L. rays of elements. This discovery is announced by Prof. M. N. Saha, Prof. Bhargava and Prof. J. B. Mukerjee of the Allahabad University. These rays have so far been obtained for copper and for tungsten L series, but the announcers confidentially believe that the phenomenon is general. These rays are due to the simultaneous removal of two electrons from inner cells and the simultaneous jumping of two electrons from the outer cells to fill up this level. This discovery, it is believed, is of great importance.

His Excellency Sir M. Hailey, speaking at the U. P. Academy of Science, complimented Professor Saha on his discovery of the new type of X-Ray which claims to open a new chapter in X-Ray spectroscopy and to throw light on the structure of atoms.

"In this connection," says Prof. Raman, "I would like to mention that similar observations have been reported earlier by others. A German physicist, Mark, once thought that there was some evidence in the presence of other radiation of approximately half the wave length of K. Rays from copper."

"Dr. P. Krishnamurthi," added Sir C. V. Raman, "now working in Calcutta, photographed the X-Ray pattern of an organic substance, hexamine, and discovered a faint ring the size of which indicated the presence of an X-Ray of half the K wave length. He made an extended series of experiments using other crystals but was unable to confirm the result."

"In the circumstances it would seem necessary to reserve detailed comment on the significance of the report from Allahabad, until full experimental details have been published by Prof. Saha and his collaborators."

MAKING THE BLIND TO READ

There is a new invention which may enable the blind to read ordinary print with the aid of electricity. When a spot of light is passed through a printed sheet and thrown on to a photo-electric cell, each letter sets up electrical impulses whose variations correspond to its shape. By means of relays the electrical impulses can be used to raise embossed marks on a very thin sheet of aluminium. These are easily read by the blind man's sensitive fingers. The embossed sheets may be kept permanently, or can be flattened out between rollers for future use. In its present form the apparatus enables printed matter to be transferred to the aluminium sheet and read at the rate of twenty words a minute.

LIGHT OF THE SUN

The light of the sun at noon is 120,000,000 times brighter than that of all the stars on the clearest night, and 465,000 times brighter than that of the full moon at its zenith, according to the findings of Dr. Herbert H. Kimball of the U. S. Weather Bureau, in the fifth revision of meteorological tables of the Smithsonian Institute. Twilight is definitely defined as beginning in the morning and ending in the evening when the sun is eighteen degrees below the horizon.

INDIAN NUMISMATIC

Babu Surendranath Kishore Chakravarty, Professor of History, Ananda Mohan College, Mymensingh, has been awarded the Nelson Wright Bronze Medal for 1931 by the Numismatic Society of India for having written a book on Indian Numismatic. He is the first Bengalee to receive this distinction.

COMPLETE RAINBOW ROUND THE SUN

A peculiar phenomenon was seen in Ernelo when a complete rainbow round the sun was noticed at midday. There was no storm and no sign of rain.

RAILWAY ADMINISTRATION

Mr. H. N. Colam, late Technical Officer of the Railway Board, is appointed Agent of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway.

Mr. J. C. Highet, Director of Establishment to the Railway Board, succeeds Colonel Walton as Agent of the North-Western Railway. Mr. Highet's post goes to Mr. P. B. Chandwani.

The following have been appointed Chief Medical Officers of the railways named:

Sir Hassan Suhrawady, East Indian Railway.

Dr. Clayton, Great Indian Peninsula Railway.

Dr. Chatterjee, Eastern Bengal Railway.

Dr. Taylor, Burma Railways.

CHAMARAJNAGAR-KOLLEGAL LINE

The Government of India, owing to the efforts made by the Mysore Durbar, have sanctioned the construction of a railway line between Chamaraj-nagar and Kollegal over a distance of about 23 miles. It is estimated to involve a capital outlay of about Rs. 18 lakhs. The Mysore Durbar have now ordered a re-survey of the line and has to revise the original estimate. It is also surmised that if before long Kollegal comes to be connected with Maddur on the Mysore-Bangalore line over a distance of 22 miles, the former a centre of trade in British India would be brought nearer to the other centres of trade and commerce.

RAILWAY STAFF

As a result of the competitive examination held by the Public Service Commission in November, 1931, the undermentioned persons have been selected for appointment in the following Superior State Railway Services:

Indian Railway Service of Engineers.—On probation: Mr. Robert Ernest de Sa.

Transportation (Traffic) and Commercial Departments.—Probationers: Mr. Prem Narain Tandon, Mr. Satya Prakash Lal, M.Sc., and Mr. Muhammad Abdul Qader.

MR. TYLDEN-PATTENSON

Mr. Tylden-Pattenson who succeeds Mr. D. S. Burn as Agent of the G. I. P. Railway, has had a rapid and successful career. In 1908 he joined



Mr. TYLDEN-PATTENSON

the G. I. P. service as a probationer and in two years' time was placed in independent charge of the Gwalior Light Railway. Subsequently he was posted for varying periods to all the Districts. He was called to the headquarters in 1922 where he carried out a thorough reorganisation of the Claims department. His work was at once recognised by his elevation to the office of the Deputy Traffic Manager towards the close of that period. The next elevation came in due course in 1925 when in the absence of Mr. Burn on deputation work, he stepped into his place as Chief Traffic Manager. It is quite in the fitness of things that one with such varied experience should now be honoured with the highest office in the service of the G. I. P. We congratulate Mr. Tylden-Pattenson on his well deserved elevation.

BOMBAY-SIND LINK

In a question in the Council of State, Sir Phiroze Sethna asked what progress had been made in the project of a railway to connect Bombay with Karachi. Mr. J. C. B. Drake replied: The final survey of the Bombay-Sind connection has been carried out. There is only one project under investigation. The actual alignment of the connection will be decided when the project report and estimates have been received and examined.

MAKING CARS IN INDIA

The first motor car to be manufactured in Calcutta is nearing completion. Mr. Bepin Behari Das, a motor repairer by trade, who had convinced certain members of the Calcutta Corporation that he can make motor cars—every part except the engines—has been given an order for a four-seater 15 horse power car. The car is not to cost more than Rs. 3,000.

Mr. Das made a car for Birla brothers in Gwalior sometime ago and according to him it is still running satisfactorily. He is working under a handicap of primitive mechanical resources. Mr. Das claims that every nut, bolt and bearing in his new car will be manufactured without the aid of any highly scientific machinery. He does not know when the new car will be ready.

LONDON MOTOR COACH STATION

The largest motor coach station in the world is being built at Victoria, south-west London, to serve nearly 2,500 coaches daily. The building which will be completed next month, costing nearly £300,000, will have buffets, cafeteria, a restaurant with a dance floor, a restaurant for drivers, a booking hall with shops—all surmounted by a huge glass roof.

CARS WITH FLUID FLY-WHEELS

A lot of attention has been attracted to the success attained in the R.A.C. rally by the cars with fluid fly-wheels, says the *Statesman* of Calcutta. Many people wonder how the fluid fly-wheel works. Without entering into technicalities, it might be explained that the fly-wheel, in conjunction with the clutch, enables the engine to run slowly to about 600 revolutions a minute without moving the car even if it is in gear. When the engine speeds up the car begins to move forward. The system is worked on a hydraulic principle, but oil is utilised instead of water. It is possible to start the car without

using the clutch. All the driver has to do is to accelerate and the car moves off smoothly, and it will do this on top gear on a level road. In fact, the clutch is so flexible that the car will travel almost anywhere in top gear. It is not necessary to declutch even when stopping. The driver can bring the car to standstill simply by applying the brakes. When he wants to re-start the car again all he has to do is to take off the brake and accelerate. The winners in the slow-running test in the Rally travelled so slowly in top gear that the observers had had to watch closely to see if the wheels of the cars were actually moving. The cars could travel from $\frac{1}{2}$ m.p.h. to over 60 m.p.h. in top gear, the latter speed being reached in a few seconds.

PRIVATE CARS FOR BUSINESS

The appeal against the Cardiff magistrate's decision that a private car cannot be used for the conveyance of goods unless the higher tax applicable to goods-carrying vehicles, taxed by weight, has been paid is one that is of interest to all owners of private cars.

The effect of the Cardiff ruling is that it is an offence to carry parcels or even small articles in a private car.

It was contended at the time by the Automobile Association solicitor that no offence was committed, according to the Finance Act, unless the motor vehicle is constructed or adapted in such a way as to bring it into the class of goods-carrying vehicles on which the higher rate of duty is payable.

MORRIS MOTORS

Morris Motors' gross trading profit is declared to be over £1,000,000, as compared with £1,600,000 in each of the two preceding years. The net profit is sufficient to cover a dividend of £225,000 on preference shares with a margin of £344,000.

THE CENTRAL BANKS

In the course of a paper on "Central Bank Constitutions," read at the Indian Economic Conference which met in Bombay recently, Mr. J. C. Sinha of the Dacca University pointed out the importance of the economic, political and historical factors of a country in the shaping of its central bank. It was shown that while private ownership might co-exist with complete State control, State ownership was not necessarily inconsistent with a fair measure of independence. The function of a central bank had materially changed during the last hundred years. In its earliest form, it was a bank of issue which merely involved the responsibility of maintaining the parity of its notes with the standard currency. In recent years an important task had been imposed—the stabilisation of the price-level. At present there were 32 central banks in the world, out of which 17 were owned by shareholders, 8 partly by States and partly by shareholders and 7 entirely by States.

It was often argued that private ownership was necessary to maintain a bank's independence. But whatever be the constitution of a central bank, it could never be free of State control.

REMITTANCES TO BRITISH TREASURY

The Controller of the Currency, in a press *communique*, notifies that the amount of sterling purchased in India on account of the remittances to the British Treasury during the week ending January 2 was £1,630,000.

The total remittances from April 1, 1931, to January 2, 1932, amounted to £28,812,000.

THE IMPERIAL BANK

A plea for a committee of inquiry into the working of the Imperial Bank in all its various branches was made by Mr. T. N. Ramakrishna Reddy in the Assembly. After Sir George Schuster's reply the resolution was rejected without a division.

U. S. BANK FAILURES

Bank failures throughout the United States during September last numbered 298, consisting of 46 national, 16 State, and 236 non-member banks with total deposits of \$ 270,000,000 according to the Federal Reserve Board's announcement. It is the largest monthly failure record, excepting December, when 344 banks closed. During the first nine months of this year, 1,234 banks failed with total deposits of \$ 930,000,000. They are: 211 national, 57 State, and 966 non-member banks.

UNIFORM AUDIT

The Government of India, states a *communique*, have decided to put into operation from April 1, 1932, the new scheme for the registration and certification of accountants on an All-India basis and for securing uniform control over the audit of accounts of public companies in British India. Notifications bringing into force the Indian Companies (Amendment) Act, 1930 (XIX of 1930), and promulgating the rules made under it, have since been issued.

NEW SOUTH AFRICAN CURRENCY

The new South African currency unit will be the florin, equal to 11·30016 grains of gold according to a Bill issued. The florin will be subdivided into 100 cents. A ten florin gold piece will be called the Rand. There will be silver coins of two and one florins and 50, 20 and 10 cents, and bronze coins of four, two and one cents.

IMPERIAL BANK RATE

The Imperial Bank of India Rate of Interest on Demand Loans on Government Paper remains unchanged at 6 per cent.

BANK OF ENGLAND RATE

The Bank of England rate has been reduced to 3 per cent.

SUICIDE AND LIFE INSURANCE

Mr. Ivar Kreuger, the Swedish "Match King" has committed suicide. In close succession comes the news of the suicide of Mr. George Eastman, the "Kodak King". Both of them had enormous business undertakings and their operations extended all over the world. The action of these two industrial magnates in putting an end to their own lives has created a world-wide sensation. It is a matter of particular concern to the life insurance world. Mr. Kreuger insured his life in 1925 for the sum of three hundred to six hundred sterling with a leading Swedish Company. His death must have involved heavy loss to the company or companies concerned.

Suicide is a terrible menace to life insurance and to protect the interests of companies it is often stipulated that thirteen months must elapse between the commencement of the policy and the suicide. But if outstanding personalities like Mr. Kreuger carrying large life assurance commits suicides, it certainly presents an alarming situation for life offices. The city of New York presents a record of 30,000 suicides annually, and the number in other countries is also increasing with the progress of civilisation. The time has come when the matter should receive our serious consideration for the preservation of the society and for safeguarding the interests of life offices.

ORIENTAL RESULTS

The Oriental Government Security Life announce that 26,486 policies were written last year assuring Rs. 5,34,61,000, the number of policies being almost exactly the same as those issued in 1930 and the aggregate sums assured less by about Rs. 10 lakhs. In the face of trade depression, political agitation and other factors that have had an adverse effect on Indian life companies, it is no small achievement of the Oriental to have kept the volume of new business well over the five-crore mark for four successive years.

NORTHERN INDIA INSURANCE

The Northern India Insurance Company of Lahore, says the *Commerce* of Calcutta, is a steadily progressive company. "A recent case of payment of claim on the death of the assured has come to our notice which shows the promptness and punctiliousness with which the company acts in such cases. In the case under notice the company has paid Rs. 1,000 for a claim for which it received only Rs. 24-4 in premium paid."

NEPTUNE ASSURANCE, COMPANY

The report of the directors of the Neptune Assurance Company, Limited, Bombay, for the period ending 31st July 1931, together with the Revenue Accounts balance-sheet and auditor's report, shows that 1,624 proposals have resulted in policies during the period under review, of which 7,648 and 8,376 belong to A and B classes respectively. Rs. 2,500 in the aggregate were actually paid as claims and it is mentioned that the maximum amount payable under the Provident Insurance Societies Act, namely, Rs. 500 had been paid and every one of the claims admitted. The reserve fund together with the contingency reserve fund, it is stated, forms approximately 64 per cent. of the premium received as death calls.

INDIA AND INSURANCE

The figures given below will show the low position occupied by India in the field of Insurance.

Country.	Life Insurance in figures. Crores of Rs.
United States	... 27,000
United Kingdom	... 3,300
Canada	... 1,500
Japan	... 1,000
Germany	... 700
Australia	... 600
Netherland	... 400
Sweden	... 400
France	... 400
Switzerland	... 200
Italy	... 150
Denmark	... 150
Brazil Argentine	} --- 150
Peru, Chilli and Paraknary	
India	... 63

THE INDIAN WORKER

Lecturing on "The Industrial Worker" before the East India Association recently, Mr. Whitley, who presided over the Indian Labour Commission, made some important observations regarding labour conditions in the Bombay mills.

Nowhere, said he, had he been more deeply impressed by the need for advance in what he termed human co-operation in industrial life than in the capital of Western India. Referring to the migratory habit of the labour population, he declared that the connection of the workers with their villages was desirable and should be maintained.

Dr. Harold Mann spoke strongly of the conditions in which mill labour was housed in Bombay and declared that these were so bad that if the workers did not go back periodically to their villages, the death and illness rates would be even higher than they were at present.

MR. MEHTA AND RAILWAY REPORT

Strong disapproval of the findings of the Railway Court of Inquiry which he terms disappointing, futile and inconclusive, and the recommendation that the ballot for a general strike should be proceeded with, are the chief features of a lengthy statement to the Press by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta (President of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation).

While admitting that the report does justice to many of the submissions made by the Railwaymen's Federation before the Court by accepting them and finds in their favour on most of the terms of reference, he complains that the Court has failed to carry its own findings to their logical ends, "so that even when findings are in favour of railwaymen, no relief follows". Therefore he considers the findings disappointing on the whole and states they find themselves compelled reluctantly to advise the workers to go on with the ballot for a general strike.

LABOUR AND THE FRANCHISE

Mr. R. R. Bakhale, Secretary, Indian Trade Union Federation and member of the Central Franchise Committee, issued a circular to the affiliated unions asking them to lay emphasis on the following points in their memoranda to the Committee:

(1) Adult franchise should be introduced and constituencies formed on direct vote.

(2) If the introduction of adult franchise on the basis of direct vote is likely to create unwieldy constituencies, some age limit, say 25 or 30 years, should be imposed for all classes.

(3) Separate constituencies of registered trade unions should be created and maintained in sufficient numbers for about 20 years.

(4) In the general electorates it should be insisted that a certain proportion of seats should be reserved for the workers and peasants.

(5) The Central Legislature—particularly the Legislative Assembly—should consist of between 500 to 600 members, the provincial legislatures of larger provinces should consist of between 300 to 400 members, and those of smaller provinces of between 200 and 250 members. In each of these legislatures, including the Council of State, labour should be given at least 10 per cent. of the seats.

LABOUR IN MINES

The annual report of the Chief Inspector of Mines on the working of the Indian Mines Act during the year 1930, which has just been published, shows that the daily average number of persons employed in and about mines was 2,61,667—a decrease of 8,034 persons as compared with the previous year. Of these persons 1,20,333 worked underground, 71,582 in open workings and 69,752 on the surface. Of these 2,01,751 were males and 56,913 were females as compared with the previous year's figures of 1,99,045 males and 70,656 females.

CAREER FOR WOMEN.

Dr. E. P. Metcalfe, in the course of an address at the Women's College, Bangalore, said:

"In the case of women students in this college, the majority are definitely studying for a career, some in the medical profession and others as teachers. For the former, a groundwork in pure science is of course very necessary, and while science is given such importance in schools—as a result of the present leaning of public opinion in that direction—I suppose it is but natural that our prospective women teachers should desire to qualify themselves in the sciences.

"I look forward however to the time when young women will come to college without any special view to following a profession but simply for the culture to be derived from the right kind of university course, fitting them to become founders and mistresses of refined homes and bringing uplift in standards of living and of thinking into our educated communities. It is, or it should be, an important function of a women's college to provide just that kind of training."

FREEDOM OF MARRIED WOMEN

"It seems clear, in law, that a married woman is free to depart whenever she wishes from her husband's home, and that the law disclaims any power to prevent her."

This dictum was uttered in what has become known as the "Helen of Troy" case by Mr. Justice McCardie, the famous bachelor judge, in the course of his judgment in favour of Dr. Charles Searle, the Cambridge medical man, who was sued for damages by a grocer's assistant, Mr. John Place, for enticing away the latter's wife. Dr. Searle denied the charge.

Mr. Justice McCardie said he was not concerned with the question of ethics, but only with the law on the matter. His Lordship emphasised the revolutionary change in the position of women as the result of modern legislation.

WOMEN AND ISLAM

Replying to a cable sent by Begum Shah Nawaz requesting him to give a lead to the Muslim community regarding the question of equality of status between the two sexes and the fundamental rights of women as recognised by Islam, His Highness the Aga Khan sent the following message:

"I agree that the whole spirit of Islam is for emancipation and equality and signifies great respect for women.

"It would be fatal for Islam if a narrow interpretation of the letter of its holy spirit antagonised women. However, as it is a political practical question, I advise both the conservative and progressive elements to meet, forgetting their own particular standpoint and working for the future of the Faith to meet the present circumstances; yet leaving the future to develop according to its needs."

MISS SURAVY SINHA

Miss Suravy Sinha, B.A., B.L., the daughter of Dr. R. N. Sinha, a medical practitioner and an honorary magistrate at Bassein, who passed the law examination recently, is the first Indian (Bengali) lady to take to the law degree of the Rangoon University. She intends to start practice at Bassein.

KAMALRANI SINHA

In our last issue, in referring to the triumph of lady students in our Universities, we mentioned that Kamalrani Sinha topped the list in the first group in Sanskrit. Mrs. Sinha, we now understand, topped the list not only in her own group but also in all the Sanskrit groups combined in the last M. A. Examination of the Calcutta University.

INDIAN ART STUDENTS

Speaking in the Council of State recently, Sir Phiroze Sethna paid a high and well-merited tribute to the work done by the Bombay School of Art. When in 1924, Sir Phiroze Sethna moved in the Council of State that Indian artists should be employed to decorate certain buildings in New Delhi which was then fast springing up, the Bombay School of Art, acting on this suggestion, put forward a strong plea for participating in mural painting. The work done by Indian artists, like Mr. Fysee Rahman, in the Secretariat building in New Delhi has been very favourably commented upon. The recent exhibition of work at the Bombay School of Art was of a high standard and reflects the greatest credit on the Director of the School, Mr. W. E. Gladstone Solomon. The Bombay School of Art attracts students from all over India and, as Sir Phiroze Sethna said, it is capable of ranking alongside the best institutions of a similar kind in Europe.

NEGLECT OF MUSIC IN BRITAIN

A widespread neglect and disregard of music by all those in high places in Britain was alleged by Lady Snowden when presenting the Trinity College prizes for music at the Queen's Hall, London.

She said: "This is the only great civilized country which has no Ministry of Fine Arts. The Government has not, until the last year or two, done anything to subsidise this great art. Music is still regarded as a luxury, not as a necessity. In my judgment, music is a necessity of our being."

MR. SARADA UKIL'S WATER-COLOURS

Under the auspices of the India Society, an exhibition was held of thirty-five water-colour paintings and fifty-two brush drawings of the well-known Bengali artist, Mr. Sarada Charan Ukil at the India House. It was opened by Sir Francis Younghusband, the Chairman of the Society.

ORIENTAL ART

Mr. S. Choudhury, the youngest of the four artists commissioned by the Government to decorate the India House, London, said in the course of a recent interview:

"The twentieth century respects the past, but it does in the same breath pay homage to the present and looks up to the future. Since Dr. Abanindranath Tagore gathered round about him a band of artists who may be called missionaries in the matter of reviving Oriental art under the guiding care of Mr. E. B. Havell, much water has flown down the Ganges, but still Oriental art remains where it was. It is still secular, mythological and a faithful portrait of the adored past. But what about the every day life of the twentieth-century Indian social order, difficult and different as it is? Where do we get any glimpse of our romance and joys, our pathos and sorrows? I believe that we have not been able to achieve much because, by turning only to the past, we have ignored and lost hold of the sentiments of the people, and no art, I venture to think, can ever flourish if it misses national sentiment. To be frank, we are merely casting and recasting, modelling and remodelling the limited creations of our masters."

HONOUR FOR ARTISTS

Five silver medals were awarded to eminent artists who exhibited paintings in the first Annual Exhibition of the Government School of Arts and Crafts, Lucknow, held recently. Srimati Gouri Devi of Santiniketan was the recipient of Mr. J. P. Srivastava's medal, while the ex-Minister Rai Rajeshwar Bali's medal was awarded to Mr. Nalinikumar Majumdar, Calcutta. Mr. R. L. Parekh of Madras got the medal donated by Mr. Ali Zaheer, Barrister. Mr. Kann Desai obtained the medal awarded by Mr. Tulsi Patil Ram, retired Deputy Collector, and Mr. A. P. Sen's medal went to Mr. B. N. Jija, Lucknow.

BRILLIANT INDIAN CRICKETERS

According to the *Statesman*, Mr. Frank Tarrant who has been training the Indian cricketers, sums up his impressions of the players comprising the party for the tour as follows:

The captain, H. H. the Maharaja of Porbunder, is a charming personality and a sound batsman who plays correctly.

Prince Ghanshyamsinghji is keenness personified, and is a delightful bat to watch. His off drives remind me of Palaret.

Capt. C. K. Naidu is sure to collect a lot of runs, for he is a natural hitter with a sound defence.

Syed Nazir Ali is a good all-rounder and his form is well known in England. Nevertheless he has sacrificed his bowling for his batting to some extent.

Lt. Wazir Ali is the best and safest bat on the side. He is a good fielder and a first class wicket batsman.

Capt. Joginder Singh struck me as a very steady and reliable bat and an excellent fielder.

S. H. M. Colah. Perhaps no one will get more runs than him. He is a sure run getter and a magnificent hitter and what is more a brilliant fielder.

Lt. J. G. Navle is a first class wicket-keeper and a good sticky bat and it will be hard to get him out.

B. E. Kapadia is a first class wicket-keeper and naturally a fast scorer.

N. D. Marshall is a very painstaking bat and will get runs on a hard wicket.

P. E. Palia appears to be the best all-rounder in the team. A left-hand slow to medium pacer, he will get bags of wickets on soft pitches. He is a very smart fielder and a fine left-hand bat.

Mohamed Nissar is a fast bowler with splendid physique, and he can bowl for hours on end. He makes pace off the wicket. Just a moderate bat.

Lall Singh is perhaps the best fielder in the team. He is a good bat and will score well on hard wickets.

Ghulam Mahomed is a left-hand slow bowler and will only get wickets on a soft wicket.

Jehangir Khan is a moderate bat, but he is a good medium fast bowler who can stand the strain of endless overs.

Amar Singh is the best bowler on the side. It is doubtful if he has any superior in England, and I am sure his performances will prove this. A fair bat.

J. Naomol is a good all-rounder. A very safe bat who will get a lot of runs and materially assist the bowling with slow tempting deliveries.

S. R. Godambe is a very good medium pacer who mixes them very well. A fair bat and a fast scorer.

INDIAN HOCKEY XI

The following 15 men have been announced by the Indian Hockey Federation as making the trip to Los Angeles to defend the Hockey title at the Olympic games:

Mr. Allen (Bengal), Mr. Hind (Punjab), Mr. Hammond (United Provinces), Mr. Tapsell (Bengal), Mr. Aslam (Punjab), Mr. Brewin (Bombay), Mr. Masood (Punjab), Mr. Lal Shah (Punjab), Mr. Sullivan (Bombay), Mr. Gurmit Singh (Punjab), Mr. Dhyan Chand of the Indian Army, Mr. Rup Singh (United Provinces) and Mr. Jaffer (Punjab). The following three men are in readiness in case any of the above-mentioned men are not able to make the trip:—Mr. Pinto (Bombay), Mr. Carey (Rajputana), and Mr. Nanikunu (Madras).

THE HEAVY-WEIGHT CHAMPIONSHIP

A new 500,000 dollar stadium is being built in Long Island City for staging the world's heavyweight championship fight between Max Schmeling, the German, and Jack Sharkey, the American, on June 16.

TRANS-INDIA AIR ROUTE

A message to the *Pioneer* says that on the 1st July, the Delhi Flying Club will relinquish its temporary responsibility of carrying mails which will be transferred to a public company, the formation of which is believed to be nearing completion. This company will enter into a contract with the Government of India for the carriage of the air mails by the trans-India route. It is expected that the contract will be signed shortly when certain details have been settled and that the new service will commence operations as from 1st July.

The present intention is that the company's fleet of two aeroplanes in the first instance—and which will not carry passengers—shall operate between Hyderabad (Sind) and Mirzapur with headquarters at Cawnpore and Delhi. The inward air mails from England will travel by train to Hyderabad overnight, be picked up there in the early morning and flown along the route Hyderabad, Jodhpur, Agra, Cawnpore, Mirzapur and there catch the night mail for Calcutta, thus eliminating night-flying without any addition to the time of transport between Karachi and Calcutta. Allahabad, Lucknow and Delhi will thus be missing from the direct route, but Delhi will receive air mails by fast motor service from Agra and Lucknow from Cawnpore.

MADRAS TO DELHI IN ONE DAY

A flight from Madras to Delhi, approximately 1,200 miles, in one day, was accomplished by Mr. F. Tymms, Director of Civil Aviation, and Mr. N. Vincent, Deputy Director of Civil Aviation, on Sunday the 10th April.

Leaving Madras at 5-15 in the morning, they reached Delhi at 6-30 P.M. the same day, having stopped for half an hour at Secunderabad and half an hour at Jubbulpore. This is the first time that the journey has been done in a single day. The machine belongs to Mr. R. E. Grant Govan of the Delhi Flying Club.

AIRMINDEDNESS IN INDIA

"In reviewing the work in previous years we laid claim to having achieved the purpose for which we were formed—that we do a great deal towards creating airmindedness throughout India and encourage sporting aviation. This progress continued in 1931," says the annual report of the Aero Club of India and Burma.

The report refers to the impetus that was given to the sporting side of flying by the creation of the Irwin Flying Fund and the gift of an air race trophy by the Viceroy and Lady Willingdon.

The report, while pointing out how retrenchment has affected the flying clubs, records on the whole a year of steady progress.

Nine Indians were under training as Ground Engineers, or had been trained and returned to India at the end of the year, and as vacancies occurred we were able to offer them employment as such at the Flying Clubs. We are constantly receiving inquiries from Indians who wish to proceed to England to be trained as Pilots or Ground Engineers and we are in a position to give them all the information they require and give them personal introductions to the firms to whom they proceed for training. That the Flying Clubs are able to open another avenue to the employment of Indians is shown by the fact that at the end of the year they were employing 127, of whom 30 were given some form of technical occupation, 28 clerical and 69 menials.

The details of flying reveal the interesting fact that during the year the hours flown by Indians exceeded those flown by Europeans by 675.

SIR H. BIRKIN'S FEAT

Kaye Don's record of one minute twelve and 2/5 seconds representing a speed of 137.58 miles for flying a lap at Brooklands was broken during the practice by Sir Henry Birkin driving a single-seater Bentley. Sir H. Birkin's time was 1 minute twelve and one-fifth seconds, representing a speed of 137.96 miles.

HINKLER HONOURED

At the meeting of the International League of Aviators at Paris, Mr. Bert Hinkler, the Australian airman, was selected as the outstanding British pilot of last year. His *solo* flight across the South Atlantic in a British Moth machine is regarded as one of the finest in the history of aviation.

PROGRESS OF THE CINEMA

For the first time since 1915, England is not almost wholly dependent upon American film supplies, writes Mr. W. G. Faulkner in the *Daily Mail Year Book*. Two years ago 95 per cent. of the films shown on British screens were produced in the United States. The percentage has now fallen to 80, and is still falling into the neighbourhood of 70.

The principal features of the year's history of the cinema are the great rise in the number and quality of British-made pictures; the world-wide spread of the talking picture, as it is still called; the tremendous advance towards perfection of sound recording and reproduction due to continuous improvements in electrical equipment; the building and opening of palatial theatres throughout the world; the disappearance of the silent news film, and the substitution of films with actual sounds and talk; the battle for Sunday opening in Great Britain, and the decline in the number of foreign films imported.

TALKING MACHINES

The kind of phonograph recording used by Edison in his original work promises to return to practical use and produce the most faithful reproductions of music.

Halsey A. Frederick of the Bell Telephone Laboratories demonstrated to the Society of Motion Picture Engineers and the Institute of Radio Engineers new disc records cut by the vertical method instead of the lateral method used in ordinary phonographs. The new system of music reproduction is claimed to eliminate needle scratch.

The material of the new disc records is cellulose acetate, the same substance that is used in making cellophone, rayon and other new products of synthetic chemistry.

STUDIOS AND BIG PAYROLL

H. E. M. writes in *Hollywood Screen World*:

Studio economy for 1932 and antique production policies that worked only during the silent film day, have struck their newest blow in Hollywood. The latest movement is toward the elimination of practically all contracts except for executives and fewer iron-clad ones for them. Bidding from now on will be more in the open market, with people being hired from picture to picture.

Again the independent producers have shown the way. While not making big money—and some not being able to make the grade at all—because members of the Producers' Association are identified with the theatre chain octopus, yet the self-financing film makers have demonstrated they can make attractive product without giving anyone anything more than a single picture-contract.

They have shown the major producers that it can be done, and the "big fellows", at the urgent suggestion of New York bankers, are doing so.

JAYANT PICTURES

After the well deserved success of their production "God of War", Mr. Chamanbhai, in co-operation with Mr. Fidally, has already commenced shooting of a Socio-Historical picture "The Four Devils", featuring Miss Nurjehan (late of Sharada's) and Mr. Inamdar. The story is written by Mr. Mohanlal G. Dave.

RANJIT'S IDEAL-TALKIE IN GUJARATHI

Mr. Chandulal Shah has now completed an Indian Talking and Singing Picture Sati-Savitri in Gujarathi language, featuring Mr. Bhagvandas and Miss Gohur (Senior). Costumes and settings of uncommon attractive value are found in this Talkie. It has been released at the Bombay Imperial.

BUSINESS AT MEALS

"Wise men refuse to do business at meals, observes the medical correspondent of the *Times Trade and Engineering Supplement*. It is between meals that a man is at his best and has the firmest control of himself. At that period his blood, being no longer required for digestion, is at the disposal of his brain.

"It would be interesting, from a doctor's point of view, to know the habits of a representative dozen of really successful men. The odds are that such a group would contain few representatives of the 'business over the luncheon-table' type.

"We ought to eat in peace; we ought to do business with all our armour on. You cannot have it both ways. What we eat matters, indeed, far less than how we eat it. Nobody enjoys a good luncheon or dinner less than the man who is offering it as an introduction to a deal—unless it be the man with whom the deal is to be made."

EATING FOR HEALTH

"The average number of meals eaten by most people is four per day, and there are some who even manage five or six. Nothing but harm can result from eating so frequently," says a writer in *Health for All*.

"The object of eating is to supply the body with sufficient nourishment to replace that absorbed by the working of the body, and the amount of food needed for the purpose can be conveniently taken in two meals by the majority of people. Even the hardest worker will find two meals per day sufficient (provided that the food is properly selected) for the maintenance of a splendid state of health and strength.

"To take the first meal at noon, and the second, and heavier, meal from six to seven hours later, is the ideal all should strive for. When this ideal becomes universally followed, half the disease prevalent in the world will disappear."

FOOD AND HEALTH

The great triumph of preventive medicine in the nineteenth century, says a writer in *New Health*, was the conquest of a number of infectious diseases such as cholera and typhus which used to break out periodically, spreading death and terror among the population. It is mainly due to the better control of these that the expectation of life of a child at birth is now nearly twenty years more than it was a hundred years ago. In the present century medical science is achieving success of equal importance in the prevention of diseases of another kind, *viz.*, those due not to the presence of toxic agents, but to the absence of substances in the food. The so-called "deficiency" diseases and many cases of what are sometimes wrongly considered to be only minor ills, such as dental disease, gastro-intestinal troubles, anaemia and that indefinite ill-health which is still common, can now be definitely attributed to faulty diet, and both the results of research in animals and clinical observations on human beings afford reasons to believe that susceptibility to some infectious diseases is affected by the nature of the food eaten. The connection between food and health is obviously of the first importance for the future of the race. It is a subject on which more information is needed. We want to know the extent to which diets in common use are defective and the nature of the defects, and also the extent to which these defects can be correlated with the incidence of disease.

VITAMINS IN APPLES.

By peeling apples before eating, one deprives oneself of the most healthful part of the fruit according to the results of recent studies. It has been found that the vitamin contents of the peel is at least six times that which exists in the region of the core. It is also reported that while studying the diseases of apples in cold storage, it was found that healthy fruit absorbed acetaldehyde, and, at the same time, protection from the attack of fungi was afforded.

COUPON CIRCULATION

Sir Herbert Austin, addressing the Manchester Publicity Association, said that the craving for bigger circulation figures on the part of newspapers through such mediums as intensive canvassing, insurance and competitions led one to wonder what percentage of circulation which largely governed advertising rates was of value to the advertiser, especially the advertiser of a highly-priced commodity. Granted that these inducements might have been the means of getting individual papers into more homes than otherwise would have been the case but was the increase of proportionate value to the advertiser?

He doubted whether such papers were being bought for their news value. He would prefer to see circulation built up on sound lines by better make-up, better editorials, more effective illustrations and more interesting reading matter. Incidentally, Sir Herbert Austin estimated that the insurance schemes of certain newspapers must have cost between £700,000 and £1,000,000 at the expense of the advertiser.

EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH EXCAVATED

An early Christian Church with five beautiful frescoes has been discovered in the ruins of Doura-Europos in Mesopotamia which the Yale University and the French Academy are jointly excavating. The church is believed to be that of the Hermite Benjamin who, according to the Syriac acts of martyrs, which deal with the life of a general of Sapor II, King of Persia, lived in a ruined city which bears the name of Doura. Meanwhile the archaeologists of the Princeton University have begun excavation of Antioch, one of the four great centres of the ancient world. A five-year programme for the excavation has been planned and funds for its consummation have been guaranteed.

ASTROLOGY

Whether astrology is a precise science or only a pseudo-science dealing with uncertain calculations and far-fetched inferences is a moot point. Be that as it may, there is no gainsaying the fact that there are authentic recorded cases where the predictions of astrologers have come true. In Eastern countries the astrologer thrives like the green bay tree. In India, for instance, almost every Hindu has his horoscope cast to guide him through life. To predict what the stars in their courses have in store for one is the aim of the astrologer who makes his calculations on what he has gathered from some ancient tomes dealing with the astral bodies and their influence on the lives of human beings.

ROUND THE WORLD ON MOTOR CYCLE

Anthony Kurdinger, a young German, who is on a sporting tour from Paris to Tokio on a Peugeot motor cycle, interviewed in Bangalore, said that he started from Paris on the 20th June, 1931, without a single penny and had covered till now about 33,000 miles. In India alone, he has covered about 10,000 miles. He has visited almost all places of interest in India, including Multan, Allahabad, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Cochin, Travancore, Pondicherry and Benares.

GARDEN PESTS

There are several kinds of small beetles and weevils variously coloured and shaped, eating leaves and boring into stems of garden plants, as cucumber, brinjal, etc. The beetles, if too many, have to be destroyed by spraying with lead arsenate. The weevils feign death when disturbed. They are shaken off the plants to pans of oil and water. The beetles which bore into wood should be destroyed. The larvae of the beetle borers inside stems are killed by plugging the holes made by the borers with pieces of cotton wool dipped in a mixture of two parts of chloroform and one part of creosote and closing them up with bee's wax or grafting wax.

FATHER : "You want to marry my daughter—my answer depends upon your financial position."

SUITOR : "What a coincidence—my financial position depends upon your answer."

The dramatic actor was recounting some of his experience.

"Yes," he said, "When I played Romeo, I died so naturally that a man in the audience fainted."

"Wonderful" exclaimed his friend. "But why?"

"Well," explained the actor, "he was my insurance agent."

"There are two periods in his life, my dear, when a man doesn't understand women!"

"Indeed! And when are they?"

"Before and after marriage."

MISTRESS (angrily): "In the time it takes me to tell you to do the work, I could do it myself."

MAID : "Yus, an' in the time it takes me to listen to you, so could I."

JUDGE (of Appellate Court): "Mr.—, you must give this court credit for knowing something."

ADVOCATE : "That's all very well, but that's exactly the mistake I made in the court below."

COUNSEL (urging mitigation of sentence on a plea of drunkenness): "My Lord and gentlemen of the jury, you all know what it is to be drunk."

The only thing which doesn't become smaller when contracted is a debt.

MISTRESS (severely): "If this occurs again, Jane, I shall be compelled to get another servant."

JANE : "I wish you would mum, there's quite enough work for two of us."

"What does your wife say to you when you get home so late?" "I'm not married." "Then why do you go home so late?"

CHILD : "What is a Civil Servant, mother?"

MOTHER (wearily): "I really don't know, darling, I never had one."

MAGISTRATE : "What, you here again? Aren't you ashamed to be here?"

PRISONER : "No, sir. What's good enough for you is good enough for me."

"Ow's your daughter getting on with 'er breach of promise case?" "Oh, fine. She's passed all 'er cross-examinations."

FIRST FILM STAR : "Who was that man you smiled at when we came in?"

SECOND FILM STAR : "Oh, I've forgotten his name, but he was about the nicest man I have ever married."

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 more than the whole thing's worth."

"How did your wife like the diamond brooch you gave her for her birthday?" "Delighted! She was awfully nice for a couple of days; but she's herself again now."

HE : "There was something I wanted to say to you, but I have forgotten what it was."

SHE : "Was it 'Good-night'?"

PRETTY NURSE : "Every time I take this patient's pulse, it gets faster. What shall I do?"

DOCTOR : "Blindfold him."

"STOP THAT DRIFTING"

Sir Herbert Austin's Appeal to Every Man and Woman

Who Wishes to Succeed in Life.



SIR HERBERT AUSTIN, K.B.E. to succeed in life.

"To command opportunity and compel success," he writes, "every man must have a full and sure conviction of his inherent right to a place in the sun, and must then train his mind to such vigour that it is capable of grappling with the problems of life as they arrive."

"Here it is that I am sure Pelmanism is proving of immense help to the people of to-day."

"Too many people are just drifting; Pelmanism can stop that drifting and start the drifter on a useful journey." Make your mind Efficient.

A short course of Pelmanism brings out the mind's latent powers and develops them to the highest pitch of efficiency. It banishes such weaknesses and defects as:

- | | |
|-------------------|---------------------------|
| Depression | Mind-Wandering |
| Shyness | The "Inferiority Complex" |
| Timidity | Indecision |
| Forgetfulness | Weakness of Will |
| The Worry Habit | Procrastination |
| Unnecessary Fears | Restlessness |

which interfere with the effective working-power of the mind and in their place it develops strong, positive, vital qualities such as:

- | | |
|------------------|--------------------|
| —Concentration | —Directive Ability |
| —Optimism | —Presence of Mind |
| —Cheerfulness | —Courage |
| —Judgment | —Self-Confidence |
| —Initiative | —Self-Control |
| —Will Power | —Reliability |
| —Decision | —Driving Force |
| —Originality | —Salesmanship |
| —Resourcefulness | —Business Acumen |

and a Reliable Memory.

By developing these qualities you add to your efficiency and consequently to your Earning Power.

E. May '32.

The value of a Pelman Training is borne out by the letters received from those who have taken the Course, some extracts from which are given here:—

An Agent writes: "I have more Self-Confidence and strong Will-Power." (C. 32,424.)

A Teacher writes: "Your system has given me much power of Concentration and my Memory has considerably improved." (B. 32,285.)

An Apprentice writes: "In the 'Little Grey Books' I feel that I have a brain tonic that will last for ever." (K. 32,051.)

A Bank Clerk writes: "I feel sure I owe my new job to you, as I would not have tried for it if I had not had that feeling of Confidence which your Course gave me." (G. 42,145.)

A Secretary writes: "My Will-Power has certainly improved. I am Self-Conscious. I have developed greater determination—a will to succeed—and more tolerance towards others." (J. 32,148.)

A Typist writes: "There is a great improvement in my Memory. I can recall things now without the great exertion which was required before I had the Course." (C. 32,509.)

A Solicitor reports that he has increased in self-confidence, alertness and self-control. He has also gained stronger powers of Perception and Concentration." (W. 32,651.)

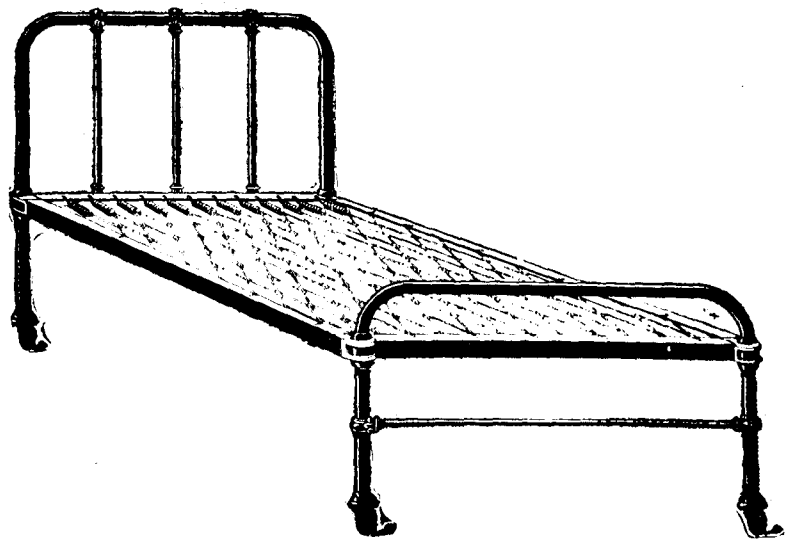
A Book-keeper writes: "I have derived wonderful benefits and hope for still more. The Course has given me a greater interest in life. I am now able to tackle things which seemed far too difficult for me to attempt." (E. 32,134.)

If, therefore, you wish to make the fullest use of the powers now lying latent or only semi-developed in your mind, you should send to-day for a free copy of "The Efficient Mind" and for particulars enabling you "to enrol" for a course of Pelmanism on specially convenient terms.

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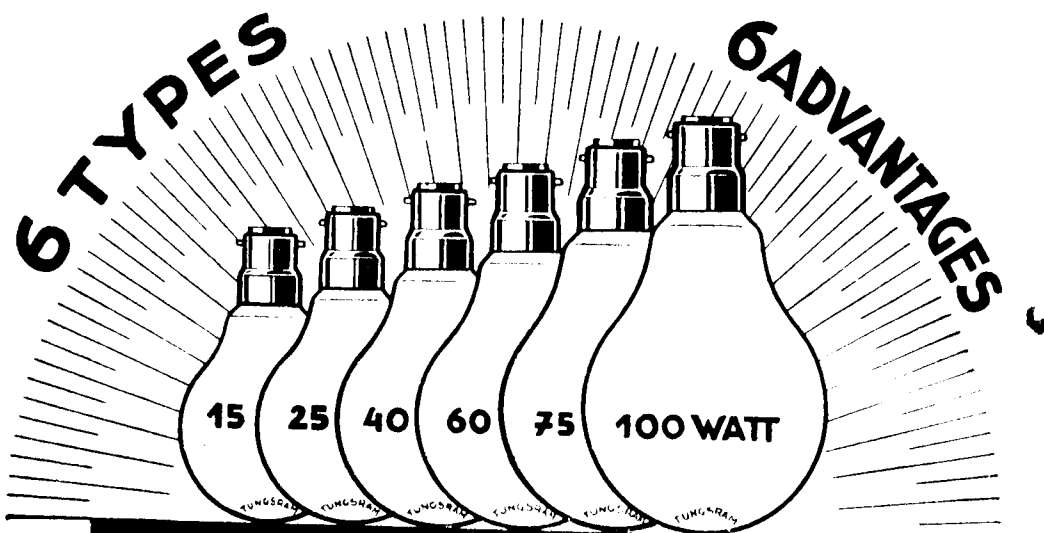
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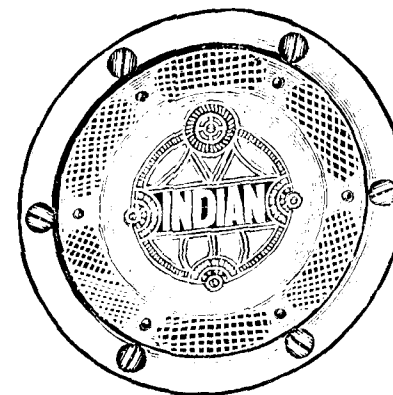
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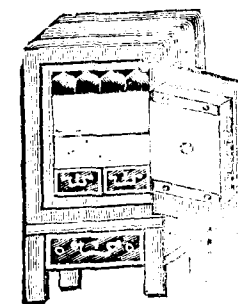
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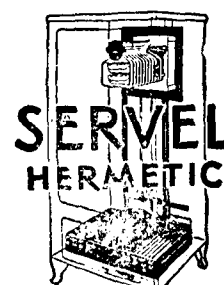
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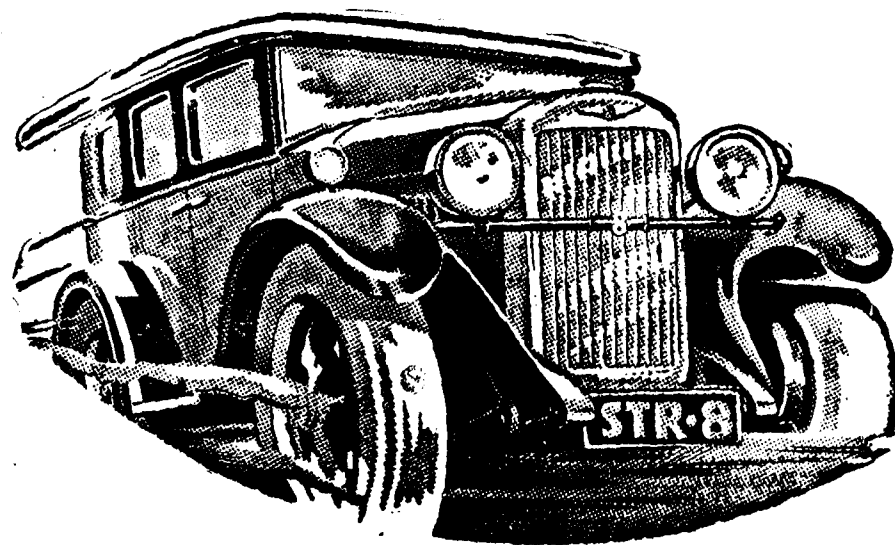
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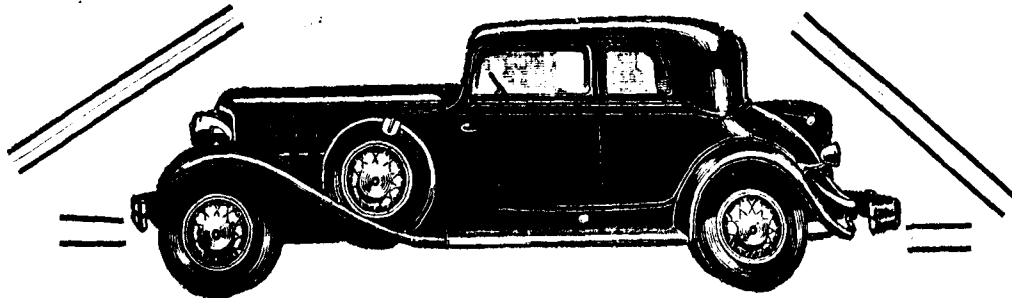
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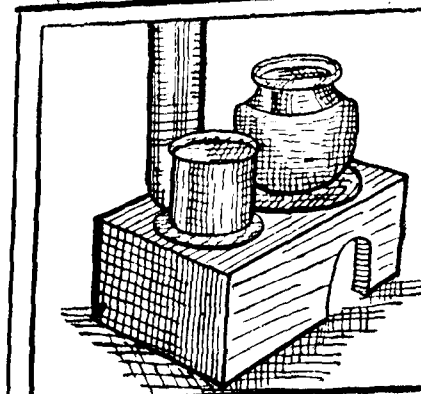
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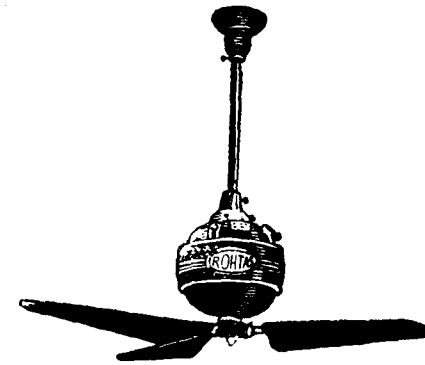
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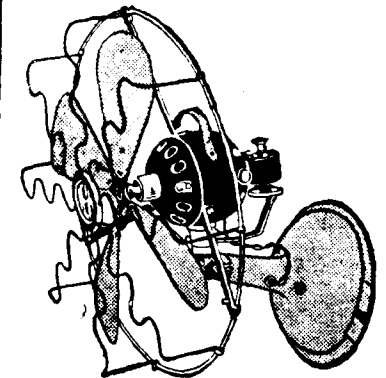
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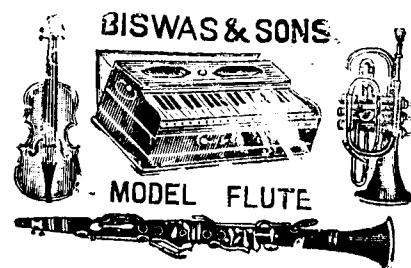
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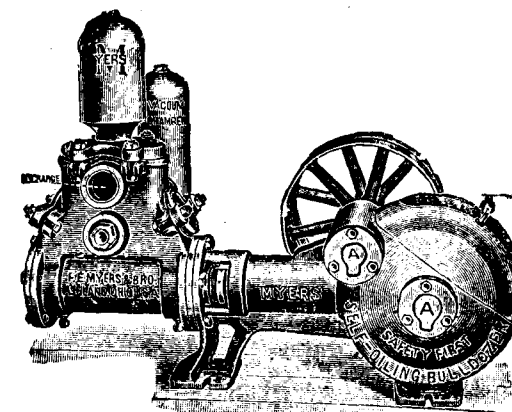
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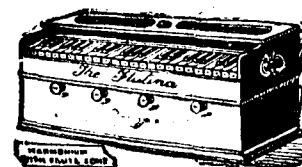
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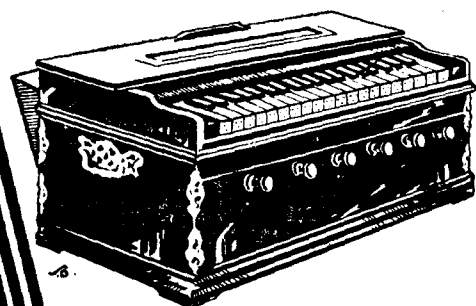
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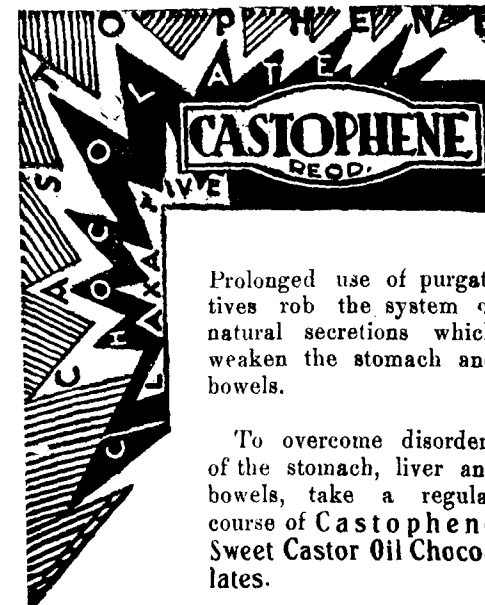
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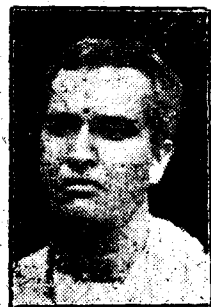
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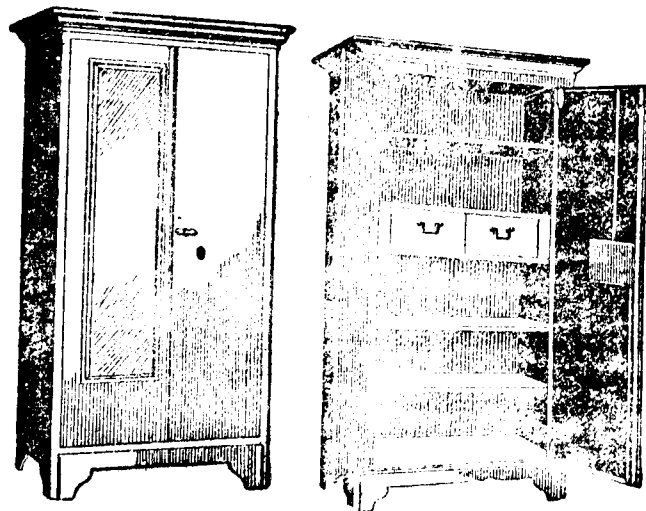
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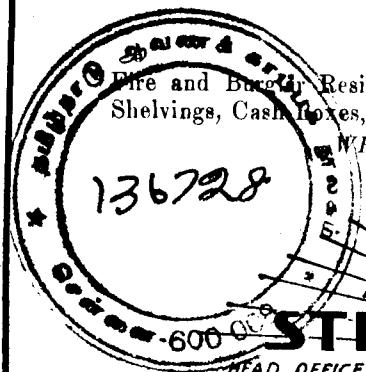
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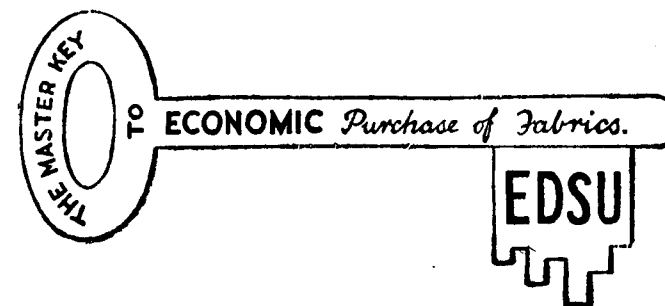
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