

THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL

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

DL. XXXIII.

OCTOBER: CONTENTS.

NO. 10. 1932.

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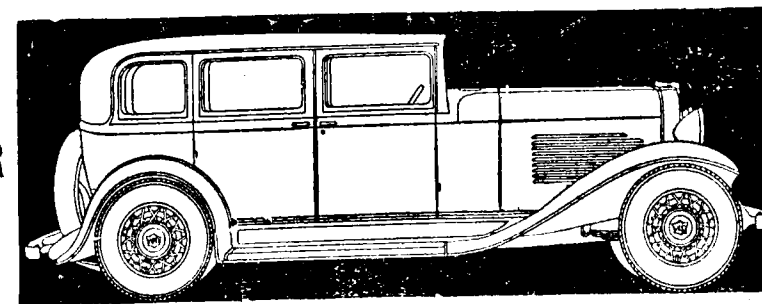
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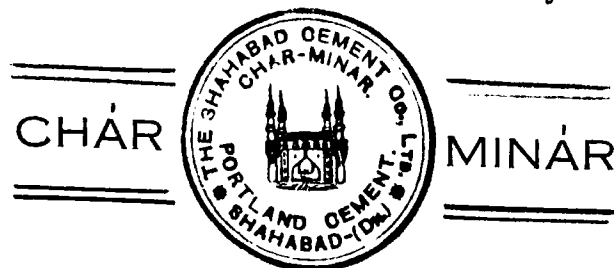
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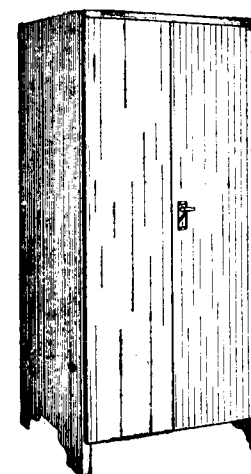
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INDIAN JUDGES

MR. G. A. NATESAN has won the undying gratitude of his countrymen by bringing out from time to time competent monographs on the many scores of eminent Indians who have in divers ways made the India of our day. English publishers issue two volume biographies of their publicists at two guineas per set and they find a market readily in the numerous libraries. India on the other hand is a very poor country. At present a book must needs be published in English if it is to have an all India circulation, but English-educated people form a mere fraction of the entire population. Mr. Natesan's ideal has been to supply the people with good books at cheap prices, and he has realised his ideal to a phenomenal extent. There is scarcely a cultured home in India where many of his publications—be they speeches, or biographies, or sweeping accounts of religious or political movements—do not find an honourable place on the shelves. One of the latest books to be issued by Mr. Natesan is a collection of 21 biographical and critical sketches of outstanding Indian Judges. The book is handy, albeit, it contains more than 500 pages and is priced Three Rupees per copy. I am sure every educated Indian would hasten to buy "Indian Judges" and, dipping into its treasures now and again, would cultivate the faith of Longfellow's: Lives of great men oft remind us:

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Banerjee, Sir P. C. Banerji, Sir R. C. Mitter, Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee, M. G. Ranade, K. T. Telang, Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, Nanabhai Haridas and Sir Shadi Lal. The 21 interesting and fairly exhaustive sketches of renowned Indian Judges whet our appetite for as many more or even twice as many more, issued as companion volumes to the remarkable book under review. Of those who on considerations of space had necessarily to be left out are: Lord Sinha, Sir Dinshaw Mulla, Justice Mullick, Justice Jwala Prasad, Sir T. Sadasiva Iyer and Sir Kumaraswami Sastri, to name only a few at random. They and scores of others who have raised the prestige of the Bench in India would do credit to any country in the world.

One thing I like very much in these sketches is the profusion of apt extracts from the speeches, writings and judgments which help us to evaluate the greatness of the different Judges at first hand. There are choice quotations from Presidential addresses, Convocation speeches, important pronouncements in the Central Assembly and the Provincial Councils and miscellaneous statements and writings. The authors of the sketches have also taken care to give us an idea of what the contemporaries of the subject thought about him. Eardly Norton's description of Sir T. Muthuswami Ayyar, Sir Sivaswami Iyer's estimates of Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar, V. Krishnaswami Iyer and Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's eulogy of Syed Mahmood, G. K. Gokhale's fervent appreciation of Justice Ranade are but a few of the moving passages in the book. Another commendable feature of the sketches is their comparative thoroughness and fulness of treatment. The authors have realised that a sketch of the life and work of a Judge need not confine its attention to his purely judicial work. The sketches deal with human entities. The wig is but the part of the man, not the whole of him. Thus full justice is done to the educational work of Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee and Sir Gurudoss Banjerji, the literary work of Justice Ranade and Justice Telang, the political activities of Sir Subramania Iyer, Sir Sankaran Nair, and Budruddin Tyabji and the original studies in Muhammadan Law by Amir Ali and Sir Abdur Rahim. The portraits too add to the value of the publication. I hope this fine book will have an extensive circulation in India and abroad.—*Federated India*.

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VOL. XXXIII.]

OCTOBER 1932

[NO. 10

Why Britain Must Disarm

BY

THE MARQUIS OF TAVISTOCK

THE British Empire should outlaw, i.e., dispense with armaments on the scale required for settling international disputes, because such armaments have become definitely and invariably a greater drawback as one of the main causes of war than an advantage as a protection against an act of armed aggression. The world being what it is, an armed police force is still needed in certain parts of the earth to protect defenceless people against the relatively insignificant and uncivilised tribes and robber chiefs who still raid for plunder or fight for fighting's sake; but when the writer uses the term "armed police force", he means a police force and not a healthy young Army, Navy, and Air force.

An armed police force is needed to check the raids of tribes on the Afghan frontier, but a military establishment of sufficient strength to keep India for the English against the will of the majority of the Indian people would be neither necessary nor sensible. Similarly, we may still need ships to protect Europeans in Shanghai from the looting bands of Chinese war-lords, but we do not need a fleet adequate for undertaking a naval war with Japan, nor an army strong enough to fight the majority of the Chinese people to defend territory and privileges in China gained in the first instance in an uncommonly fishy manner.

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

--and the worse your case, the more likely you are to resort to war.

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

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

Undoubtedly the main obstacle to disarmament and the abolition of war is the insane but widespread belief in the existence of the robber-raider nation which is only waiting for a country to be unprotected to pounce down upon it. This belief is held with special conviction by "old women of both sexes" who, one is sometimes

tempted to fear, have become the backbone of England, so amazingly do they control the national policy and outlook.

The simple fact is, that the robber-raider nation has no existence except in the imagination of fearful (in both senses of the term) patriots. There is no nation of any size the majority of whose men are so destitute of good feeling and so undesirous of personal comfort that they wish to leave their homes and ravage a distant land whose inhabitants they do not know and from whom they have never received the least injury.

This truth can be easily verified by travel, investigation, and conversation. It may, of course, be the case that, as things are, there are nations the majority of whose people would like to attack us, but they do so only because they fear our armaments; or because they have been injured by us; or because they honestly but mistakenly think that they are going to be injured by us. The obvious remedy, here, is to abolish the armaments and the threat they convey; make reparation for real injury, or, by friendly intercourse, remove the misunderstanding that has led to a presumption of unjust treatment.

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

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

The Ceylon State Council

A DIFFICULT FIRST YEAR

By MR. JOHN COATES

ON July 7th, 1931, the inauguration of the Ceylon State Council marked the beginning of a constitutional experiment that was a development of the untried system of government by committees. It was suggested at the time that the success of this novel means of government might result in a similar system being devised for India and it is for this reason that a review of the first year's working is of such paramount interest at the present time.

Immediately after the assembly of the Council, the Members elected a Speaker and divided themselves into seven executive committees. These committees embraced the various executive departments and elected their own chairmen, who carry the responsibilities of Ministers and are named as such. A further division of the Council was also carried out by the grouping of certain committees

into two Standing Committees, A and B. A Vice-Chairman of the Board of Ministers, a Deputy Speaker, a Deputy Chairman of Committees, a House Committee and a Committee of Standing Orders were also elected within a few days of the first meeting of the Council.

Provided with the necessary parliamentary organisation, the Council proceeded to get down to business without delay and the first important debate was held on the question of Ministers' and Members' salaries. It was finally decided that the former should draw Rs. 1,500 per mensem and the latter Rs. 500 in addition to certain privileges with regard to free railway passes and post and telegraphic facilities. At the same time, however, it was agreed that during the present financial depression, Ministers and Officers of the Council should only draw two-thirds of

their salaries and that Members should be subject to a twenty per cent cut.

The next important subject commanding the attention of the Councillors concerned the payment of furlough passages for Civil Servants and it was on this subject that the first of the unfortunate conflicts between the Governor and the State Council occurred. It will be recalled that, under the terms of the Donoughmore Constitution, the Governor is empowered to overrule the decision of the Council on certain points, one of which concerns the Civil Service.

On July 9th, a special warrant for Rs. 50,000 was issued by the Governor and confirmation was refused in the Council by 37 votes to 14. This decision was promptly overruled and the matter of reduced passage provision in the Budget was referred to the Secretary of State in England. On his instructions, the Governor was empowered to find additional funds for the payment of full passage allowances and, despite the strenuous opposition from the Council, two supplementary estimates for a total of Rs. 720,000 were introduced, rejected by the Council and immediately certified by the Governor.

The Budget containing provision for reduced passages and thus entailing a saving of 4 lakhs of rupees was introduced on September 22nd. A deficit of 17 millions was shown and this was to be found by drawing from surplus balances by floating a 4 million rupee loan and by certain economies in the running of the public services. At the same time recommendations were put forward for a levy on Civil Servants' salaries and an Income-tax. After considerable debate, the Budget passed its third reading on December 1st.

The question of the levy on Civil Servants' salaries was referred to in the Budget speech and, on reference being made to the Secretary of State, permission was granted for temporary reductions to be made, but antagonism again arose over the manner in which such a levy should be effected. The State Council invited the Governor to submit his proposals for their approval but, after discussion with the Secretary of State, His Excellency was unable to accede to the suggestion and the bill, vesting absolute powers in the Governor, was accordingly rejected by the Council amidst protest and certified on March 16th as being of paramount importance and thus coming within the scope of the Governor's authoritative powers.

The first reading of the Income Tax Ordinance, a most important measure and a subject on which argument still rages in Ceylon, was passed without

a division on November 24th. In December, however, debates took place on the second reading which was passed by 34 votes to 18. Subsequently, a Board of Income Tax was agreed to and, on January 28th, sanction was given to a supplementary estimate of just under 3 lakhs of rupees for the Income Tax Department.

Subsequently the details of the Income Tax Bill were submitted to the Governor for his approval and an Amending Bill was introduced on his instructions to cover certain points with which he could not agree. The Amending Ordinance was however rejected on its second reading, and His Excellency thereupon withdrew four of the amendments but certified the fifth which provided for interest derived from Government Loans being free from tax.

Amongst slightly less vital matters dealt with by the Ceylon State Council during the year under review was the question of unemployment which, owing to the acute agricultural and industrial depression, loomed large upon the horizon. On September 9th a Member introduced the subject and on a subsequent date Rs. 25,000 was voted for public works that would give employment to certain classes of labourers and the additional appointment of an unemployment officer at the Ministry of Labour. Subsequently, further sums were required and the Council voted an additional Rs. 150,000 for relief of unemployment in the Island.

Early in the New Year, a Commission was appointed to inquire into the possible economies that could be effected in the Public Services and the departments under their control. Another important resolution, especially at such a time of acute depression, was taken on May 27th when the State Council agreed by a small majority to collect a cess on all tea exported from Ceylon for the purpose of an advertising campaign.

This brief resume of the Council's work during a difficult first year calls for certain comments on the wider aspects of the new Constitution. Much has been made of the Councillors' apparent anti-European attitude, but it is difficult to see on what grounds such racial bias can be imputed. The tea cess resolution, for instance,—a matter that will primarily redound to the advantage of a far larger proportion of Europeans than Ceylonese—reveals a high-minded perception of the needs of the moment and a refusal to pander to petty prejudices.

Undoubtedly the outstanding feature of the year's administration has been the clashes between

the Governor and the Council. Although such friction was predicted by the critics of the Donoughmore Report, it was hoped that such unfortunate conflicts would be avoided.

This has been impossible. The Governor himself, bound hand and foot by the powers that have been given him, had no option but to exercise his veto in certain instances. It was not unnatural, however, that a considerable measure of discontent was engendered in the Council when the motions that they had rejected after lengthy debate were summarily passed into law by a stroke of His Excellency's pen.

Much criticism has been levelled at the Council for their apparent breach of faith with regard to the Civil Servants and this, no doubt, was the cause of the anti-European rumours. The critics, however, appear to have taken little pains to ascertain the attitude of the Councillors; they forget that in politics, as in everything else, there are two sides to every question.

Although it is a fact that certain promises were given to Civil Servants with regard to furlough allowances and salary and pension scales, it must be recalled that these were made long before the birth of the present Council. If it is obligatory for a Government to honour every single obligation entered into by its predecessors, it appears that progress must come to a standstill. Reforms, to suit the needs of the moment, must be expunged from the functions of a government; for there was no political reform ever made that did not contravene the principles laid down by an earlier administration.

Whether it was prudent of the Council to engage in conflict with the Governor and the Secretary of State is another matter. Better results might possibly have been achieved by a more conciliatory attitude. Once confidence had been established in the Council's capabilities, more attention would undoubtedly have been given to their more drastic recommendations.

This somewhat impetuous attitude is in fact the main criticism that must be levelled against the Ceylon State Council by an impartial observer. Although this fault is only to be expected in such a young government as this, yet it appears likely that too much precipitance may undermine the Council and provide an insuperable barrier to further progress along the road to dominion status.

At the moment of writing, a highly critical situation has arisen again with regard to the Civil

Service. During the next financial year, commuted pensions to Public servants are estimated at two million rupees. By strenuous endeavour the Board of Ministers has succeeded in bringing the Budget deficit to this exact figure and it is therefore a matter of either deleting the pension payments or finding a new source of revenue.

The Governor, on instructions from the Secretary of State, has notified the Council that the pensions must be paid and for this to be done, a new tax will have to be imposed. The Board of Ministers which is believed to have the full support of the Council behind it, is stated to be opposed to the payment of pensions on further taxation and is likely to refuse to consider the suggested import duty on rice.

Various rumours are current as to what will occur. Either the Ministry will resign and a general election will be fought on the rice tax issue—an appealing election banner—or it will introduce the Budget with the pension clause deleted. Either course, it is believed, will lead to an impasse and, unless an acceptable compromise can be discovered, a complete deadlock must result.

Such an occurrence might have far-reaching repercussions and it cannot be expected that anything but harm would follow. Although it is easy to sympathise with the Ministers' point of view, prudent foresight seems to demand that they should retract in the interests of the future and it is to be hoped that the latest rumour, which credits them with an effort at compromise, has a solid foundation in fact.

The attitude of the public to the new State Council deserves some comment. While too large a proportion of the electorate is apathetic, the feeling on the whole is not lacking in confidence. There are however two minor sections of the community that hold extreme and opposite views, both of which are equally to be deprecated.

There is the small revolutionary party which buries its shreds of logic beneath a welter of destructive oratory. There is also the band of die-hard pessimists, amongst whom are many of the less intelligent Europeans which refuses to acknowledge either the right of the Ceylonese to govern themselves or their ability to prove that they can do so. Such an attitude not only contravenes every tenet of Imperialism but it is grossly unfair to a Council which, despite mistakes, has emerged from the first critical year with considerable credit.

Labour in the Indian Constitution

BY MR. V. V. GIRI

WHEN this country is faced with the question of attaining self-government, it is necessary to know what part Labour has to play in the future body politic of the country, irrespective of the fact whether or not the impending constitutional changes will result in a substantial measure of responsible government to the people of this country. It is common knowledge that one of the most difficult subjects racking the brains of the politicians is the apportionment of power among various sections of the communities. There are about 130 million persons who comprise the adult population of this country out of a total of 256·8 millions. According to the estimates of India Office, agricultural and industrial labour population of India in the aggregate amount to more than 48 millions, i.e., nearly 4 millions more than the population of Great Britain.

Any question dealing with Labour in the constitution of this country is inextricably bound with the question as to the measure of enfranchisement allowed, proportion of seats in the Legislature, the jurisdiction of various Legislatures to deal with labour questions and the measure of independence enjoyed by various Legislatures.

Knowing the unstable nature of political parties and their promises, it is common custom to recognise the fundamental right of labour by Declaration of Rights in the constitution of the country and with a view to further safeguard the recognised rights, to give adequate voice to labour in the administration of the government of a country. In the Declaration of Rights, the workers should be guaranteed an irreducible standard of living, freedom of association, press, and speech, State protection against the risks of unemployment, sickness, old age and death, the right to strike, etc.

Having secured the recognition of these rights in the constitution, the workers' organisations would concentrate on the establishment of their influence in the councils of the country. This could be secured to a certain extent by adult franchise but as happened in the recent English general election, by the very votes of the workers the employing class may strengthen their power. It is therefore necessary to so adjust the constituencies as to enable labour to send adequate number of representatives.

At present, the number of persons enfranchised barely exceeds 3 per cent. of the population of the areas returning Members to Provincial Councils. Lothian Committee was appointed to frame proposals for extension of franchise to not less than 10 per cent. and not exceeding 25 per cent. of the population in the light of the recommendation of the Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference. In spite of the fact that labour population according to usual definition is nearly 20 per cent. of the total population, representation in the Legislatures of this country has not been proportionate to their numbers. In addition, various employees have been excluded from the definition of labour such as clerical employees, postal workers, etc., who form the black-coated proletariat of this country. The following figures will show the number of seats reserved for labour in the existing Provincial Councils :—

Provinces.	Labour seats.	Total No. of existing seats.	Commerce, Industry, Planting and Mining.	Landlords.
Madras	Nil.	132	6	6
Bombay	3	114	8	3
Bengal	2	140	15	5
United Provinces ...	Nil.	123	3	6
Punjab	1	94	2	4
Bihar and Orissa ...	1	103	4	5
Central Provinces ...	1	73	2	3
Assam	1	53	6	Nil.
Assembly	Nil.	...	...	...

It has also to be pointed out that the employers' class, besides exercising influence in regard to elections of candidates, have also special representation as mentioned above.

Besides the above seats reserved for commerce and industry, special seats are also reserved for landholders whose interests are more with the commercial and industrial employers than with the workers. The considerable influence which the landholders exercise at present in the Legislature will be evident from the number of seats reserved for them in the several Legislatures as stated above.

The Lothian Committee has practically recommended the continuance of the existing number of seats in the future Councils.

The existing franchise qualifications are so rigid that it is almost next to impossible for

a worker candidate to be returned to the Legislative Council.

It is clear that the only persons on whom the labour representatives can rely for support in the Councils are those who are returned from general constituencies.

Even if there is adult franchise, the troubles would not be solved without proper class consciousness among the workers and more so when adult franchise has been ruled out of question by the Lothian Committee; there is not the slightest hope that Labour will secure representation justified by its numbers and importance.

It has been already stated that labour seats in the Councils either do not exist or are entirely inadequate. The position is not much improved by the fact that Lothian Committee has recommended the following number of labour seats in the various Legislatures.

PROPOSALS BY LOTHIAN COMMITTEE

Provinces.	Total No.	No. of Labour Seats.	No. of seats for employers' class including landholders.
Madras ...	215	6	12
Bombay ...	200	8	11
Bengal ...	250	8	20
United Provinces ...	225	3	9
Punjab ...	175	3	6
Bihar and Orissa ...	175	4	9
Central Provinces ...	105	2	5
Assam ...	100	4	6

From the above it will be seen that the number of seats for labour is in certain cases one-third of the seats reserved for the corresponding employers' class. In Councils of the above composition one cannot expect that labour will make its importance felt.

Thus labour has been handicapped doubly by denial of adult suffrage and, secondly, by reservation of greater number of seats for employers' interests. As regards the general seats, on account of the communal barriers artificially set up, there is not the slightest chance of labour securing a hearing from constituencies pre-occupied with communal dissensions.

As regards the Federal Assembly, the Lothian proposal to give 8 seats for labour out of a total of about 200 or 300 as recommended by the Committee, is not calculated to improve the position of labour at all. There is also another

question to be considered. That Labour legislation and administration should be Federal subjects without prejudice to subordinate concurrent powers to the Provincial Legislatures is a familiar and just labour demand, nobody will seriously dispute. This has to be provided for in the constitution.

The Whitley Commission has recommended that a scheme of Economic Councils should be incorporated in the future constitution in order that labour matters may receive special attention of employers, workers and others interested in the questions. Although the position of these Economic Councils as recommended by the Whitley Report is one of advisory character, it is worth calling attention to the necessity of setting up decentralised legislative machinery with full powers to deal with labour questions. Of course the Legislature will not lose its powers to legislate for the workers by this auxiliary machinery. It has been remarked that the present output of labour legislation both in the Provincial and Central Legislatures is extremely unsatisfactory. It is to be hoped that the workers would get some compensation in the shape of proper Statutory Economic Councils for the loss sustained by the under-representation of labour interests in the Legislatures which, after all, are not going to enjoy a substantial measure of self-government in the present state of affairs when Britain demands certain financial and other safeguards.

Workers as such cannot be expected to rest satisfied until they have a predominant voice in the affairs of the country, and if the pitfalls of other countries where class antagonism of a very acute character prevails are to be avoided, it is well that the truth is realised that without workers there can be no Government, and the workers are determined to realise the ideal of socialistic State which will be classless, which will ensure to all the workers their fundamental rights and which will be based on the principle: "Each for all and all for each."

Simla, Sept. 26.

Mr. H. G. Haig announced in the Assembly and Sir Frank Noyce announced in the Council of State amidst loud cheers the acceptance by the British Government of Poona Settlement to the extent it affects the Communal Award. The other matter would receive due consideration at the proper time.

Capitation Charges on British Troops

BY SIR PURSHOTAMDAS THAKURDAS

[In view of the appointment of a tribunal presided over by Sir Robert Garran, a former Solicitor-General of Australia, with Sir Shadi Lal, Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court, and Sir S. M. Sulaiman, Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court, to inquire into the dispute about Capitation charges between the British and Indian Governments, the following note submitted by Sir Purushotamdas Thakurdas to the Viceroy of India in 1923 will be read with great interest. Mr. B. Das's adjournment motion in the Assembly elicited little information on the scope and possibilities before the Tribunal. Sir Purushotamdas has however in this note furnished a luminous account of these charges. This exaction from India has from the beginning been denounced by the non-official Indians. Foremost among the critics who pleaded for doing away with it was the late Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and among living politicians Sir Dinshaw Wacha, a well recognised authority on Indian finance in general and of military expenditure in particular. But the protest against the Capitation charges has not been confined to non-officials only. To the credit of the authorities be it noted that more than one Secretary of State for India has pointed out the inequity of this burden. The Government of India too from time to time have been entering their protest against this unfair exaction from the coffers of poor India. It is to be hoped that the tribunal will be able to ring the death-knell of this unjust burden.—ED. I. R.]

THE interest of the British War Office in Indian Military Administration in detail started in 1859 after the Mutiny with the Army Amalgamation Scheme, by which the British section of the Army in India was to form part of the British Army and was to be obtained from the War Office. India was required to repay to the British Exchequer the actual cost incurred by the War Office at home in raising and maintaining the British force in India. Further, the Government of India was bound by the rates of pay and allowances and terms of leave, pension scales, etc., holding in the Army in England. The payment of the claims of the War Office for raising and training the British contingents to the Army in India has been a fruitful source of bickerings between the Government of India and the War Office.

In 1861, a Committee recommended payment for these Home Charges in the form of a capitation rate of £10 a year on every soldier on the British establishment in India, the term soldier including officers of all ranks. The annual average sum paid by India during 1861-69, inclusive of capitation charges, was £631,244.

In 1870, India disputed this rate and declined to pay more than certain sums on account. From 1870 to 1878 these payments on account averaged only £440,000 a year. An Act of Parliament confirmed this payment as full payment involving a remission of War Office claims to the extent of about £400,000 to India. Between 1879 and 1890 no capitation rate could be fixed and lump sum payments were made.

Lord Northbrook's Committee fixed the capitation charge at £7-10 per head without

deferred pay. Payments were made at this rate from 1890-91.

The Government of India contended before the Welby Commission that the rate of £7-10 was too high.

The conclusion of the majority of that Commission was summarised as follows:

We have come to the conclusion that it is not necessary to revise the capitation rate. We think that it might continue in force for a further period of five or six years, but that at the end of that time a general revision should take place.

This general revision recommended by the Welby Commission began in 1906 and ended in a compromise between the India Office and the War Office in 1908. The capitation rate was fixed at £11-4.

In July 1920, the War Office suggested raising the capitation rate to £28-10-0 per head of the authorised establishment of the British Army in India with effect from 1st July 1919. For 1920-21 and 1921-22 provisional payments were made to the War Office on that basis.

In January 1921, the India Office applied for a reduction in view of the decrease from twelve to six months in the minimum period of training of a British soldier in England. This was rejected.

In February 1922, another appeal was made to the War Office and the rate was provisionally reduced to £25-6-5. * * *

Regarding the Royal Air Force, since 1920-21 India has been making a provisional payment of £100,000 per year to the Air Ministry for the cost of raising and training the annual drafts and reliefs of Air Force personnel. No detailed calculation justifying the payment has yet been furnished by the Air Ministry to the Government

of India. The payment works out to a capitation rate of about £54 per head of the authorised strength of the R.A.F. officers and other ranks in India.

To the capitation charge for British troops has to be added the cost of their sea-transport to and from England, which is by no means an inconsiderable item in the Indian Budget. * *

The main factors contributing to this rise are:

- (1) Rise in passage and freight rates.
- (2) Improvement of the standard of accommodation and comfort of British troops in transports ordered by His Majesty's Government.
- (3) Grant of concession of free passage for themselves and their families from India to England and back sanctioned for officers granted sick leave out of India. This is estimated to amount in 1922-23 to £200,000.

Against the cost of transport of British troops, the British War Office continues to pay a sum of £130,000, a contribution which owes its origin to a recommendation of the Welby Commission of 1900 and which was not revised when the capitation rate was revised in 1908. From a reference to the Welby Commission Report, I find that the actual wording of the Welby Commission is as under:

On page 125 of their Report, they say:

In the meantime we recommend as a measure justifiable in the circumstances, that half the cost of transport of troops to and from India should be defrayed by the Imperial Government.

In para. 364 again they summarise the grants to be made by the Imperial Government and say:

half the cost of transport of British troops to and from India £130,000.

I have not been able to understand why the Government of India recover only £130,000 from the War Office instead of recovering half of the actual cost. * *

If this question is gone into by the Government of India, there should be a considerable amount recoverable from the War Office on account of their half liability to India for the transport charges.

Not only has the amount of the capitation charges been a subject of continued disputes, but the very justification for it has been called in question by eminent servants of the Crown. In the assessment of these charges, India is practically looked upon as an independent sovereign power, which has to pay the War Office the entire cost of raising and training the British recruits she requires for the army. That this is not the correct view to take, that India is not purely a

competitor for the British recruit in the English market, and that the Army Amalgamation Scheme is not merely a business contract with the War Office, will be abundantly clear from the following:

As early as 1879 the Simla Army Commission wrote almost prophetically:

In the matter of Army Organization, England and India should, we feel, act on strict terms of reciprocity, for there can be no doubt that, while India derives great advantages from being garrisoned by a portion of the Army of England and the reserve which the English army represents, England also derives very considerable benefits from this arrangement and has, in the native army of India, a great reserve in the case of her being engaged in military operations in the East outside India proper. While, therefore, we fully recognise the fact that the establishment of Her Majesty's British Troops serving in India must of necessity be dependent in a great degree on the home organisation, we consider that all possible concessions, not directly and radically inconsistent with that organisation, should be made to the special requirements and circumstances of India. If this principle be not recognised and enforced in a liberal and even generous spirit, it is possible that the advantages which India may hope to derive from the present system may be too dearly purchased and may become a burthen which the country will be unable to bear. India may thus be driven by sheer necessity to re-establish a local army which, though less efficient than that now at her disposal, may be sufficient for her purposes and more within her needs.

In 1900, the Welby Commission drew attention to the great benefit derived by the British Government from the existence of a large effective force in India, particularly with reference to safeguarding the great and varied interests of the British Empire in the Eastern Seas.

Mr. Buchanan, in his reservation to the Report of this Commission, specifically disputed the fairness of the capitation charges in these words:

The charge (the capitation grant) has no parallel elsewhere in the Empire. It would never have been made *de novo*. Its origin dates back to the time when India had a European force of her own and for its service a recruiting station of her own at Warley in this country.

When the Company's European army was abolished, the British Government made India pay not only for the British regiments supplied, but a proportion of the general recruiting charges at home.

Nothing has given rise to more frequent and long continued disputes between the two Governments from 1861 onwards; numerous committees and commissions have been appointed, the War Office and the India Office never agree, and as Sir Henry Brackenbury who before us:

'Nobody in India believes in the fairness of the capitation charges.'

It cannot be said that the views so ably and unequivocally expressed above are either prejudiced or partial.

Gandhiji's Fateful Decision

[A national crisis of the first magnitude has been suddenly sprung on the country by the publication of Mahatma Gandhi's correspondence with Sir Samuel Hoare and the Prime Minister. Since then events have moved with dramatic swiftness, and if we may so term it, the centre of gravity of the political situation has shifted to Yerawada. For the moment the whole country is astir with the one desire to save the life of Mahatma Gandhi by a concerted and supreme effort at a settlement of the problem of the Depressed Classes. In the correspondence which we publish below, Mahatma Gandhi explains that with him the question of these classes is predominantly moral and religious. The full text of the correspondence conveying his decision "to fast unto death" if the communal electorate to the Depressed Classes is not abandoned, is published below. In response to numerous requests to re-consider his fast, Mahatma Gandhi answered: "Pray do not ask me to alter a decision taken in God's name and at His call. If He wills He will keep me alive notwithstanding the fast till a settlement is reached." As we go to press the Leaders' Conference in Bombay is busy devising a formula acceptable to all parties concerned and it is hoped that a solution may be found which would obviate the need for the continuance of the fast.—EDITOR, *Indian Review*.]

GANDHIJI'S LETTER TO SIR S. HOARE

THE following is the letter from Mr. Gandhi to Sir Samuel Hoare, dated Yerawada Central Prison, March 11th, 1932:

"Dear Sir Samuel,

You will perhaps recollect that at the end of my speech at the Round Table Conference when the Minorities' claim was presented, I had said that I should resist with my life the grant of separate electorate to the Depressed Classes.* This was not said in the heat of the moment nor by way of rhetoric. It was meant to be a serious statement.

In pursuance of that statement I had hoped on my return to India to mobilize public opinion

* The following is the text of Gandhiji's speech on November 13, 1931, at the last meeting of the Minorities Committee of the R. T. C:

I can understand the claims advanced by other Minorities, but the claims advanced on behalf of the untouchables is to me the "unkindest cut of all". It means the perpetual bar sinister.

I would not sell the vital interests of the untouchables even for the sake of winning the freedom of India. I claim myself, in my person, to represent the vast mass of the untouchables.

Here I speak not merely on behalf of the Congress, but I speak on my own behalf, and I can claim that I would get, if there was a referendum of the untouchables, their vote and that I would top the poll. And I would work from one end of India to the other to tell the untouchables that separate electorates and separate reservation is not the way to remove this bar sinister which is the shame, not of them, but of orthodox Hinduism.

Let this Committee and let the whole world know that to-day there is a body of Hindu reformers who are pledged to remove this blot of untouchability.

We do not want on our register and our census the untouchables classed as a separate class. Sikhs may remain as such in perpetuity, so may Moslems, so

against separate electorate at any rate for the Depressed Classes. But it was not to be.

From the newspapers I am permitted to read, I observe that any moment His Majesty's Government may declare their decision. At first I had thought that if the decision was found to create separate electorates for the Depressed Classes, I should take such steps as I might then consider necessary to give effect to my vow. But I feel it would be unfair to the British Government for me to act without giving previous notice. Naturally they could not attach the significance I give to my statement.

I need hardly reiterate all the objections I have to the creation of separate electorates for the Depressed Classes. I feel as if I was one of

may Europeans. Will untouchables remain untouchables in perpetuity? I would far rather that Hinduism died than that untouchability lived.

Therefore with all my regard for Dr. Ambedkar and for his desire to see the untouchables uplifted, with all my regard for his ability, I must say in all humility that here is a great wrong under which he has laboured and, perhaps, the bitter experience he has undergone for the moment warped his judgment.

It hurts me to have to say this, but I would be untrue to the cause of untouchables which is as dear to me as life itself if I did not say it. I will not bargain away their rights for the kingdom of the whole world.

I am speaking with a due sense of responsibility when I say it is not a proper claim which is registered by Dr. Ambedkar when he seeks to speak for the whole of the untouchables in India. It will create a division in Hinduism which I cannot possibly look forward to with any satisfaction whatsoever.

I do not mind the untouchables being converted to Islam or Christianity. I should tolerate that, but I cannot possibly tolerate what is in store for Hinduism if there are two divisions set forth in the villages.

Those who speak of political rights of untouchables do not know India and do not know how Indian society is to-day constructed. Therefore I want to say with all the emphasis that I can command that if I was the only person to resist this thing, I will resist it with my life.

them. Their case stands on a wholly different footing from that of others. I am not against their representation in the legislatures. I should favour every one of their adults, male and female, being registered as voters irrespective of education or property qualifications even though the franchise test may be stricter for others. But I hold that separate electorate is harmful for them and for Hinduism whatever it may be from a purely political standpoint. To appreciate the harm that separate electorates would do them, one has to know how they are distributed amongst the so-called caste-Hindus and how dependent they are on the latter. So far as Hinduism is concerned, separate electorate would simply vivisection and disrupt it. For me the question of these classes is predominantly moral and religious. The political aspect, important though it is, dwindles into insignificance compared to the moral and religious issue. You will have to appreciate my feelings in this matter by remembering that I have been interested in the condition of these classes from my boyhood and have more than once staked my all for their sake. I say this not to pride myself in any way. I feel that no penance caste-Hindus may do, can in any way compensate for the calculated degradation to which they have consigned the Depressed Classes for centuries. But I know that separate electorate is neither penance nor any remedy for the crushing degradation they have groaned under.

I therefore respectfully inform His Majesty's Government that in the event of their decision creating separate electorate for the Depressed Classes, I must fast unto death.

I am painfully conscious of the fact that such a step, whilst I am a prisoner, must cause grave embarrassment to His Majesty's Government and that it will be regarded by many as highly improper on the part of one holding my position to introduce into the political field methods which they would describe as hysterical, if not much worse. All that I can urge in defence is that, for me, the contemplated step is not a method, it is a part of my being. It is the call of conscience which I dare not disobey even though it may cost whatever reputation for sanity I may possess.

So far as I can see now, my discharge from imprisonment would not make the duty of fasting any the less imperative.

I am hoping however that all my fears are wholly unjustified and that the British

Government have no intention whatever of creating separate electorate for the Depressed Classes.

It is perhaps as well for me to refer to another matter that is agitating me and which may also enforce a similar fast. It is the way repression is going on. I have no notion when I may receive the shock that would compel the sacrifice. Repression appears to me to be crossing what might be called legitimate. Governmental terrorism is spreading through the land. Both English and Indian officials are being brutalised. The latter, high and low, are becoming demoralised by reason of the Government regarding as meritorious disloyalty to the people and inhuman conduct towards their own kith and kin. The latter are being cowed down. Free speech has been stifled. Goondaism is being practised in the name of law and order. Women who have come out for public service stand in fear of their honour being insulted.

And all this, as it seems to me, is being done in order to crush the spirit of freedom which the Congress represents. Repression is not confined to punishing civil breaches of the common law. It goads people to break the newly made orders of autocracy designed for the most part to humiliate them.

In all these doings, as I read them, I see no spirit of democracy. Indeed, my recent visit to England has confirmed my opinion that your democracy is a superficial circumscribed thing. In the weightiest matters, decisions are taken by individuals or groups without any reference to the Parliament and these have been ratified by members having but a vague notion of what they were doing. Such was the case with Egypt and the War of 1914 and such is the case with India. My whole being rebels against the idea that in a system called democratic, one man should have unfettered power of affecting the destiny of an ancient people numbering over three hundred millions and that his decisions can be enforced by mobilising the most terrible forces of destruction. To me this is a negation of democracy.

And this repression cannot be prolonged without further embittering the already bitter relations between the two peoples. In so far as I am responsible and can help it, how am I to arrest the process? Not by stopping Civil Disobedience. For me it is an article of faith. I regard myself by nature a democrat. The democracy of my conception is wholly inconsistent with the use

of physical force for enforcing its will. Civil resistance therefore has been conceived to be a proper substitute for physical force to be used wherever generally the latter is held necessary or justifiable. It is a process of self-suffering and a part of the plan is, that in given circumstances a civil resister must sacrifice himself even by fasting to a finish. That moment has not yet arrived for me. I have no undeniable call from within for such a step. But events happening outside are alarming enough to agitate my fundamental being. Therefore in writing to you about the possibility of a fast regarding the Depressed Classes, I felt I would be untrue to you if I did not tell you also there was another possibility, not remote, of such a fast.

Needless to say, from my side absolute secrecy has been maintained about all the correspondence I have carried on with you. Of course, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Mr. Mahadev Desai who have just been sent to join us, know all about it. But you will no doubt make whatever use you wish of this letter."

SIR SAMUEL HOARE'S REPLY

The following is the letter, dated April 13th, 1932, from Sir Samuel Hoare to Mr. Gandhi:

"Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I write in answer to your letter of the 11th March and I say at once that I realise fully the strength of your feeling upon the question of separate electorates for the Depressed Classes. I can only say that we intend to give you any decision that may be necessary solely and only upon the merits of the case. As you are aware, Lord Lothian's Committee has not yet completed its tour and it must be some weeks before we can receive any conclusions at which it may have arrived. When we receive the report we shall have to give most careful consideration to its recommendations, and we shall not give a decision until we have taken into account, in addition to the views expressed by the Committee, the views that you and those who think with you have so forcibly expressed. I feel sure that if you were in our position, you would be taking exactly the same action we intend to take. You would await the Committee's Report, you would then give it your fullest consideration, and before arriving at a final decision, you would take into account the views that have been expressed on both sides of the controversy. More than this I cannot say.

Indeed, I do not imagine that you would expect me to say more.

As to the Ordinances, I can only repeat what I have already said, both publicly and privately. I am convinced that it was essential to impose them in the face of the deliberate attack upon the very foundations of ordered government. I am also convinced that both the Government of India and the Local Governments are not abusing their extensive powers and are doing everything possible to prevent excessive or vindictive action. We shall not keep the emergency measures in force any longer than we are obliged to for the purpose of maintaining the essentials of law and order and protecting our officials and other classes of the community against terrorist outrages."

LETTER TO MR. MACDONALD

Letter from Mr. Gandhi, dated Yerawada Central Prison, August 18, to the Prime Minister:

"Dear friend,

There can be no doubt that Sir Samuel Hoare has showed you and the Cabinet my letter to him of 11th March on the question of the representation of the Depressed Classes. That letter should be treated as part of this letter and be read together with this.

I have read the British Government's decision on the representation of the Minorities and have slept over it. In pursuance of my letter to Sir Samuel Hoare and my declaration at the meeting of the Minorities Committee of the Round Table Conference on the 13th November 1931 at St. James's Palace, I have to resist your decision with my life. The only way I can do so is by declaring a perpetual fast unto death from food of any kind, save water with or without salt and soda. This fast will cease if during its progress the British Government of its own motion or under the pressure of public opinion revise their decision and their scheme of communal electorates for the Depressed Classes, whose representatives should be elected by general electorate under common franchise no matter how wide it is.

The proposed fast will come into operation in the ordinary course from the noon of 20th September next unless the said decision is meanwhile revised in the manner suggested above.

I am asking the authorities here to cable the text of this letter to you so as to give you ample notice. But in any case I am leaving sufficient time for this letter to reach you in time by the slowest route.

I also ask that this letter and my letter to Sir Samuel Hoare, already referred to, be published at the earliest possible moment. On my part I have scrupulously observed the rule of the jail and have communicated my desire or the contents of the two letters to no one save my two companions, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Sjt. Mahadev Desai. But I want, if you make it possible, public opinion to be affected by my letters. Hence my request for their early publication.

I regret the decision that I have taken. But as a man of religion that I hold myself to be, I have no other course left open to me. As I have said in my letter to Sir Samuel Hoare, even if His Majesty's Government decided to release me in order to save themselves embarrassment, my fast will have to continue. For, I cannot now hope to resist the decision by any other means. And I have no desire whatsoever to compass my release by any means other than honourable.

It may be that my judgment is warped and that I am wholly in error in regarding separate electorates for the Depressed Classes as harmful to them or Hinduism. If so, I am not likely to be in the right with reference to other parts of my philosophy of life. In that case, my death by fasting will be at once a penance for my error and a lifting of a weight from off those numberless men and women who have a childlike faith in my wisdom. Whereas if my judgment is right, as I have little doubt it is, the contemplated step is but a due fulfilment of the scheme of life which I have tried for more than a quarter of a century apparently not without considerable success."

THE PREMIER'S REPLY

Letter from Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, 10 Downing Street, dated September 8th, 1932:

"Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I have received your letter with much surprise and let me add with very sincere regret. Moreover I cannot help thinking that you have written it under a misunderstanding as to what the decision of His Majesty's Government as regards the Depressed Classes really implies.

We have always understood that you were irrevocably opposed to permanent segregation of the Depressed Classes from the Hindu community. You made your position very clear on the Minorities Committee of the Round Table Conference and you expressed it again in the

letter you wrote to Sir Samuel Hoare on the 11th March. We also knew that your view was shared by a great body of Hindu opinion and we therefore took it into most careful account when we were considering the question of the representation of the Depressed Classes.

Whilst in view of the numerous appeals we have received from the Depressed Classes organisations and the generally admitted social disabilities under which they labour and which you have recognised, we felt it our duty to safeguard what we believed to be the right of the Depressed Classes to a fair proportion of representation in the legislatures, we were equally careful to do nothing that would split off their community from the Hindu world. You yourself stated in your letter of March 11th that you were not against their representation in the legislatures. Under the Government's scheme, the Depressed Classes will remain part of the Hindu community and will vote with the Hindu electorate on an equal footing; but for the first twenty years, while still remaining electorally part of the Hindu community, they will receive through a limited number of special constituencies the means of safeguarding their rights and interests that we are convinced is necessary under the present conditions. Where these constituencies are created, the members of the Depressed Classes will not be deprived of their votes in the general Hindu constituencies but will have two votes in order that their membership of the Hindu community should remain unimpaired. We deliberately decided against the creation of what you describe as communal electorate for the Depressed Classes and include all Depressed Classes voters in the general or Hindu constituencies so that the higher caste candidates should have to solicit their votes or Depressed Class candidates should have to solicit the votes of higher castes at the election. Thus in every way was the unity of Hindu society preserved.

We felt however that during the early period of Responsible Government, when power in the Provinces would pass to whoever possessed a majority in the legislatures, it was essential that the Depressed Classes whom you have yourself described in your letter to Sir Samuel Hoare as having been consigned by caste-Hindus to calculated degradation for centuries, should return a certain number of members of their own choosing to the legislatures of seven of the nine Provinces to voice their grievances and

their ideals and prevent decisions going against them without the legislature and Government listening to their case—in a word to place them in a position to speak for themselves which every fair-minded person must agree to be necessary. We did not consider the method of electing special representatives by reservation of seats in the existing conditions under any system of franchise which is practicable, of members who could genuinely represent them and be responsible for them, because in practically all cases such members would be elected by a majority consisting of the higher caste Hindus.

The special advantage initially given under our scheme to the Depressed Classes by means of a limited number of special constituencies in addition to their normal electoral rights in the general Hindu constituencies is wholly different in conception and effect from the method of representation adopted for a minority such as Moslems by means of separate communal electorates. For example, a Moslem cannot vote or be a candidate in a general constituency whereas any electorally qualified member of the Depressed Classes can vote in and stand for a general constituency. The number of territorial seats allotted to Moslems is naturally conditioned by the fact that it is impossible for them to gain any further territorial seats and in most provinces they enjoy weightage in excess of their population ratio. The number of special seats to be filled from special Depressed Class constituencies will be seen to be small and has been fixed not to provide a quota numerically appropriate for the total representation of the whole of the Depressed Class population but solely to secure a minimum number of spokesmen for the Depressed Classes in the legislature who are chosen exclusively by Depressed Classes. The proportion of their special seats is everywhere much below the population percentage of the Depressed Classes.

As I understand your attitude, you propose to adopt the extreme course of starving yourself to death, not in order to secure that the Depressed Classes should have joint electorates with other Hindus, because that is already provided, nor to maintain the unity of the Hindus which is also provided, but solely to prevent the Depressed Classes who admittedly suffer from terrible disabilities to-day from being able to secure a limited number of representatives of their own choosing to speak on their behalf in the legislatures which will have a dominating influence

over their future. In the light of these very fair and cautious proposals, I am quite unable to understand the reason of the decision you have taken and can only think you have made it under a misapprehension of the actual facts.

In response to a very general request from Indians after they had failed to produce a settlement themselves, the Government, much against its will, undertook to give a decision on the Minorities question. They have now given it and they cannot be expected to alter it except on the conditions they have stated. I am afraid therefore that my answer to you must be that the Government's decision stands and that only an agreement of the communities themselves can substitute other electoral arrangements for those that the Government have devised in a sincere endeavour to weigh conflicting claims on their just merits.

You ask that this correspondence, including your letter to Sir Samuel Hoare of March 11th, should be published. As it would seem to me unfair if your present internment were to deprive you of the opportunity of explaining to the public the reason why you intend to fast, I readily accede to the request if, on reconsideration, you repeat it. Let me however once again urge you to consider the actual details of the Government's decision and ask yourself seriously the question whether it really justifies you in taking the action you contemplate."

GANDHIJ'S FINAL LETTER

Letter from Mr. Gandhi, dated the Yerawada Central Prison, 9th September, to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald:

"Dear friend,

I have to thank you for your frank and full letter telegraphed and received this day. I am sorry however that you put upon the contemplated step an interpretation that never crossed my mind. I have claimed to speak on behalf of the very class, to sacrifice whose interests you impute to me a desire to fast myself to death. I had hoped that the extreme step itself would effectively prevent any such selfish interpretation. Without urging, I affirm, that for me, this matter is one of pure religion. The mere fact of the Depressed Classes having double-votes does not protect them or the Hindu society in general from being disrupted. In the establishment of separate electorate at all for the Depressed Classes, I

sense the injection of a poison that is calculated to destroy Hinduism and do no good whatever to the Depressed Classes.

You will please permit me to say no matter how sympathetic you may be, you cannot come to a correct decision on a matter of such vital and religious importance to the parties concerned. I should not be against even over-representation of the Depressed Classes. What I am against is their statutory separation even in a limited form from the Hindu fold so long as they choose to belong to it.

Do you realise that if your decision stands and the Constitution comes into being, you arrest the marvellous growth of the work of the Hindu reformers who have dedicated themselves

to the uplift of their suppressed brethren in every walk of life?

I have therefore been compelled reluctantly to adhere to the decision conveyed to you.

As your letter may give rise to a misunderstanding, I wish to state that the fact of my having isolated for special treatment the Depressed Classes question from other parts of your decision, does not in any way mean that I approve of or am reconciled to other parts of the decision. In my opinion many other parts are open to a very grave objection. Only I do not consider them to be any warrant for calling from me such self-immolation as my conscience has prompted me to in the matter of the Depressed Classes."

COMMUNALISM IN INDIA

BY

MR. MANU SUBEDAR, B.A., B.SC. (Econ.) LONDON, BAR-AT-LAW

COMMUNAL feeling in India tends to obliterate the essential fact of common national life, which Indians of all sections share politically and economically. The waves on the ocean appear different but are essentially a part of the water. They merge back in the water and come up again therefrom and they share the existence of the water. At the instance of a certain class of publicists and a certain section of the press, communal feelings have now been intensified mainly because of the inherent vanity and selfishness of man, so that for the time being it appears that it is more important to fight for a larger share inside than to combine either for the preservation of what there is, or for a genuine and solid acquisition from others outside the nation. With some, it has become an article of faith, and with others a matter of policy. Many constituting the minority communities of India think that they are doing nothing wrong in insisting on their full rights and recognition thereof. The evil, if it is recognised as an evil, could be put an end to, but when it stalks under the garb of good, its potentiality for harm becomes enormous. It is, therefore, of importance that the full implications of communal organization, and an emphatic insistence on communalism, should be realised before it is too late. The main fact has been that

so far Indians have been kept out of the more important positions in the civil administration of the country. They have been almost totally excluded from higher offices in the business of the defence of the country. The more strategic and important places in the world of commerce have also been taken up by English firms. The story of concessions in the matter of mining, forests, plantations, and patronage in the case of Government purchases and contracts has been, if it were frankly told, one of studied exclusion of the Indian, whether he belonged to the majority community or to any of the minorities. The impoverishment resulting from the economic drain on India has hit every one alike. Such elements of progress or improvement in any direction, which any one likes to show, have been shared equally, and it would be difficult for any one in a summary review of the situation to say whether, in the question of material things, the set-back has not been general and has been confined to one particular section.

It will be noted that the emphasis on unity in the form of Indian nationalism came from distinguished Indians of all sections, whereas the emphasis on diversities represented as irreconcilable, has come from outside parties of the Miss Mayo type, probably with the backing of financial and other vested interests, who merely looked at

India's history and the picturesque visible variety of its population. Every Indian nationalist to whatever section he belonged, has sought the advancement of the country and of the population uniformly without any distinction. But alien critics of Indian life realised that national awakening, and the subordination of sectional or communal consciousness, would result in the curtailment of those opportunities and were, therefore, anxious to see the perpetuation of differences which were superficial. The seed has been sown and the tree of suspicion has been planted in the hearts of the minorities, resulting not only in the demand for reasonable assurances but actually in the feeling that the continuance of the present state of things would be better for them than progress, either political or economic, along national lines. The abuse of patronage and of public funds for the sustenance of sectional feeling, such as the non-Brahmin movement in Madras, and Maratha movement in Bombay, the depressed class movement everywhere, and Hindu-Moslem tension has been very freely spoken of, but has not yet been demonstrated. Of this phenomenon, as of all dynamic changes, there are interested on-lookers, now that the drama has started. A frontal attack is thus made on Indian nationalism and an inside revolt created so as to check its progress. Men of unquestioned public spirit have been swayed by the reflex feeling of the masses in the direction of communalism and the fat is in the fire.

The unworthy example of separate treatment for men belonging to certain sections of the population came from statutory provisions entitling Europeans to claim a trial by a European judge and by a European jury. Where communal feeling became intense, it was not unusual to seek transfer of cases on the ground that the presiding judge belonged to a different religion. This demand, if it ever became universal, must lead to the break-up of the judiciary, and I cannot conceive of anything except utter confusion and chaos under these conditions. It is impossible to see where the demands would stop. Would the different communities use the same public utilities, the same tramway, the same railway? Would they take their light from the same source, or have a common municipal existence for the purposes of road, street lighting, water, and public health? Would they use the same ports? Will the demand stop merely at asking for an adequate share of the public services and not go to asking for a different and

separate administration of everything? Already not only schools and clubs are run on communal lines, but hospitals and other public institutions are being set up separate. In the prisons in India at present there is a European ward and there is a section reserved for Europeans. Will every minority ask for its own separate prison, possibly warders of its own community and separate jailors? It is impossible to conceive of a workable scheme if the idea of communalism remains where it is, or goes beyond the point where it has reached.

Taken to its logical conclusion, if the distrust and dislike between the various communities takes the form of a more violent settlement of the issues, it would lead to mutual economic boycott and in most provinces it would cause untold miseries to the masses belonging to all sections of the population. If the issues can, therefore, not be settled by violence, and every Indian must insist on a peaceful settlement, they would have to be compromised by negotiation and mutual agreement. Failing that, it would argue the perpetual presence of the third party, on whom the obligation for maintaining peace would remain. They would be more than human, if in this task they did not go along the line of least resistance and, with a view to make things easier for themselves, they did not pat now one and then another on the back. The issues which are said to render common life difficult and impossible have not yet been defined, and the literature of communalism is particularly thin and verbose when one seeks for a specific difficulty.

I have earnestly tried to appreciate the outlook of extreme communal leaders of all minorities. To them the immediate position of their own community appears to be more important than the plight of the country as a whole. It is impossible to arouse in them any interest or enthusiasm with regard to larger financial and economic problems affecting India as a whole, and their time and their mind seem to be occupied with what they pretend is purely a defensive measure, but what they know to be an aggressive attitude to secure a little more of everything for their own community. Except from this standpoint, it would be impossible to understand the suggestion of Moslem leaders that they are not interested and are definitely opposed to responsibility at the centre unless their communal demands are fully satisfied. Nor can one appreciate why in the matter of these demands the path of negotiation has not been sought more

assiduously and greater expectations are made out of the decision of the British Cabinet. It is not unusual to come across Moslem writers, who point out that the general trend of British policy towards Moslem countries is hostile. They illustrate this with regard to recent history in Turkey, Egypt, Persia and Afghanistan, but we are not concerned therewith. In regard to Palestine, Moslem sentiment is not particularly happy at the increased hold of the country by Jewish capital from all parts of the world. The Moslems of India would have a just cause for resentment in the movement for a separate Burma in so far as some of them have not only gone to Burma for trade but have made their permanent homes there. One cannot, therefore, understand the short-sightedness of extreme communal leaders, whether they represent the Moslems or the non-Brahmins, or the Sikhs, or the Anglo-Indians, and Indian Christians, who often show themselves to be ignorant of, and indifferent to, larger problems of the country, and sometimes actually evince hostility to the decision of economic matters from the national standpoint. Any observer of the Assembly and the Council debates in recent times would see that more than once these separatist communalist groups have gloried in showing off their newly-acquired separate consciousness by voting against measures and resolutions initiated from the national standpoint. An outstanding illustration of this would be found in the support received by Government when they fixed the ratio of rupee to sterling at 18½ gold against the expressed view of all, who could speak with authority on the subject and who were actuated by common and national sentiment instead of sectional and communal bias.

In India truck by the leaders of a minority with foreigners at the expense of national interests, instead of getting the designation of treason, which it would in other countries, is belauded as public spirited service of the community. Similarly, intense nationalism and modernity are condemned by communal leaders of the Hindus (whose monkey antics in pure imitation are deplorable) as irreligion, as antagonism to true religion, and as letting down of their co-religionists. In a country of chaos, confusion rules. Men who are ill-equipped for the greater enterprise of responsible self-government, shine out of communalism as pinchbeck Napoleons. Their professions of unlimited sacrifice in the interests of the community, to which they belong, are vain and hollow as, if they have any capacity

to sacrifice at all, it would be of their misguided vanities and their sectional arrogance, which stand in the path of peace. Playing with words and on the emotions, instead of recognising hard facts of life, is the principal characteristic of these ideologists. They pretend to be unconscious about race and they claim that class distinctions do not matter. Even normal division of political parties is not for them. They only group which they recognise is communal. How alien all this is to the inherent tendencies of human nature and to the broad facts of life as it is lived elsewhere in other countries that have politically and economically gone forward, will be obvious to every one who has so far prevented the poison of communalism from getting into his blood.

The forward march of the backward sections of the nation is not possible till the nation itself moves. The rate at which this improvement can be brought about, cannot be quickened until the general rate of progress is quickened. Unless the idea is not the forward march of the backward section, but the reduction of the whole to the lower level, the profession of a particular religion, or the grasping of more seats in a legislature that does not count for much, will not save any section from the grinding impoverishment which India is experiencing to-day and which can be only staved off through a conscious economic policy by a Government responsible to the people. Communalism is not the cure for economic improvement, but economic improvement which can only come from the triumph of the national spirit, will be the proper cure for communalism. The fruit of suspicion is suspicion. Each section can harm the other if they had the motive, but each section can help each other more than they can hurt. The destiny of India requires that grouping in public life should be on party lines and that these parties should be formed either on class distinction such as employers and employees, or, as in other countries, the more conservative elements who see the welfare of the community in the continuance of existing order and the advanced elements which are impatient for change and progress. Each such party would be a corrective to the other and amelioration would be by their balance. Communal grouping is the herald of anarchy. The extent to which the basis of separation is imaginary, the basis of mutual balance and compromise would also be lacking.

The Communal Award

BY

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THE long expected communal award is published and opinions of some of the most important persons and organizations have been expressed on it through the Press. Undoubtedly the task of the Premier and His Majesty's Government was very difficult and the decision could not possibly have given complete satisfaction to all communities by conceding all their respective demands. But frankly speaking, the award is not likely to promote the forces of democracy and goodwill between the various communities and it could have been much better than it is.

The Government of India, some time before the award was published, thought it necessary and prudent to issue a warning that the decision could not give complete satisfaction to every community for the very reason that it could not concede all the demands of all parties and communities, and they also denied the moral right of Indians to criticize unfavourably a decision which His Majesty's Government undertook to give very reluctantly because the communities in India had failed to agree among themselves. The Premier, in his statement accompanying the award, says:

We never wished to intervene in the communal controversies of India. We made that abundantly clear during both sessions of the Round Table Conference when we strove hard to get Indians to settle this matter between themselves. We have realized from the very first that any decision that we make is likely, to begin with at any rate, to be criticized by every community purely from the point of view of its own complete demands, but we believe that in the end considerations of Indian needs will prevail.

It must be recognized that personally the Prime Minister did make strenuous efforts to enable Indians to agree among themselves. But Indians of all shades of opinion are not somehow or other prepared to agree that the Government never wanted to take a hand in the controversy and that they were only forced to do so. In its political aspect, the problem is the creation of the Government and it would have been the duty of any Government to take a decision on this question. It is also unfortunately true that the Indian Members of the Round Table Conference could not come to any agreed conclusion; but it has to be admitted that some

of them did make as sincere and as strenuous efforts for solving the question as could be made under the circumstances. It was probably the personnel of the delegation than anything else which prevented an agreed solution of the question being arrived at among Indians themselves.

The Prime Minister remarks in his statement that the decision is bound to be criticized by every community purely from its own standpoint. This is not a correct state of affairs because as the analysis of the award will show, Muslims have gained all along the line and they have got more than was their due or even beyond what they expected and wanted. Unless, therefore, they have made up their mind never to be satisfied, there is no reason why they should not be more than satisfied. Some Muslim organizations from Poona and elsewhere have already sent their thanks and congratulations to the Prime Minister and the Government as the reports in papers go.

The award divides the electorate in India into as many as 14 classes: (1) The general constituencies consisting of Hindus and others, (2) The Muslims, (3) The Europeans, (4) The Anglo-Indians, (5) The Indian Christians, (6) The Depressed Classes, (7) The Sikhs in the Punjab, (8) and (9) The Women, general, and Muslim, (10) British capital subdivided into Chambers of Commerce, Planters' Associations and Mining Associations, etc., (11) Capital Indian, (12) The Landholders, (13) Labour and (14) The Universities. The division of the nation into so many warring factions will hardly be conducive to the development of peace, harmony and national solidarity. Party Government on right lines will become an impossibility and the award having driven heavy wedges between the communities, rendering fusion impossible, the communities will not be disposed to discuss the constitutional problems with the same objective in view. It will not be a political constitution for India, but a constitution in which each community will seek to secure a favoured place.

After referring to the Communal rivalries, the Premier says:

We believe that in the end considerations of Indian needs will prevail and all the communities will see that

their duty is to co-operate in working the new constitution which is to give India a new place in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

What that new place is, is carefully avoided by the Premier. The questions regarding central responsibility have been postponed and in advising Indians to co-operate in the working of the new constitution, he forgets that the award negatives all ideas of India as a unit.

CENTRAL LEGISLATURE

Paragraph 20 of the statement of the Premier lays down:

His Majesty's Government do not propose at present to enter into the question of the size and composition of the Legislature at the centre since this involves among other questions that of representation of Indian States which still needs further discussion. They will, of course, when considering the composition, pay full regard to the claims of all the communities for an adequate representation therein.

This shows that central responsibility is out of the question. It is difficult to understand what new place the new constitution will give to India in the British Commonwealth of Nations. Further, the virus of communalism is to be introduced into the Indian States also which so far have been free from its baneful effects. The Princes do not want communalism and at any rate so far, no utterance on the part of any Indian Prince has directly or indirectly suggested that they want seats on a communal basis. Yet it seems His Majesty's Government have gone out of their way to suggest that they will pay full regard to the claims of all the communities for an adequate representation therein.

It is difficult to see what have commerce, universities, labour and landholders' representation, etc., got to do with the communal award? Judgment has been passed upon the recommendations of the Franchise Committee concerning the representation of various interests before either the Round Table Conference or the Consultative Committee were given any chance to consider them. This seems to be directly in contravention of the pledges given by the Premier that after an agreed solution had been arrived at between Indian and British representatives, the Government will place such proposals before Parliament. Is this judgment upon the recommendations of the Franchise Committee a result of any agreement?

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION FOR WOMEN

Women throughout India of all shades of opinion pressed that they should not be dragged

into communal electorates; but the communal award has given them what exactly they never wanted to have. Communal electorates are being forced on women against their wishes, for they stated they would rather have no women in the Councils than have any through communal or class electorates. In this connection the following statement issued to the Press by Mrs. Subbarayan is worth noting:

I feel much distressed at the Government proposal regarding the representation of women It has been repeatedly stated that if there is to be reservation of seats for women, such seats should not be divided on a communal basis. There is no doubt that the overwhelming and practically unanimous opinion among Indian women is definitely opposed to any form of communal electorates It would be unfair to impose on women what they particularly did not want. Women would rather forego the advantage of reservation of seats than accept a measure which would allow the beginnings of that which is a veritable danger to the country and I appeal to the Prime Minister as a friend of India to re-consider the matter and prevent the existing evil being further aggravated.

Communal representation has also been given to Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians in all provinces, although all the local Governments did not recommend this case and probably communal representation for them does not exist everywhere even now. It is one thing for the Government to say that on their responsibility, they cannot do away with communal representation, but it is another thing to bring communal representation into existence where at present it does not exist.

SEATS FOR COMMERCE

Seats for commerce in provinces other than Bengal have been left untouched, but in the latter province they have been increased from 15 to 19 and at least three of the additional four seats are to go to European Commerce. What the interests of non-commercial Europeans are is difficult to grasp, but in general European constituencies also have been increased from 5 to 11. The Europeans will continue to enjoy abnormally excessive representation. The over-representation of British Commerce in Bengal is to continue and the tea planters of Assam have been given satisfaction. All this is not easily understandable to be in the interests of Indian nation.

HINDUS DIVIDED

The depressed classes have been given separate representation at the cost of the caste Hindus and thus the Hindu community has been divided into

factions. The Rajah-Munje Pact had a backing of a very influential and large section of the depressed classes and yet all this has been ignored. The solidarity of the Hindu nation has been undermined. The following statement of Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah reflects the views of the depressed classes:

We felt that an arrangement whereby we could be voters in the general constituencies and get reserved seats on the population basis would be most fair to us. But our so-called friends have devised a system whereby we are segregated and will not be able to pull sufficient weight in the Councils of the Government. The number of seats allotted to us in the special constituencies are so insignificant compared to the proportion of other communities and interests that we can be treated as political untouchables for twenty years. . . . If we had run our candidates in the general constituencies on the reserved seats basis, we would have surely secured a voice in the government in some of the provinces and partly in the centre.

It is not easy to understand what the composition of the second chambers or the question of the establishment of such bodies in provinces has to do with the communal award. The present scheme does not embody a decision to establish them everywhere but it, at any rate, shows the tendency as to what may likely take place.

TRIUMPH OF COMMUNALISM

The Muslim communalists have gained all along the line. They have been given weightage where they are in a minority, and also a statutory majority has been provided to them where they happen to be the majority community as in Sind, Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province, etc. If the minorities were to be given weightage, this principle should have been applied in all the provinces; but this seems to have been applied only in those cases where the Muslims are in a minority. In the Punjab Legislative Council, a communal majority of 52 per cent has been statutorily guaranteed for the Muslims. Out of a total of 175 seats in the Punjab Legislative Council 86 have been directly given to the Muslims, and the Hindus and Sikhs get 75 combined. Out of 5 seats for landholders at least 3 are expected to go to the Muslims and this makes a total of 89 which means that even if all the other communities were to combine, they could never get a majority and the Hindus and the Sikhs have not been given even a fractional voice in the selection of their rulers, for the latter will be returned on the communal

ticket. In their letter of resignation from the Consultative Committee membership, Sardars Ujjal Singh and Sampuran Singh, the two Sikh Round Table delegates, say that at the first Round Table Conference in private negotiations, the Sikhs were offered over 19 per cent. representation and the Muslims were willing to accept 50 per cent. At the second Round Table Conference, the Minorities Pact to which the two Sikh delegates were no party, gave 20 per cent to the Sikhs and 51 per cent to the Muslims. Previous to this, the Majority Report of the Punjab Provincial Reforms Committee in 1929 recommended 50 per cent. seats for the Muslims. The Communal Award raises Muslim representation to 52 per cent.

The protection of the minorities which is the justification of the scheme has taken in the case of the Hindus of the Punjab the form of reducing their representation to some thing appreciably below their proportion to the total population. At present in the Punjab Council, the number of Sikhs plus Hindus is equal to the number of Muslims; but the award gives a majority of 13 to Muslims over Sikhs and Hindus combined.

In the Bengal Legislative Council out of a total of 250 seats, 119 are to go to the Muslims, 80 to the Hindus, Jains, Parsis and Buddhists put together and 25 to the Europeans. Out of the 80 general seats, 10 are to go to the depressed classes. The result is as follows:

	Percentage of population.	Percentage representation in award.	Result.
Muslims	55	47.6	- 7.4
Hindus	43	32.00	- 11.00
Europeans	1.2	10.00	+ 8.8

The Hindus may capture 16 out of the 34 special seats which will make the Hindu seats 96, and if the Muslims capture 4, their representation will rise to 123. The result will be Muslims 49.2 per cent., Hindus 38.4 per cent. and Europeans 10 per cent. The Hindus are the minority in that province. Whereas the Muslims as a minority get weightage everywhere—they get 30 per cent. seats in U. P. as against 14 per cent. population—the Hindu minority in Bengal suffers a deduction from its population ratio. When the award speaks of the protection of the minorities, it seems to have been reserved only for the Muslims. Even in Bombay

and Assam, the Hindu majority is practically reduced to a minority and the Muslims have been given weightage. But what about the Hindus in the Punjab, Bengal, Sind and North-West Frontier Province where they happen to be in minority?

The following table shows the position of the Hindus and the Muslims in all the major provinces in India and the percentage of population has been calculated according to the census of 1931 :

Province.	Community.	Percentage of population.	Percentage representation in award.	Result.
Madras	Muslims	3.75%	13.50%	+ 9.75
	Hindus	89.00%	62.50%	- 26.5
Bombay.	Muslims	20.00%	31.50%	+ 11.5
	Hindus	75	48.50%	- 26.5
Bengal	Muslims	55	47.69%	- 7.4
	Hindus	43	32%	- 11.0
U. P.	Muslims	14.32%	30%	+ 15.68
	Hindus	85%	58%	- 27.00
Punjab	Muslims	55%	52%	- 3.0
	Hindus	30%	26.3%	- 4.0
Bihar and Orissa	Muslims	11%	24%	+ 13.0
	Hindus	82%	53.7%	- 28.3
C. P.	Muslims	4.5%	12.5%	+ 8.0
	Hindus	85.0%	68.75%	- 16.2
Assam	Muslims	30%	31.5%	+ 1.5
	Hindus	60%	40.0%	- 20.0
N.W.F.P.	Muslims	90%	76%	- 14.0
	Hindus	9%	18%	+ 9.0

The above table shows that in all places where Hindus are in majority, they lose heavily according to the award. In Bombay, Madras, United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces and Assam, they lose by -26.5 per cent., -26.5 per cent., -27 per cent., -28.3 per cent., -16.2 per cent. and -20 per cent. respectively. Where they are in a minority, their seats are much below the population basis as in Bengal and the Punjab; but they have been given a weightage of 9 per cent. over the population basis in the North-West Frontier Province. The case with Muslims is different and statutory majority has been guaranteed to them wherever they are in majority. Their heaviest loss is in the North West Frontier Province, but it comes to only -14 as compared with -28.3 per cent. of the Hindus according to the table. Besides the loss of the Hindus is greater than shown by the above table, because the general seats are to include other communities besides Hindus for whom separate representation has not been provided. Further, the separation of Sind has been accepted and the award gives figures for Sind as a separate province whereas the same principle has not been applied to the Province of Orissa even

though financially the province will be solvent, whereas Sind will remain a deficit province for a long time.

It is true that the door for an agreed settlement—if it can take place—has not been closed. But it may be taken for granted that an agreed solution will be an impossibility, for why should the communalists yield when they have already got more than they deserved. "His Majesty's Government," says the statement of the Premier, "wish it to be most clearly understood that they themselves can be no party to any negotiations which may be initiated with a view to the revision of their decision and will not be prepared to give consideration to any representation aimed at securing a modification of it which is not supported by all parties affected." It is clear that no agreement supported by all parties affected can ever be arrived at, and for all practical purposes, therefore, the door for an agreed solution among the Indians may be taken to have been closed.

The award has been denounced by practically all sections of Indians excepting a few. "The question to my mind," says Sir Sapru, "however is not one of an abstract political principle but of finding a temporary practical solution." Does the award afford the only practical solution? Did the Hindus in all provinces and the Muslims in Bengal and women want communal separate electorates? Very recently the Bengal Legislative Council carried by majority a resolution for joint electorates which was proposed and supported by Muslims. Why then separate electorates for Bengal? The communal issues could have been settled according to the principle of the Minorities Treaty of the League of Nations, "but when the Government took upon itself to decide these matters, it should not have allowed itself to be weighed down by considerations of what the minorities thought was best in their interest but should have considered what, consistently with the promotion of the national interest of India as a whole, would be adequate political protection of the minorities". If the Government thought it necessary to retain safeguards insisted upon by minorities, the Hindus and Sikhs in the Punjab, Bengal and the North-West Frontier Province who are minorities there, should have been given the safeguard of joint electorates to which they attach vital importance.

INDIAN STATES AND THE FEDERATION

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

(Editor, *Indian Finance*)

TO discuss the relations between the Indian States and the Federation at a time when Sir Samuel Hoare has thrown our politics back into the welter of the Birkenhead days may seem inopportune; but the theme is unquestionably more important than most of the so-called topical subjects.

Whatever the three parties to the formation of the federation, *viz.*, the British people, British India and the Native States, may be feeling now, it is certain that a federation of all political units in India is the most natural, and therefore, the most likely, development of the future. To me it seems so inevitable that those who are capable of keeping the political passions of the moment in their proper place, would do well to appraise the technical problems which federation gives rise to and enrich, as well as they can, the store of knowledge and ideas that will make for their ultimate solution.

The idea of a federation always emerges from a sense of cultural affinity and the fear that if political or other differences are allowed to have free play, the common culture and the common destiny which it indicates would be endangered. It is also realised that the greatest danger to that common culture is a political subjection which must engulf all those who are the inheritors of that culture. With the first sign of a danger to that culture arises the idea of a federation. When that danger is of internal origin it is a sign of cultural decay and no amount of effort expended in constitution-making will avail to ward it off. When it is external, the most obvious solution is a political federation with defence from external aggression as the first, and often the only, common purpose. It will be seen from this that a federation can be projected to any useful purpose only by politically independent units who have seen their palmy days and are then confronted by a common danger of which all are more or less equally conscious. The success of the scheme would depend upon the ability of the units to subordinate their separate ambitions to their common purpose. The city states of ancient Greece answer most closely to the above description. But in their case, even though their internal jealousies were very considerable, the

external forces were too strong for the most united front the States could possibly have put up. The United States of America found in their hatred of imposition from Britain a unifying influence of more than sufficient strength. The German Empire was formed less by the ruthless policy of the Kings of Prussia than the ambition of all the German States to a star role in European and World politics. Even to-day the talk of European federation springs as much from a sense of European inferiority in the prevalent economic war as from a disgust of internecine wars and rivalries.

India is, I believe, the only instance of a country which seeks to create a federation without the necessary pre-natal stages of either a glorious era of political freedom or an equally glorious fight in defence of it. Thus we lack that sense of a common past or a common destiny which galvanises every unit into action and overcomes the minor obstacles which are bound to appear in the way of any constructive effort. In the absence of that sense the creation of a federation becomes a purely technical task; and the various divisions of that task are to be assigned to the experts in the respective fields.

It would not be a hopeless task to get a federation to order if the fundamental condition of goodwill on all sides is satisfied. First, we have the British Government in possession of absolute power over this country and naturally unwilling to speed up the process of its admittedly inevitable abdication. Secondly, we have the Indian Princes in the enjoyment of a virtually unfettered internal sovereignty and suspicious that before long the tide of republican sentiment in a new democracy would overwhelm them. Thirdly, there are the British Indian Provinces conscious of their own progress towards their political freedom and prone to regard the Princes as an anachronistic survival and their subjects as somewhat unfortunate, in that their misfortunes of the last century were not more complete than they were.

The three sections cannot possibly feel equally enthusiastic about the prospect of a federation; and there has naturally been a lot of backsliding in recent months. Sir Samuel Hoare has announced that there are to be no more consultations and that the Government of India Bill will be so framed that the States can join the federation as and when they like. The Princes

* This article was written before the publication of the Davidson Committee Report.—[Ed. I. R.]

recovered before long from the eloquent sentimentality of the R. T. C. days; and there has been for some time a definite cleavage of opinion amongst them as to the wisdom of being associated with the democratic provinces of British India in a common political constitution. And British Indian politicians have come to feel that federation would necessitate such concessions to the Princes as would jeopardise the freedom and integrity of those who bore the brunt of the struggle against the foreign Government. It may be that we have to witness another stage of tussle between British India and the British Government before the idea of federation will have some spontaneous appeal to some of our romantically-inclined Princes. It is certain, however, that unless the political freedom of the provinces and the reality of their self-government becomes assured, the Princes would continue where they are and would make no gesture of any practical value to the ideal which appeared to enthuse all not a year ago.

I may appear to have shirked the main problem and somewhat side-tracked the discussion. But my point is, that it is inequality that is the breeding-ground of suspicion. With a greater measure of equality among the constituent units, there will be on the part of the Provinces less suspicion and on the part of the Princes less of the prevalent feeling of jealous nervousness regarding their internal sovereignty. It is commonly overlooked that constitutional progress within each State is an evolution by itself running a course of its own which the fortunes of British India can affect only in a mild and indirect way. Neither the Princes nor the heads of the autonomous provinces can intercept the flow of ideas into the States. Nor can anybody be sure whether the future heads of the States will regard democracy in the same unfriendly spirit as some Indian Princes do to-day. But while these facts may be recognised, the federal constitution will have to hold forth every assurance that the federal authorities will not impair the internal sovereignty of the States, though this phrase might in practice mean the continuance of the unrestricted authority of the ruling Princes in their own principalities. The representation of the Princes in the Federal Legislature would then be a purely technical problem which may be decided on with comparatively less conflict and changed later in the light of actual experience.

But the complexity of the purely political problems is nothing compared to that of the

financial relations between the States and the Provinces. And this is evidenced by the fact that it has been tackled by three successive Committees without leading appreciably to a satisfactory solution. Considerations of space, not to speak of the lack of necessary data, preclude a detailed consideration. I shall only endeavour to outline the problems as they stand. The first fact to be remembered is that financially we are passing through a period, to describe which the word 'abnormal' is lamentably inadequate. The Central Government has had three consecutive years of huge deficits resulting in the addition of Rs. 25 crores to our unproductive public debt; and the fourth year has not showed itself responsive to the calculated optimism of the Finance Member. The Provinces have had no better fate. In fact many of them are in a worse plight, in that the re-appearance of the "normal" year will not mean an end of their difficulties. The Railways which were contributing about Rs. 5 to 6 crores to the Central Government threaten to become a liability. It is in this flux that the politician asks the economist or the financier to formulate a scheme of federal finance. On the assumption that these difficulties are transient, the more permanent difficulties are those of balancing the contribution of the Provinces and the States to the federation and equalising the burden of federal expenditure as among the various constituent units. If we take the former first, endless complexities arise from the position of the Railway contribution to the Central budget, the existence of an unproductive pre-federation debt, certain minor liabilities of the Central Government which will devolve on the federation like those in respect of pensions, the claim of the maritime States to customs revenue, and the adjustment in the future of the tax systems of Indian India and British India.

There is also another complication of recent origin, *viz.*, the creation of new provinces with an assured financial disequilibrium. The North-West Frontier Province has already had a subvention, and other parts which aspire to become separate provinces doubtless regard this as a welcome precedent.

The problem of federal finance was first taken up by a Committee (of that name) of the Round Table Conference presided over by Lord Peel. Though this Committee admitted that there are no abstract principles of federal finance whose sanctity may be said to outweigh their practical considerations and effects, their scheme was

drawn up in accordance with such principles. They made an allocation of central and provincial revenues on the usual lines but were however careful to point out that the peculiarities of the Indian federation (which have been detailed already) should be gone into by a separate Committee, or preferably two Committees with a common Chairman, which should have freedom to make alternative suggestions if they deemed it necessary to make them. They also expressed their desire that provincial contributions and the cash contributions of the States which smack of tributes should be done away with, if possible, in order to preserve the spirit of a federation of equal and autonomous units. In pursuance of the recommendation of the Peel Committee, the Percy Committee was appointed and their report was issued early in May 1932. It may be said without fear of contradiction of the labours of the Peel Committee that they have overdone the "practical" aspect of their task. They have availed of the discretion and initiative granted to them to nullify the work of the Peel Committee. In attempting to frame "a provincial scheme for the federation worked out in its

details", they have neglected the federal aspect of it. On their own admission their work is indistinguishable from the work of the Meston Committee. They have made the Central Government take with one hand what they have given with the other. An ingenious scheme of apportionment of income tax is offset by a scheme of provincial contributions. And the cash contributions of the States are allowed to continue without end. The complexities arising from the State Railways, the pension charges, and the pre-federation debt are taken to be balancing items involving no undue privation either on the States or on the Provinces. A settlement like this must meet with all round dissatisfaction. Bengal, Indian and European, is for the first time united in its opposition to the Percy Committee's recommendations. Madras has a more convincing complaint that its natural increase of resources is sponged away by an impecunious Centre. The Dewan of Mysore in his last budget speech voiced a just condemnation of the cash contributions. There is thus no distinction between victim and beneficiary. An award that makes all parties feel victimised cannot hold.

The Communal Award: A Greek Parallel

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A GREEK PARALLEL

THE last word has not been said on the Indian communal problem, an extremely complex problem, at once unique and baffling. There are many strands—historical and religious, geographical and racial—that have gone to make up this synthetic complex web. To unravel all its ramifications is by no means an easy task; much less to find an agreeable solution for all concerned.

Whether or not the communal award of the British Premier, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, is in the present or the future interests of the country, it is nobody's business to criticise. Much less do we have the moral right to repudiate it. The award as such has to be accepted in view of the larger and the graver problems of constitutional advance. But it may be profitable to turn to the pages of history to learn how similar problems have been faced and solved in the past. For even cynically we admit the truth of the slogan: history repeats itself!

Well over 8000 years ago, a problem, in essence, not dissimilar, though on a small scale, confronted the little Attic State of Athens in ancient Greece. Long before social unity and economic freedom were evolved, Theseus, her great King, gave her political unity, just as the Britishers have given India. Time rolled on. Monarchy was replaced by aristocracy, aristocracy by timocracy, and timocracy, in turn, by democracy. But the establishment of democracy was no cure for the many unsolved problems of social inequalities, economic oppression by the rich, communal discords and provincial feuds. The forces of anarchy gained the upper hand and overturned the democratic constitution established by Solon. Tyranny was set up in its place. No sooner was this evil abolished than the State passed under subjection by a foreign power, the ever hostile Sparta. In despair, the people rebelled against the tyrants and foreigners and

expelled both. But failing to agree amongst themselves they referred their quarrel to the arbitration of a dictator, one of the *citizens*, Cleisthenes.

The causes of quarrel were many. Attic society, though small, was composed of many heterogeneous racial elements, only loosely and imperfectly blended: Pelasgian, Pre-Greek, Ionian and Dorian. Racial differences were further intensified by the existence of mutually exclusive clan groups based on accidents of birth, like our own caste groupings, each maintaining its own separate forms of religious worship. Worst of all, a sixth of the population were unprivileged and held very low in the social scale. To make confusion worse confounded, physical geography contributed yet another source of complexity accentuating the existing clannish and religious disharmony. For Attica fell into three well-defined natural regions: the Hill, the Plain and the Coast. The Hill inhabitants ranged themselves against those of the Plain, those of the Plain against those in the Coast and each against every other. It was a war of complex communalism produced by the factors of race, caste, religion and region without any parallel in the ancient world but corresponding in every respect to our own problem though only on a small scale. Such was the task that Cleisthenes was called upon to tackle.

THE AWARD OF CLEISTHENES

With the vision of a prophet and the courage of a hero, the statesmanlike dictator attempted a bold solution. It was novel and original but at the same time reasonable and practical. There were compromises but no surrenders. His decisions were accepted by all parties and at one bound Athens was raised to the position of the mistress of Hellas, the school of Greece and the wonder of the world.

The central part of the Award was regarding the Council, the nearest parallel to our own Councils and Assembly. As Solon had created it, it was composed of 400 members, a hundred drawn from each of the four clans based on birth. Cleisthenes resolved that a political assembly should never be a communal assembly; he therefore abolished the old basis of representation. What then was the alternative?

In devising an alternate scheme, Cleisthenes had shewn himself to be a statesman of the first order. His solution was simple, "but simple with that simplicity which calls genius for its apprehension". The old electoral unit, as we would call it, was communal, but Cleisthenes substituted in its place a territorial unit. Attica was divided into

ten artificial territorial units each of which returning fifty members, the strength of the Council now having been fixed at 500. This was not the whole of the remedy, however revolutionary the basis of representation might have appeared to the ancients. For in each of these units were included *demes* (corresponding to our villages) belonging to each of the three natural regions of hill, plain, and coast. At one stroke a double evil was removed, namely, communalism and provincialism. In modern terminology, we would call it a "joint electorate", in which all the various communities would have to participate in choosing their representatives. It is interesting to add that this joint electorate was on an inter-provincial basis.

Cleisthenes did not stop there. He was resolved on breaking the prejudices and the accumulated errors of ages of separatism and communalism. Into the *demes* and the new electoral units were included hundreds of emancipated slaves and enfranchised depressed classes and naturalised aliens—a measure calculated to deal a death-blow to the pride of birth and wealth. For all of them had now to choose their representatives jointly. Even the memories of the past social and religious associations Cleisthenes was determined on wiping out. He abolished the old names of the clans based on their separate deities and gave the new electoral units new names of the national heroes such as Theseus, Codrus, Solon, etc. Later history proved abundantly the wisdom of Cleisthenes. The framework of the constitution that he had created endured all the shocks of time and as we have already noticed it was the basis of the social and the political democracy of Athens.

If history is a store of examples and precedents, surely India can learn a good deal from the statesmanlike award of the Greek arbitrator. It touched the root of the problem in all its aspects in spite of its simple device. With universal suffrage, joint electorates, and group election based not on community but on the village as a unit we could have solved this knotty problem of communalism, provided we make the necessary social and religious adjustments as well.

To perpetuate the separate electorate which has worked so much havoc in the past and which can obviously satisfy none, is an unprincipled policy of selfish opportunism without the least merit of statesmanship about it.

Will India produce a Cleisthenes?

Abu Bakr: The Truthful

By MR. AHMED SHAFI

I

ABU BAKR'S real name was Abdulla, but he was more commonly known by his cognomen Abu Bakr, to which is generally added the title of the Truthful. His father's name was Osman. He could trace his descent six generations back to one of the forefathers of Prophet Muhammad.

Not much is known about the early life of Abu Bakr. From his boyhood he displayed keen attachment to Muhammad who had not yet been called to his ministry and he usually accompanied him on his travels for purposes of trade. He was a fairly well-to-do trader. Even before he embraced Islam, he had won for him a reputation for honesty, truthfulness and trustworthiness. He was held in respect in Mecca for his knowledge of men and affairs, experience of the world and for good manners. Before he became a Mussalman, the blood-money was always deposited with him and the Qoreish never recognised any one else for this office. He was as much averse to wine before embracing Islam as he was after he became a Mussalman. He considered that drinking disgraced a person.

II

When Muhammad was ordained a prophet, he disclosed this secret to his intimate associates first. Of the free-born adults (men) he was the first to enter the fold of the new religion. Of the women Khadija, the wife of the Prophet, was the first to do so, of the boys Ali was the first, and of the slaves Zaid, son of Haritha, was the first to become a Mussalman.

After embracing Islam, he devoted himself heart and soul to its propagation. Osman who later was made a Caliph, was brought into the fold by his endeavours, and many another who later rose to a prominent position in Islamic polity owes his conversion to Abu Bakr. He had built a small mosque in the courtyard of his house where he said his prayers in profound

eagerness, deep earnestness, and visible emotion and in fulness of heart. He had a sentient, emotional mind and while he said his prayers or read Quran, he could not restrain his feelings and his passionate cries to God touched his neighbours and listeners.

When the Prophet was being persecuted in Mecca, Abu Bakr always helped him with money, friendship and advice. He shared the sorrows and troubles of the Prophet, who almost daily used to go to his house and took counsel and advice of his friend and companion. Whenever the Prophet used to go to the Arab tribes or to the public gatherings, Abu Bakr accompanied him. A large number of early converts were slaves and as such were subjected by their masters to various kinds of tortures Abu Bakr purchased them from their owners and set them free. He often risked his own life to save the Prophet from his persecutors.

When the Qoreish realised that they could not stem the rising tide of the faith preached by the Prophet, they became even more aggressive and violent than previously. The Prophet at length allowed those of his followers who could do so to emigrate to Abyssinia. Abu Bakr also took advantage of this opportunity and departed from Mecca. He had not gone very far when an Arab Chief met him and asked him about his destination. He replied that his people had exiled him from his country and that he intended to go to some other country where he could worship God with freedom. This Arab Chief exclaimed that a man like him (Abu Bakr) could not be exiled. He helped the poor and the helpless, had regard for his relatives, was hospitable and succoured those in trouble. He should return to his country and so saying he brought him back to Mecca and proclaimed it to the Qoreish that Abu Bakr was in his protection and should be allowed to say his prayers unmolested. The Qoreish agreed not to worry him if he performed his worship in secret. Abu Bakr could not help performing his worship publicly

and on the remonstrance of the Qoreish, the Arab Chief told him that he could not in that case extend his protection to him any longer, to which Abu Bakr replied that the protection of God and the Prophet was enough for him.

III

As the Qoreish did not stay their hand, Abu Bakr again made up his mind to emigrate from Mecca. He consulted the Prophet and was told that he should wait a little longer as he (the Prophet) himself expected divine instructions for emigration. Four months after this the Prophet received such instructions and accompanied by Abu Bakr both riding on camels, left Mecca for Medina. The cave of Sur was their first stage out of Mecca. Abu Bakr entered the cave, swept it clean, closed all holes and invited the Prophet to step in. The Prophet entered the cave and fell asleep while Abu Bakr kept awake to keep guard. A snake peeped out of a hole which had escaped Abu Bakr's eye and on seeing the danger Abu Bakr, instead of disturbing the repose of the Prophet, put his own foot on the hole. The snake bit him. In the agony of pain Abu Bakr's tears fell on the cheeks of the Prophet who woke up and on learning what had happened, he applied his saliva to the place where the snake had bit Abu Bakr. This relieved Abu Bakr of all pain. While they were in the cave, Abu Bakr's son brought them the news from Mecca every day and his slave brought them food every evening. The Qoreish meantime kept up a hot pursuit of the Prophet and his companion. A party of the pursuers reached the edge of the cave where the two had taken shelter. Abu Bakr was alarmed at the near approach of the peril, but the Prophet consoled him saying that he need not be apprehensive as God was with them. The pursuers failed to locate them, and the danger of discovery was averted. They emerged from this cave after four days and set out for Medina.

After a few days they reached Medina and were welcomed by the Medinites enthusiastically.

IV

The climate of Medina proved uncongenial to the immigrants. Abu Bakr was attacked by fever and so high did it rise that all hope was lost of his recovery, but he was saved from its grips and recovered quickly.

Medina was a land of freedom for Islam and Mussalmans. To this centre now converged all those who had been scattered by the persecution of the Qoreish. The Prophet therefore decided to build a mosque for public worship. The site selected for this purpose happened to belong to two minors, and though their guardians and relatives were willing to part with it without demanding any compensation, the Prophet insisted on paying the price of the land and asked Abu Bakr to make the necessary payment. Not only did Abu Bakr pay for the land, but also worked on the construction of the mosque along with others who laboured on it.

When the Prophet was driven to take resort to the sword, Abu Bakr accompanied him in all the battles. He always cast his influence on the side of moderation. When after the battle of Badar 70 prisoners of war were captured, Omar suggested that they might be put to the sword, but Abu Bakr counselled that as they were their own kith and kin, they should be treated kindly and with mercy. They were therefore held to ransom.

When an expedition was sent to Khaiber, it was placed under the command of Abu Bakr, but later, to make room for Ali, he was put in charge of another expedition and on its successful completion, of yet another.

In the year 9 Hegira an alarm was raised that the Romans were about to attack the Mussalmans. Continuous wars of the previous years had reduced the Mussalmans to poverty, penury, and destitution. The Prophet called for contributions to equip an adequate expeditionary force. Omar, who was always on the look out for an occasion to surpass Abu Bakr in his devotion to the cause of the Prophet, thought that this time at least he would anticipate him. When

all had deposited their mite, the Prophet who knew the measure of each one's belongings, enquired from Abu Bakr whether he had left anything in the house for his people, Abu Bakr replied that he had left God and his Prophet for them, and that was enough. Omar was taken aback. He had brought only half of his belongings.

The same year the Prophet designated Abu Bakr to lead the Haj ceremonies.

V

In the year 10 Hegira, the Prophet performed the last Haj of his life. On return from Mecca, he fell ill. As his illness took a turn for the worse, he appointed Abu Bakr to lead prayers. Abu Bakr asked Omar to do so, but the latter retired in favour of the former saying that he (Abu Bakr) had a prior right to him.

When the Prophet breathed his last, Omar, under the shock of this occurrence, took it into his head that a Prophet could not suffer any form of death even if it be corporal and began to proclaim vigorously that the Prophet was still alive. Abu Bakr tried to persuade him to desist from this and said that if people worshipped Muhammad he indeed was dead, but if they worshipped God he indeed is alive and will never die. God says in the Quran that Muhammad "is a messenger and many messengers have preceded him". This calmed Omar.

The news of the death of the Prophet spread quickly. The Medinites assembled in a place and raised the question of succession to the Prophet, *i.e.*, Caliphate. The Meccaites (immigrants) congregated at another place and discussed the same question. Feelings ran high and the situation grew tense and grave. Abu Bakr and Omar were informed of what was taking place and they rushed to the scene. The Medinites claimed that two chiefs should be chosen one from their party and the other from the second party. This would have created a dyarchy. A suggestion was made that one party should supply the chief and the other his ministers. Abu Bakr displayed his native tact and mildly argued that they admitted the multifarious points of the superiority of the Medinites, but if their

authority was to extend beyond the confines of Medina, the Arabs would not submit to any law but that enforced by the Qoreish. Besides, they were the first to embrace Islam and had relationship with the Prophet. He pointed towards Obedah bin Jarah and Omar and suggested that they could choose one of them as their chief. Omar at once kissed the hand of Abu Bakr saying that as he had led them in Haj and later in prayers and as he was the nearest and dearest to the Prophet, they would choose him as the Caliph. As Abu Bakr was the most senior and the most influential man in that assembly, Omar's action was appreciated and was obediently followed by all present. Abu Bakr was elected Caliph. The next day in the mosque he explained his future conduct in the following words :

I have been placed in authority over you, though I am not the best of you. If I do good you should help me, if I lead to evil straighten me. Truth is held in plight, and falsehood is its abuse. To me the weakest among you is the strongest till I secure him his rights, and the strongest among you is the weakest till I make him concede others' rights. The people who cease to struggle forward in the path of God are degraded by him. The people who allow the evil to spread find that God spreads their miseries. If I follow God and his Prophet you must follow me, but if I disobey them you are absolved from obeying me.

Ali and following him a few others deferred their submission for a short time. This gave rise to all sorts of surmises, but Ali explained later that he had no personal ambitions in the matter and that this delay was due to other causes.

VI

Immediately on being elevated to the position of a Caliph, Abu Bakr found that he was confronted with imminent dangers and impending difficulties. A number of false claimants to Prophethood cropped up. A crowd of heretics raised revolt. A faction refused to pay *zakat*—the proportion of one's property which every Mussalman is enjoined to give away in charity. In addition to that was the matter of the despatch of the expeditionary force which the Prophet had decided to send against Syria during his lifetime a little before his death. Abu Bakr sent the expedition to Syria first as he could not brook delay in what the Prophet had ordered. This

force returned after forty days crowned with success.

The most notorious of the false claimants to Prophethood was Musailama who had advanced his claims during the life of the Prophet in 10 Hegira. He then wrote to the Prophet saying that he held a partnership in his Prophethood and that they both shared the world in halves. The Prophet replied that the world was of God. He would dispense it to whomsoever of His servants He would please. The goal is reached only by the pious. This Musailama was killed in an encounter against the Mussalmans in which he fought furiously and inflicted heavy losses.

The other false claimants were also killed in like manner, but one of them after suffering defeat escaped and later embraced Islam.

Of the heretics some revolted from the authority of Medina and set up as independent Chiefs, but they were all subdued.

The most difficult class to tackle were those who refused to pay *sakat*. As they professed themselves to be Mussalmans, there was a difference of opinion among the companions of the Prophet as to the manner of treating them. Even Omar was inclined to let them alone, but Abu Bakr was adamant and said that he would not tolerate even the slightest deviation from what had been ordained for the Mussalmans. On seeing Abu Bakr resolute and relentless, the people who had denied *sakat* changed their attitude and brought before the Caliph the prescribed proportion of their property.

In the war against the heretics and the false claimants to Prophethood died a number of Mussalmans who had committed the Quran to memory. This created a disquietude in the mind of Omar, and he considered that for its preservation the Quran should be collected in the form of a book. He approached Abu Bakr who was reluctant to do what the Prophet had not done, but later he (Abu Bakr) realised the wisdom of the course proposed by Omar and set Zaid bin Thabit, who was the recorder of revelations in the time of the Prophet, to collect all the verses of Quran in book form.

VII

After settling internal affairs, Abu Bakr diverted his attention to the enemy on the borders of Arabia. Romans, Syrian Christians, and Persians had always been antagonistic to the Arabs. The rising tide of Islam made them nervous and in their apprehension they began devising means to stem it. This meant inevitable conflict with the Mussalmans.

Khalid bin Walid was detailed for the expedition against Iraq and later against Syria. The first brought rather easy victory, but the latter though successful caused grave anxiety and cost very dear in life. When the Mussalmans were investing Damascus, Abu Bakr the first Caliph of Islam, breathed his last.

VIII

Abu Bakr remained Caliph for a quarter over two years, and just when he was embarking on a career of conquests for Islam, he departed this life. On a bitterly cold day he took a bath and caught fever which carried him off after 15 days' severe sickness.

During his sickness he could not go to mosque to lead the prayers. He therefore deputed Omar for this purpose.

When his recovery was despaired of, he sought counsel about his successor and suggested Omar's name. It was objected that Omar was stern and exacting but Abu Bakr replied that the weight of responsibility would soften him. Arguing in this manner he satisfied everybody that Omar was the best choice. He proclaimed to the assemblage from the balcony of his house that he had not nominated for Caliphate any of his own brothers or relatives, but had picked up him who was the best of them all. This met with popular approval.

He had granted Ayesha, his daughter, the wife of the Prophet, a jagir in the outskirts of Medina. He thought that as he had no other property of his own, this might have the effect of depriving his other dependents of the means of subsistence. He therefore asked Ayesha whether she would agree to let others share the jagir. She agreed.

Before his death he said that he should be buried in the clothes he was wearing after

these were washed, and when it was pointed out to him that these were old, he replied that those who were alive needed new cloth more than the dead.

He asked what day it was. He was told it was Monday. He enquired when did the Prophet die. He was informed he died on Monday. He said it was his fond desire to die the same evening. His wish was fulfilled. He died the night between Monday and Tuesday at the age of 63 years in the year 10 Hegira. He was buried the same night near the grave of the Prophet.

IX

In the all too brief period of Abu Bakr's Caliphate, he has left an imperishable record of achievement. Immediately after the death of the Prophet, the prospect for Islam was very gloomy indeed. Abu Bakr saved the situation by his tact, foresight, faith and rectitude of conduct, and firm and steady belief in the mission of his life. He as a matter of fact paved the way for the success achieved in the Caliphate of Omar.

He made it a rule to consult all the chief companions of the Prophet before undertaking anything. This was the origin of Government by democratic consultation, which has been the distinctive characteristic of Islamic polity. He divided Arabia into provinces and districts and at the head of each province he placed a Governor. In Medina, the seat of Caliphate, he appointed various departmental officers. There is evidence of the existence of the posts of Kazis, revenue officers and secretaries to Caliphate. While making appointments he made an attempt not to overlook the men who had given identical service to the Prophet. He selected pious and religious men for Governmental offices and always impressed upon them the superior wisdom of sobriety, moderation and leniency in their relation with the people placed under their charge. To one whom he sent out as collector of taxes, he advised:

Fear God in open and in secret. For him who fears God He creates such a source of livelihood as no one can easily comprehend. He forgives his sins and doubles the recompense for his good works. To watch

the good of people is the best of piety. Do not neglect anything which may conduce to the sustenance and strength of religion.

To another whom he placed at the head of an expedition to Syria, he said:

You have relatives and friends and you may be inclined to benefit them by your chieftainship of this expedition. This indeed is the greatest danger of which I am afraid. The Prophet said that God will curse that ruler of the Mussalmans who will place an undeserving man by way of favouritism in authority.

He had a soft heart and mild nature, but was a strict disciplinarian in matters Governmental. He never spared an erring officer, however high his position.

The chief duty of a Caliph was religious guidance and protection of the morals of the people, from which followed the safety of their life and property. Though he did not establish a regular police department, he appointed a keeper of watch and ward.

During the days of the Prophet no regular army had been maintained. Whenever an occasion demanded people congregated about the Prophet for service. Abu Bakr followed this practice with this difference that before sending out expeditions, he divided the army by tribes and appointed sectional officers and a commander-in-chief. This was of great help to Mussalmans in their fight against the disciplined army of the Roman Empire. His chief care was that the army of Islam should be far superior in morals to any other army that may be opposed to it. He always impressed upon them the necessity of leaving in peace the men who had dedicated themselves to the worship of God. His ten commandments were:

- (1) Do not kill a woman, (2) nor a child,
- (3) nor an aged man, (4) do not cut a fruit tree, (5) do not devastate a cultivated or inhabited place, (6) do not kill a goat (7) or a camel, except for food, (8) do not burn orchards, (9) do not misappropriate booty, and (10) do not be cowards.

He took scrupulous care in the matter of quoting or accepting traditions from the Prophet and rejected without hesitation any tradition which could not be verified as true.

He established a separate department which issued decisions on points of Islamic law.

He determined the rights and obligations of the non-Muslims by treaties and contracts and ratified such treaties by his own signature and seal. A few clauses are quoted from a lengthy treaty which was concluded with the Christians. Their churches and tombs shall not be demolished, nor any castle in which they can take shelter from an attack from enemy. They shall not be forbidden to toll church bells, nor to parade the cross on the days of festivals. He fixed the rate of capitation tax very light and only those were taxed who could afford to pay it. The old, the destitute and the imbeciles were exempted from its payment. History has yet to produce such an example of extraordinary religious tolerance.

By virtue of his close and constant association with the Prophet, he knew the import of various verses of the Quran better than anyone else. He popularised particularly the traditions relating to *sakat* and proclaimed that if any Governor claimed more than what had been prescribed it should not be given.

He said that Prophet had divine guidance whereas he (Abu Bakr) was an ordinary mortal. If they saw him treading the right path they should follow him. If they found him erring they should straighten him. He took particular pains to establish the clear distinction between Prophethood and the Caliphate of the Prophet. He resented being addressed as Caliph of God and said that he was not Caliph of God but was Caliph of the Prophet.

Before delivering judgment in matters referred to him for decision, he first turned to Quran for guidance. Failing to find clear instructions there, he sought aid from the traditions and if both these sources could not solve his difficulty he consulted the other Mussalmans. This gave rise to the system of Muhammadan jurisprudence which has stood of test of changing time. He refrained from asserting his personal opinion in matters on which orders could be found in the Quran or in the traditions.

He was particularly noted for his piety, honesty, truthfulness, and kindness. Even

before he embraced Islam, he abstained from drinking wine or indulging in the other vices which were a common feature of the Arab society of those days. He was generous and charitably disposed. He helped the poor and the needy, was hospitable and assisted his relatives in their troubles.

He was modest and unpretentious. Although he passed rich among the Mussalmans, he often helped his neighbours in milking goats. When he was elected Caliph, a little girl who lived in his neighbourhood felt worried and in her anxiety wondered who would milk their goats. Abu Bakr on hearing this exclaimed that he would continue milking her goats and he hoped that the Caliphate would not prevent him from doing this.

He was humble to a degree. He lived by trading in cloth. On his elevation to Caliphate, he continued this trade and would walk out of his house carrying a bundle of cloth on his back, till one day Omar saw him and persuaded him to accept a small stipend for his maintenance. He felt aggrieved when anyone praised him and used to say that God knew him better than he (Abu Bakr) knew himself and that he (Abu Bakr) knew himself better than the people, and that God grant him power and strength to live up to the expectation of the people.

He dedicated himself to the service of his fellow-beings. An old woman used to live in the neighbourhood of Medina. Omar used to go to her place early in the morning and attended to her needs. Suddenly he began noticing that someone else was visiting her and rendering the necessary services earlier in the morning. One day he lay in wait to see who it was. He found that it was no less a person than the Caliph himself who had taken upon himself to look after this old woman.

He was a loving husband and a dutiful father. He was equally conscious of his obligations to his other relatives as well.

His living was simple. He wore rough thick clothes and subsisted on plain fare.

He was a thin weak man with pinched face, broad forehead and sunken eyes. He dyed his hair with henna.

A Nair Regiment for Malabar

BY MR. T. K. GOPAL PANIKKAR, B.A.

(Author of "Malabar and Its Folk")

MALABAR is an extensive strip of country on the West Coast of the Presidency with a large, considerable element of Nair population. They were some of the earliest immigrants into the country after its upheaval from the Arabian Sea. It then gradually grew into a forest area infested with wild animals of sorts and poisonous reptiles and thus rendered unfit for human habitation. It thus lay uninhabited for long centuries until Parasu Rama, a Brahmin from the East, with a train of Brahmin followers came to it and peopled it with his own men and left it with strong safeguards, some of which still remain fixed to the pious nursery faith of the people. The existence of this vacant and fertile area, naturally enough, led to the commencement of a series of migrations into it of people from various corners of India, far and near. One of the earliest of these immigrants was the Nairs, as to whose original home there exists still a good deal of controversy. The problem may remain a problem to all time. However it seems tolerably certain that a sect of people who are identified with the ancestors of the present-day Nairs flowed into and settled in the land. They brought with them their primitive customs and traditions and are animated by a peculiar war-like instinct. *Nagar* (serpent-worshippers), *Nayakar* (captains of the fighting elements), *Newars* of war-like Nepalese—these are some of the names which are believed to furnish the clue as to the genesis, nature and character of these Nairs. But for the present the question is waiting for the final verdict of history. The last has not been yet said of it, and it may continue to remain a problem for ever.

Whatever the historical or even traditional aspect of the question may be, the fact is significant that the Nairs form as it were a strong

and stalwart element, endowed with martial instinct and traditions whose mental and physical energies may advantageously be diverted into other and more useful fields of activity than into quill-driving and clerical work as is now more notably done. It is manifestly out of the question that these floating masses could be provided with suitable work in the civil and allied departments of Government service and the result inevitably is, that they are left without work and are naturally ready to welcome any work that might come their way. The making of adequate provision for work for such a huge number of hands is by no means easy or practicable, except in the military which might open its gates to as many as would care to seek admission to it.

The question as to the competence of these Nairs for the army can by no means arise, since it has been amply proved by the history of the Great War in which Nairs by the thousand willingly participated on the battle-fields of Europe and, if reports be true, acquitted themselves creditably in the fighting lines. This war-like propensity of the Nair is nothing new, no new development of a racial characteristic. They had already ingrained in them the military instinct inherited from forefathers and their admission for military work only helped to stir up their dormant activities in the direction. Want of adequate scope for the display of their energies alone was a disadvantage under which they laboured. The formation of a special regiment comprised of them would help to sluice their pent-up energies and revive them and make them fit for active field-work. Evidence based on authentic record is also not wanting to testify to their genius and capacity.

The Nairs were from a very remote past a fighting race. During the old days of Feudalism in Malabar, says Mr. Francis Day in his "Land of the Perumals", the Nairs were the militia

The Deadlock in the Punjab

BY PROF. CHARANJIT SINGH BINDRA, M.A.



INTER-communal negotiations fell through in expectation of the Premier's Award, and the announcement of the Award alienated all chances of the communities themselves coming to an agreement, driving the minorities into a hostile camp. The deadlock that has thus been created in the Punjab is gravely ominous. It is not going to be a conflict only between two communities of the province, or the minority communities and the future government, it will be a question of All-India importance, for such is the strategical significance of the Punjab in Indian politics. Any unrest here is bound to affect the military front of the country, and the prostrate condition of the Punjab has always been an invitation to Mahmood Ghazny. What is still more unfortunate, responsible leaders of the Muslim community like Sir Mohammad Iqbal, instead of creating an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence, have been giving vent to their proposals of a Pan-Islamic movement in western Asia including Sindh, Kashmir and the Punjab. This has greatly alarmed the minorities in the Punjab, for such a prospect is only the prelude of the death-knell of both political and religious liberty. These schemes may remain mere dreams but there is the mischief done. As long as there is least little possibility of a Pan-Islamic movement gaining ground, there is the danger of courting an invasion from the North-West if the government of the Punjab is made over exclusively to the Mohammadans.

It is to guard against such dangers that the Sikhs have launched the present movement. They are a valiant people who know how to execute a task if they undertake to do it. Somehow it has come to be an article of faith with them that they are the guardians of their country's peace. When Ahmed Shah Abdali marched on Delhi, the Sikhs were just coming into their own and their severe resistance in the Punjab brought home to him, in spite of his successful raid, the advisability of leaving the affairs of India alone. They have indeed played an important part in coursing the destinies of the country by establishing an independent principality in the North-West, thus affording an effective shield against all invasion from that side which made it possible for the British to set up a system of government based on law and order in the country that had been the hotbed of civil strife and chaos. Whereas

they have taken a prominent part in the restoration of internal peace and the establishment of the present regime that is responsible for the renaissance in India, they are the makers of the modern Punjab. Before the Sikhs organised themselves, western bounds of the province fluctuated between the limits of the rivers Attock and Jehlum and not seldom beyond it. The land of the five rivers was a constant battle-field overrun by a host of petty invaders and warrior robbers till the Sikhs established their rule and pushed out the limits of the province permanently beyond the Attock. Thus the Sikhs restored peace not only to this much abused land of the five rivers but secured the whole country against foreign aggressors like Mahmood Ghazny and Nadir Shah.

The Sikhs are a great martial race no doubt; nor have they ceased to be of equally great service to the country after the restoration of peace. They are an extremely hardworking and versatile people. They made splendid soldiers in war. In the time of peace they are no less useful as citizens. Most of them have turned their hand to agriculture and opened up new tracts of land that lay waste or under dense forests. To-day they are contributing above twenty-six per cent. of the total Land Revenue to the Punjab Government coffers and forty per cent. of the Water Rates and Land Revenue combined, although their population strength is only thirteen per cent. of the total. They are the foremost people as regards the average earning capacity per capita. The reason is simple. They have the least number of parasites and drones in their society. They are chiefly agriculturists, soldiers, businessmen, and cottage industry people. With such a record in war, specially in the frontier, for it is they who managed to hold the sturdy Pathan with inveterate propensities for loot at bay while the interior of the country was in its weakest and liable to easy exploitation by any tribe of warrior robbers; and an equally glorious achievement to their credit in the era of civic development of the country, it is quite reasonable if they were to ask for special privileges and protection in their Home. But they do not. They ask for only what is their birthright. They want justice and fair play for all. The principles that are admitted into the new government of other

Their comparative cheapness of living due to their simple habits and living are an additional recommendation for the adoption of the course. They deserved permanent retention after termination of their field service as at least a defensive force. The country of Malabar, at least the rebellious zone of it, has always been a thorn in the side of the British administration of Malabar for long years on account of the Moplah outbursts that have now and again tarnished the pages of its history. This state of things required an effective check. The Nairs who have been weighed in the balance, have not been found wanting in energy or courage in facing the trials and toils of an anxious situation. Their permanent retention in the army would have had the effect of enabling them to develop their fighting instincts and they would have proved useful in future emergencies. Such a special Corps besides being cheap without loss of efficiency would also have been able to bear up against adversities, against the enervating effects of season and climate in Malabar and conversant with the geographical details of the land. Here then is a supreme need for a defensive force against constant internal troubles. Here are a considerable set of the traditional war-like class whose courage, fighting instincts, docility, sense of duty and discipline have been proved to the hilt and weighed in balances sensitive to the slightest inflexion. Why not then avail of their services for possible times of need?

The net cost of their maintenance will be far less compared with the enormous outlay needed for the suppression of these recurring outbursts of fanaticism. There will be less of pauperism and crime, since only for idle hands does Satan find some mischief to do. Hundreds of families will thereby be saved from miseries, from "hunger gnawing at their vitals"; and the way thus paved for the better civilizing of the country.

MALABAR AND ITS FOLK. A systematic description of the social customs and institutions of Malabar. By T. K. Gopal Panikkar, B.A. With Special Chapters on "The Land System of Malabar" by Dr. V. K. John and "The Moplahs" by Mr. Hamid Ali. This book is a first attempt at a systematic treatment of the life and institutions of the peoples of Malabar. There are twenty-three chapters in all besides "a glossary of terms". Advantage has been taken of the issue of this new edition to revise and amplify the chapters in the light of recent historical research. Price Rs Two. To Subscribers of the "Indian Review," Re. 1-8.

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of the country and held their lands in military tenure liable to be called out for active service when needed. Such was the war-like tradition of the Nairs of Malabar. It was actively kept up in those days and it was but a necessity then, regard being had to the imminent risk life and property were then exposed to. Mr. Herbert Wigram, a Judge of considerable Malabar experience says: "From the earliest times, perhaps before the Aryan migration, there appears to have been a complete military organization amongst the Sudras of Malabar." The Nairs therefore possessed the highest tradition for martial instinct and genius and heroism. This traditional war-like spirit has gradually decayed amongst us as has been the case with every conquered country. In Britain, the chief effect which marked the Roman conquest was to damp the martial ardour of the Britons. The presence in their midst of the Roman soldier with whom the defence of the country lay and who practically did the work for them, helped largely in bringing about this deterioration of their war-like spirit. Having been thus long unused to arms, their martial spirit gradually decayed and they naturally enough relapsed into a state of languor and lassitude which rendered them unfit for further military action. Here also out in Malabar exactly similar influences have been at work and have produced a set of men utterly incapable of and unfamiliar with martial operations. The traditional war-like spirit has been practically killed, the people having been long unused to arms under the effective guidance and control of Britain to whom is entrusted the work of defence. The expression "the Nair as a warrior" is no longer true but remains a meaningless survival from an old state of things that has but wholly vanished.

These are therefore a race of hereditary warriors with traditions who could profitably be recruited for a force designed for operations, offensive or defensive. Their readiness and willingness for the task have been more than amply demonstrated by the readiness with which they responded to the trumpet-call of their Sovereign for the defence of the Empire during the great cataclysm of the world war. They never hesitated for a moment to offer to lay down their babies for the sake of their Crown and Country. Their association with the fighting ranks has well enough testified to their high degree of efficiency in work and the keen sense of discipline they displayed side by side with the most gallant fighter from the West.

provinces should be applied to this province as well. They are willing to forego even the reservation of seats and special representation and accept joint electorates, if the poison of communalism is to be eradicated from the future Indian Constitution. Could there be anything more straight and fair?

Muslims on the other hand are pressing for a Statutory Majority based on communal electorates. At their request it is being conceded that the electoral rolls should reflect the population strength of the various communities concerned. At their request again separate electorates are being incorporated in the new Constitution. This with the reservation of seats is, they think, not enough safeguard for their interests and demand that the Hindu and Sikh minorities should be deprived of even their primary right to appeal to the electorate. That there should be no progress except as it suits the Muslim members of the future Punjab Council. The argument that is advanced in defence of such a demand is based on the principle of sheer self-aggrandisement. It is asserted that the Punjab is the only province besides Sindh and the N. W. F. P. where the Muslims are in a considerable majority, hence they should be made absolute rulers of this province. Nor does it stand to reason to ask for a communal majority on the strength of population in face of the fact that Hindu majorities in Bombay and Assam are being turned into clear minority positions. And on top of it they forget that this is the Home of Sikhs, the land of the *Gurus* which was emancipated at a cost of the greatest sacrifices. In this land, the Holy of Holies to the Khalsa, the land that has received the blood-baptism of the *Gurus*, Muslims are openly aspiring to establish an out-and-out communal *raj*; and thus sound the death-knell of religious liberty. The fears are well founded, for the leaders of the majority community have made no secret of their intentions. And the Sikh are a democratic people who would least of all suffer religious slavery.

Such an attitude of the majority community is bound to raise misapprehensions in the mind of the minorities and rouse them to the necessity of self-preservation. It is nothing unnatural if under the circumstances the Sikhs demand a balance of power between the three principal communities of the province. They are prepared to have a share very similar to that of the Muslims in the U. P., who form the same

percentage population there as the Sikhs in the Punjab, and to boot, this may be modified to suit the peculiar conditions here as long as the principle of Balance is not violated. Such a demand is based on Right and Justice as everybody will admit. And Sikhs are the last people to go back on their vow in the cause of Truth.

There is only one way out of this veritable impasse, though there may be many to dislodge the Punjab Muslim politician out of his present untenable position. Ultimately, as he is already beginning to see, he shall have to admit the principle of joint electorates with respect to at least a limited number of seats and depend on these for his possible majority. Also the principle of Balance of Power between the three important communities shall have to be conceded, for there is no reason that the 57 per cent. Hindus in Assam could be reduced to a minority of less than 41 per cent. and the corresponding 59 per cent. Muslims in the Punjab cannot. If Sikhs have apprehensions of being domineered over by the Muslim oligarchy, they are equally afraid of the "Baniocracy". In the field of politics which is only economic warfare, interests of the Sikhs will clash more often with those of the Hindus than the interests of the Muslims, because Sikhs and Muslims have so much of their economic life in common. The sooner the leaders of the different communities realise these fundamental considerations and sit down to work out an equitable formula, the better for them, their respective communities and the country in general. This Balance of Power is to be achieved by reserving minimum seats for each community which will be very near to 75 for Muslims, 40 for Hindus, 33 for Sikhs and 14 for other constituencies, leaving 13 seats to be contested through joint electorates. The next important question will be as to the formation of joint electorate constituencies which will in fact determine the permanence of the Muslim majority. This will be left open for each Council assembly to reconsider if it should so desire. Thus the Punjab Council will be a constituent body remodelling its constitution in deference to the consensus of the electorate. Only a Balance of Power will be able to inaugurate into the Punjab an era of mutual trust, confidence and love, for no government is possible without the consent of the people.

GANDHIJI'S RESOLVE

GANDHIJI'S grim resolve "to fast unto death" on the question of the depressed classes has raised it at once into a momentous political and moral issue. None but the utterly crude could mistake this stunning gesture of conviction for a political stunt. Gandhiji's sincerity and strength of feeling on this matter is evident to all who have watched his singularly selfless career. The method of tackling the problem may not be in the approved style but the step is one which, by its magnificent pathos, has quickened the conscience of the whole country as nothing else could have done. May not another effort like the Unity Conference which followed the last fast result in something equally fruitful? Already the feeling generated by this supreme resolve is visible in the Assembly debate. Rao Bahadur M. C. Raja, the spokesman of the Depressed Classes, rose to the height of the occasion by his moving appeal. If the rest of the leaders concerned could bring the same spirit and temper to the discussion of this momentous issue, we have no doubt the solution is at hand. And then we should not only have solved a knotty problem but saved the life of the one man who has risked his all for the country. * * *

As we go to press the whole country has heaved a sigh of relief that the mutual agreement for which the Leaders' Conference at Bombay has sought for, has at last been arrived at. The settlement has been approved by Mahatma Gandhi, and urgent cables have gone forth in the names of the leaders of caste Hindus and the Depressed Classes to the Prime Minister and the authorities concerned, to ratify the agreement. There is evident rejoicing that at long last, one of the most vexed of our problems has been solved, albeit with such agony of despair and apprehension for the life of one whom the nation is determined to save at any cost. As we write

The pealing anthem swells the note of praise
and thousands of hearts are echoing with the
temple bells in thanksgiving. * * *

THE VICEROY'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS

The new procedure adumbrated by H. E. the Viceroy in his opening address to the Assembly is certainly a concession to liberal sentiment. It is common knowledge that for some time past H. E. has been anxious to bring back the Liberals into the R. T. C. fold. Their demands as to

the equality of status and solution by mutual agreement are met to a certain extent. "The less formal and more expeditious procedure" includes however a fixed agenda and a restricted personnel, while "Government will subsequently present for the consideration of the Joint Select Committee and of Parliament their specific recommendations including points which have been agreed to." And so a small body of the representatives of the States and of British India are to meet in London about the middle of November.

The restoration of the "R. T. C. method" is a step in the right direction, and it remains to be seen if that will conduce to bring about the results which the original R. T. C. itself was designed to accomplish. Both Dr. Sapru and the Rt. Hon. Sastri have expressed themselves unambiguously on the new procedure and if their ideas should find favour with the Government, we see no reason why the new plan should not be tried.

THE CAPITATION TRIBUNAL AND THE ADJOURNMENT

The defeat of Mr. Das's motion for adjournment of the Assembly in regard to the Capitation charges must not obscure the fact that Government have in the main been one with the people on this important matter. The question, no doubt, has a political and constitutional bearing apart from its purely financial implications. While the personnel of the tribunal is unexceptionable the terms are not wide enough, and Government would have done well to take the Assembly into their confidence and made common cause with the people. As it is, Government's position is liable to be misunderstood on a question in which the identity of views has remained unchanged for years past.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

That the second Capetown Agreement has not altogether solved all our problems, and that our countrymen in South Africa are being subjected to penalties and indignities, are becoming increasingly clear. It is quite well recognised both by the Government and people of India whose sympathy goes out to our distracted countrymen in their present distress. The Land Tenure Act, which was in abeyance pending the agreement, is certainly a slap in their face and very naturally arouses their ire and resentment. But a false step on the one side cannot be made up by a false step on the other.

The resort to passive resistance even against the declared and avowed wrongs of the Union Government is a perilous remedy. It puts those in authority who are pledged to support our cause in a delicate position. Hence the warning of the Rt. Hon. Sastri and the new Agent-General against the decision of the South African Congress. Whatever may be the issue of this struggle, let there be no mistake about this: the Government and people of India are one with our afflicted countrymen in South Africa and nothing should be done to weaken this sense of solidarity.

UNIVERSITIES AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Sir M. Visvesvaraya's timely suggestions for dealing with the problem of unemployment, coming as they do from one of his vast administrative experience, are a noteworthy contribution to the subject. Increasing economic depression has brought with it an increasing toll of unemployment among the working classes. While this is regrettable enough, there is a growing body of educated men whom the Universities are throwing out year after year, who find it difficult to get jobs. In their case unemployment is fraught with serious consequences. It is a menace alike to their

own morale and to the society around them, apart from their effect on individual sufferers. It is, therefore, a welcome sign of the times that the Bombay University has begun to tackle the problem and rightly appointed a Committee to devise ways and means of remedying this unemployment. Meanwhile we are glad to note that the Benares Hindu University has already taken steps to institute diploma courses in different arts and industries. Even these bad times may yet have something in store for us.

THE RAILWAYMEN'S DISPUTE

Whatever one may think of the propriety of a general strike, one cannot say that the leaders of the railwaymen are acting either precipitately, or without due regard to the consequences of their decision. They have shown themselves deeply alive to their tremendous responsibility. For at the Special Convention of the Federation held at Madras under the presidency of Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, a resolution postponing the proposed general strike was unanimously passed. The Convention, after due deliberation, came to the conclusion that the preparations for the strike had not reached a satisfactory stage.

Trade and Finance

By "SRIVAS"

SINCE the last letter was written, the business world, both in India and abroad, has been exercising its mind on the prospects of an early trade revival. For, recent developments are such as to encourage such hopes. In the first place, the settlement at Lausanne, the conclusion of a trade agreement among countries like Belgium and Holland, the conversion of the British War Bonds, the inflationary operations in America following the Glass-Steagall Bill—all these had combined to provide a background on which might be set the picture, fancied or real, of improved conditions of world trade. Secondly, the stock markets in America have shown or rather had shown, till a fortnight ago, a steady rise in prices which may be interpreted as a psychological response to the favourable conditions cited in the previous sentence. Thirdly, commodity prices, not only in currencies of countries off the gold standard but also in terms of gold, have shown a mild rise. On the basis of these data has been built up an attractive castle; and for a time at least the press all over the world had been devoted

ing a lot of space to this question of trade revival. Those who have followed these columns will not need to be told that the data on which assumptions of trade revival have been made, can hardly be deemed sufficient by any one who has attempted at a deeper study and understanding of the nature of the present world economic depression. It is not a little significant that the rise in prices which is the chief support for the theory of better trade, has not been sustained during the last fortnight or so. The utmost that can be said is, that it is possible that there will be a slight change from the buyer's policy, now nearly two years old, of keeping altogether aloof from the market. The coming busy season might very probably witness a little movement of goods and comparatively greater activity. But it is one thing to suggest a slight improvement for the months immediately following. It is quite another to postulate an improvement that will lead slowly and continuously to normal conditions. Those who have studied the nature of the depression and the developments in

the post-War years in world's economy and trade will realise that it is highly improbable that international trade, as we knew it till recently, will ever come back again.

GOVERNMENT FINANCE

Within a few days of mailing the last letter, the Controller of the Currency announced, through a press communique, the resumption as from August 30th of Treasury Bills which were suspended on account of the issue of the second loan of the year. As usual, the amount on offer was Rs. 2 crores and applications were invited for only six months Bills. A novel feature of the Treasury Bills offer of that week is that 6 per cent Bonds 1932 were accepted as the equivalent of cash. Such Bonds were credited at their full maturity value. Before this announcement was made, various causes had combined to make credits exceptionally cheap in the Indian money market. Firstly, the sterling purchases of the Government has been providing the market with funds for which the customary outlets were lacking. Secondly, Treasury Bills Maturities were also pouring into the market. And thirdly, the return of funds to cash applicants for the New Loan, caused by a 50 per cent allotment, also helped to swell the stream. These conditions, together with the particularly attractive offer made in respect of 1932 Bonds, as also the facility which banks in India enjoyed for drawing funds at low rates from London, resulted in very heavy applications on the tender day. Rates, too, were so competitive that Government secured their full requirements at an average rate of Rs. 3-0-3 per annum, while they themselves would probably have been prepared to pay as high as 3½ per cent. Encouraged by such developments, the Government put up the tap rate for intermediate Treasury Bills at Rs. 98-8-6 which works out to an interest yield of 2-98 per cent. And what is more, the Government felt so confident of the immediate success of their operations that in the communique announcing the reintroduction of Intermediate Treasury Bills, the Government reserved to themselves the right of stopping the sales without giving previous notice. The market was surprised to learn that the sales were closed on the opening day. It was naturally believed that applications must have been for very heavy amounts going up as high as Rs. 8 crores and that, therefore, a large part of Government's needs of short term accommodation for this season had been covered in an unexpectedly short time.

In the week following, it was learned that Government had accepted only about Rs. 3-44 crores. Various explanations have been offered for this somewhat perplexing course adopted by the Government, the most plausible being that Government fought shy of concentrating a large part of the Maturities of six months Bills on one particular date. Whatever that might be, the Government effected an unwise accompaniment of cessation of Treasury Bills with an increase of the amount of sterling on offer during the week. In the following week, intermediate Treasury Bills were introduced but applications hardly came up to expectations. Six months Bills sold during September to September 12 came to Rs. 1-59 crores. Applications on the tender day amounted to only Rs. 72-70 lakhs of which only Rs. 58-75 lakhs were accepted. Obviously, the yield offered on six months Bills has not proved alluring to banks. Banks were unwilling to have their local resources tied up for the greater part of the busy season; and as for drawing funds from London the disparity between the ready T. T. rate and the forward rate did not allow of any investment of foreign funds in Indian Treasury Bills. To compensate for the unattractive nature in present conditions of six months Bills, Government introduced during the week ending September 17 four months Bills for which tenders were invited. The results of the tenders of the week ending September 24, confirmed the Government's apprehensions that six months Bills would not be suitable to the market. Tenders for these Bills during this week amounted to only Rs. 3¼ lakhs, the balance of Rs. 1,96-75 lakhs being in the shape of four months Bills at the rate of Rs. 2-5-6.

On the whole, the developments of the period under view must be deemed highly gratifying from the standpoint of the Government. Though the earlier expectations of a sudden and headlong increase in Treasury Bills sales have not, for various reasons, materialised, the Government are having in hand the position regarding their short-term accommodation. Rates continue to be exceptionally favourable; and the fact that four months Bills are not unsuitable to the market, as was feared at the time of their introduction, is another hopeful feature. As regards the exchange market, it is as strange as it is happy, that during a period which is normally supposed to be part of the monsoon months, the exchange rate has been touching the higher limits.

WORLD EVENTS

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

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

“THE success of the Ottawa Conference is an accomplished fact. Trade agreements have been reached between Great Britain and all the Dominions with the exception of the Irish Free State” is the message which flashed out from Rugby to all parts of the world in the latter part of August. The detailed terms of the agreement are not yet known, because they must be ratified by the various Governments before they can be published, but it is given out that it is the desire of Great Britain to establish all-round Imperial Preference after next November and it is also stated that the various Governments of the Empire will meet simultaneously to ratify the tariff agreements and they will be announced and come into effect at the same time throughout the British Commonwealth.

The closing plenary session of the Imperial Economic Conference at Ottawa was a great occasion. After an address of loyalty to His Majesty The King was moved by the Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Bennett, and adopted by the members of the House all standing, the signing of the agreements followed. The first agreement was one between Great Britain and Australia which Mr. Baldwin of England and Mr. Bruce of Australia signed one copy each simultaneously, then exchanged and signed a second copy. This was followed by other agreements between the United Kingdom and New Zealand, India, Newfoundland, Rhodesia and Canada. Twelve Empire agreements in all were signed, seven of them by the United Kingdom, and others between Canada and South Africa, Canada and the Irish Free State, Canada and Rhodesia, South Africa and New Zealand, and South Africa and the Irish Free State.

Most of the delegates and many of the leading papers are high in their praise of what has been done and of the happy ending of the Conference.

WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

The British Government have issued an invitation to the United States to attend a World Economic Conference towards the end of this year; it is really to try and complete the work of the Lausanne and Ottawa Conferences. The United States have signified their willingness to take part and they have been asked to appoint an economist and a financial expert as members of the Organising Committee at Geneva to prepare

for the Conference. It is definitely agreed that reparations, War debts, and tariff rates are not to appear on the agenda of the Conference. But it is hoped that such subjects as raising world commodity prices, the monetary standard, improvement of world economic and financial conditions, and the remonetization of silver may be considered.

CHINA AND JAPAN

The Japanese action against Shanghai has ended, but the Manchurian situation still remains a troublesome problem. China feels that Manchuria is a part of her territorial possessions, but her rule there has been unsatisfactory, and China has not attempted to develop the country. Japan has definite stakes in Manchuria and her policy says that she will never agree to Chinese rule in the northern province. But Japan has occupied the territory by armed force in opposition to any reference to the League of Nations; that situation cannot be allowed to remain without investigation. Japan is now seeking to make arrangements for the early recognition of the Manchukuo State which she will support and in return for which support Japan will expect political and economic domination. The League's Commission under the leadership of Lord Lytton has just reported, but general opinion thinks that their findings will be critical of the Japanese position and may be a recommendation for Japan to leave Manchuria. Japan, of course, does not intend to get out of Manchuria and so we have the possibilities of a deadlock between the League and Japan. The whole situation bristles with difficulties.

Japan demands the right to station troops throughout Manchuria, and Count Uchida, the Foreign Minister, has been saying recently that the creation and maintenance of the Manchukuo State is the only means of establishing settled conditions and giving an opportunity for the development of the province. He also said that Japan will never consent to the solution of the trouble by giving China authority over Manchuria, for that will only reproduce the chaotic conditions which existed before Japan took matters into her own hands. On the other hand, according to Reuter, “China will never surrender an inch of territory under stress of military force which she is determined to resist; nor will she agree to any solution of the present situation which includes the puppet organisation in Manchuria established,

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maintained and controlled by the Japanese military authorities.”

GERMANY'S TROUBLES

Germany's troubles do not cease; one month they are political and another month they are economic, but the two are closely related; and before peace, harmony and prosperity can come both these related problems must be solved. The Chancellor Herr von Papen has outlined a sweeping programme to revive Germany's industry and to find work for the unemployed. He promises that currency shall not be touched; the reichsmark is not to be inflated, and there must be no interference with private enterprise and business. But there is to be drastic cuts in civil service salaries, an extensive programme of public works, and financial help to private industry in order to absorb the unemployed. All taxes calculated to hinder production will be returned to economic life in the form of certificates on which taxpayers can borrow an equivalent amount from the Reichsbank.

The recent elections have not settled the political issue. The Nazis, under Herr Hitler, polled about one-third of the total votes cast; they are the leading party, but they do not command a majority. Herr von Papen has stated that he will carry on; he was desirous of winning the support of the Nazis and wishes to include Hitler and some of his lieutenants in the new Government. Hitler, however, refused to be silenced by the spoils of office and said that if he could not be Chancellor and his party in power in the Government of Germany, he would continue in opposition. That is now the position; von Papen is the Chancellor and with the aid of General Schleicher is determined to carry on the government and to put down with military force any attempt at revolution on the part of the Nazi extremists.

RUSSIAN CONDITIONS

More reliable information is now coming through, concerning economic conditions in Soviet Russia and the one thing that stands out is, that the extreme communistic programme which characterised the Russian experiment ten years ago is being abandoned and a modified return to a capitalistic regime is taking its place. Two changes out of several that could be mentioned are significant; they are: the management of big industrial concerns is passing from a committee to a single managing director. It is found in Russia that big business cannot be run successfully by a committee; one man must be responsible and accordingly one man management

of large industrial plants is being adopted by the sanction of Stalin. Another thing is piece work and payment by work turned out. Ten years ago such a thing would not have been allowed in Soviet Russia; in an ideal State and with ideal men equal pay all round may be possible, but with workmen as they are even in Soviet Russia equal pay gave the lazy man and shirker the advantage at the expense of the conscientious and reliable worker. Stalin has come to see that the standard should be set by the faithful worker, not by the shirker, with the result that Stalin has now decreed that payment shall be according to actual work done. More recently still private trading privileges are now allowed to the peasantry and artisan groups, all of which show that the Russian Communist policy is susceptible of compromise along capitalistic lines. The new economic policy of the Soviet seems to point to the fact that owing to the pressure of industrial and agricultural difficulties, more and more scope is being given to private initiative and trade for private profit; the ideal of State service cannot possibly provide so strong a motive for work and achievement as private profit.

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Diary of the Month

Aug. 27. British Cabinet discusses Ottawa decisions.

Aug. 28. The Viceroy meets Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru at Dehra Dun.

Aug. 29. Heavy fighting is reported in and around Mukden following the Chinese attack on Japanese air base.

Aug. 30. South African Indian Congress endorses the decision of the Transvaal Congress to offer Passive Resistance to the Land Tenure Act.

Sept. 1. Personnel of the Tribunal *re.* capitation charges is announced.

Sept. 2. Behar Council passes a resolution supporting the amalgamation of the Oriya tracts.

Sept. 3. Railwaymen's Federation meeting in Madras postpones the general strike.

—The Lytton Commission's report on Manchuria is signed to-day.

Sept. 4. H. E. the Viceroy addressing the Assembly announces the third R. T. C. meeting in London.

Sept. 5. Communal Award motion is talked out in the Assembly.

Sept. 6. The Junior Maharanee of Travancore is presented an address of welcome at Bombay.

—The adjournment motion in the Assembly *re.* Capitation Charges Tribunal is rejected.

Sept. 7. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the Rt. Hon. Sastri have issued statements on the Viceroy's Speech *re.* the new procedure.

—Pandit Shyam Sunder Chakravarti is dead.

Sept. 8. Mr. S. T. Sheppard, retiring from the Editorship of the *Times of India*, leaves for Europe this morning.

Sept. 9. The Junior Maharanee of Travancore is welcomed at a public Reception in Travancore.

Sept. 10. The All-India Trade Union Congress meets this afternoon at Madras under the presidency of Mr. J. N. Mitra.

Sept. 11. Germany intimates America and France her inability to pay the instalment due on September 30.

Sept. 12. Mahatma Gandhi's letters to the Prime Minister and Sir Samuel Hoare declaring fast until death if the Award is not modified, are released.

Sept. 13. Von Hindenburg has dissolved the Reichstag.

—Adjournment motion in the Assembly *re.* Gandhiji's decision.

Sept. 14. Pandit Malaviya is summoning a Conference to decide the Communal issue.

—Mr. Haig introduces the Ordinance Bill in the Assembly.

Sept. 15. Home Member, Mr. Haig, makes a statement in the Assembly regarding the restrictions under which Mr. Gandhi will be placed on release.

Sept. 16. Sir Ronald Ross is dead.

Sept. 17. Bombay Citizens' Emergency Committee discuss the situation with Dr. Ambedkar.

—The Oriya deputation led by the Raja of Parlakimedi waits on the Viceroy.

Sept. 18. Bombay Hindu leaders go in deputation to Yerawada.

—Dr. Ambedkar interviews Bombay Governor.

Sept. 19. Leaders' Conference meets in Bombay.



SIR IBRAHIM RAHIMTOOLAH

—On the motion of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, the Assembly passes a vote of confidence in the *chair.* (The Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah).

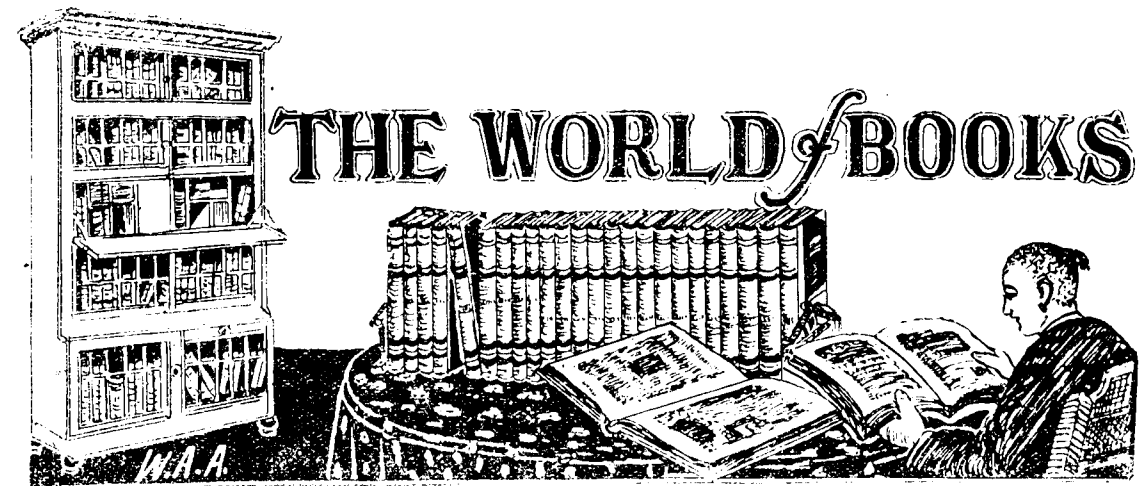
Sept. 20. Mahatma Gandhi commences his fast this noon. He declines conditional release.

Sept. 21. Dr. Ambedkar, Mr. M. C. Raja and Pandit Malaviya interview Mahatma Gandhi in Yerawada jail.

Sept. 22. Gandhiji disapproves of sympathetic fasts.

Sept. 23. Report of rioting in Srinagar.

Sept. 24. Agreement reached by Malaviya Conference is cabled to Premier urging immediate acceptance to save Gandhiji's life.



NORTHCLIFFE: AN INTIMATE BIOGRAPHY. By Hamilton Fife. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London.

Mr. Hamilton Fife was for close upon twenty years in the service of Lord Northcliffe as his Editor and Special Correspondent and had ample opportunities of intimate association with him. So none could be more competent to write the life of Northcliffe, nor better equipped alike with knowledge and sympathy than this skilful journalist. And Mr. Fife has done his task with becoming affection and admiration for his old chief.

Mr. Fife traces with unerring precision the many circumstances that contributed to the growth of Northcliffe, to the climax of his mental and physical powers. Light is thrown too on the tragic collapse which marked his end. We have the story of a career of remarkable energy and no less remarkable achievements. Altogether Mr. Fife gives a vivid and entertaining picture of a lovable personality and a character of whirlwind energy which made its mark in an unmistakable manner, at any rate on the tone of the newspaper press of his time.

Northcliffe discovered the great possibilities of Newnes's enterprise and improved upon it in a way that surprised himself. He had the average mind of the crowd which he had the courage

and audacity to exploit. And though he transformed the newspaper press and made it worth the while of wealthy Peers, he found at the end that he had created a Frankenstein more powerful than is good for us. And what after all is the result? If the older papers were somewhat dull and didactic, the new ones became altogether frivolous and vapid. And then, it is not a good system that has no need for men like Massingham. Mr. Fife, in admiring the man, has not burked the defects alike of Northcliffe's character and of his institutions. And so the study is at once vivacious and instructive. One word, however, must be added. The use of the historic present must be annoying to one accustomed to it only on great occasions as when Carlyle apostrophises the "Evening Sun of July!" Surely, Mr. Fife could be equally fluent, easy, and arresting without the aid of the persistent historic present.

WHAT THE COUNTRYWOMEN OF THE WORLD ARE DOING. Edited by Sholto Watt. Published by Chapman and Hall Ltd., London.

In this publication, the Liaison Committee of Rural Women's and Home-makers' Organisation presents pictures of the part countrywomen are playing in domestic and social affairs all the world over. Women from all parts of the world have contributed to this work.

RIALLARO: THE ARCHIPELAGO OF EXILES AND LIMANORA: THE ISLAND OF PROGRESS. By Godfrey Swevin. (J. MacMillan Brown.) Oxford University Press.

These two books were published, the one in 1897 and the other in 1903, and are now reprinted. The author is now aged 86 and is Chancellor of the University of New Zealand. It must be an uncommon experience for a writer at the age of 85 to republish what he wrote at the age of 51, and not to desire to alter anything he has said. The books are based on the favourite theme of imaginative writers, the discovery of some unknown land the inhabitants of which reproduce or exaggerate the vices and failings of humanity or else attain to a moral and intellectual elevation unknown in our own world. "Godfrey Swevin" has written 420 pages on the former topic and 711 on the latter. Riallaro introduces us to a series of islands, each of which is representative of a separate human frailty, Aleofane the home of the hypocrites, Tirralaria the abode of socialisms, Meddla the temple of humanity, Woenekst the paradise of the bureaucrat, Foolgar the elysium of the snob, and so on. We pass on to Limanora the utopia of the scientist. It was an island protected from invasion by an artificial blast of wind directed on to the luckless vessels which approached its shores and by ramparts of lava extracted by means of deep wells from the underlying fires of the earth. Here every one was beautiful, every one wise and every one virtuous. The whole of life was regulated by science which had approached a perfection unknown elsewhere. Illness was a crime, virtue the product of a surgical or medical operation. The exuberant imagination of the author runs riot among scientific inventions, some of which have been realised since the book was first written, and both in "Riallaro and Limanora" the author may claim the credit of a prophet many of whose prophecies have come true. To

an unscientific reader this Utopia seems infinitely tedious and boring. It is rather like the pictures of heaven told to naughty boys in their childhood. They learnt that in heaven they would wear white robes and play on golden harps. The naughty boy who hated music and disliked clean clothes, was not attracted and preferred the other place. The common man likes to go his own way and be left alone. All tyrannies are detestable to him, whether it be the tyranny of the schoolmaster, the priest, the bureaucrat, the tax gatherer or of Dora, but most intolerable of all is the tyranny of the scientist, who tells him how many vitamins he must eat, what muscles he must exercise, when he may marry, and what he must learn. Liberty is a possession more precious than health, and every man should prefer self-expression, however feeble that expression may be, to expression at the dictation of others.

"Godfrey Swevin" deserves every credit for the wonderful fertility of his imagination and for the range of his vocabulary. His descriptions of natural phenomena and scientific inventions are exceedingly beautiful. It must, however, be confessed that life is not long enough to digest 1131 pages on the topics he selects.

GOLAK: THE HERO. By "H. G." The Times of India Press, Bombay.

The work of the pioneers is never smooth sailing. And Golak Nath, the story of whose trials and achievements is recorded in these pages, was an inspiring figure in the early days of evangelisation in India. Leaving Bengal, he went to the Punjab, embraced Christianity, suffered persecution during the Sikh *raj* and became a messenger of Christ before the foreign missions took up work in 1849. The thread of his life and the many incidents of his career are woven with piety and skill in this interesting study.

PERSONAL PROBLEMS OF CONDUCT AND RELIGION. By J. C. McKenzie, M.A., B.D. George Allen and Unwin. 5 shillings net.

The author has had to deal for a number of years with those personal problems of religious doubt, moral conflict or nervous trouble which cause so much distress of mind, and he has here made a selection of those presented to him. In the course of a very short book, he deals (generally from a definitely Christian standpoint) with a great range of subjects, such as problems of childhood, adolescence, old age, sleeplessness, regrets, fears, habits, while some chapters enter theological ground. The range of subjects is, indeed, the main defect of the book; it is almost impossible to discuss helpfully in a few pages such questions, for example, as determinism or immortality. Mr. McKenzie has obviously a deep knowledge of his subject, and the writing is lucid and sane. But the general reader with no knowledge of psychology is not likely to be interested in more than a few of the questions; while those who have to act as spiritual or psychological advisers to others need more than the book offers.

CANDID REMINISCENCES: My first thirty years.

By Upton Sinclair. T. Werner Laurie Ltd.

Mr. Upton Sinclair's name has received prominence recently by a well supported movement to secure the Nobel Prize for literature for him. He is well known for his unsparing attacks on the prevalent shams of America. The present autobiography not only gives the details of a very strenuous life inspired by worthy ideals but also explains the process of Mr. Sinclair's writing of his various novels and other books. He is a prohibitionist as well as socialist, but his father had been a drunkard and his family conventional. Mr. Sinclair is not an unconscious genius and he tells us how he developed his genius. It came to him first during a Christmas holiday he spent at Baltimore

He tells us: "I read Shakespeare through in that holiday, and though it sounds preposterous, I read the whole of Milton in those same two weeks. That is the way I was living; literature had become a frenzy. I read while eating, I read lying down, sitting, standing and walking everywhere I went—and I went nowhere except to the park to read on sunshiny days." The book is valuable to us for the glimpse it gives us of a literary career in America which is shown to be full of adventure. Mr. Sinclair has not spared writing about his relations with his wife from whom he separated later.

Mr. Sinclair has an enviable record of doings even within his first thirty years of life. The book seems to contain no violent outbursts such as perhaps he gave us in "Money Writes". The style is full of dignity and thought and commands attention.

INDIAN CASTE SYSTEM: A STUDY. By C. Hayavadana Rao. Bangalore Press, Bangalore.

This brochure by an experienced ethnologist and antiquarian summarises what noted observers and writers have said as to the origins of caste and its relations to race as well as the ancient theory of caste elaborated by Indians themselves in their sacred literature. He maintains that caste is not unknown outside India, that the Indian caste system has not been the invention of the Brahmins, but the result of contact between races and differentiations functions besides other factors. From the beginning there have been protests against its tendency to fission as well as attempts to place the system on a tenable and rational basis. The effect of caste on the choice of occupation has been practically very little; and the subject of its social and economic value in the historical evolution of the people is one that requires elaborate and careful investigation before definite conclusions can be drawn.

WELFARE PROBLEMS IN RURAL INDIA. By Dr. P. P. Pillay, O.B.E., M.B., B.S. Taraporewalla Sons & Co., Bombay.

This neatly printed book by Dr. Pillay is an attempt at studying some village problems with a view to improving the condition of rural life in India. Much emphasis has been laid on the problems of the village as the bulk of the people of this country dwell in villages; and Dr. Pillay has attempted a survey of the sanitary, social, economic and the general problems pertaining to village life. Part II of the publication contains a synopsis of welfare work in rural India and how the rural problems are being tackled in some of the provinces like the Punjab, Hyderabad and Bombay. Much of this portion deals with maternity and child welfare problems and will be found of great value to those interested in the subject.

TAXATION OF FOREIGN AND NATIONAL ENTERPRISES IN FRANCE, ETC. The League of Nations, Geneva.

This is the result of certain studies which the Fiscal Committee of the League of Nations is carrying out in order to co-ordinate efforts for the abolition or attenuation of double taxation of industrial and commercial enterprises in the countries in which they do business and also to facilitate the conclusion of conventions for this purpose. The Fiscal Committee, a new permanent body set up by the League Council, has drawn up this Report based on an examination of the income-tax laws and administrative practice prevalent in France, Germany, Britain, Spain and U. S. A. and prefaced with a general survey of the law and practice prevailing in the different countries and the difficulties experienced by administrations and the reports of the latter bodies to the Fiscal Committee. The tax system and allocation methods followed in the different countries are also given in full.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- INDIAN DUST. By P. E. Richards. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.
- A HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE FOR SCHOOLS. By H. Hoynes. W. and R. Chambers Ltd., London.
- SCHOPENHAUER. By Helen Zimmern. Geo. Allen and Unwin Ltd., London.
- THE GERMAN SCHOOL SYSTEM. By S. Ali Akbar. Longmans Green & Co., Ltd., Madras.
- ROCK-CUT TEMPLES AROUND BOMBAY. By Kanaiyalal H. Vakil, B.A., LL.B. D. B. Taraporewalla Sons & Co., Bombay.
- THE PHILOSOPHY OF ISLAM. By Khan Sahib Khaja Khan, B.A. Hogarth Press, Mount Road, Madras, and G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 1-4.
- THUS SPAKE ZARATHUSTRA. With an Introduction by Dr. Oscar Levy. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.
- EVERY DAY MORALS. By T. A. Sathu, M.A. H. C. P., 625 Shanwar Peth, Poona.
- THE GARDEN OF THE EAST. By N. V. Thadani. Bharat Publishing House, Karachi.
- SPHOTOSIDDHI WITH THE GOPALIKA. Edited by Prof. S. K. Ramanatha Sastri, University of Madras.
- VENKATARAMANI: WRITER AND THINKER. By Manjer S. Iyengar. The People's Printing and Publishing House, Ltd., Triplicane.
- THE PRIMARY PROGRESSED HOROSCOPE. By O. H. W. Owen. L. N. Fowler & Co., London.
- MODERN INDIA THINKS. By Keshanjee R. Luckmidass. D. B. Taraporewalla Sons & Co., Bombay.
- INDUSTRY YEAR BOOK AND DIRECTORY 1932. Industry Book Depot, Shambazar, Calcutta. (G. A. Natesan & Co. Rs. 5.)
- THE JAPJI SAHIB OF GURU NANAK. By Mehta Udhodas, B.A., LL.B., Chief Judge, Bahawalpur State.
- THE LAUGHTER OF GOD. By W. C. Lanyon. L. N. Fowler & Co., London.
- THE SIX WAYS OF KNOWING. By D. M. Datta, M.A., Ph.D. George Allen & Unwin, London.
- ISOPANISHAD. By A. B. N. Sinha. Sri Rupkala Kutir, Mithapur, Patna.
- THE ASTROLOGY OF ACCIDENTS. By Charles E. O. Carter. L. N. Fowler & Co., London.
- MEMORIES OF MY LIFE AND TIMES. By Bipin Chandra Pal. Modern Book Agency, 10, College Square, Calcutta.
- VIHRAMAVIVERA of Mandana Misra: Office of the Journal of Oriental Research, Mylapore, Madras.
- RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL ASPECTS OF KRAULI. By Verrier Elwin. M. R. Seshan, Publisher, Triplicane, Madras.
- RAMON LALL: A MEDIEVAL BHAKTA. By Rev. P. G. Bridge. The C. L. S. I., Madras.
- THE CROSS AND INDIAN THOUGHT. By V. Chakkaral, B.A., B.L. The C. L. S. I., Madras.

INDIAN STATES

Hyderabad

HYDERABAD BUDGET

Sir Akbar Hydari richly deserves the warm appreciation of H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad for his handling of the finances of the State.

A surplus smaller than was budgeted for was realised for the year 1930-31; a still smaller surplus is likely to be realised for the year 1931-32; but it is still anticipated that there will be a surplus in the current year in spite of increased expenditure on education, public health, and police, the prosecution of various development projects and the need to provide interest upon the new 2 crore loan which has been floated, not of necessity but mainly to provide a source of investment for local capital which would otherwise go abroad. It is no wonder that Sir Akbar Hydari retains a note of confidence, for although the surpluses are diminishing, it is a fortunate State which can even balance its budget at such a time as this.

EDUCATION IN HYDERABAD

The latest annual report issued by the Director of Public Instruction of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government, Mr. Khan Fazal Mahomed Khan, contains various suggestions for further improvement of education in the Nizam's Dominions. The number of schools and scholars has almost trebled and the expenditure on education has increased nearly fourfold, and the learned Director observes in the report that this rapid expansion combined with the establishment of the Osmania University has given a new and vigorous life to the Hyderabad State. Orders have already been issued to make physical education compulsory in all schools, and steps are also taken to improve the existing system of physical education. The department is actively engaged in making provisions for adequate buildings, playgrounds and school equipment.

Mysore

INDIAN CHRISTIANS IN MYSORE

The question of providing for divorce in Mysore State among Indian Christians who are not under the jurisdiction of the Church of Rome or otherwise subject to the operation of the Canon Law, and of conferring upon certain Courts jurisdiction in matters matrimonial, has been urged upon Government from time to time.

The Rev. Richard A. Hickling, Secretary, Inter-Mission Divorce Conference, Chikballapur, sent in to Government a draft bill drawn up in accordance with the decisions arrived at meetings of the Councils of the Churches concerned.

Government consider that in a matter of social legislation where the religious sentiments of a section of the people are concerned, it is desirable that opinion of the general public, and especially of the communities concerned in the proposed bill, should be ascertained before further action is taken. Accordingly they have directed the publication of the bill for general information.

Baroda

BARODA RYOTS' WELFARE.

Uplift of the villagers is the best form of social welfare work that any administration can undertake in this agricultural country. Meritorious work in this direction has been done by the Baroda *Durbar* whose officers have successfully brought to a high pitch of efficiency the rural reconstruction centre at Kosamba, which is to serve as a model for others to be formed all over the State. One of its most important activities has been the introduction of occupations subsidiary to agriculture, as it is found that owing to seasonal conditions agriculture is possible only for a certain number of months in the year. Scientific methods of poultry farming, bee-keeping, and kitchen gardening have been selected as side industries to start with.

Travancore

TRAVANCORE BUDGET

The Budget of the Government of Travancore for the Malayalam year 1108 (August 16, 1932 to August 15, 1933) anticipates a revenue of Rs. 223.19 lakhs and provides for an expenditure of Rs. 222.04 lakhs, leaving a surplus of Rs. 1.15 lakhs. The revenue includes Rs. 15.78 lakhs to be drawn from the accumulated surpluses of previous years.

In the Budget for 1931-32, a revenue of Rs. 232.19 lakhs and an expenditure of Rs. 231.65 lakhs were estimated. On account of economic depression the revenue fell by Rs. 16.77 lakhs, against which a saving of Rs. 10.23 lakhs was effected by retrenchment in various departments of the administration, and the revenue account for the year closes with a deficit of Rs. 6 lakhs.

Provision is made for additional staff in hospitals, for special relief for the depressed classes, for the development of cottage industries and for the execution of the first stage of the Pallivasal hydro-electric scheme.

AERODROME FOR QUILON

The Travancore Government have sanctioned the construction of an aerodrome at Quilon on the Residency Maidan. A sum of Rs. 19,000 has been allowed for the work which will commence shortly. It will be remembered that the first aeroplane to touch Travancore soil landed at Quilon on April 30, after which the question of an aerodrome was taken up. Now with commendable expediency the matter has been settled.

TRAVANCORE BAN ON NEWSPAPERS

The Government have prohibited the bringing into Travancore of any copy of the issues of the weekly newspapers entitled *Princely India* and *Indian Tit-Bits* which is printed and published in Delhi.

Kashmir

KASHMIR MINISTRY

With the arrival of Mr. V. N. Mehta, I.C.S., the Ministry of the Kashmir Government is complete with Col. Colvin as Prime Minister and two Muslim and two Hindu Ministers. Mr. Mehta has taken over the portfolio of Revenue Minister, Mr. Jardine, I.C.S., from Finance Minister becomes Special Minister and remains Vice-President of the Franchise Committee. Mr. Wujahat Hussain, I.C.S., is the Home Minister, which appointment includes amongst others the portfolios of Public Works, Education and Medical Services. Col. Nawab Khusru Jung remains Minister in Waiting, and the Chief Justice Sir Bajar Daal completes the Cabinet.

KASHMIR WEAVERS

Great distress prevails among the hand weavers of the Kashmir State owing to the demand for Kashmir woollens decreasing considerably. The woollen industry is the main industry of the State, and of about 14,000 hand looms which were in use prior to the depression, inquiries among the weavers show that nearly 6,000 looms are now idle.

SRINAGAR MUSLIMS' REFORM

The Muslims of Srinagar have formed a body whose aims are to eradicate prostitution in Kashmir, as also the taking of girls out of the State for immoral purposes.

Udaipur

THE SHIVA TEMPLE OF UDAIPUR

Which is the best example of medieval art in India, and the most beautiful temple of Aryavarttha? Mr. K. P. Jayaswal gives that distinction in the *Modern Review* to the Shiva temple at Udaipur in the Gwalior State, built of red stone by King Udayaditya, son of King Bhoja. It was started in 1080 A.D. and took 21 years to complete.

Cochin

THE PROGRESS OF COCHIN

"The Septuagenary Souvenir" in honour of H. H. Sir Sri Rama Varma, G.C.I.E., the late Maharaja of Cochin, edited by Mr. T. K. Krishna Menon is a record of useful information on the State, its people and the working of the several departments of the administration.

The heads of the various departments were called upon to furnish accounts of their work and growth, and these accounts have been revised by the talented Editor, the result being that the several chapters are not mere dry summaries of departmental activities. The chapters give us an idea of the progress in literacy, culture and administrative efficiency in Cochin. The treatment of the evolution of the village *panchayats*, of ethnographical and archaeological researches in the State and of its economic development are particularly informative.

COCHIN LOAN

The Cochin *Durbar*, it is understood, contemplates floating a debenture loan of Rs. 75 lakhs for the harbour and railway extension schemes.

Nawanagar

JAM SAHEB ON INDO-BRITISH TRADE

The fact that he had scrapped all American trade with Nawanagar and formed a company to deal exclusively with Britain was mentioned by H. H. the Jam Sahab of Nawanagar in a speech at the Liverpool Constitutional Club as evidence of the fact that he was contributing for better Indo-British trade understanding. He said that there were numerous others who, like himself, were only too anxious to keep the British connection firm and lasting.

The Jam Sahab urged British business men to study the psychology of the Indian mind and not overlook 80,000,000 in the States who were desirous of trading increasingly with Britain, especially Manchester.

Bhor

THE CHIEF OF BHOR

Speaking at a *Durbar* held on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of his accession to the *gadi*, the Chief of Bhor expressed his desire to secure the welfare of his people.

He then announced the new constitution for the Legislative Council of the State. The outstanding feature of it, he said, was the fact that the new Council would contain a majority of non-official members, the majority being three. The Council would have a non-official Vice-President. Of the non-official members some would be appointed, while five would be elected by the recently inaugurated Taluka Local Boards, and one by the Bhor Town Municipality. He felt that the new House would adequately represent all private and non-official interests in the State and would be in no way inferior to the last House.

The New India Assurance Co., Ltd.

(Established, Bombay, 1919.)

Capital Paid up	...	Rs. 71,21,055
Reserves	...	Rs. 72,98,535

Total funds	...	Rs. 1,44,19,590
Its Subscribed Capital is	...	Rs. 3,56,05,275
It has paid in claims up-to-date (about)	...	Rs. 5,50,00,000
Its premium income in 1930-1931 exceeds.	...	Rs. 80,00,000

"THE NEW INDIA" is admittedly the largest General Insurance Company in India. From the Capital point of view, it may claim to be one of the largest Insurance Companies in the World."—*Indian Insurance*—June 1929.

Agencies available for all classes of Assurance—**LIFE, FIRE, MARINE, MOTOR CAR, ACCIDENT**, etc., in unrepresented parts.

K. K. SRINIVASAN,

Branch Manager,

4, 1st Line Beach, MADRAS.

Indians Overseas

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Dissatisfaction with the conclusions of the last Capetown Conference between representatives of Indian and Union Governments connected with the Land Tenure Act was expressed by Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee at the recent Indian Conference.

Mr. Rustomjee urged his compatriots in Transvaal not to complete the forms as required by the Tenure Act.

Since then passive resistance has been decided on.

THE NEW AGENT'S APPEAL

Kunwar Maharaj Singh, Agent to the Government of India, interviewed by a Correspondent at Johannesburg, said:

I greatly regret the movement for passive resistance. Neither the Government of India nor their agents can support such a measure, though the sympathies of himself and India are with the people of Transvaal. It would weaken our hands. The Indian people are suffering from disabilities which we greatly regret.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE

Despite the strong appeal of the India Agent, the South African Indian Congress has endorsed the decision of the Transvaal Congress to offer passive resistance in regard to the Land Tenure Act.

The President of the Congress stated that the movement would begin after the Commission had submitted its report. He continued:

Indians in Natal were at death's door. This was no exaggeration. In Transvaal, Indians were faced with total extinction with the promulgation of the Transvaal static Land Tenure Act.

MR. SASTRI'S WARNING

According to a Durban message to the *Times of India*, Kunwar Maharaj Singh has received a cable from Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri declaring that passive resistance was no remedy for political disaster and that it was likely to end in a great disaster. Mr. Sastri asks Kunwar Maharaj Singh to plead in his name to win the South African Indians from the path of irretrievable blunder.

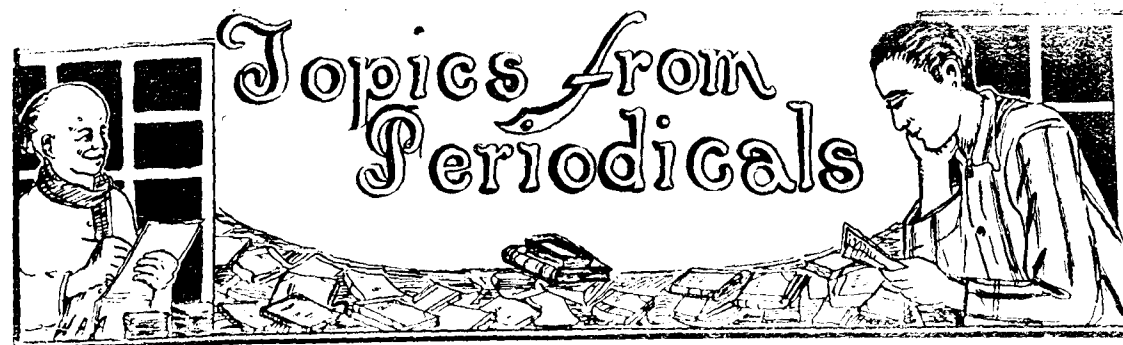
INDIANS IN MALAYA

The annual report of the Agent to the Government of India in British Malaya for the year 1931 released for publication, states:

The year was perhaps the blackest on record so far as industrial conditions were concerned. Activities in all walks of life were greatly crippled as the result of the economic depression which still continues in all its severity. In 1931, Indians formed 14.2 per cent of the total population, about 70 per cent. of whom might be considered as labourers employed in rubber estates, in tin mines, on the railways, in the public works department and in municipalities. The rest are engaged in trade and the learned professions. The suspension of the recruitment of Indian labourers, ordered by the Indian Immigration Committee in August 1931, owing to the slump in tin and rubber continued throughout the year. The heavy exodus of Indian immigrants and others commenced in August 1931 owing to unemployment and the unwillingness of the labourers to work on reduced wages. Several Government Departments temporarily reduced wage-rates with effect from the 1st January 1931, and Indian labourers loath to work on reduced wages have been and are being repatriated to India.

INVIDIOUS IMMIGRATION LAWS

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Chairman of the Council of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, sent the following cable to Sir Atul Chatterjee in Ottawa: "The Council of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, Bombay, begs respectfully to remind the Economic Co-operation Committee of the Conference of the imperative necessity of their not missing an opportunity of bringing home to the Dominions concerned that the invidious immigration laws against Indians are serious barriers to economic co-operation and require to be repealed as a first step.



THE LABOUR PARTY

Mr. R. H. Towney has a thoughtful article on "The Choice before the Labour Party" in the current issue of the *Political Quarterly*. He examines the causes that led to the rout of Labour in the last general election and points out the road to its recovery. The greatest weakness of British Labour, he says, is one which it shares with the greater part of the world outside Russia including British capitalists. It is its lack of a creed.

The Labour Party is hesitant in action, because divided in mind. It does not achieve what it could, because it does not know what it wants. It frets out of office and fumbles in it, because it lacks the assurance either to wait or to strike. Being without clear convictions as to its own meaning and purpose, it is deprived of the dynamic which only convictions supply. If it neither acts with decision nor inspires others so to act, the principal reason is that it is itself undecided.

This weakness is fundamental. If it continues uncorrected, there neither is, nor ought to be, a future for the Labour Party. * * * A movement, like an individual, cannot build its existence round an internal vacuum. Till the void in the mind of the Labour Party is filled—till interests are hammered by principles into a serviceable tool which is what interests should be, and a steady will for a new social order takes the place of mild yearnings to make somewhat more comfortable terms with the social order of to-day—mere repairs to the engines will produce little disillusionment.

There is need for modernising alike the organisation and its programme. The organisation requires to be overhauled and its programme should strike out a bold policy unhampered by fear of unconventionality. What the party wants is not mass support of societies and the mass vote of constituencies but men of resolute convictions. It does not want a mob; it requires an army fired by the enthusiasm that comes of conviction.

Because the finest individuals are nothing till mastered by a cause. Because the party, being itself not too certain what that cause is, has found it difficult to present it in a form convincing to plain men, of whom the majority in England as elsewhere are not politicians. Because, instead of stating its faith undiluted and unqualified and waiting for their support till with the teaching of experience which to-day teaches pretty fast they come to share it, it tried to buy their votes with promises whether they shared that faith or not. Because it appealed to them on the ground, not that a Labour Government would be different from other governments, but that it would be a worthy successor to all British Governments that had ever been.

According to the writer, those who pride themselves on their practicality have done the Party the greatest harm. Instead of formulating and advancing a purely Labour policy, they began so to compromise that hardly any distinction could be made between one Government and another. It was thought a virtue to carry on in the good old respectable way. Now the Labour Party can either be a political agent, pressing in Parliament the claims of different groups of wage-earners; or it can be an instrument for the establishment of a socialist commonwealth which alone, on its own principles, would meet those claims effectively but would not meet them at once. What it cannot be is to be both at the same time in the same measure.

It ought to tell its supporters that obvious truth. It ought to inform them that its business is to be the organ of a peaceful revolution and that other interests must be subordinated to that primary duty. It is objected that by taking that course, it will alienate many of them. It may for the time being. New models are not made by being all things to all men. But it will keep those worth keeping. And those retained will gather others of a kind who will not turn back in the day of battle.

The writer concludes that the Labour Party will serve the world best, not by doing half-heartedly what they do with conviction but by clarifying its own principles and acting in accordance with them.

KASHMIR

Sir Albion Banerji was ex-Foreign Minister of Kashmir and as such his article in the *Nineteenth Century* carries with it the weight and authority of an experienced administrator. To begin with, he hits off in a few sentences the peculiarities of the Kashmir State, both ethnographical and political. Over 75 per cent. of the whole State population are Muhammadans and the remainder chiefly Hindus.

The inhabitants were not however always Muhammadans. Originally they were Hindus. It was only in the fourteenth century that they were converted mostly by force to become Muhammadans. The present indigenous Hindus of the valley are generally known as *pandits*, and Kashmir *pandits* are well known over India for their acuteness and subtlety of mind, their intelligence and quick wittedness.—Sir F. Younghusband.

The ruling family is an alien in Kashmir, as it comes not from the valley itself but from Jammu.

The Mughals conquered Kashmir in 1586, and their rule, says Sir Albion, was fairly just and enlightened.

With the decay of the Mughal Empire, Kashmir fell once more into wild disorder, and when in 1750 it came under the Afghans, the oppression of the Hindus was at its highest. Forcible conversion to Islam made many leave the country and a number of Hindus were killed. It was Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu who saved Kashmir from the Afghans and it was he who founded the present ruling dynasty. Under the Treaty of Lahore, the Sikhs ceded to the British the provinces of Kashmir and Hazara, and the British in March 1846, signed a separate treaty with Raja Gulab Singh by which they transferred and made over Kashmir to him after receiving payment of 75 lakhs of rupees (then about £750,000).

Sir Walter Lawrence, in his *THE INDIA WE SERVED*, gives a graphic account of the State of Kashmir when he went as Settlement Commissioner, in the following words :

My object was to encourage the peasants to cultivate their fine land and to restore the land revenues of Kashmir. The object of the *pandits* was simply to take the best of the land and force the Muslim cultivators to work for nothing. The wicked system of forced labour had ruined the country, and as I settled in each division of the valley the revenue that the villagers were to pay in cash, and not as heretofore in kind, not to middlemen *pandits* but to the State, I set free the villagers from the crushing exactions which were enforced by the privileged classes under the tyrannous system known as *begar*.

Thus no ruler of an Indian State inherited such a wonderful legacy of a kingdom fraught with

such momentous possibilities from his predecessors as Sir Hari Singh.

During the past twelve months, events in Kashmir have attracted a great deal of public attention, and at one time the situation in Kashmir as well as in Jammu was so serious that it became necessary for the ruler to seek military assistance from the Paramount Power to deal with the troubles that arose in respect of his internal administration.

Early this year there were many wild rumours as to the situation and much speculation as to the genesis of these troubles. Since then the situation has become easier owing to certain changes in the personnel of His Highness's Government, the introduction of British Officers as Ministers, and the appointment of two Commissions of Enquiry which sat one after the other in quick succession.

Summing up the position, Sir Albion observes that so far as the internal administration of the State is concerned, an impartial observer may perhaps without prejudice judge the present Maharaja, not as the cause, but the victim of circumstances.

Although the British Government intervened, not *suo motu*, but at the request of the Maharaja, a grave question involving a new precedent which has now been established arises, namely, is the Paramount Power, after the grievances of subjects over a period of years have been disregarded, to come to the aid of the Ruling Prince and virtually take over the reins when they rise in protest? The policy of non-intervention was first laid down during the Viceroyalty of Lord Minto in his famous Udaipur speech. If the Princes want a minimum of interference and yet when they are in trouble with their people they invoke the aid of the Paramount Power, wherein lies their sovereign authority? and when they enter the Federal Constitution, will they not be mere pawns in the game under the new Constitution?

The State administration has now virtually passed into British hands, but how long such a situation can continue without violating the very principle of autonomy, the essence of the Federal Constitution, is a serious question. The frontier policy of Kashmir and the adequate protection of Muslim interests are delicate problems.

The solution of Kashmir's external problem is a new treaty between the Maharaja and the British Government under which frontier defence is transferred entirely to the British, thereby ensuring effective resistance to all foreign aggression and internal intrigues with foreign enemies. Without thus being safeguarded, India will break up as did the Roman Empire, federation or no federation.

THE HITLER MOVEMENT

Adolf Hitler is the head of the National Socialist German Workers' Party, known as the Nazir. In view of the importance of the Party and the part that Hitler is likely to play in the political fortunes of Germany, the following account of the Hitler movement culled from a digest which has appeared in a recent issue of the *Indian Social Reformer* may be read with interest :

In 1923, Hitler led an attempt at revolt in Munich. He was captured and sentenced to five years' imprisonment but was released after a few months under certain restrictions. This imprisonment made him a martyr and a romantic figure in the eyes of people. He was born in Austria just across the border from Bavaria, the son of a petty official with a peasant background. During the War, he served in the Bavarian army which meant the loss of his Austrian citizenship, and at its close he was stationed as a soldier in Munich. Here he became interested in politics and joined the newly-formed German Workers' Party. He did not trouble to become naturalized in Germany at once and later citizenship was refused him on account of the high treason. For some time he was a man without a country until a way was found to give him German citizenship just before the presidential elections last spring. During the years before the War when he was employed in Vienna, he developed some of the ideas which characterize his programme to-day notably anti-capitalism coloured by anti-Semitism.

The programme of the "Nazis", generally known as the 'Twenty-five Points', was first adopted in 1920. In 1926, the general assembly of the party reaffirmed it and declared: "This programme is unchangeable." In order to settle the question whether any particular statement is or is not official, Hitler has declared that only his decrees and announcements or those which

follow his direct orders are valid. It may be noted however that the Twenty-five Points were prepared by Gottfried Feder, not by Hitler. Hitler's chief contribution to the movement is his gift for propaganda. He invented the Nazi flag and the "storm troops" with their brown shirts. The latter idea was of course taken over from the Fascists.

The Twenty-five Points also declare that only those can be citizens who are of German blood without regard for religion. No Jew can be a member of the German people. Public rights are to be limited to citizens, all of whom must have equal rights and duties. Others may live in Germany only as guests and must be subject to the laws for foreigners. The author points out that such a regulation, if put into practice, might be more dangerous for the Germans than for the Jews, since it would give other countries an excuse to deprive Germans of their civil rights. If the restriction in regard to German blood is applied only to Jews, it will affect hardly one per cent. of the population.

National socialists do not foresee the establishment of their system by a majority vote, for that seems to them a degeneration of the State but by the right of the group which . . . establishes itself. The Twenty-five Points call for the creation of a strong central power, unlimited authority of the political central parliament over the whole empire and its general organizations, the formation of professional and occupational chambers to attend to the matters left to the individual States. The ideas of the Nazis have changed since this programme was written but it is unchangeable.

The programme also declares for the abolition of income gained without work or effort, but adds that national socialism recognizes private ownership in principle and puts it under State protection.

PUNITIVE TAX ON HINDUS

The Government of Bengal having quartered additional police in Midnapore, have levied a punitive tax on Hindus only within the municipality exempting those classes or persons in the community in regard to whom "it was *prima facie* reasonable to assume that they had done what they could to counteract the disturbing influence that had been prevalent". The disturbed and dangerous state, says the *Guardian*, is a reference to the terrorist activities. Hindus have been selected because "it was generally members of that community who had been concerned in these activities". The method of adding police forces or military battalions which also the Government have added to Bengal, says our contemporary, "does not seem to us a proper way of attacking the terrorist evil. This would be appropriate where the place concerned is in a state of open rebellion requiring the use of force. Smart detective work will yield better results in tracking those who are working secretly. Very few of the Hindus who will be penalised now, may be said to know more about the conspirators than the non-Hindus who have been exempted from the tax. It is in human nature that it is difficult to convince even the guilty party of his guilt. To hold innocent people, as most of the Hindus must be presumed to be, responsible for the guilt of some, is to create a sense of injustice which cannot be easily forgotten, specially in pursuit of a method which cannot be regarded as well calculated to bring the culprits to light. What makes it more unwise is that discrimination of this sort should be resorted to when communal tension is at its height. There is another class of crime in Bengal which is no less abominable and for which two districts in particular have become notorious. The Home Member of the Bengal Government supplied to the Legislative Council last week figures of the abduction of

women. For the 5 years from 1927 to 1931, the number of cases recorded each year were 898, 976, 1,057, 991, 993. Is this not a clear case for action? One feature of this crime is that the culprits with their victims are offered shelter in different houses in different localities during a single trip; so others besides the aggressors become party to the crime. The law must be enforced everywhere rigorously. Hindus in particular have been demanding redress in respect of this crime and wait for response."

THE ART OF LIVING

Swami Dhiraananda writes to the *Cultural World* for June on the "Art of Living". "The very fact we are alive," he argues, "shows the necessity for living right, and we cannot live right unless we know the art of living." The writer observes that the art of living must be combined with willingness, self-observation, the spirit of independence, combination of ambition with contentment and symmetry and proportion :

The art of living must have these characteristics in common with other arts like music, painting and sculpture. Music is symmetry and proportion of tones, painting is symmetry and proportion of color and perspective, sculpture is symmetry and proportion of form and line. So our life, if it is to be beautiful and artistic, must exhibit symmetry and proportion between all its factors and faculties, elements and parts. If earning money becomes our sole aim at the sacrifice of principles, personal health, home obligations, and social duties, then our life is a caricature. If to have a good time you neglect manners, ignore decency and undermine the foundations of individual and social life, or if you permit such things to happen without protest, your life loses symmetry and proportion and becomes inartistic and thus steps down toward unhappiness. If you are so sensitive as to cast your best ideas, best sentiments, best behaviour to the winds when you are hurt, you display lack of symmetry in your inner life and court misery. If you are so busy with trifles as to lose sight of big issues or if you soar so high to the mountain top of big things as to ignore the very necessary details of personal conduct, you betray lack of proportion. If you harbor harmful emotions like fear, hate and irritability alongside of good thoughts and good emotions like love and joy, you are imperceptibly discolored the latter and keeping them down at inferior levels; your love would not be loving enough, your joy would not be joyous enough. We should not only have right thoughts in the center of our mind but should also keep even the shadows of wrong ones away from the fringe of our mind lest the latter blur the beauty of the former by contact or proximity. Whatever is right is artistic, because truth and beauty are synonymous in a deeper sense.

THE JOINT FAMILY SYSTEM IN INDIA

In the course of an article on the "Joint Family System in India", a writer in the *Indian Ladies Magazine* for September points out its advantages and disadvantages in the present conditions of India. He observes that the family system in India, according to an England-educated Indian, is both more extensive and more intensive than the English one, since an average Indian stands aghast at a definition which excludes the father and mother, let alone brothers, sisters and cousins. The Indian system is certainly good in its way. A joint family life, no doubt, is a very fine thing when taken in the right spirit.

In the first place, there is an *esprit de corps* created even though in rather a centralised manner; for family union can in a way be said to be a step upward to co-operation in social and public life. Secondly, the strong bond of feeling between the family members is so strong that it is bound to teach some altruism and self-denial. Mutual participation again in joy and sorrows is apt to enhance the former and lessen the latter. Moreover it is easy in families to give necessary pecuniary help to the poorer members and hence actual want is less likely to be felt. There will also be a better opportunity for more efficient work, because it stands to reason that a united family must possess more staying-power under difficulties than a single individual. Moreover in our land of child-marriages, it is often essential for the young wife to have the supervision and the advice, for some time at least, of the mother or mother-in-law on household matters.

But there are many disadvantages. The sway of the older woman, for instance,

is apt to lie very heavy on the young wife. Neither the young husband nor his little wife can dare to be happy in each other's company for fear of being ridiculed as too sentimental. There is also no opportunity given to the young people to expand in any way. Mistakes of course will be made by them if left to themselves; but such are necessary. How can the child learn to walk if it is not allowed to risk falls? Joint families thus lead to repression which in its turn is the cause, in both boys and girls, of timidity, want of self-confidence, loss of responsibility and independence of thought, lack of decision and initiative, and encouragement of childish ideals and conduct. Quarrels and intrigues, suspicion, doubt and deceit, fear of criticism over well-meant efforts, encouragement of laziness and disinclination for work are some more evils. Finally, the ladies who are in charge of a joint family have absolutely no time for themselves. Day in and day out they are immersed in domestic cares and troubles. They can neither educate themselves; nor, if at all educated, can they find scope for congenial work. This may not be a hardship for older women of the old-fashioned type who care far nothing beyond household matters.

But it does lie heavy on the younger and more modern woman who, in the absence of older women, may find herself at the head of a large united family. The writer concludes that as our English-educated Indian says:

It may be that the joint family was a very necessary and useful institution in former days; but now it is as old and decrepit as a twenty-year old cow and much more of a drain on the nation's resources than that. So it is slowly dying out and is being replaced by a family corresponding closely to the English type. It would be a real service to the country if we were consciously to bring about this reform instead of allowing it to come about unconsciously.

The disintegration of the joint family system should not mean, however, as it sometimes does in the West, the break-up of home life, etc.

In this connection, concludes the writer, one cannot help admiring some Indian Christian and Hindu families for the wonderful feeling of union kept up in spite of independent family units. Sons and daughters separate; they have children of their own and they keep up households for their little families. Yet they all make it a point of honour to meet often and happily especially at festival times; and they seldom let one another down in times of stress and trouble.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

THE DECISION ON INDIA. By Lord Meston, K.C.S.I. [The Fortnightly Review, August 1932]

THE PROBLEM BEFORE THE INDIAN STATES. By Akshaykumar Ghosal. [The Calcutta Review, August 1932]

THE AGE OF JANAKA AND OTHERS. By V. Vedantatirtha, M.A. [Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XII]

INDIA AND AUSTRALIAN SECURITY. By F. A. W. Gisborne. [Empire Review, August 1932.]

MEMORIES OF INDIA AND INDIANS. By Sister Devamata [Prabuddha Bharata, September 1932.]

INDIAN PRINCES AND ALL-INDIA FEDERATION. By Nareesh Chandra Roy. [The Modern Review, September 1932]

THE R MAYANA IN GREATER INDIA. By Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A. [The Journal of Oriental Research, April-June 1932.]

THE PERMANENT THING THAT IS INDIA. By Mr. H. N. Brailsford. [The Aryan Path, September 1932.]

GREATER BOMBAY. By J. K. Mehta, M.A. [Quarterly Journal of the Local Self-Government Institute, July 1932.]

INDIA AND INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION. By Kalidas Nag. [India and the World, September 1932.]

THE SPIRIT OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

The full text of the presidential address delivered by Dr. S. K. Das at the last session of the Indian Philosophical Congress is published in the current issue of the *Philosophical Quarterly*. Dr. Das observes that in the Vedanta as well as in other Indian philosophies there is a "remarkable unity of development more closely knit than in Western philosophy". Indeed, "the *elan vital* of Indian thought has from time immemorial carried forward the undying past into the living present", and thus pressing forward created fresh channels of thought. That is the spirit of Indian thought—at once progressive and deep rooted. The individuality of Indian philosophy is a priceless legacy which must be maintained in its integrity.

It is simply its demand to be spiritual or spiritually free. It may or may not be in tune with the spirit of modernism or of antiquity but it is there and must make itself heard across the centuries. In the spiritual economy of the universe there can be no meaningless duplication of functions. It is because and so far as East is East and also West is West that they can and must meet to their reciprocal advantage at the philosophical exchange. * * *

An international outlook is the cry of many but the prize of the few. It remains a pious hope until and unless the making of the international mind is an accomplished fact. The method of working it out from the roots upwards has been tried and found wanting; why not try the other, namely, of working from above downwards? That is why the Upanishadic sage with unerring prophetic vision declares that this ancient holy fig tree symbolising the Infinite and the Eternal, the *Bhuma* has its roots in heaven and its branches spreading downwards (*urddhvamulo' vaksakha esho' svatthah sanatanah*). This is however no mere dream of some future possibility of some far off divine event, no mere vague aspiration of the Futurist but is verily the everlasting Real, dwelling in us nearer than our hands and feet, as the abiding presence and persuasion of the Soul of souls. It is easy to deride the notion and take to the blunt Johnsonian method of refuting an ideal by kicking against it. If, in short, it is contended that such a vision of the Infinite in the finite is too good to be true, the Vedantist at least will meet that contingency by saying that the vision is too good not to be true. It is no mere remote theological mystery but, God be thanked, it is interwoven with the very texture of our every-day experience. Accordingly, the Vedantist starts on his career with *Brahmajijnasa*, enquiry into *Brahman* as the supreme good of man, sustains our interest therein with the perpetual reminder that it is the *Bhuma* that alone is to be enquired into (*Bhumatveva vijijnasitavyah*) and closes on the high-pitched key: "Do thou enquire into that. Verily that is Brahman."

CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIAN WOMEN

Mrs. Mona Hensman, writing in *C. S. S. Review* for September, pays a high tribute to the virtues, courage, and faithfulness of Indian women. Fidelity to the husband is the cardinal virtue of women; and above all consideration of comfort and earthly gain, Indian women always preferred death to dishonouring the names of their husbands. One cannot but put down the names of Padmini, Rupmati, Chand Bibi and others who have sacrificed their lives for the sake of their husbands and sons.

The law might separate a man and his wife, but it is not usual for the woman to marry again—once married, she is married for all her life. Now this may not be the happiest way of living, nor the easiest; but when one thinks of the effect of divorced parents on the children and the moral training, surely it is the best. The average Indian husband and wife may not seek much companionship, they may not have the same ideals or expect a heaven on earth; but they are dependent on the co-operation of both parties and no mere incompatibility of temperament can separate the heads of a family. Children must have a father and a mother as well as a roof to cover them, and if either party throws off the responsibilities of home life, the child mind must be adversely affected, and the nation as a whole be so much the poorer. Suffering and joy both purify the world and the virtues of constancy and fidelity uplift those who practise them.

In these times, we have women with hearts as high and courage as true as had the queens of old, but instead of gaining and retaining kingdoms which was the lot of a fortunate few, women to-day devote themselves to helping the less fortunate sisters and to working in the world as people find it.

Women in councils, municipalities and other high places are using their influence for the amelioration of suffering—not a mere inactive criticism of existing conditions, nor a passive sympathy but in a practical way they give themselves up to re-modelling their country's laws and rousing in others a sense of responsibility and citizenship. In our own cities we find women doing all kinds of social service—visiting hospitals and penitentiaries, improving the insanitary conditions that prevail in the poorer quarters, caring for the destitute, seeking to reform delinquents by appealing to the best in them, voicing the ills of early marriage and evil custom and the disabilities of their sex in no uncertain terms. Enterprise and energy are very evident in all the women's movements of to-day, and we look to the educated leisured classes and those who have entered professions to help our country in the difficult times that lie ahead.

THE DRINK TRAFFIC IN INDIA

As the liquor traffic figures prominently in Mahatma Gandhi's campaign against the present methods of Government of India, Mr. Frederick Grubb has written an interesting article in the recent issue of the *India Review* published in London. Many authorities are quoted to show that there was some indulgence in alcohol from the earliest times notwithstanding the pronouncements against drinking found in the Hindu scriptures: also as to how Government turned the liquor traffic into a lucrative and revenue collecting agency. The complicity of the State in such a business, says Mr. Grubb, is regarded with repugnance by every Temperance reformer, Hindu and Muslim.

In conclusion, the writer observes:

Indians everywhere realize that final victory over the drink evil can only be achieved when they are in control of their own affairs. It may also be pointed out that the education of the masses in this matter is likely to prove more permanently effective than the picketing of liquor shops, but the latter ought also to be permitted when there is no breach of public order. Happily a new day is breaking when Indians will be masters in their own house. No doubt they will have to face conditions which must make this particular task a difficult one.

But the growing enlightenment of the people and the united determination of all creeds and parties to emancipate their country from every enslaving influence are among the factors making for sobriety. We may be well assured that in the exercise of that national self-determination which cannot be long delayed, India will specially deliver herself from a traffic which is a menace to her moral progress.

THE MIDDLE CLASS

"The new socialised world, the world of planning and co-operation will come; humanity will get rid of unnecessary sufferings that are a disgrace to intelligence; and this will be achieved by a great and sober effort that has already enrolled under its banner all who have turned their backs upon a cult of musty, obscurantist, petty bourgeois sentiment," writes Mr. Thomas Mann in the *Yale Review*.

"It will come; for a rational outward order of things in keeping with the present stage of human enlightenment must be created or, if

the worst happens, will be produced by violent convulsions. Only then can the heart reassert its rights with good conscience.

The great sons of the bourgeois age, those whose capacity for spiritual growth raised them above the level of their class, are living proof of the fact that there are in the bourgeois nature infinite potentialities, unlimited potentialities for self-liberation and self-conquest. Our time summons the middle class to remember these innate powers and to take their stand upon them intellectually and ethically. The right to power is contingent upon the conviction that one has a historic mission to perform."

INDIA AND ITALY

In the August Number of *India and the World*, Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar writes of the increasing contact between Italy and India. Italy, he says, has been approaching India with friendship and sympathy. It is now India's turn to reciprocate. Perhaps a small beginning has been made at this end.

Even some of those of our countrymen who have not crossed the seas have commenced taking lessons in Italian language. The University of Calcutta has started courses. The city of Calcutta is inviting Signora Montessori. Her presence in India in the near future bids fair to be the starting-point not only of Montessori Societies in different cities but of a general Indo-Italian *rapprochement* in culture and commerce as well.

There are indeed solid grounds for the deepening and expansion of this *rapprochement*.

Italy commands to-day 3.8 per cent. of the entire foreign trade (exports and imports) of India. Her place is equal to that of France and inferior only to those of Germany, Japan and the U.S.A. (Great Britain excluded). On the other hand, so far as Italy's exports are concerned, the Indian market has been expanding. In pre-War years, India occupied the tenth place with 1.61 per cent. But in the last pre-world crisis year, i.e., in 1928 she rose to the seventh place with 3.62 per cent. of Italian exports. In the commercial activities of the Italian people, India looms quite large and is mentioned just after Argentina, Switzerland, France, Great Britain, the U.S.A. and Germany. Indeed, in regard to the daily needs of life as soon as an Italian looks abroad, the first non-European country that is valuable to him for trade outside of Argentina and the U.S.A., is India. Similarly for us Indians, among the foreign peoples with whom we have daily trade dealings, Italy is one of the first.

INDIA AND CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

Rev. H. A. Popley, writing to a recent issue of the *Guardian* on the attitude of Christians towards the making of a progressive India, puts forth some suggestions which should determine the proper attitude of Christian missions of the Christian churches in India :

(a) Complete acceptance of the idea of Indian nationality and of our place in it. It is important that we should get rid of our foreign outlook and our foreign ways and habits, especially in our religious life. We do not want to be, as Mahatma Gandhi once said, mere blotting sheets of western civilisation. In the past the Hindu social system may have made it a little difficult for Christians to realise that they truly belonged to India, but the attitude of the Hindus to-day, and the growing tolerance among the people generally, is making it much easier for us to realise our Indian nationality. Even apart from this new attitude, it is the right and Christian course for us to follow.

(b) We have to give up the old attitude of religious superiority and religious imperialism. The purpose of Christian missions should not be proselytisation but rather the sharing of religious experience with that of Hindus and Muslims, and the helping to build Christ-like characters and a Christ-like society. If Christianity as a religion is superior to other Indian religions, this can only be demonstrated by experience and example and not by argument. Christian missions should avoid all abuse of other faiths, and seek to present the truth they have received in the spirit of Christ.

(c) We should place our emphasis upon service rather than upon preaching. It is in Christ-like service that Christian missions can best reveal the spirit of Christ. It must however be a service which partakes of the spirit of *Nishkanya Karma* which does not have in view the end of proselytisation. It must be a service that is really concerned for the needs of the poor and of workers in industry and rural people. It must be a service of reconciliation seeking to bring together the various communities of India.

"If Christian missions are able in future to face India in this spirit," says the writer, "we do not believe that India will wish to see less of them or will in any way treat them as unnecessary."

India believes in religion and while she has no use for the kind of religious imperialism which has sometimes masqueraded as religion, she will always welcome true religion especially when it is expressed in the form of service. Said Mahadev Govind Ranade: "This is the land of religion; we cannot do without religion; religious thoughts are in our blood. If we try to flee from it, it will pursue us."

So, if we will set our house in order and realise that we are part of *Swaraj* India, we can carry on our work in the confidence that India will afford us all the opportunity we require for a Christ-like evangelism.

SWADESHI

The Bombay Swadeshi League has published a new journal under the name of *Swadeshi*. In an article in that organ, Mr. K. T. Shah traces the causes of failure of indigenous concerns, *firstly*, to the want of a broad view which manifests itself in the form of utter selfishness and, next, to the want of proper planning in advance.

True *swadeshim* must begin with careful planning which must of course involve full investigation of our productive possibilities; and, having planned carefully and comprehensively, it must go on to a systematic execution for progressive achievement of a goal which has been unanimously agreed to until further orders of the community as a whole. The community must, of course, be free to revise not only the details of the plan and the stage of its progressive execution but also the very basis of its goal, the ideal inspiring and guiding it. But subject to this freedom, the community will find that its productive energy and resources will be rendered most fruitful if there is careful planning in advance.

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MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS + DEPARTMENTAL + NOTES

Questions of Importance

THE CAPITATION TRIBUNAL

His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, in agreement with the Government of India, have decided to set up a Tribunal with the following terms of reference :

To consider and report whether there should continue to be contributions by India towards recruiting and training expenses at Home of the British Army in India and to report the basis on which contributions, if continued, should be calculated.

To examine India's claim that a contribution should be made from Imperial revenues towards military expenditure from Indian revenues and to report the basis on which any contribution should be assessed.

To examine the War Office claim that India should pay a direct contribution towards the cost of regular and supplementary reserves and to report the basis on which any contribution approved should be assessed.

To consider whether the sea-transport contribution paid by the War Office to India should be continued or modified after March 31, 1932.

To examine and report *mutatis mutandis* on such of the questions raised in the preceding paragraphs as are relevant to the contribution at present paid from Indian revenues in respect of the Royal Air Force personnel in India.

MR. GANDHI'S RESOLVE

Mahatma Gandhi's decision to fast himself to death is conveyed in the correspondence between him and Sir Samuel Hoare and the Premier. He wrote a letter to Sir Samuel Hoare on March 11, that he would starve himself to death if the Hindu community was dissected by the grant of separate electorates to the depressed classes.

He has now intimated to the Government that while many other parts of the communal decision are open to very grave objection, they do not warrant such self-immolation as he proposes by going on fast on September 20, and which fast he would continue even if he is released.

The only way to stop the fast would be for the Government to revise the decision by including the depressed classes in the general electorate under a common franchise, no matter how wide it is. The Premier in his reply regretted that Government's decision could not be changed except under the conditions laid down in that decision.

This was the subject of an adjournment motion in the Assembly when it was understood that facilities would be given to Mr. Gandhi to bring the "Separatists" to his way of thinking.

Pandit Malaviya has called for an emergent meeting of leaders at Bombay to discover a suitable formula which would reverse the Government's decision and save Mr. Gandhi's life.

LIBERALS AND THE R. T. C.

The Council of the Western India Liberal Association has adopted the following resolutions :

1. The Council, while welcoming the decision of His Majesty's Government to abandon the procedure announced by the Secretary of State in his statement of June 27, are of opinion that the new scheme of procedure announced by the Viceroy will be acceptable provided the vagueness and doubt regarding the following points are satisfactorily cleared up so that the Conference method may be fully restored :

a. In framing the agenda for the Conference it should not be open to the Government to exclude any questions which the Indian delegates may consider necessary or relevant for the purposes of framing the new constitution. It should be perfectly open to the Indian delegates to require any such question to be included in the agenda and discussed.

b. Although the press may not be asked to be present at the deliberations of the Conference, steps should be taken for keeping the public informed of the course of the discussions and the conclusions arrived at from time to time.

c. While the advice and opinion of experts and businessmen may be invited, financial and other safeguards must finally be discussed and decided by the Conference.

d. The hiatus between the establishment of provincial autonomy and responsibility at the Federal Centre should be as short as possible, not exceeding a few months. In no event should responsibility at the Centre be put off because of the difficulty attending the creation of a federation.

2. The Council trusts that the British delegation will include representatives of all parties in Parliament.

3. The Council further urges that in order to evolve a constitution giving real self-government to India and make the working of it a success, essential measures should immediately be taken to restore a calm and helpful atmosphere and goodwill and secure the association of all parties in the task of constitution-making and for that end the Council appeals both to the Government and the Congress respectively to abandon repressive measures and civil disobedience simultaneously.

Utterances of the Day

MR. WELLS ON LABOUR & LIBERALISM

A strong attack on the Labour Party was made by Mr. H. G. Wells when he gave his views on "Liberalism and the Revolutionary Spirit" to the Liberal Summer School at Oxford. As a party, said Mr. Wells,

it is plainly feeble-minded, feeble in thought, feeble in will. It is amazing what it failed to do. We discovered it had not even a conception of a new education for the new times.

It had no distinct foreign policy beyond a mawkish sentimentality in relation to Geneva and when at last the gold standard rushed upon it, it went completely to pieces. The Labour Party, in short, proved itself nothing more than spouting mouths, clutching hands, and no brains whatever.

Turning to Liberalism's future, Mr. Wells asked :

What is going to happen in this Liberal flutter of the renaissance? What are you after? Is it the same old story over again—seeking for jobs, brilliant careers, and so forth, or has it really got hold of you that the world which seemed far off to your predecessors of the Fabian movement is now an urgent necessity of mankind? . . .

If Liberalism had a voice and a backbone and went out now and proclaimed liberty and liberation from old entanglements, Liberalism could sweep out and conquer the hearts of seven-eighths of mankind.

H. E. THE VICEROY ON THE R. T. C.

Addressing the Members of the Central Legislature, His Excellency announced in his speech inaugurating the September Session of the Legislature :

After the fullest consultation with my Government, the Secretary of State announced on June 27 that His Majesty's Government have decided to proceed by way of a single Bill covering both the Federal Centre and the Provinces. I feel sure that this decision in which my Government whole-heartedly concurred, has been in accord with the great mass of political opinion in this country. In this statement the Secretary of State further announced the intention of His Majesty's Government, after they had formulated their specific recommendations for Indian constitutional reform, to set up a Joint Select Committee of Parliament to examine these proposals in consultation with Indian representatives. He said that His Majesty's Government hoped, in the interest of speed, that no further formal discussions would be necessary in London before these proposals were formulated, but that they were prepared to arrange for such discussions if the deliberations in India of the Consultative Committee proved less conclusive than was hoped. Since this announcement was made, it has become clear that it is not possible to look to the Consultative Committee for the contribution anticipated from it.

And in consequence in order to place His Majesty's Government in possession of material they will require for the framing of their proposals, I am authorised to inform Hon. Members that His Majesty's Government

have decided that it will be necessary to hold further discussions in London, the possibility of which was indicated in the Secretary of State's statement. His Majesty's Government propose, therefore, to invite a small body of representatives of the States and British India to meet them in London about the middle of November.

They intend by this means to make the earnest attempt to reach an agreement consistent with the declared policy of His Majesty's Government upon the important questions that still remain to be decided.

Whilst the status of the Indian representatives will be the same as of the Round Table Conference, the character of the discussion and the stage that has now been reached necessitate a less formal and more expeditious procedure than that adopted during the last two years. This result they are convinced will be best achieved by avoiding any public session and by working upon a fixed agenda. The object of the discussions will be to arrive at an agreement upon as large a number of points as possible as already indicated by the Secretary of State in the House of Commons. The Government will subsequently present for the consideration of the Joint Select Committee and of Parliament its specific recommendations, including the points which have been agreed to and will, of course, support them.

SIR HENRY GIDNEY'S SPEECH

"If an Anglo-Indian refused to declare himself a citizen of India, he had better clear out," declared Sir Henry Gidney, President of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association, in the course of his presidential address at the annual meeting at Calcutta on August 26.

Sir Henry Gidney added :

New India will only allow one class and that is the citizen of India and as such only will you be recognised and in the acceptance of such a qualification will your future depend. India is our Motherland. India is the land in which our fathers and grandfathers died. India is the land that has given us birth, that gives us education, our work and India is the land of which we will be proud and for the betterment of which it will be our endeavour to labour. It is only on these terms—the terms of equality between Englishman and Indian that we can remain in this country.

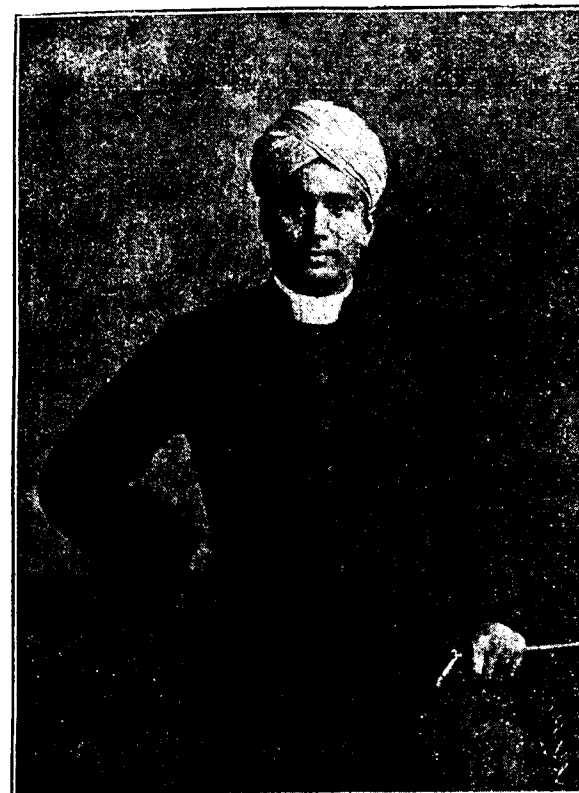
MR. RAJA ON THE CRISIS

The issue before the Government and the country has been pointedly put by Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah in the course of his speech in the Assembly :

The crisis that faces us to-day is very grave. There hangs in the balance the life of the greatest Indian of our time and there hangs in the balance the future of millions of down-trodden people of this country. Is the Government going to take the responsibility for killing one and reducing the other to perpetual servitude? Let it make its choice well and wisely.

CHRISTIANS AND THE AWARD

The Bishop of Dornakal, one of the most enlightened and progressive leaders of the Indian



THE BISHOP OF DORNAKAL

Church in the course of a thoughtful article in the *Guardian*, subjects the Prime Minister's award to a close and searching analysis from the point of view of one who regards the religion of Christ as one of the most dynamic factors in the world which refuses to be confined to any one race, class or caste. And his conclusion is that the award, by stamping the followers of Christ as a communal entity, is a direct blow to the Church of Christ. From the point of view of the non-Christian, even more valuable is his lordship's emphasis on the fact that the perpetuation of communal electorates must inevitably strengthen the fissiparous tendencies within the community itself.

CAPITATION CHARGES

During a debate on an adjournment motion in the Legislative Assembly on the 6th September, Mr. G. R. F. Tottenham, Secretary of the Army Department, Government of India, made a statement explaining important points in regard to the Tribunal which will inquire into the capitation charges and certain cognate questions. The capitation charges are claims made by the British Government against Indian revenues for payments to cover the cost of training recruits who, in due course, are drafted to India to maintain the strength of the British units quartered in this country.

A non-official member, Mr. B. Das, complained that the Legislative Assembly was being systematically treated with contempt by the Government, but Mr. Tottenham said that the Assembly would have full opportunity of discussing the Tribunal's report before any decision was taken.

For the past fifty years, even before non-official opinion took any interest in these charges, the Government, declared the Army Secretary, had been pressing for justice to India.

The adjournment motion was defeated by 49 votes to 18.

MADRAS LIBERAL LEAGUE'S VIEWS

At a general meeting of the Madras Liberal League, the following resolution was unanimously passed :

The Madras Liberal League is constrained to express its emphatic disapproval of the following among other objectionable features of the Communal Award :

1. The one-sided manner in which the Lucknow Pact has been set aside and departed from, to the serious prejudice of the Hindu community, treating the problem as affecting two provinces only, instead of all provinces.
2. The want of any uniformity or consistency in the granting of weightage to minorities.
3. The excessive representation accorded to the European community in Bengal.
4. The inadequate representation accorded to Hindus in the Punjab and Bengal.
5. The practical guarantee of a statutory majority to the majority community in the Punjab.
6. The provision of separate communal electorates for Hindus and Mahomedan women in opposition to their unanimously expressed views.
7. The failure to provide any inducements to the communities which have been unduly favoured to give up the principle of separate electorates and draw more closely towards the other communities.

THE LATE SIR RONALD ROSS

One of the world's benefactors and a man to whom India owes a great debt of gratitude—Sir Ronald Ross, the conqueror of malaria—died in London recently after a long illness.

Sir Ronald saved millions of lives by his discovery that the mosquito was a malaria carrier, but he died a poor man at the age of 75. Late in life he was honoured by scientific societies all over the world, but he was in such straitened circumstances that a public subscription was raised to provide for his old age. The subscription had closed at £15,500.

SIR NILRATAN SIRCAR

The Corporation of Calcutta, at their meeting on Wednesday the 17th August, unanimously adopted, at the instance of Councillor Santosh Kumar Basu, the following resolution on the occasion of the completion by Sir Nilratan Sircar of the seventieth year of his life and the fiftieth year of his career as a physician.

The Corporation convey their cordial greetings to Sir Nilratan Sircar who has been an eminent physician of this great city and has taken an active and prominent part in the public life of the country for over half a century and has rendered invaluable service in the various spheres of public activity.

The Corporation desire that an expression of their appreciation of Sir Nilratan's eminent services and good wishes for his long life and continued usefulness be conveyed to him.

Under the auspices of the Calcutta Medical Club, members of the medical profession in Calcutta celebrated the occasion of Sir Nilratan Sircar completing the fiftieth year of his professional life by presenting him with an address in the Indian Association Hall on Wednesday the 17th August, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, M.D., F.R.C.S. (Eng.), Mayor of Calcutta, presided.

THE ASSEMBLY AND MR. GANDHI

An adjournment motion to discuss Mr. Gandhi's resolve "to fast unto death", was talked out in the Legislative Assembly on Tuesday the 13th September.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer, moving the adjournment of the House, said that if Mr. Gandhi fulfilled his resolve "with him will die the British connexion with British India".

Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah, the nominated representative of the depressed classes, said that his community felt that the moral conscience of the Hindus had been roused. Salvation lay in bringing about a change from within the Hindu fold and not in segregation. The course adopted by the Government in conferring separate electorates would certainly arrest the progress of this most laudable movement.

Mr. H. G. Haig (Home Member, Government of India) said no Government could possibly let action of the kind adopted by Mr. Gandhi influence its action. Mr. Gandhi's action was really directed to bring pressure to bear, not upon His Majesty's Government, but upon the representatives of the depressed classes; but he was trying to do that by coercive methods not reasonable in the political sphere.

Several non-official speakers suggested that the Government should give Mr. Gandhi facilities to bring about an agreement between the depressed classes.

Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer (Leader of the House), supplementing the views expressed on behalf of the Government by the Home Member, said Mr. Gandhi's idea of solving political questions by non-political methods was fraught with the greatest possible danger to the constitutional development of the country. He added:

"Opportunities will no doubt arise for Mr. Gandhi to put forward his point of view and to try to effect the change of opinion he hopes for."



SIR NILRATAN SIRCAR, K.T., M.A., M.D., LL.D., D.C.L.,
whom the Calcutta municipality and the medical profession recently felicitated on the completion of 70 years of his life and half a century of his practice.

UNIVERSITY AND UNEMPLOYMENT

The department of industrial chemistry of the Benares Hindu University has been doing good work in tackling the problem of unemployment prevailing among its graduates in particular and the country in general.

The Senate of the University has now decided to institute a diploma course in (a) soap manufacture, (b) metal enamelling and (c) pottery and porcelain manufacture. The duration of the course in soap manufacture will be one year to all B. Sc. students who have passed the B. Sc. examination with chemistry as a special subject, whereas for students who have passed the Inter-Science examination with chemistry it will be two years. The period of the course in (a) metal enamelling or (b) pottery and porcelain will be two years for all students who have passed the Inter-Science or the B. Sc. examination with chemistry as one of their subjects.

The Bombay University has also appointed a Committee to deal with the incidence of unemployment among university men.

DR. TAGORE AS KAMALA LECTURER

Poet Rabindranath Tagore has been appointed as Kamala lecturer for 1930, the subject for his lecture being "the religion of man". It may be recalled that the late Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee endowed this lecture in memory of his beloved daughter who died before him, the honorarium being Rs. 1,000 for at least three lectures on the subject pertaining to Indian culture. Distinguished scholars who were previously selected for this post were: Dr. Annie Besant, Srimathi Sarojini Devi, and Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri. Mr. M. R. Jayakar was appointed for the year 1930, but was precluded from delivering lectures owing to his absence in London in connection with the Round Table Conference. Poet Tagore is newly appointed in his place.

WORLD EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

Professor P. Seshadri, of the Ajmer College, has been informed that the next biennial conference of World Federation of Educational Associations will be held in Dublin in July 1933. It will be remembered that the last conference was held in 1931 at Denver and earlier conferences were held in Geneva, Toronto, Edinburgh and San Francisco. Professor Seshadri was the only delegate to the Denver conference from India, but it is hoped that a large number of delegates from India will attend the Dublin session which will be held at the same time as the famous Dublin Horse Show.

UNIVERSITY, NO KEY TO JOBS

A warning against exaggerating the value of university education as a key to a career is contained in an editorial in the May issue of the *Serpent*, the organ of the Manchester University Union. It seems criminal, it states, to waste three or four years of a boy's life at the university if, in the end, he is going to be pushed by sheer economic force into work.

GUARDIAN TUTORS

The authorities of the Rajshahi College have adopted a new method of appointing Professors and Lecturers of the College guardian tutors to the students of the college. The students have been divided into batches and have been placed under the Professors who are to mix intimately with the students and look after the financial, health and other aspects of the students, advise them in matters relating to their studies.

INDIAN MILITARY ACADEMY

A *Communique* states that all applications for information relating to the examination for admission to the Indian Military Academy, Dehra Dun, should be made to the Secretary, Public Services Commission, Simla or Delhi, and not to the Commandant of the Academy.

TERRORIST OUTRAGES BILL

By 58 votes to 12, the Bengal Suppression of Terrorist Outrages Bill, as settled in Council, was passed in the Bengal Legislative Council on the motion of the Hon. Mr. R. N. Reid, Home Member.

In response to an appeal from the Oppositionists for an assurance that the wide powers given in the Bill would be exercised with judicial restraint and moderation, the Hon. Mr. Reid declared that "Government has no intention of abusing the powers which the Council has given it by the provisions of this Bill," and added that for his own part he would do his utmost to see that no such abuse occurred.

THE KARACHI BAR

The Karachi Bar Association has passed a resolution declaring that without associating itself with the Civil Disobedience movement, it strongly protests against the heavy sentences and fine of Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 4,000 respectively passed on Mr. Haridas Laljee, a member of the Karachi Port Trust, and Sheth Sukdev Udhawadas, recently by Mr. W. N. Richardson, City Magistrate, and authorising the President to move the Local Government or the Judicial Commissioner's Court to revise these sentences.

BENGAL CR. LAW AMENDMENT BILL

By 55 votes to 18 the Bengal Criminal Law Second Amendment Bill was passed by the Bengal Council after nearly five hours' discussion.

The chief clause in the Bill provides for capital punishment for attempted murder in cases of terrorism. The Home Member, explaining this clause, stated that the primary object of the terrorist being murder, the penalty should be the same for the murderer and one who attempted to murder.

While a motion for the circulation of the measure for eliciting public opinion was lost by a huge majority, several non-official amendments were either rejected, withdrawn or lost.

THE ETHICS OF PUNISHMENT

Mr. E. A. Joyce, Deputy Governor of Wormwood Scrubs Prison, says:

"Prison never reformed any man. The only thing we could hope to do was to make the conditions in a prison such that a man was able to reform himself.

"I met a man last month who will be in prison for another twelve months yet. He leaves outside a wife and a baby not yet six months old, and between him and his wife at the time I met him there was fifteen shillings.

"You read in the paper that a man has been sentenced to six months' imprisonment, but you never read—no Judge would dare say it—that the Judge said: 'John Smith, I sentence you to six months' hard labour. I sentence your wife to six months' misery, and I sentence your child to a stigma the child itself does not understand.'

"Society is paying very dearly for its lack of interest in prisons."

THE LATE MR. K. SWAMINATHA IYER

It is with deep regret that we have to record the death of Mr. K. Swaminatha Iyer, M.A., B.L., of Pudukottah, at the comparatively early age of 52. A leading member of the Pudukottah Bar, he was Public Prosecutor and State Vakil for a long time and had also acted as a Judge of the Chief Court. Mr. Swaminatha Iyer's activities were not, however, confined to the Courts. He took a leading part in the civic life of the city as a Municipal Councillor and had served alike on the old Representative Assembly and on the re-constituted Legislative Council. Apart from public work of this kind, Mr. Swaminatha Aiyer endeared himself to his numerous friends and relatives by the geniality of his disposition and the warmth of his affections.

MR. S. T. SHEPPARD

Mr. S. T. Sheppard, who has retired from the editorship of the *Times of India*, came out to join the paper over a quarter of a century ago. He began his newspaper career on the staff of the London *Times* and joined the staff of the *Times of India* as Assistant Editor in 1907. He succeeded Sir Stanley Reid as Editor in 1923. During his twenty-five years connection with the *Times of India*, Mr. Sheppard has witnessed far-reaching changes in the newspaper world. He is the author of several books on Bombay, including "The History of Bombay" which was published very recently.

Mr. Sheppard is succeeded in the editorial chair of the *Times of India* by Mr. Francis Low who began his journalistic career on the staff of the *Aberdeen Free Press* and came out to join the staff of the *Times of India* as Sub-Editor in 1922.

A NEW DAILY FOR MADRAS

The *Indian Express* which made its appearance on the 5th of September, is a welcome addition to the ranks of the *Dailies* of Madras. Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu, in the course of a statement in the first issue of the paper, declares: "Owing no allegiance to any existing political party in the country, it will stand staunchly for freedom in all national spheres of activity. Non-communal in its outlook, it will advocate justice to all communities in social, political and economic life with a view to welding all of them into a great Indian nation." Dr. Naidu already owns the *Tamil Nadu*, a vernacular daily, and we wish his new venture a useful career in the cause of an yet wider public.

"YOUR MAGAZINE"

Your Magazine is a new English monthly with some attractive features. In the course of an Editorial, Mr. M. K. Rangachari, the Managing-Editor (Director, Tutorial College, Madras) points

out that amidst the jarring cries that one hears in the India of to-day, there is one distinct strain that is audible.

It is the cry for opportunity of service that has succeeded the scramble for privileges. The European in India asks a fair field and no favour; the Moslem stands for an adequate share; the depressed classes insist on the removal of their handicaps.

It is this longing for opportunity to serve India in all the manifold ways of national life that animates every one of the political, social and economic movements sweeping over this ancient land. Opportunity of service, opportunity for all, is the dominant purpose behind all these.

Here then is room for every one, a place in the sun in this sunny land. The Hindu, the Moslem, the Christian, the European, everybody has his place in the making of a great India.

INTERNATIONAL PRESS EXHIBITION

An international exhibition of the press is being organised at Tiflis, Georgia Republic. Periodicals from 278 different countries of the world in 195 languages will be represented at the Exhibition which is being made fully representative of the world's press. In course of an appeal to the Indian press, the organisers have made request to all the daily newspapers and other periodicals to send specimen copies of the publication and photographs of their presses for the exhibition. It is stated that the copies supplied by the vernacular press would specially be appreciated.

BOOKS RECEIVED

THE NEW WORLD OF ISLAM. By Lothrop Stoddard, A.M. Ph.D. (Hons.) Chapman & Hall, London.

THE REVOLT AGAINST CIVILIZATION. By Lothrop Stoddard. Chapman & Hall, London.

THE FOUNTAIN-HEAD OF RELIGION. By Ganga Prasad, M.A., M.R.A.S. Published by Pandit K. Jnan. The Arya Samaj, Madras.

THE OUTLINES OF THE ARYA SAMAJ. By Pandit K. Jnan. The Arya Samaj, Madras.

GREAT CHARACTERS IN ENGLISH LITERATURE. Edited by G. R. Hammond, B.A. George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., London.

MY "SHELLEY" AND OSCAR WILDS DE PROFUNDIS: AN APPRECIATION. By V. R. M. Chettiar, B.A. Perumal Koil Street, Trichinopoly.

TOWARDS A SYSTEMATIC STUDY OF THE VEDANTA. By Saroj Kumar Das, M.A., Ph.D. University of Calcutta, Calcutta.

INDIAN COTTON TARIFF

In order to assist the Indian cotton industry which has suffered as a result of increased imports from abroad, particularly from Japan, the Government of India have raised the *ad valorem* duty on cotton piece-goods, not of British manufacture, from 31¼ per cent. to 50 per cent. The increased duty takes effect immediately and will remain in force until March 31, 1933.

The Government point out that their decision in no way prejudices the question whether the Indian cotton textile industry satisfies the conditions required to qualify it for the grant of substantive protection.

The Tariff Board concluded that the dominating factor in the fall in prices in imported piece-goods has been the depreciation in the value of the Japanese *yen*, but the increased duty is applicable to all cotton piece-goods not of British manufacture.

The Government's decisions have naturally caused surprise and alarm among Japanese traders.

COASTAL SHIPPING

The Government sustained its first defeat in the present session of the Assembly when Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed's resolution recommending to the Governor-General-in-Council to take necessary steps for the purpose of fixing the minimum rates for passenger carrying trade by sea between coastal ports of India was carried by 50 votes to 44.

RUSSIAN GOODS FOR INDIA

From piece-goods to pneumatic tyres, a variety of manufactured articles produced in Russia found their way for the first time into the Karachi markets, the sole agency whereof has been acquired by a prominent Indian firm. Brisk business is expected in the first shipment of Russian piece-goods. The articles include hosiery and cutlery.

A CHANCE TO INDIAN SHIPPING

The Indian Merchants' Chamber addressed a representation on 25th August 1932, to the Government of Bombay, Revenue Department, re: arrangement for a new agreement for the conveyance of Mails after the expiry of the present agreement with the B. I. S. N. Co., Ltd., on the 31st January 1934.

The Committee wish to urge upon Government the necessity of utilising this opportunity of taking suitable action for enabling Indian steamship companies to carry the Mails on the coast by giving them such subsidies as the circumstances may justify. The Committee are of opinion that Government should invite public and open tenders for the conveyance of Mails and should also write to the various Indian steamship companies on this subject. It is further urged that preference should be given for the conveyance of Mails to companies which have got a majority of Indian directors, have at least 75 per cent. of Indian shareholders and are managed by Indians.

LOOM THAT WEAVES TWO CLOTHS

Mr. N. Banerji, Principal, Government Central Weaving Institute, Amritsar, has invented a double production loom which is working quite satisfactorily at the Government Central Weaving Institute. This loom has been patented in his name.

It produces commercially two cloths at a time and yields twice the production of any fly-shuttle or other looms used in India. It is easy to handle and free from any trouble. This loom can easily be worked by any man and repaired locally.

Its introduction will give undoubtedly a great impetus to the hand-loom industry in the country. Where there is no power available, it can be substituted in place of power-looms with a small investment of capital. It can be worked conveniently in conjunction with a Dobby or a Jackquard machine for producing artistic and ornamental designs on cloths.

PEASANT PROBLEM IN THE ORIENT

Dr. Hans Kohn writes in the *World Unity* on the peasant problem in the Orient. He says:

The great social struggles which the Orient is confronting are not struggles of the working class industry, but the movement for emancipation of the peasant class. Bolshevik propagandists in China have already perceived that a social revolution in the East must be, to a still greater extent than in Russia itself, a joint movement of the peasant and the working classes. Because of the constantly increasing population in the last decade and the demand for land which this has occasioned, the situation of the peasantry in the East is becoming worse. The burden of taxation in the Orient falls on the poorer classes and particularly upon the tillers of the soil, since in all Oriental countries with very few exceptions indirect taxation and land taxes go to make up the lion's share of public revenues. One of the greatest obstacles in the way of agricultural development is the excessive indebtedness of the small farmer. The means for improvement are to be found not so much in the technical perfecting of agricultural methods as in the awakening of initiative in the masses sunk in lethargy by inveterate traditionalism and centuries of privation. The co-operative movement which has made advances in India and Egypt of late years offers a partial aid in this direction. But this movement, too, can attain its goal only if the peasantry is trained to a more intelligent and more active participation in economic life. The more progressive elements among national movements in the Orient are making this goal their objective. It is a part of that effort towards the elevation of the people as a whole which every incipient nationalism preaches. Another phase of this effort is the struggle to raise the status of woman and make possible her participation in public affairs.

PYKARA POWER SCHEME

The Pykara Hydro-Electric scheme which is designed to supply power for industrial and domestic purposes to the Nilgiris, Coimbatore, Salem and Trichinopoly districts and some towns in the Malabar district including Calicut is nearing completion. The civil works, including the Diversion Weir on the Pykara river, the 7,000 feet long aqueduct leading to the fore-bay, are fully completed as also the upper *bund* about 40 feet. The lower *bund* 60 feet high is approaching completion. The effective capacity of the reservoir formed by these two *bunds* is 84 million cubic feet.

The work of erecting the 10,000 feet long pipe lines has been completed. The pipe line leading from the fore-bay to the edge of the precipice is made of rivetted steel and is 78 inches in diameter for a length of 1,050 feet.

The pipe line trifurcates near the Power House situated in the heart of the Singara Estate, 10,220 feet below the fore-bay and enters the Power House to feed three large specially designed impulse turbines of 10,000 h.p. each. The civil works connected with the Power House have been completed.

A COURSE IN DAIRYING

A six months' vernacular course in dairying will be given at the Punjab Agricultural College, Lyallpur, from October 1 next, to March 31, 1933. No tuition fee will be charged. The minimum qualification for admittance is, that the applicant should have passed the Matriculation Examination of the Punjab University.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

The Lunavada *Darbar* has sanctioned the free supply of babul wood to agriculturists for the purpose of manufacturing wooden ploughs and similar agriculture implements.

SIR P. C. RAY'S 70TH BIRTHDAY

The Allahabad University Chemical Society at a general meeting, held on August 10, passed a



SIR P. C. RAY

resolution offering its heartiest felicitations to Sir Profulla Chandra Ray on his completion of the 70th year of age and also recording with pleasure the great services which he has rendered as the founder of chemistry in India. It is the sincere hope of the members of the chemical society (as indeed of the whole country) that he may long be spared to continue his work in connection with the development of chemical science.

INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS

The twentieth annual meeting of the Indian Science Congress will be held at Patna, from January 2 to 7, 1933. Sir James David Sifton, Governor of Bihar and Orissa, has consented to be a patron of the meeting. Dr. L. L. Fermor, Director, Geological Survey of India, will preside.

RADIUM IN CANADA

The recently discovered pitchblende radium deposits near the Great Bear Lake in North-West Canada are being actively developed, according to a statement in the House of Commons recently by Mr. J. H. Thomas, Secretary for the Dominions.

A SUBSTITUTE FOR GLASS

The Sunralite Co., Tottenham, London, has produced a substitute for glass. This material which is called Sunralite, is not intended to take the place of glass for every purpose as it is not fully transparent, but for roof panelling and windows which are required only to be translucent and it has certain merits.

It consists of a thin sheet of special translucent preparation supported and strengthened by strong, flexible, double-galvanized wire gauze. It is practically unbreakable, bends easily, can be cut with scissors and does not splinter. It is not nearly as heavy as glass, a square yard weighing about 1lb. It can be fitted easily even over curved surfaces.

The main advantage, however, lies in the fact that, as tests at the National Physical Laboratory have shown, it admits light rays of ultra-violet wave length. This makes it particularly suitable for factory roofs, skylights, and windows.

A NEW TUBE WELL SCREEN

Mr. Amar Nath, a young tube well engineer and specialist in the line has, after strenuous efforts of several years, succeeded in bringing out a new invention of making tube well screens and strainers made of cement unknown to the modern world so far, writes a correspondent to a contemporary.

The tube well strainer prepared by Mr. Amar Nath does not contain any metallic substance like iron, brass or copper, etc., which are generally liable to corrosion, oxidizing, electrolysis and silt action thereby choking or clogging.

This new invention has been tested and has proved its supremacy and efficacy above all. So far the tube well world, viz., U. S. A. and other countries have been using only metallic screens, but this invention of a young Indian engineer will revolutionise the line.

The invention has duly been patented.

RAILWAYMEN'S FEDERATION

At the resumed special convention of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation held at Madras on September 3, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta presiding, the resolution regarding a general strike as amended was unanimously passed. It stated that having regard to the draft notice as amended in the matter of a general strike and having received reports from the affiliated unions regarding the preparations they had made, the special convention was satisfied that the determination of the workers to launch a general strike as a protest against retrenchment remained unshaken. But while preparations in several unions had reached the stage of completeness, there were others where considerable leeway remained to be done.

The Convention therefore, while adopting the notice prepared by the Council of Action, resolved that the same may be sent to the proper quarters as soon as other affiliated unions had appointed a strike committee and remitted to the headquarters of the Federation their full quota of the strike levy and as soon as 600 junctions and stations were fully and effectively organised. The Convention expressed disappointment that in those circumstances some delay was inevitable and while it was convinced of the absolute necessity of a general strike at an early date on the issue of retrenchment, it was equally certain that the success of the strike will be best assured when preparations had been made at a scale commensurate with the responsibility which the strike involved.

NEW TRAIN-SPEED RECORDS

A new European rail-speed record will be established when the re-timing of the Manchester-London Express comes into operation with the new summer schedules. The Express will cover 177 miles from Wilmslow to London in 172 minutes. The new schedules show general increases in speeds of Expresses on the northern runs and several other new records will be affected.

TRAVELLERS BY RAILWAYS

In answer to a question in the House of Commons, the Secretary of State for India gave the number of travellers in Indian railways along with the details of classes in which the journey was taken. The period is from 1921-22 to 1930-31. Taking into consideration the figures for 1930-31 we find there were 670 first class passengers, 8,089 second class, 16,189 inter class and 550,879 third class passengers. From this figure it will be seen, says a contemporary, that the total of first and second class passengers would be 8,759. "Even if it be argued that the income from each of these passengers would be ten times that of the third class ones (which is not really the case), these first-class passengers may be taken to be as equal to 87,590 third class passengers. That would also leave a margin of 463,289 passengers, that is to say, more than five times the number. We have omitted 000's but that does not defeat our purpose. Almost the same thing may be proved from all the figures given for the whole decade. What amount of amenities these third-class passengers are entitled to receive and what do they really get?"

RATIONALISATION OF RAILWAYS

The movement for the rationalisation of railways has resulted in the decision of London, Midland and Scottish Railway to cease manufacturing its own steel and close its Crewe Works on September 30, on the ground that it is not an economic proposition at present. The Company has decided that the expenditure on modernising the force and rolling mills is unjustified in view of the capacity of the existing steel plants in Britain and the national importance of the economic production of steel.

The decision does not involve the abandonment of Crewe as a railway centre. The displaced staff numbering between 500 and 600, will receive a retiring gratuity.

MOTOR LICENCES IN JAPAN

In view of the ease with which a motor-driving licence can be obtained in this country, writes a correspondent to the *Observer* (London), it is interesting to conjecture how many of the road users could satisfy the requirements demanded by the Japanese traffic police. In Japan, it has been the practice for some years past for prospective motor drivers, both professional and private, to have to undergo both a written examination (covering car construction and method of functioning, traffic regulations, etc.), also a driving test (when a uniformed police official accompanies the would-be driver) before a driving licence is granted. The examination and test for private owners are strict enough but for professionals they are much more so, and on an average only about 30 per cent. are "passes".

Then the licence, if granted, has to bear the photograph of its owner and must always be produced on request.

RAIL AND MOTOR COMPETITION

The Government of India have at last perceived that a sane policy of transport must be evolved, if the growing rivalry between the railways and automobiles is to be converted to some healthy and useful channels. At present, says *Commercial India*, the Central Government is interested only in the expansion of the railways while the Provincial Governments have to see merely to the extension of the roadways. Naturally the rivalry between railways and automobiles is accentuated by the conflicting interests of the Governments. There is no ministry of Transport, few understand its problems and nobody is responsible for them. This state of confusion cannot last much longer, and so the Government of India have invited a conference on the subject during the coming cold weather.

93 MILE PER HOUR CAR

A high-speed passenger car with self contained motive power will soon be placed in service between Berlin and Hamburg. Speeds of over 93 miles an hour will be sustained. The new motorized car which is over 137 feet long, will be rounded at each end to reduce wind resistance. Its design was determined after wind tunnel tests at the Friedrichshafen Zeppelin works. Regular trains on the same run will have their speed increased to over 70 miles an hour.

BRITISH CAR TRADE

British car exports have been reduced by half in two years, according to a booklet just published. The most prolific buyer last year was the Irish Free State which imported nearly 7,000 British cars.

SPARK PLUGS

"The Story of a Spark Plug" and "Ignition" was the subject of an interesting picture show and lecture on Thursday the 15th September at the Y. M. C. A., Esplanade, Madras, by Mr. C. A. Speers, foreign representative of the Champion Spark Plug Co., of Canada. Mr. Speers also demonstrated the "New Champion Spark Plug Tester" with which he showed how a new MR. C. A. SPEERS plug fires perfectly at 85lbs. compression whereas a plug taken out of a car run over twelve thousand miles only gave frail sparks at 40lbs. This confirms the statement of the research engineers in America and elsewhere that spark plugs must be changed every ten thousand miles.



SILVER JUBILEE OF INDIAN BANK

The Silver Jubilee of the Indian Bank, Madras, came off on the 30th August and the function was presided over by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar.

Mr. T. R. Ramachandra Iyar, one of the Directors of the Bank, in requesting Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar to take the Chair, traced the growth of the Bank and said that it was started by that far-seeing statesman the late Mr. V. Krishnaswami Iyar. The late Mr. S. R. M. M. Ramasami Chettiar came forward to help the undertaking.

As a manager of sterling merit was required and as Madras was poor in those days in persons trained in banking, such a manager was found in Mr. Vidyasagar Pandya, a gentleman of indefatigable energy, undoubted integrity and vast experience in banking. He willingly came forward to help and became Secretary.

Mr. Suryasekhara Iyar, Secretary, then read telegrams received from Sir D. E. Wacha, Sir Mirza Ismail, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyar and others wishing the function success.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar in the course of his observations remarked that the success of the Bank was due to many factors. It had been fortunate in securing the services of Mr. Vidyasagar Pandya for whose selection they were under a deep debt of gratitude to Sir Lallubhai Samaldoss.

The progress of the Bank was very slow and it had won the confidence of the public. The Bank had satisfied many tests and the most crucial test was the way in which it had been able to meet the crisis when there was a sudden run upon its funds. There was no such run on the Bank at the earlier stages and even if there had been such a run, the resourcefulness of Mr. Vidyasagar Pandya would have enabled him to face the crisis. There was a scare about the position of the Bank last year and it was faced courageously and promptly, and with the confidence of the depositors the Bank stood the storm. The speaker hoped that the confidence of the Bank would not be disturbed in future by the unfounded rumours about its position. The way in which it had been able to meet the last scare was very strong proof of the soundness of the position of the Bank. In spite of financial depression and in spite of adverse circumstances, the Indian Bank had been able to declare a dividend of 12 per cent. for the last 10 years.

Sir Sivaswami Aiyar had no doubt that when they were going to get constitutional reforms, great stimulus would be given to the development

of indigenous banking, which was essentially connected with the future prosperity of India. One noticeable fact in recent years was the increase in the number of indigenous banks—a fact which should be welcome. The speaker hoped that those banks would follow the traditions set up by the Indian Bank which was entitled to look with legitimate pride upon its success. He hoped that the Bank would become one of the perennial and permanent banking institutions in India.

FIVE PER CENT. LOAN AT 97

The United Provinces Government which has notified its intention to repay in full the 6 per cent. United Provinces 1921-41 Bonds has announced the issue of a 5 per cent. issue at 97 (to repay the portion of the U. P. Bonds not covered by the sinking fund) repayable in full in 1944. This issue is not free of income-tax like the last issue of U. P. Bonds, nor does it bear interest at 6 per cent. But having regard to the present condition of the money market, the terms offered are fair. In view of the disappointment of numerous investors who failed to secure the last 5 per cent. issue of the Government of India at 98, the opportunity offered by the present issue of the local Government must be particularly welcome. The success of the issue which appears to be assured will mean an appreciable saving to the local Government in interest charges and the income-tax payable to the Government of India.

AMERICAN TREASURY NOTE ISSUE

The issue of 1,150 million dollars in treasury notes and certificates of indebtedness has been six times over-subscribed, according to a statement by the Secretary to the United States Treasury. The issue consists of 750 million dollars in treasury notes bearing interest at 3¼ per cent. and maturing in five years, and 400 million dollars in certificates of indebtedness bearing interest at 1¼ per cent. and maturing on September 1, 1933. Its purpose is to meet maturing obligations for public debt interest and to provide funds for the Reconstruction Corporation.

EARLY INSURANCE

Mr. John Buchan has been pointing out that Sir Walter Scott invented health insurance for his dependents. It is worth recalling that there is on record an instance where another pioneer—very fittingly a Caledonian also—applied a sound scheme of health insurance at an earlier date. He was a Scottish surgeon who cheerfully offered his patients a policy of insurance for small-pox. His scheme was to inoculate a child for £2 2s., £10 10s. to be paid to the guardians if the child succumbed. He had also smaller policies to suit more limited purpose. Four guineas could be insured for a lump payment of £1 1s., £2 2s. for 10s. 6d. and £1 1s. for 5s. His practice appears to have flourished. Certainly he chose a popular disease. It was an age when tradesmen advertised as a matter of course for an apprentice who has had the small-pox.

LIFE INSURANCE IN JAPAN

The Ordinary Life Insurance in Japan is done by 38 Japanese and 3 Foreign Life Insurance Companies. Out of the 38 Japanese Companies, 32 are Limited concerns while 6 are Mutual. The Japanese hold a practical monopoly in the life insurance business in their country. The foreign companies, namely, the Sun Life of Canada, the Manufacturers Life Insurance Co., of Toronto, and the New York Life Insurance Co., have a total capital of 223 million *yens*.

THE PRABHAT INSURANCE COY., LTD.

The Prabhat Insurance Company Limited is starting a Motor Insurance Department under the able guidance of Mr. D. C. H. Dinshaw of Lucknow, a partner of the firm of Secretaries and Managers. We wish this new venture of Prabhat a success.

INSURANCE FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN

French educational authorities have just adopted a scheme of accident insurance for school children. By paying a minimum subscription of 5f (about 1s.) a year, parents will be able to cover the expenses resulting from injuries their children may receive on their way to school, on their way home, or during school hours. Capital sums up to £500 will be available for children who are more or less incapacitated.

The originator of the idea is M. Allardi, Deputy Mayor of the 19th Arrondissement of Paris. His suggestions have aroused general interest and are to be put into effect in October.

As M. Allardi points out, it is becoming increasingly dangerous for children to go about the streets. Accidents often happen which are admittedly the fault of the children, and in such cases damages cannot be obtained from drivers of vehicles. Injuries are also suffered in schools or during excursions for which the children are frequently alone responsible.

All school authorities in Paris will be at liberty to adopt the scheme. Later it may be applied in the provinces.

G. B. S.: "A FIRST CLASS LIFE" AT 76

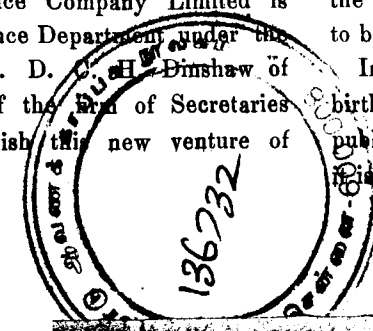
Although he has just celebrated his 76th birthday, Mr. George Bernard Shaw has taken out a new life insurance policy for £10,000.

He was accepted as a "first class" life despite his age.

It is understood that friends' references were not required on the proposal form.

Mr. Shaw celebrated his 76th birthday by working at Malvern in anticipation of the Festival, at which his new play, "Too True to be Good", was being produced.

Interviewed, he said: "I should like to see all birthdays abolished. Of a great many to which public attention is called, it might be said that it is a pity they ever occurred."



FACTORIES IN MADRAS

The annual report of the Chief Inspector of Factories on the working of the Indian Factories Act in the Madras Presidency for the year 1931 has just been published. The total number of factories on the register at the end of the year was 1,636, out of which 1,470 were actually working. The average daily number of operatives employed was 137,377 as against 142,549 during the previous year. Of the total number employed 33,761 were women, 4,094 boys and 2,388 girls. The cotton spinning and weaving industry accounted for 36,254 of the total number employed.

Of the 1,470 factories actually working, 329 were inspected once, 594 twice, 348 thrice and 138 more than three times.

The health of the operatives was generally good and there were no epidemics among the factory operatives during the year.

Six factories, in addition to the 261 which were reported to be providing housing accommodation for operatives, provided housing accommodation during the year.

THE AWARD AND LABOUR

According to the Premier's Award, the following seats are allotted to Labour:

	No. of Seats.
Assam	4
Bengal	8
Bihar and Orissa	4
Bombay (with Sind)	8
C. P. (including Berar)	2
Madras	6
Punjab	3
U. P.	3
N. W. F. Province	Nil
Total	36

Seats allotted to Labour will be filled from non-communal constituencies, but it is likely that in most provinces Labour constituencies will be partly trade union and partly special constituencies as recommended by the Franchise Committee,

TRADE UNION CONGRESS

The twelfth session of the All-India Trade Union Congress met in Madras on the 10th September. Mr. K. Nageswara Rao delivered the opening address and was followed by Mr. V. M. Ramaswamy Moodelliar, Chairman of the Reception Committee. Both speakers appealed for unity among workers.

Mr. T. N. Mitra, presiding over the session, traced the history of the trade union movement in India and like the previous speakers, appealed for unity.

After a heated discussion lasting for two days, the Working Committee passed a resolution appealing to the workers for unity.

Some of the other resolutions discussed by the Committee, protest against rule by ordinances, call on the railway men to repudiate the leadership of Messrs. Jamnadas Mehta, V. V. Giri and S. C. Joshi, and demand the release of all political prisoners.

WORKING OF FACTORIES IN THE PUNJAB

The annual report on the working of the Indian Factories Act in the Punjab during 1931 show that 22 new factories were registered and 15 were removed from the rolls of registered factories. Thus the total number rose from 640 to 647. Of the 647 factories, only 506 actually worked during the year the remainder remaining closed. Last year the number of closed factories was 114.

The increase in the number of factories which did not work must be attributed to the general economic depression. Consequently there was a drop in the number of operatives employed, namely, 44,729 this year as compared with 44,549 in 1930. Though the newly registered factories found employment for 771 men, the old factories had to dismiss 5,591 employees. The general unemployment had the result of reducing the wages.

A MAHARANI'S IMPRESSIONS OF EUROPE

Her Highness the Junior Maharani of Travancore on her return to her capital from the European tour, replying to the address of welcome on behalf of herself and the First Princess, expressed thanks for the spontaneous and cordial welcome accorded to them and said:

"Nothing has impressed us more than the great part that is now being played by women in every field of human endeavour. Although in our State the progress made by our women has been remarkable but still we have to learn a great deal from our Western sisters. It is our hope and prayer that we may, by what we have seen, be able to contribute in some measure to the further progress and advance of our beloved land of Vanchi."

WOMEN WORKERS IN JAPAN

An interesting, if not disturbing, feature of Japanese civilisation at present is the rate at which women are supplementing men in various occupations formerly served by male workers. Now the lowest wage in Japan for a young housemaid will be 5 yen a month and food, while the highest wage will be 100 yen for an expert lady secretary to a prosperous business man. Housemaids over 20 with good experience get from 30 to 80 yens a month. The number of unemployed among women is much less than among men.

WOMEN IN ITALY

Italy no longer enjoys the distinction of having as many males as females in her population. In fact, the balance is in favour of the weaker sex. In a total population of 41,609,581, there are 666,065 more females than males.

In 1861, the number was equal; from then down to the beginning of the present century men predominated. Since then they have been slowly losing ground.

FRENCH WOMEN

One of the many misconceptions entertained about France by the casual tourist is that the typical Frenchwoman is frivolous. Nothing is further from the truth.

Statistics show that 30 per cent of the workers of France are women. It is not surprising to learn that 85 per cent. of the persons engaged in domestic occupations are women, but that 40 per cent. of the work on the land is in female hands, is a revelation to many people. The army of girls employed in Paris offices presents nothing novel to anyone familiar with London. But the number of feminine members of the liberal professions is striking. There are many women doctors, and the stranger who visits the Law Courts will probably be astonished at the host of *avocates* he will see—all apparently conscious of their enhanced attractiveness in legal robes.

CLARA ZETKIN

In accordance with custom Frau Clara Zetkin, the oldest member of the German Reichstag, presided at the opening of the German Parliament. This fiery 75-year old lady, who "strafed" the Government mercilessly, started life as a school teacher, later becoming the wife of Ossip Zetkin, a Russian revolutionary. She has devoted the greater part of her life to the spread of socialism among her sex, and it is chiefly due to her that German women have built up an organisation of their own. In 1920, she became a member of the Reichstag and turned her energies to the organisation of women communists, editing periodicals devoted to their cause. The prospect of Frau Zetkin in the presidential chair moved a Nazi paper some time ago to protest against this Jewess who lives in Moscow and acts on the orders of Moscow.

INDIAN NATIONAL THEATRE

An Indian national theatre which unites the realism of Western art with the subtle charm of the East, is the ambition of Mr. Grant Anderson who has gathered together an enthusiastic band of young Indians and is training them to interpret the best in British and Indian drama. In spite of handicaps of which the growing popularity of the talkies and the general pre-occupation with politics are two of the most serious, Mr. Anderson has pressed forward with his venture and has produced a number of Shakespearian plays, notably *Hamlet*, *Julius Caesar* and *Merchant of Venice*, and *Sheridan's School for Scandal*; besides old classical Indian plays like the "Toy Cart" (Mr. Symon's rendering).

Mr. Anderson, the moving spirit of this Company, has been playing some of the leading roles. His rendering of *Hamlet* has been characterised by one commentator as superb. His Anthony was a vigorous dynamic interpretation of the great Shakespearian character. But his greatest success so far has been the portrayal of *Shylock* whom he has released from the conventional garb of a heartless, money grabbing Jew and lifted into an Israelite weighed down by an exquisite sense of wrongs done to his race.

RARE COINS IN VASE

A \$17.50 vase purchased by Alfred I du Pont on a chance visit to a curio shop in Cairo, Egypt, has been found to contain ancient coins worth thousands of dollars.

He purchased the vase on a tour last year and its contents, a curious piece of mineral formation about eight inches in circumference, went with the bargain. On his return to America, Mr. du Pont found a collection of gold and silver coins which, from the best information obtainable, are believed to be coins known as pentadrachmae, of the time of Ptolemy, 300 B.C.

DRAMA AS A SOCIAL FORCE

Mr. Joseph Wood Crutch, speaking before the League for industrial democracy, said that those who are interested in encouraging the theatre to exercise a social influence should go about their business. The *Nation* of New York has published his speech from which we quote the following:

Drama is and must remain an art. That means that it must remain in the hands of the artist. And that means also that those of you who are interested rather in politics or economics than in art are going to get very impatient with the playwright. He will not seem to go far enough. He will be filled with doubts when you are filled with faith. He will turn aside to deal with all sorts of things which you regard as trivial and he will be seized with scruples which you cannot understand. You will be tempted to denounce him and to draft yourself to fill his job. But it won't work. Be patient with him and let him go his own way.

Ideas are afoot. Any playwright who is a good playwright cannot keep them out of his plays. And so I say in conclusion: Be grateful for any good playwright. Do not worry because he is not a member of your particular congregation. Do not quarrel with his political theories or his artistic theories. You do not need a Labor playhouse and a Socialist playhouse and a Communist playhouse and a Trotskyist playhouse and a Stalinist playhouse. What you need is a good playhouse and when you have got it, then your ideas as well as everybody else's will get in one way or another. May the best man win!

INDIAN MUSIC CLASS

Dewan Bahadur K. Ramunni Menon, Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, opened in the closing week of August the class organised by the university for the diploma course in Indian music. Vidwan K. Varadachari, Music Lecturer, welcomed the Vice-Cancellor.

Before declaring the class open, the Vice-Chancellor said that the university took a deep interest in Indian music and had made it an optional subject for the Intermediate and B. A. courses. By instituting a department of Indian music to prepare students for the diploma in Indian music, it had afforded an opportunity for persons interested in music to specialise in the subject. He hoped that the chief lecturer and his assistants would spare no pains to make the course a complete success.

GOLF TITLES

Since golf became an international game, it has been the ambition of all famous players to win the British and American titles in the same year—an achievement entitling the man who succeeds to describe himself as the world's champion. Many have attempted the feat but only two have succeeded, both American players. Bobby Jones who was the first, is now followed by Sarazen whose performance has set up a standard of golf even more remarkable than that accomplished by his countryman.

"The greatest round of golf ever played" was Jones's description of Sarazen's phenomenal score of 66 in the last round of the U. S. Open.

Sarazen at one time was a bare-footed caddie running about the courses of N. Y.

1600 METRES RELAY

The United States has established world's records for 400 Metres Relay and 1600 Metres Relay in the semi-finals, the respective times being 40 6-10ths secs. and 3 mins. and 11 8-10ths secs.

Ishohollo (Finland) won 3000 Metres Steeple-chase, his time being 10 minutes and 33 4-10ths secs., Evenson (Britain) was second. Runners covered an extra lap owing to the mistake of lap checker.

Decathlon was won by Bausch (United States) with 8462.23 which is world's record.

Oxenstierna (Sweden) won Modern Pentathlon with a loss of 32 points.

ALL-INDIA AND NORFOLK

The match between All-India and Norfolk, at Norwich, ended in a victory for the Indians by 128 runs. The following are the scores: Indians 101 and 204 for 9 wickets declared; Norfolk 49 and 128.

RANJI'S CRICKETING NEPHEW

The cricket world may before long be hearing of another cricketing nephew of Ranji—a boy, 16 years of age, now being coached at Guildford, Surrey, for examinations for Cambridge University.

Ranji thinks that this boy, Indravijay Singh, will be even a better cricketer than Duleepsinghi. He told the *News Chronicle*:

'I think,' he said, 'that the boy will be a greater batsman than Duleepsinghi.'

'The boy,' he went on, 'is already a wonderful bat, but of course will improve with experience. I have never seen a boy cricketer so good at his age. He is better now than I was at 21.'

'I have been coaching him for three or four years and I am sure that if he proves to have the right temperament, he may become a very great batsman. Still there is no royal road to any game. Success comes from downright hard work.'

'The boy is good all round—a fine field and a useful bowler. But I do not want him to get swelled head. I am trying to guard against that.'

Ranji laughed as he said this.

Frank Tarrant, he added, 'has been coaching him this year in Jamnagar and has an even higher opinion of him than I have.'

Ranji's young nephew is with his elder brother Samar Singh, and both are working for Cambridge. Their tutor is Colonel J. C. Courtice.

Apart from their studies cricket is their chief interest. They follow the county games and know the performance of all the county players.

Needless to say they are great admirers of their cousin Duleepsinghi.

PROF. PICCARD'S ASCENT

Forty thousand people gathered at the aerodrome at Zurich at sunrise, on August 18, to see the Belgian scientist, Prof. Auguste Piccard, start on his second balloon attempt to reach regions of the sky never before attained by any human being.

The gondola attached to the balloon was loaded with sufficient oxygen to last 36 hours, food supply consisting of bananas, oranges, peaches, chocolate, bread and water and also 1,500lbs. of powdered lead as ballast for the wireless equipment and a wonderful array of scientific instruments for use in the rarified atmosphere and two parachutes to be used by the professor and his companion, Dr. Maz Cosyns, in case anything went wrong.

Outdistancing an aeroplane which took off shortly before the balloon in order to film it, the balloon rose rapidly, taking first a northerly and then a southerly direction and disappeared from view.

Wireless messages from Prof. Piccard told its progress until near midday; the professor reported that he had crossed Engadine at an altitude of 16,500 metres (10·3 miles approximately), that all was well but very cold and that he would soon descend in order to avoid coming down in the Adriatic. The next news was that the balloon had descended near De Senzano on Lake Garda.

A FRENCHMAN'S FEAT

Reni Machanaud, a young French air-man scientist, risked his life in the interests of science by jumping from an aeroplane nearly five miles high. He was equipped with a special parachute and landed safely after being blown 12 miles by the wind. When he landed in a field, Machanaud looked like a strange visitor from Mars. He wore a special respirator to enable him to breathe during the first dizzy drop through the rarified upper air.

TRAVEL BY AIR

It is notified for the guidance and information of all concerned that an arrangement has been made with Imperial Air-ways for Officers proceeding on leave to England or Egypt to travel by the Company's Aircraft at a special reduction of 10 per cent. from the published fare. A further rebate of 10 per cent. from the total of two single fares is made if the return journey is booked in advance.

For example: The through, inclusive fare Karachi to London under this scheme is £95 less 10 per cent. = £85. 10s. 0d. and the return fare Karachi—London—Karachi = twice £85. 10s. 0d. less 10 per cent. = £153. 0s. 0d.

It should be realised by all concerned that this fare is inclusive of the air journey, all other means of transport used *en route*, such as cars, trains, motor boat etc., meals, accommodation and tips, and that the fare commences from the time of embarkation at the airport of origin and terminates on arrival at the airport of destination.

FLYING ENDURANCE

John Hunter who broke the world's flying endurance record in 1930 by remaining in the air for 23 days and 2 hours, met with a very tragic death recently. Whilst flying over New York, the 'plane's motor started to give trouble and Hunter in an endeavour to re-adjust the engine climbed out on to the wing, a roll of the 'plane however caused him to lose his balance with the result that he fell into the whirling propeller and was decapitated beyond recognition.

MOLLISON'S ACHIEVEMENT

Mollison is the first to make a solo flight across the Atlantic from East to West. He has also achieved the distinction of making the first crossing of Atlantic in a light aeroplane.

HAROLD LLOYD ON HIS SUCCESS

During the course of an interview on his success in life, Mr. Harold Lloyd explained:

"In my own case, luck played more or less a part in giving me a start. I had much theatrical experience before I sought my first opinion in motion pictures. But experience doesn't always open up a motion picture studio gate. I had to work every trick at my command to get beyond the gate tender and once inside the studio, it was my good fortune to run into a director who knew me and gave me my first chance as an extra. Then I made the acquaintance of a boy, Hal Roach, who subsequently obtained enough money with which to start his own producing unit. That was in the days when production could be started on a shoestring. Hal gave me my chance. Working together, we helped each other to succeed. Success comes easier after you have blazed a little trail, provided of course you keep your chin up and don't overlook the greatest of all essentials to your goal—hard work, and then a little more hard work. You can't keep your hands velvety in any line of honest endeavour and still win success.

CHARLIE CHAPLIN

On his return to Los Angeles from his "City Lights" world tour, Mr. Charlie Chaplin announced that within a few days he would outline a thousand-word scheme to place world currency on a standard basis and thus solve the present economic crisis. He said he had discussed his plan with leading economists and not one of them could find a flaw in it.

While Mr. Chaplin was at Singapore, he told a Reuter correspondent that his travels had given him a good bird's-eye survey of the world crisis and that his next picture might centre round it. He sent for a number of authoritative books on economics and these he has been studying during his travels through the Far East.

RIN-TIN-TIN'S DEATH

Rin-Tin-Tin, the famous Alsatian dog actor of the films, who is said to have earned up to £500 a week, has died at Hollywood recently at the age of 14 years.

Rin-Tin-Tin was on service with the German forces during the Great War and was captured by Lieutenant Lee Duncan of the American Air Force, his present master, who secured the animal a film contract.

Rin-Tin-Tin has starred in many films during the past few years including "While London Sleeps", "Tracked in the Snow Country", "The Clash of the Wolves", "The Man Hunter", and "The Night Cry".

BRITISH FILMS FOR FAR EAST

The Managing-Director of the Associated British Pictures Corporation, Shanghai, has announced that they are signing a contract for showing in the Far Eastern countries the complete output of pictures of the British Gaumont Picture Corporation for five years. The contract means the release of pictures which will be seen by 150,000,000 people over a chain of 175 theatres in Japan, China, Siam, Malaya States and the Dutch East Indies.

A MAHARAJA'S FILMS

The Maharaja of Rajpipla who is a frequent visitor to England, is taking great interest in the film industry, and while in England is often to be seen in the Strand taking reel after reel of moving pictures which he puts on his private screen while in India.

A NEW MOTION PICTURE

A background of big-game hunting in India with a great elephant drive in Burma as one of the principal scenes in it, is planned for a motion picture which the Franklin Granville Expedition, Ltd., a British Film Company, proposes to shoot in India.

THAT TIRED FEELING

"That amount of rest needed during the day varies with the individual, says Dr. Kenneth Stone in the August issue of *New Health*, "and the brain, like the muscles, can be trained to do more and more work without fatigue. But there is another fact of extraordinary value which most people fail to realise or fail to make use of—that the brain can get rested if its work is varied. Variety of work is one of the secrets of those enviable people who seem to have such extraordinary vitality. A student working for a degree in mathematics is unable to concentrate on abstruse problems for more than about six hours a day. But a medical student, now in the wards, now in the out-patient department, now in the laboratory, with eyes, ears, children, nervous diseases—a vast range of subjects, in fact, to tackle—can keep it up for nine or ten hours if need be without undue fatigue. It is the same kind of effort continued hour after hour which may be harmful."

A TALK ON HEALTH

When you are on your "Home" leave take things in a quiet, peaceful, and restful manner. Do not rush about all day seeing cathedrals and museums and picture galleries. You will come back from the "holiday" a wreck, and it will take you several weeks to get over the ill effects. If you are weary and worn, as most of us are when we start on our holiday, go to some quiet place and lead the life of a cow—lie on your back and bask in the sun. I don't think cows lie on their backs, but they do not worry about the fall in wages, the high price of everything, etc. They also do a tremendous lot of eating of good food, they are always in the air, they lead regular lives, they live in harmony with their friends, and they look very well on the treatment. Therefore, lead the life of a cow for a fortnight and return like a cow—I mean a giant—refreshed.

HOW TO LIVE 100 YEARS

Would you like to live a hundred years? Sir Humphry Rolleston, Cambridge professor, tells how you can hold out for a century.

First and chiefly you must pick for your ancestors—a family that has a talent for living long. Heredity plays the strongest part in producing long life.

Second, it is important to maintain activity of the mind and body. Premature retirement from an active life does not tend to produce long life.

Third, you must keep your nerve cells young. After birth the nerve cells don't multiply and replace worn-out cells as occurs in other structures of the body. So, death of the nerve cells in brain, the spinal cord, means death.

Will-power, said Sir Humphry, may prolong the life of your nerve cells, and association with younger men may keep the brain supple. He prescribed: "Fresh air, meagre fare, freedom from care."

HOW TO REDUCE BULK

If you wish to reduce your bulk, it can be done by eating less; avoiding fat foods, taking more exercise, Turkish baths, or vapour baths, as I suppose we ought to call them. By being miserable, I was going to add, but I don't really mean that; better be fat than miserable. But still, in this question of fatness and thinness the mental side of the matter cannot be ignored. Of the two tasks you might set me, I would rather try and make a thin girl fat than a fat girl thin. I could not try to make a fat girl miserable; but I would try to make a thin girl so happy that she had to grow fatter. A "worrying" disposition will make anyone thin. Unhappiness will cause loss of sleep, loss of appetite and interfere with digestion—and all these things lead to a loss of weight.

ON LENDING MONEY

Lending money as a hobby has ceased to appeal to the Rev. E. J. Martin, Vicar of St. Jude's, Nottingham. In his monthly letter to his parishioners, he declares his resolution never to lend again, and adds:

"Should the day come when I alter my mind, I will change my name to Cohen, exhibit over the vicarage the sign of the three brass balls and have a dark entrance at the side. I will give what I can, but I decline to lend. I have never, never, never yet made a friend by making a loan. I have lent money to redeem tools from pawn, to facilitate the exit of the broker's man and to pay the fare home for distressed females, but in every case the ending has been unhappy."

PHOTOGRAPHS ON THE SKIN

After experiments lasting 10 years, a way to photograph portraits on to anything, from skin to silk stockings, handkerchiefs, or any other article of clothing, has been discovered by Mr. Denis Roffey of St. Michael's place, Brighton.

The pictures will not wash off, but Mr. Roffey knows a method to get them off anything without pain or to take them off clothing without leaving stains.

These pictures ought to appeal to the sailor. When Rosie is supplanted in his affections by Maude, he will be able to keep his tattoo marks up to date.

SILVER COINS MARKED WITH PUNCH

About 64 punch-marked silver coins are reported to have been recovered from within a stone jar by a person of the village Ghosi in the sub-division of Jehanabad, District Gaya, while working in the field. These coins are oblong silver pieces punched with various symbols and, according to authorities, were current in various parts of ancient India during and before the time of Alexander's invasion.

SMOKING

Cigarette smoking has made the fortunes of the tobacco firms. The great army of women smokers has contributed not a little to this result. It appears from an official census of production that about 46,000,000,000 cigarettes were smoked in Great Britain in 1930—half as many again as in the year 1924. If half the entire population smoked cigarettes, the total would allow each one six cigarettes a day. Nearly 400 cigarettes on the average go to the pound, and six cigarettes a day would mean smoking 1½ ounces of tobacco a week—an amount which could not be called excessive. There are, however, women who smoke as many as 40 or 50 cigarettes a day. Such excess, or even half this quantity, is bound sooner or later to affect the heart's action and the eyesight.

NOISE

Some people can't stand the noise of a crying baby; others go mad at the sound of traffic; rustling paper will drive many people from a room. . . . According to the report issued by the Industrial Health Research Board, the reactions to noise depend almost entirely on the nerves of the individual. Most people free from nervous symptoms can become indifferent to a noise relevant to their work or regularly continuous," the report says. People in good health do not normally mind noise. It is when they are getting run down that they begin to notice it and worry is another cause.

TALKING PHOTOGRAPHS

The latest development in gramophone records is a talking picture and these are becoming all the rage. These photographs are really records on which a letter is inscribed. The recipient places the photograph on the gramophone and "plays it". The "talking photograph" seems to hold out many intriguing possibilities.

He was on his way home with his new car which was absorbing all his attention when it struck him that he had forgotten something.

Twice he stopped, counted his parcels and searched his pocket-book, but finally decided he had everything with him.

When he reached home, his daughter ran out, stopped with a surprised look on her face and cried: "Why, father, where's mother?"

* * * * *
The curfew tolls the knell of parting day.
A line of cars winds briskly o'er the lea.
A pedestrian plods his absent-minded way
And leaves the world quite unexpectedly.

—London Free Press.

THE JUDGE: And why do you think I should be lenient with you. Is this your first offence?

THE PRISONER: No, Your Honour, but it's my lawyer's first case.

* * * * *
LITTLE BETTY was sitting with her mother in Church during the wedding of her elder sister.

Half-way through the ceremony she noticed mother shedding the maternal tears usual on such occasions, and whispered, wonderingly: "Why are you crying, mummy? It's not your wedding!"

* * * * *
ASSISTANT: "Have you an account with this firm, Madam?"

CUSTOMER: "No, but may be I can arrange matters with your Manager."

ASSISTANT (to Manager): "A lady of no account to see you, Sir."

* * * * *
BLINKS: "So your wife entertained her club yesterday afternoon, eh?"

JINKS: "That was the supposition, but when I sneaked in the back door the women were all talking at once, so I imagine each was entertaining herself."

"Doctor," said the sick man, "the other physicians who have been in consultation over my case seem to differ with you in the diagnosis."

"I know, they do," replied the Doctor, who had great confidence in himself, "but the autopsy will show who was right."

* * * * *
"You mustn't use that word," said Mother.

"Shaw and Masfield use it," replied the growing son.

"Then you mustn't play with such naughty boys."

* * * * *
BOSS: "My lad, you are the last to arrive in the morning and the first to go home!"

OFFICE BOY: "Yes, Sir; I don't like being late twice in one day!"

* * * * *
"Why were you away yesterday?"

"I was ill, Sir."

"Have you brought a medical certificate?"

"No; I was really ill, Sir."

* * * * *
"Say, old man, what happened to that parrot of yours that was such a great talker?"

"Oh, I married, you know, and it died of a broken heart!"

* * * * *
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* * * * *
"What! Another new dress? How ever do you think I can find the money to pay for it?"

"Darling, you know I'm not inquisitive."

* * * * *
THE PESSIMIST: "I wonder what would happen if you and I ever agreed?"

"I'd be wrong."

* * * * *
"Is your friend a musician, too?"

"Well, he blows his own trumpet."

* * * * *
"Do you go in for athletics?"

"Well—I used to jump at conclusions!"

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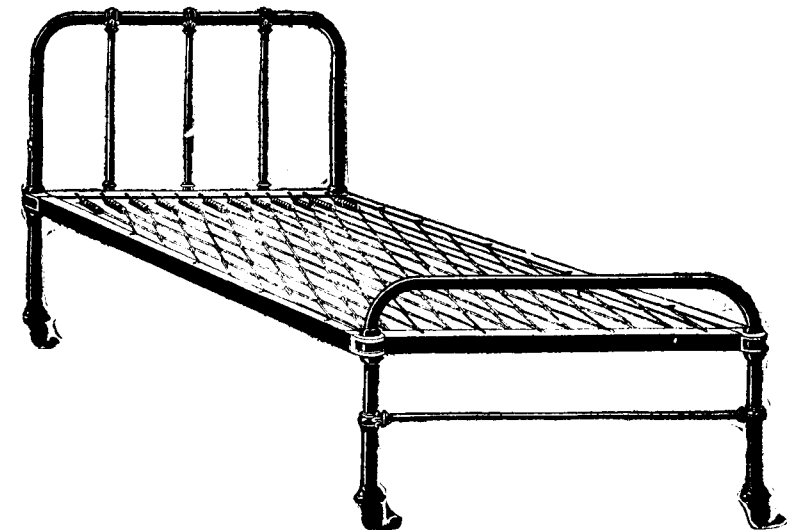
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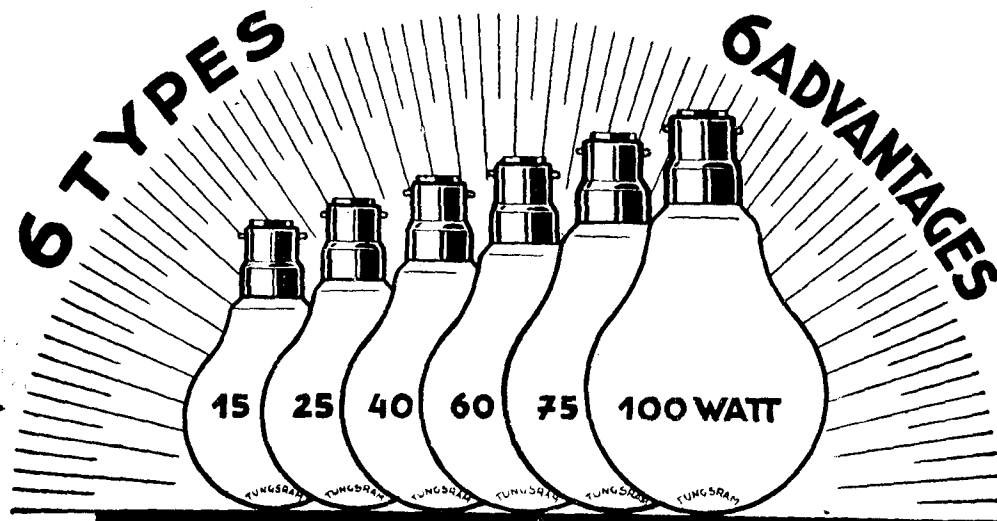
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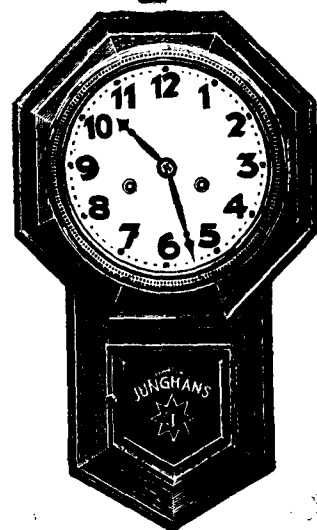
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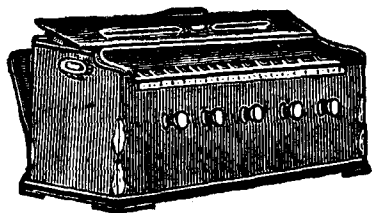
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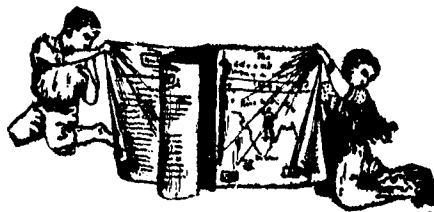
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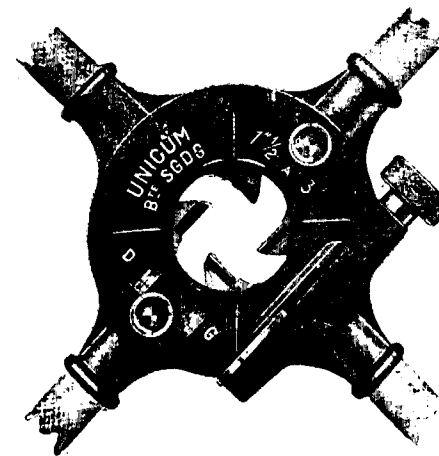
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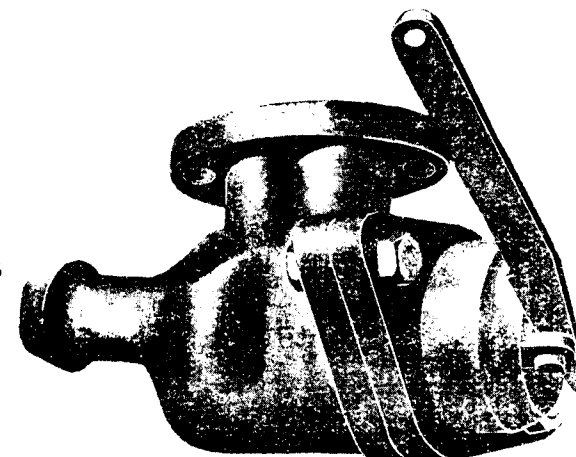
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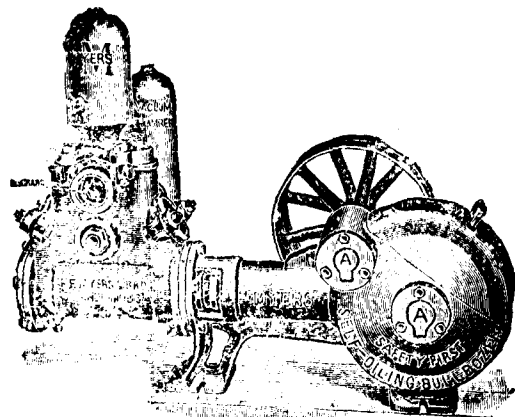
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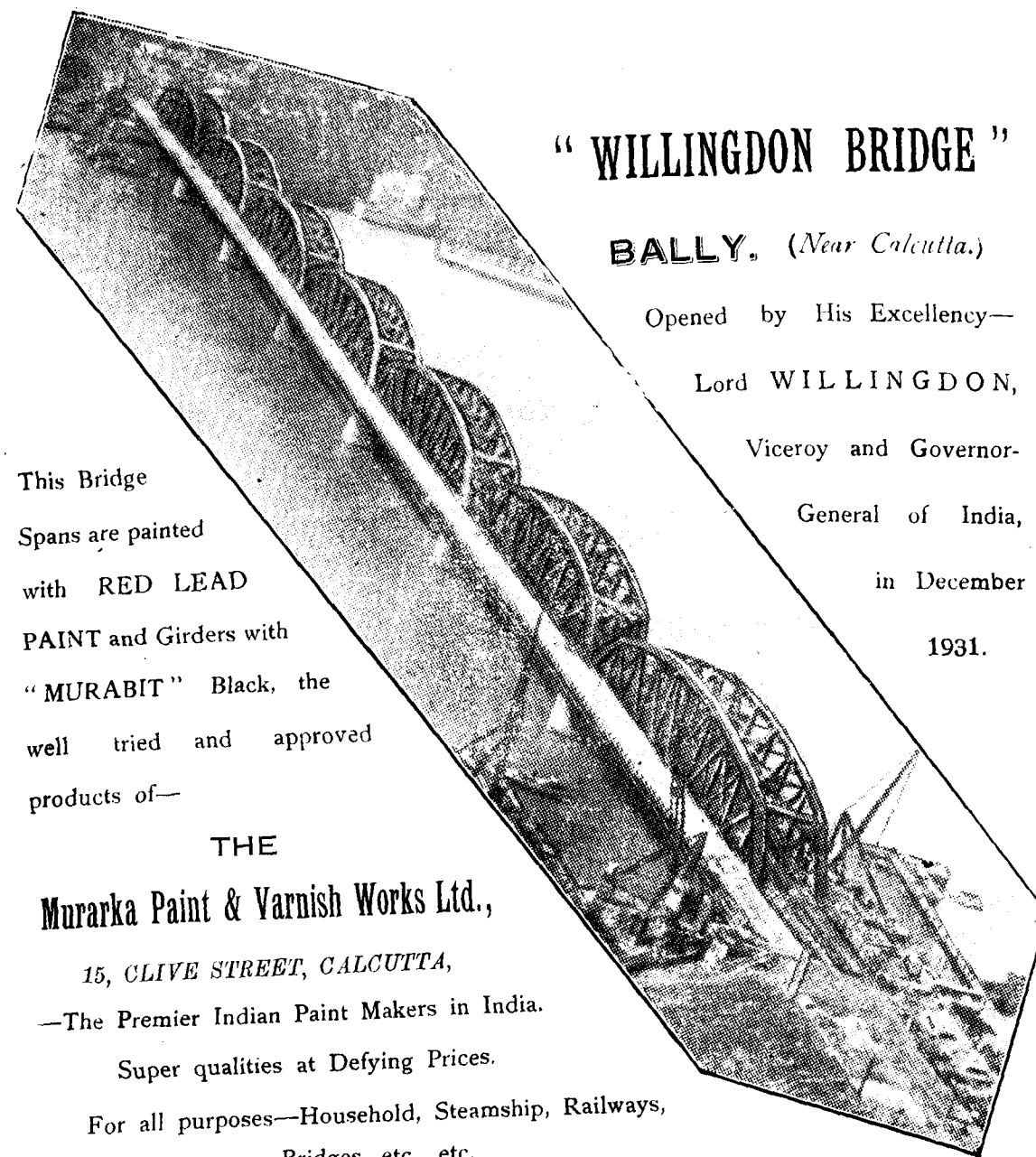
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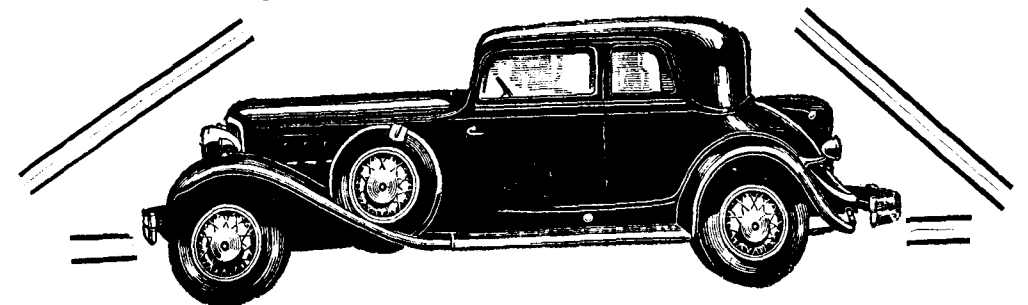
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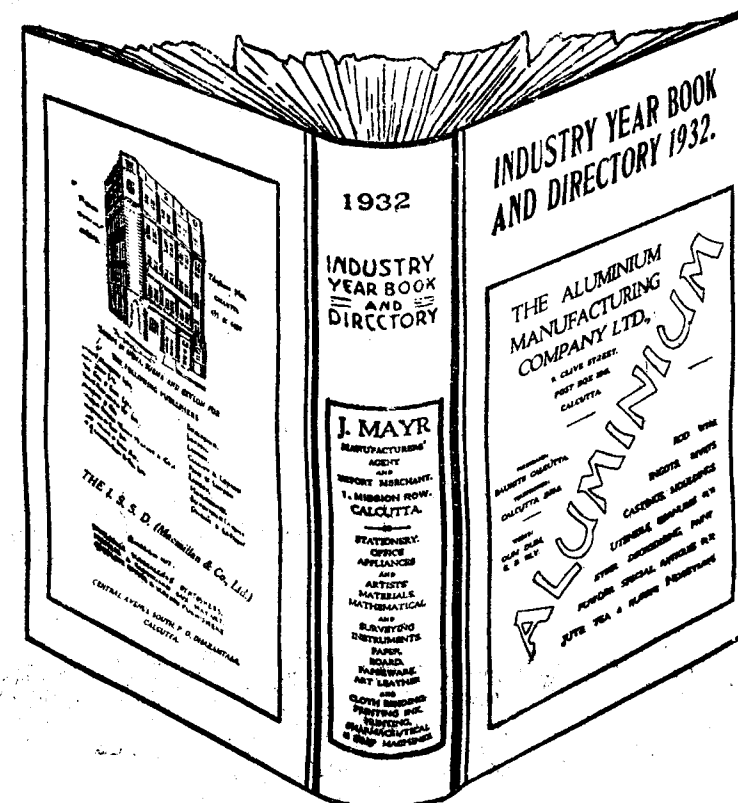
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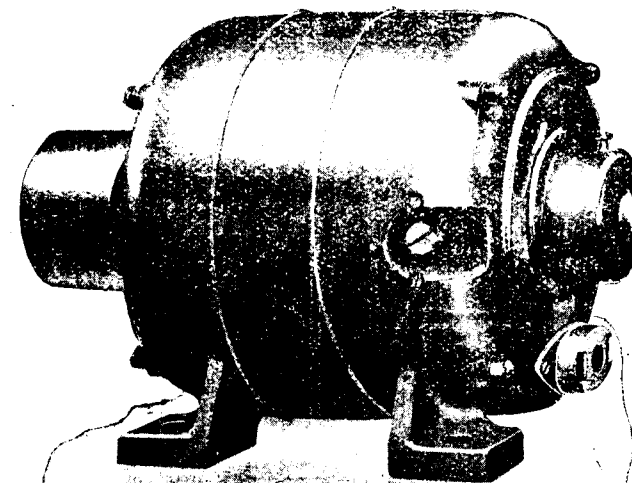
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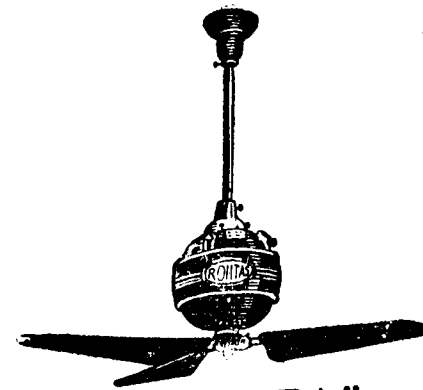
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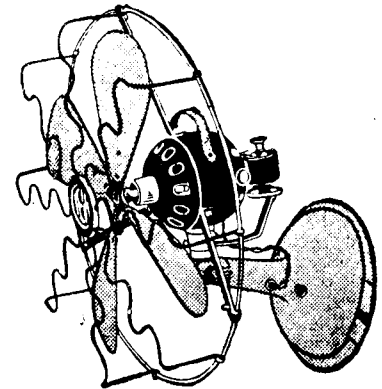
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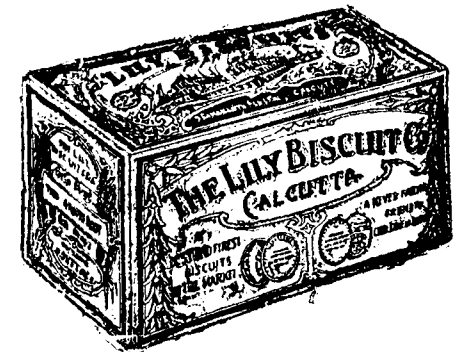
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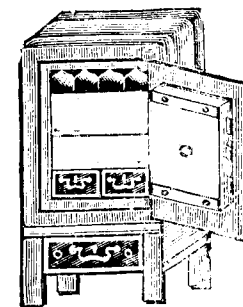
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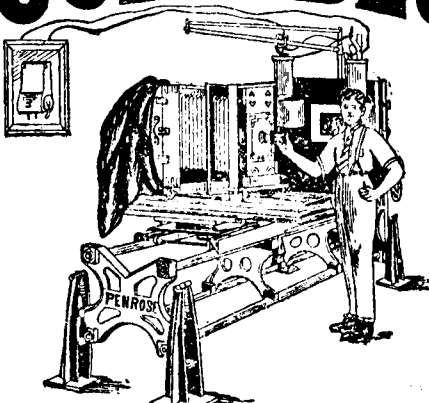
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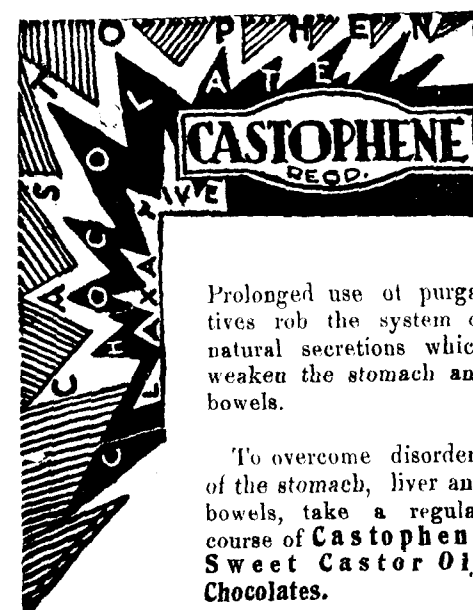
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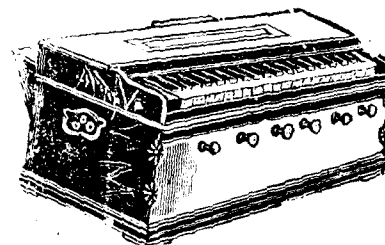
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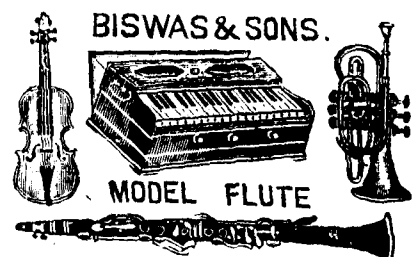
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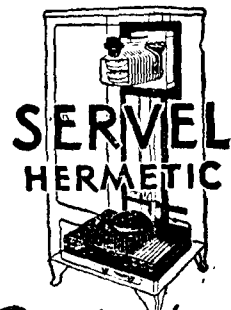
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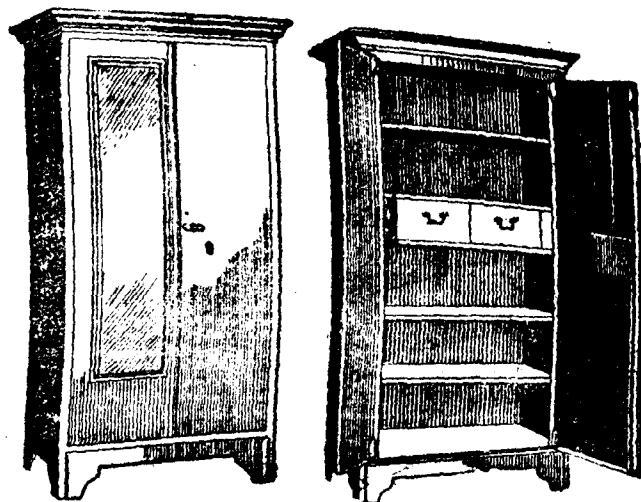
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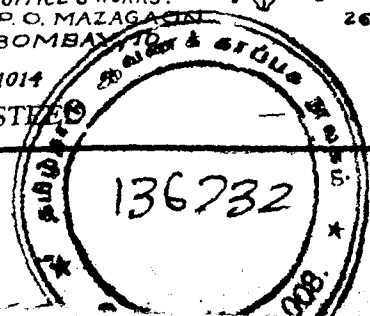
PHONE: 41014

ALL STEEL

Orans "ALLWYN" Bombay.

ALL INDIAN

E. Jan. '33. M.E.B.



AN OPEN LETTER



FOR YOU



Bombay, Poona, Calcutta, Hyderabad (Deccan) etc., etc.

AGENTS IN MADRAS:— Messrs. BEST & Co., Ltd.

OCTOBER, 1932.

DEAR SIR OR MADAM,

May we seriously draw your attention to the great economies you will effect in your personal budget by buying your household and personal cloth from EDSU shops.

If you should kindly favour us with a visit, we are confident of convincing you of the fine quality of EDSU fabrics. These Indian-made fabrics can to-day stand comparison with the best of imported cloth.

But most important from your point of view are the remarkably low prices of EDSU fabrics.

You will appreciate that this is the result of EDSU's policy of dispensing with middlemen and selling direct to the ultimate customer.

With EDSU you may be sure of quality and cheapness—a rare combination.

Assuring you of our best attention,

We remain,
Yours faithfully,

"EDSU FABRICS"

E. Jan. '33. Rajan.

16/8/29
The virtues of a GOOD HAIR OIL are only known to those who use it.
Cheap things are costlier in the long run.
Why not then use the best?

KAMINIA OIL

(Regd.)

Is known throughout the world as the BEST HAIR OIL ever manufactured for growth of Hair and cooling the Brain.

Price Re. 1 per bot. 3 Bots. Rs. 2-10. V. P. charges extra.



OTTO DILBAHAR

(REGD.)

Distinguished Perfume of the Orient.



A Perfume of PROVED MERITS. Endorsed by all those who have used it as the BEST Perfume available in the Market. Contains no alcohol. Just a few drops on your kerchief will environ you with an enchanting fragrance of sweet flowers.

Once you try this lovely Perfume, you would not be without it any day. Try a bottle NOW.

	Rs.	s.	p.		Rs.	s.	p.
Half Oz. Bot. ...	2	0	0	One Dram ...	0	12	0
Quarter Oz. ...	1	4	0	Half Dram ...	0	8	0

OTTO DILBAHAR Scented Cards. As. 10 per doz. V. P. charges extra.

Toilet Soaps of Extra Excellence and Absolute Purity.

KAMINIA SANDAL SOAP

Lovely Toilet Soap which possesses delightful fragrance of Sandalwood. Price Re. 1 per box of three cakes.

KAMINIA WHITE ROSE SOAP

Very popular Soap for its lovely fragrance of fresh Rose Flowers. Price Re. 1 per box.

KAMINIA LAVENDER SOAP

The most ideal Soap with its enchanting perfume of Lavender Flowers. Price Re. 1 per box.

DILBAHAR SOAP

A Superfine Toilet Soap which is matchless. Its perfume is so lovelier that it surpasses the liberal expectation of the user and is unimaginable until used once. Price Re. 1 per box.

The refreshing lather of the above Soaps tones up your skin and inhale the lingering sweet fragrance till the last visible particle of every cake.

WRITE TO-DAY.

Sole Agents:— THE ANGLO-INDIAN DRUG & CHEMICAL CO.,
285, MARKET, P. O. Box 2082, BOMBAY, 2.