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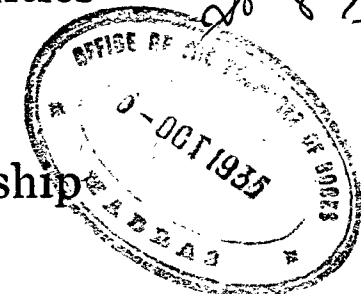
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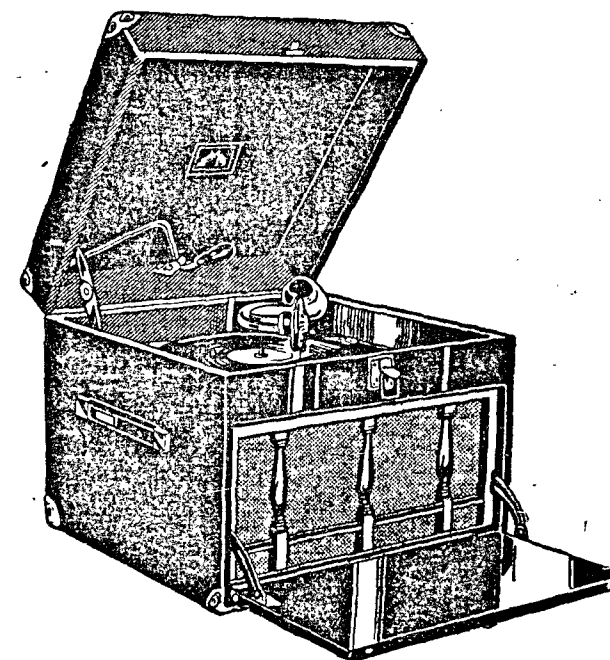
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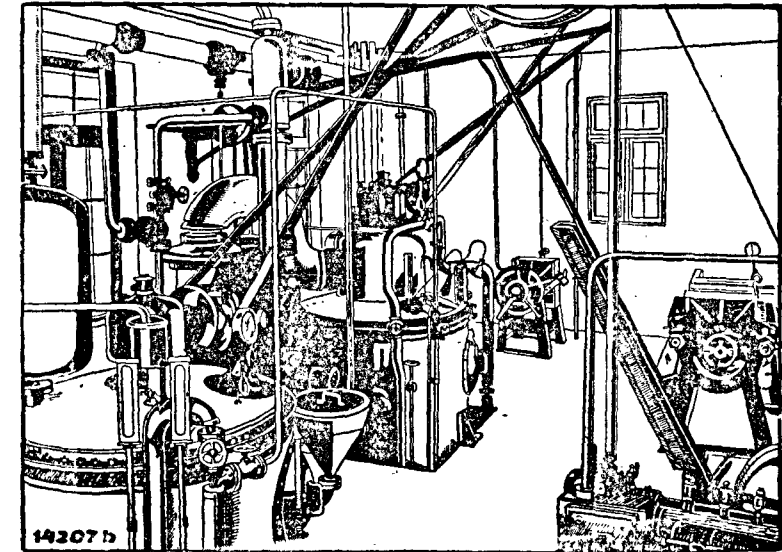
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ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS OF POLITICS

By MR. GAGANVIHARI L. MEHTA

POLITICS deals with the origin, structure and functions of the State, while economics is concerned with the material needs of human beings. The peculiar form of government is dependent upon the economic life of the community and the State is conditioned by its economic environment. Society is composed of economic groups and interests according to different degrees and kinds of possessions and occupations and the forms of government rest upon this social organisation. Politics, dealing as it does with government, is mainly concerned with conflicts among different interests and these are predominantly economic.

Aristotle in his "Politics" did not separate the two sciences of politics and economics. He emphasised that man was essentially a "political animal" and that property is a means of realisation of his personality. He stated that differences in forms of government were due to differences in the nature and distribution of wealth; and variations in such forms were closely related to economic causes, as, for instance, democracy was due to the predominance of the poor and oligarchy of the rich. The form of the State turns upon the predominance of the classes and the classes depend upon the nature and distribution of property. Similarly, Aristotle considers the economic element as the fundamental factor in his search for the best form of government

or the best materials of the State. Revolutions, too, he traces to economic causes. "Political revolutions," he says, "spring from a disproportionate increase in any part of the State. . . . The universal and chief cause of revolutionary feeling is the desire of equality, when men think that they are equal to others who have more than themselves." Revolutions, he realised, were caused by contests between those who have much, those who have little and those who have no property and are not due to changes in conception of the common good.

Since the days of Aristotle, several political thinkers and philosophers have interpreted political theory and evolution in economic terms. Harrington, in his "Oceana" for example, stated that the forms and distribution of property in society determine the nature of the State and declared that political power naturally and necessarily follows wealth. Locke found the origin and end of the State in the roots of property and upheld the right of revolt against government authority that invades property. Similarly, Madison emphasised that the prime function of government is the protection of different and unequal faculties of men for acquiring property, from which result different degrees and kinds of property and he held that the most common and durable source of faction has been the various and unequal distribution

of property. Even Machiavelli, an acute political student as he was, warned his Prince to take account of the conflict of classes out of which political power springs and advised him to balance one against the other in order to maintain his power.

But, the greatest exponent of the economic motivation in politics was Karl Marx, to whom politics was essentially a reflection of economics. To the Marxian, the State by its origin and function alike is the protector of property and the inveterate enemy of the dispossessed classes. It is primarily a coercive apparatus by which an existing class system is kept stable. The first recognised obligation of the State is to maintain order on the basis of existing social relationships as embodied in the fundamental principles of law. However democratic its form, the State remains the essentially political instrument of the dominant class to preserve that dominance and its economic basis. The fact of economic exploitation as the basis of the social order, says the Marxist, makes the substance of things like justice, liberty and equality void of meaning. In ancient history the State was the embodiment of the will of the slave-owner; in the middle ages it represented feudal nobility; during the last two centuries it has existed for the good of the capitalist class. Each social order derives its features from class antagonism and each economic group is characterised by its peculiar relationship to means of production. All politics, therefore, consists in the conflict of classes brought about by changing methods of economic technique. "Politics for Marx," says Maurice Dobb, "is the advancing spear-point of history. It is class antagonism become conscious and endowed with an aim." I shall examine later how far the

modern State is the political expression of the economic power of the dominant class but it is impossible to deny the core of the Marxian thesis that the fundamental power in society is economic power.

If a study of political thought shows the vital relation between the forms and functions of the State on the one hand and the economic composition of society on the other, a study of constitutional history also shows the importance of the economic factor in the evolution of governments. In fact, all political upheavals which shake the foundations of society have been caused by hidden economic currents. As Proudhon says: "All revolutions are economic revolutions. There is no change in the social order without a change in property." That this is not too sweeping a generalisation will be evident from a study of revolutions. The French Revolution, for instance, was a struggle for power between the three estates of the realm in which the clergy and the nobility were on one side and the third estate on the other; the third estate who were denied a fair proportion of political power destroyed the power of the other two. It has been stated that the French Revolution which the revolutionaries thought was a fight for political power was, in a very real sense, a Peasant War. The countrymen burned the chateaus and hunted out the landlords for reasons which were not set out among the "Rights of Men". The revolt of the American Colonies had its sources in the restriction by the English Law of markets for American cotton, tobacco, hides and tea and the doctrine of the "Rights of Men" was somewhat of an afterthought. Lord Acton states somewhere that it was threepence that broke up the British Empire. The government was based on a class system on the Continent of

Europe and even in America where the Declaration of Independence proclaimed the equality of all men, franchise was based on property. The Russian Revolution has been, of course, economic in its causes, its character and its objectives. The fact is that throughout social history, the balance of forces between economic interests has largely determined the character and evolution of political constitutions. The resistance of a particular economic group like the landlords and the nobility to royal despotism, for instance, led to restriction of the authority of kings; the need of funds by monarchs led to the development of national parliaments. The English constitution, in its origin, was a group system based on economic classes. It is worthwhile noting, for instance, that in the name of the House of Commons, the term "Commons" does not derive its meaning from any connection with the common people at all but comes from *communitas* a term used in the middle ages to describe a political organism such as a county or a chartered town. An analysis of the compositions of national assemblies would tend to show that the people have not been represented there in such bodies as abstract personalities, but it is the propertied groups, classes, estates and interests which have found representation after successive struggles. The House of Commons, for example, consisted of four estates in medieval ages: the clergy, baronage, landed gentry and bourgeoisie while other national assemblies were composed of properly arranged and organised classes such as the nobility, burghers and peasants. In 1832, the extension of franchise admitted another economic group which had become powerful, namely, the middle-class manufacturers and shop-keepers, and in 1857 still another estate

was admitted, namely, the working-classes of the great industrial centres. In 1884, yet another estate, namely, the agricultural labourers were admitted. It was this desire and struggle of each class of society to be admitted to a share of power and control which led to its representation in the law-making body. It is even possible to suggest that women in England were enfranchised only after they became economically important during the War. Similarly, the need of parcelling out and dividing of lands determined the structure and formation of the government in the U. S. A. Representative government, in other words, has been due to industrial revolution and the wider distribution of wealth. If, therefore, property or wealth is the fundamental element in political power and social groups arising out of economic processes are the materials for the science of government, it is equally clear that constitutions of governments have been based on social and economic groups and orders pursuing their distinct avocations and cherishing their own interests. Constitutions have been the result of struggles between classes and interests, and constitutional reforms or adjustments seek to attain a balance between the several groups and interests composing a society.

It was, however, possible to argue some years ago that the democratic State to-day at least ruled by the will of the majority and that the economic analysis was not quite pertinent. But even if a majority really had the power in a State, the ruling power would still be under the domination of sectional or class interests pursuing aims sometimes different from and sometimes opposed to those which would be dictated by an impartial regard for the interests of the whole community. In fact, when economic conditions are unequal, universal suffrage

and a wide distribution of political power leads to conflicts of interests in order to gain a majority and achieve political control. There are alliances between several sets of interests. Marxian socialists argue, in fact, that in proportion as the mass of citizens who possess political rights grows and the number of elected rulers increases, the actual power is concentrated and becomes the monopoly of smaller and smaller groups. Such, says Trotsky, is the secret of the majority. Even such a fervent believer in democracy as John Stuart Mill recognised in his "Representative Government" that when the majority is still in power and the minority rich, opposition of interests between the two would be inevitable. Numerical democracy, indeed, has not solved the most fundamental of all contradictions in society, namely, the conflict of interests and groups. The fact, however, is that the majority do not really have power even in a democratic State. The economic system which divides sharply the social classes, opens the political career very widely to commercial talent. A class armed with all the power which wealth gives them can easily control the whole political machinery of the State. The production of wealth has become a means to political influence and power. He who grasps the sceptre of industry grasps to-day the sceptre of the State. It is well known that the corrupted politics of America are mainly due to the American Trust and the American "boss". In a word, the numbers of the majority do not really give them any power: The social prestige, the command of capital, the control over education and the ownership of the press—all these belong to the privileged classes and immensely outweigh in terms of the effective power the nominal voting rights of the many. The demos who is the

ultimate master, is more often than not a giant puppet whose wires are pulled from the capitals of the world. Can any one believe, for instance, that even in a country of universal suffrage and the widest self-government, a thousand farmers or labourers devoted to their daily task have the same influence in the formulation of a legislative measure as the industrialists and manufacturers who have a greater "pull" over the legislatures and the executive? No amount of political rights and civic freedom can or will make the peasant or the labourer equal to a Rothschild. For example, was the recent law against the Trade Unions in England an expression of the general will of the people or the result of determined and persistent activities of the industrialists and capitalists? In fact, the antagonism between political doctrines and the actual facts of political life has created serious discontent with representative government. Theories like those of vocational or occupational representation in place of territorial representation or guild socialism and syndicalism for substitution of parliament by Congress composed of representatives of various crafts and Trade Unions, have been formulated from time to time which are all a recognition of the economic basis of politics. Socialism, indeed, has been defined as the politics of the exploited proletariat. The Soviet System in Russia is frankly representative of economic groupings and interests.

It is true that the economic motive cannot constitute the whole explanation of an institution like the State. For instance, nationalism is not generated by economic motives and is sometimes determined by instincts and sentiments opposed to economic interests. If the economic motive predominated exclusively, says Mr. Bertrand Russell, all groupings would be just like

joint stock companies and not have the passionate strength attaching to national feelings. Nationalism like other feelings might be exploited for economic ends but is independent of economic motives. No economic motive, for instance, can adequately explain the suicidal nationalism of the Balkans or the disastrous wars waged for vindication of national honour. Nonetheless it is undeniable that the great war sprang inevitably and relentlessly from the economic rivalries and ambitions of the great powers. Wars between political entities and sovereign nations have their roots in economic interests.

It might be contended, however, that this economic interpretation has no application to a country like India. Yet the struggle for existence is keen here also and economic conditions undoubtedly govern us. It has been recognised ever since the intelligentsia became politically conscious that the root-cause of all political subservience is economic bondage. In India, the Flag has followed the Trade—contrary to the common saying of Trade following the Flag, and British political rule began with a trading company. Dadabhai Naoroji, R. C. Dutt, William Digby and others emphasised the economic basis of political domination and pointed out its economic consequences such as the drain, debts, Home charges, land revenue system, cotton excise, salt, etc. The financial and commercial safeguards in the new Constitution undoubtedly indicate the importance attached to the maintenance of economic power despite political changes; but political reforms are futile without the power of the purse and the effective right to mould the economic destiny of the nation. There is, indeed, nothing surprising in this, for as Burke observed long ago, it was not on the question

of abstract politics, but on the question of taxes, that the ablest pens have been exercised and the stoutest hearts suffered. The political future of the nations, it is now realised, depends upon their fundamental economic position. The larger the State, observes George W. Russell, the more easily do the holders of economic power gain political control. Even if economic conditions of India are somewhat different from those in the West, the distinction is one of degree only and not of kind, while the need of economic amelioration is hardly less. The fundamental factors such as poverty, pressure for employment and a low standard of living for the masses are all there. Moreover, the impact of industrialism is eradicating even this distinction of degree. It is, therefore, necessary for us to realise that without a sane and disinterested economic outlook, politics would tend to become timid and short-sighted opportunism.

But apart from all political theories and doctrines, there is no gainsaying that inexorable economic facts constitute the basis of politics. Political power is undoubtedly derived from the possession of land and wealth. This does not mean that every man's power is in exact proportion to his property or wealth, but it does mean that property or wealth exercises its weight and influence in political arrangements. The State certainly provides the conditions of life and protection of the individual and performs in this respect economic functions of importance. It is absurd to differentiate production and distribution of wealth from the State which protects, regulates and taxes property and wealth and controls currency and credit which are the very basis of economic activities. Take, for example, the number and character of measures

coming up before a modern legislature and the economic significance of politics will be immediately evident. It is impossible to comprehend fully the development of imperialism and Bolshevism and Fascism, the recurring wars and threats of wars and the abandonment of parliamentary government in several countries without reference to economic conditions and economic objectives. The fundamental social problems confronting us to-day are not political but economic. Economic environment profoundly affects, even if it does not actually determine, the character and operations of political institutions. The logic of this is plain. It is undoubtedly true that the State of to-day is influenced by powerful organised economic forces generated by industrialism. Since the war which was to make the world safe for democracy, there has been a decline of democracy and extra-parliamentary forms of dictatorship. Party alignments even in democratic countries are taking economic shapes and the centre of power has shifted from Parliament to high finance which has been described by Sir Courtney Ilbert as the most potent, subtle and ubiquitous force in modern politics. Groups of financiers and industrialists counterbalanced at times by strong labour unions determine the fates of cabinets and the verdict of electorates. The association of finance with export of capital seeking profitable outlets has led to the phase of economic imperialism. Modern economic technique has given a new character to imperialism, while imperialism in its turn has given a new political complexion to industrialism. Economic competition utilises such measures as tariff contests, colonial intrigues and scrambles and eventually war. Even those who demand a clear-cut separation between politics and economics

insist that the State, a political institution, should safeguard their property, ensure them security, preserve trade routes, levy tariffs, give bounties and secure concessions for them in regard to raw materials or markets and protect their capital investments. The division between politics and economics is demanded only when the political State performs economic functions which conflict with the interests of the particular group or class concerned.

Economics is concerned with the daily lives of men and women and permanent human occupations; politics, on the other hand, deals with voting and representation and administrative affairs of the people. Men can, after all, do without the ballot but not without bread. If the production of wealth has always been a source of political influence, the distribution of wealth is becoming an issue of politics. Democratic government is incompatible with gross disparities and inequalities in income and a stable government is impossible without harmony of interests. The problem, so vital in politics, is not simple, but the conflict of economic interests is fundamental in modern politics and urgently demands solution. The basis of the State is economic; all depends upon the soundness of national wealth. But national wealth does not and should not mean only more rupees in the Exchequer or a few more millionaires; it means more bread to the hungry, more clothes for people who cannot hide their nakedness; it means education, independence, manhood and self-respect. It is only in so far as we make economics consciously and scientifically the basis of politics that we shall achieve truer emancipation.

MACHINE AGE AND CRAFTSMANSHIP

BY MR. IQBAL SINGH

(*Special Correspondent, 'Les Affaires Etrangères, L'Occidente, etc.'*)

THE age of miracles is over but the age of scapegoats is not. Scapegoats may come and go but the instinct which drives us to look for them, and not finding them, create them from our own fecund imaginations is immutable. Generally speaking, the periodic transmutations of scapegoats is governed by an enunciable law; the gods of one generation serve as the scapegoats for the next. The reason is obvious. We do not want to accept the responsibility of our failures. Nobody does; it is altogether too odious to have to admit one's shortcomings. In the heart of our hearts all of us, in spite of Mark Twain's outspoken cynicism, believe ourselves to be angelically infallible and it is easier, far easier to dwell on the sins of our fathers than our own.

The contemporary world of enlightenment and progress indulges as freely in this long-established ritual as the Hottentots; there are about as many scapegoats as there are homo sapiens on this earth. Almost everything that was accepted by the last century as intrinsically good is rigorously taboo to-day. What was regarded by the Victorians as the very sublimity of good taste in matters of art, literature, dress, manners, politics is viewed with profound suspicion by their grandchildren: from crinolines and horse-hair upholstery to Free-trading Liberalism and In Memoriam. The idols of yesterday have become the execrations of to-day; that is the way the world goes.

Not long ago machine was the object of much idolatry. The 19th century, like modern Russia which has entered it when the rest of Europe has left its ghost a considerable distance behind, apotheosised machine, wrote reverential psalms to it, worshipped it. It was veritably believed to

be the instrument which was to usher in an era of peace, prosperity, godliness, indeed the kingdom of Heaven on earth. The typical Victorian industrial magnate truly believed that in opening a tinned-fruit factory, he was not only serving the cause of family fortunes and nation, but also putting himself on the side of the angels. The mechanistic conceptions even invaded the rather exclusive realms of metaphysics and religion. God himself was visualised by many, if not actually in the likeness of a member of the famous Cadbury family, at least, as an indefatigable mechanist incessantly feeding the cosmic blast furnace. The directors of joint stock companies enjoyed their short—but, no doubt, gay—period of canonisation. New England churches felt no qualms of conscience in displaying effigies of Messrs. Rockefeller, Edison, Ford, beside Christ on Mount Calvary.

But all idolatry presupposes the existence of iconoclasm. With the War and its aftermath came the crash. The gods of the industrial Babylon proved to have feet of clay. The populace ever since, like the African bushmen who, when their tribal affairs do not flourish according to their desires, give their totem-gods a good hiding in public, has been feverishly seeking for scapegoats to use as a target for its unavailing rage. Machine, too, has, not unnaturally, come in for more than its share of the fury of the iconoclasts; there are a growing number of people who believe that, to bring about a utopia, all we need is a sufficient quantity of T. N. T. to blow up all the industrial centres in the world.

The reaction against machine had, of course, started even before the machine age, as such, had properly begun. Critics of

industrial civilisation had not been found wanting long before the dividends began to dwindle; the fall in the value of gilt-edged securities has only increased their number. In the last century there was Ruskin with his fondness for Gothic obscurity and intolerably bad prose; William Morris, the greatest craftsman England has ever produced or is likely to produce, with his incorrigible enthusiasm for cottage industries and onions; Leo Tolstoy with his notorious leanings towards *ahimsa parmo dharma* and well seasoned *vodka*. More recently there was that amazing genius, the late D. H. Lawrence with his cult of dark gods whose vehement vituperations against machine, and all that it stands for, were even more wholesale and uncompromising than Mahatma Gandhi's.

The machine age has been criticised from every conceivable angle: moral, sociological, æsthetic. Most of criticism offered has little beyond personal prejudices to support it. For instance, morally there does not seem to be anything inherent in any machine to indicate it is a contrivance of the beast and something fundamentally unholy—not even in a battle-cruiser. That it may be used for evil purpose, nobody would deny—but then anything, even a holy book can be, and has often been, used for extremely reprehensible ends. If it is true that machine age has put diabolical forces of destruction at the disposal of unscrupulous profiteers, it is equally true that it has offered man even greater facilities to counter-act evil influences and construct a tolerably habitable world. There is always a tinge of dishonesty about our moral objections to machine, since even the most violent detractor of the machine age does not push his repugnance to the logical extreme of refusing to have anything to do with the

amenities of life it provides. Most of us, when asked, will prefer the plushy comfort of the toothache chair in a dental clinic to the alternative of having our teeth knocked out in the primitive manner—that is, with a stone.

Sociologically, it has been argued, machine has brought in its train a whole host of social evils: unemployment, poverty, bread-lines, squalor, unspeakable misery for millions of men and women and children. To answer this argument is really impossible, not because it is unanswerable, but because it is too puerile, too unreasonable to call for an answer. Besides one cannot reason with unreason. The discussion whether man has failed machine or machine has failed man is futile—as futile as the attempt to convince a child who has cut his finger that the fault is not of the knife but his own.

The æsthetic objectors to machine range themselves in two distinctly different groups. It is ugly, vociferates the one camp; it kills craftsmanship, emphasizes the other. The first group, which has a recognisable kinship with the *fine-de-siecle* dandies who regarded it the height of originality to parade the streets in eccentric garbs, merely voices an adolescent personal preference. Standards of beauty are relative to people's upbringing and environments. Probably there are men who are genuinely shocked by the swift, supple, aerial-like grace of the stream-lined cars, the sublime verticle precipices of the modern architecture or the majesty and grandeur of a modern ship. What one feels certain is that such people do not form a majority, or even an appreciable and intelligent minority.

But the exception taken by the second group is really serious. For craftsmanship means skill, dexterity, art, ingenuity and if the price for the mechanization of the world is

the loss of the essential human skill and ingenuity, then it is very dearly bought indeed. If it is true, as is contended by some, that the machine age hinders, stultifies, or negatives the expression of human genius, then it is no doubt vicious and needs being repudiated by every fairly sensible person. But is it true?

MUSLIN AND MACHINE-MADE FABRICS

Critics of the machine age point to what they consider an overwhelming mass of evidence. The question, however, is whether the evidence will hold water on close and disinterested scrutiny. There is, for instance, the case of the craftsmen who manufactured Dacca muslin—a case which every nationalist, true to his salt, has on the tip of his tongue to illustrate how the advent of the machine has ruined Indian arts and crafts. We are all familiar with the fate of those craftsmen; they have been unredeemably superseded by the deluge-like influx of machine-made fabrics. Dacca muslin was a cloth of very fine quality, the people who manufactured it must have been admirable artists in their particular genre, and if a man were made to choose between a gift of old Dacca muslin and the muslin woven in the mills of Lancashire, Bombay Osaka, or Lyon, there will be little doubt as to which he will choose. But gifts do not come our way every day, and most of the time we have to accept the painful necessity of paying our hard-earned money to get what we want. And if one were in need of a muslin shirt, and the Dacca muslin were the only commodity in the market, its price will be so exorbitant that one will have to do without a shirt unless one's income happens to run into comfortable figures, which is unfortunately not the case with everyone. Their choice then is reduced to being

resigned to the so-called evil of machine-made textiles or ascribing to the tenets of nudism.

EVERY EPOCH, ITS OWN TECHNIQUE

That brings us to the crux of the problem. The difficulty here as everywhere else is, strange as it may sound, that the majority of mankind are incapable of seeing beyond their noses. Critics of the machine age, as Messrs. H. G. Wells and Stuart Chase have so often despairingly stressed, suffer from this essentially human weakness, though it is only just to remark that the admirers of machine age are, for the most part, not much better. Every epoch has to discover a technique suited to its needs. It is the urge of necessity that decides the nature of human technique at any instant of human history, and not the technique that determines the necessity. And ours is manifestly the age of mass needs. Whatever we need to-day, we need it on a mass scale whether it happens to be fancy beads or bread for starving children. This is so, because paradoxical as it may appear, there never was an age of such mass scarcity before. In the days of self-sufficient village communities, it was possible to have appalling famines in one area and great wave of prosperity in the adjacent regions. Those days, however, are over. The first steam engine shattered economic self-sufficiency for ever, and to hope to get back to those felicitous times is like crying for the moon. There is no turning back in the river of life. Even the frenzied economic nationalism, which has been so much in evidence since the break-down of the Anstalt, is merely a confirmation of the crucial interdependence of the people on this planet. The method which was entirely adequate and consistent in the feudal world, has ceased to possess

any relevance to-day; with the price of wheat being governed by the operators on the Chicago, Winnipeg, or London grain marts, neither the Indian villager, nor the farmer of the Middle West, nor even Mr. Walter Runciman can go on indefinitely in the good old way of the good old days.

MASS PRODUCTION

Mass production and mass distribution—an aspect of modern technique which has, unhappily, never received any serious attention except, perhaps, in Russia—is a concomitant of mass needs. Mankind will have to adopt it as inevitably as the giraffe had to adopt his ridiculous, but absolutely indispensable, long neck. The problem finally resolves itself to this: Is mass production and mass distribution incompatible with craftsmanship?

THE NEW TECHNIQUE

The answer to that is that it is not; the new technique only requires different kinds of craftsmen. One has only to go into a factory, a workshop, a clinic, a research laboratory to recognise that if any civilisation depends for its well-being, its very life on craftsmen—that is, people who can suffer infinite pains in the pursuit of their particular vocation—it is ours. Those who have seen the strange, ecstatic dance of machines in a textile factory, know full well that never were craftsmen more needed than to-day. The man who can control half-a-dozen looms working at a terrific whirlwind pace, who can pick up a solitary broken thread out of a million is as much a genius as the poet laureate. To suggest that he is less of a craftsman than the village weaver is to betray one's stupidity. The degree of efficiency, competence, agility, capacity for

rhythmic co-ordination required by the former is, of necessity, higher than in the case of a hand-loom weaver.

MODERN PHOTOGRAPHY

Or take modern photography. It has completely thrown all the second and third rate portraits and landscape painters out of the market. It is a development which no serious artist, or anyone genuinely interested in the well-being of art, need lament. It is inconceivable that photography, however advanced, could stop a man like Cezanne from painting, and in eliminating a set of charlatans who would, in their own interests as well as the interests of the society, be doing much better by selling vacuum cleaners than painting unendurable chocolate beauties, it has only rendered a long-needed service to art. And is modern photography not an art itself as typical of our age as the miniature painting was that of the 18th century and illuminated manuscript painting of the medieval christendom? Those of us who, even after years of painful toying with a Kodak have been unable to obtain one decent snapshot, know well enough how much skill and art is needed to achieve those supremely beautiful effects of light and shade which are a characteristic of photography to-day—effects which Rembrandt would have been proud to own. Nor is photography the most difficult of modern arts and crafts. There is linotyping, lens-manufacturing, electric bulb-making and a thousand other industries which are the issues of modern science and require an almost superhuman skill, power of concentration, precision, and patience from those who work in them. And if so much competence is demanded of those who handle machinery, how infinitely more difficult must be the

art of designing and manufacturing for making machines?

CRAFTSMANSHIP IN GEOMETRIC PROGRESSION

Again, take the simplest example with which we are all well acquainted, namely, the motor-driver. Surely it is reasonable to suppose that to drive an automobile requires more dexterity than to drive a bullock-cart. The quickness of mind, self-control, alertness which is needed to control a motor car is evidently out of all proportions to that required for handling bullocks. And as we move upwards from a motor-driver to a motor-racing ace, an air-pilot, or a wireless operator, the requisite craftsmanship rises in a geometric progression.

ART AND CRAFTSMANSHIP

But the issue is not, let it be understood, of asserting the superiority of one craftsman over the other; it is simply that every age demands its own peculiar craftsmen and artists. Craftsmen, too, like the rest of us must adjust themselves to the needs of the time: they cannot possibly expect to be allowed to live as parasites. To complain that craftsmanship has been annihilated by the machine age is as absurd as the grievance of Neanderthal craftsman who must have bitterly resented the superior craftsmanship of the Cro-Magnon craftsman and considered it as a despicable attack on his means of livelihood. Craftsmanship as a parasitic growth, obviously, cannot survive whether it is the stone age or the machine age; craftsmanship as that inherent genius of human race which has enabled it throughout the duration of time to surmount obstacles, to meet new situations with new methods, to wring its necessities from the obstructive elemental forces at the cost of infinite labour and sacrifice cannot, of course,

ever be in the danger of being superseded, whatever the form of social order humanity chooses to impose upon itself. It is good not to have any illusions about the possibilities of an industrial civilisation. There are problems which no machine can solve for human beings because they happen to be essentially human problems. Machine cannot give the world a set of real sanctions and values, it cannot make human beings happier because human happiness depends upon the capacity of human beings to arrive at mutually equitable adjustments, and it cannot make us wiser. The problems that machine can attack and solve for us are merely the technological problems. But once we have learnt how to face realities and to distinguish the essentials of life from trivial irrelevancies, it can certainly help us to make human life as a whole more pleasant, more dignified, more comely.

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MAURYAN FINANCE

By PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A.

HISTORY, said a famous historian, is broadening, deepening and lengthening. Of the broadening of the study of Indian History, we have proof in the fact that scholars no longer devote themselves exclusively to dynastic lists and wars of conquest, but cast their nets wide and give an increasing measure of attention to the study of social life, art, and religion. The discovery of the Arthasastra about quarter of a century ago marked an epoch in the study of Hindu administration, its theory and mechanism. Kautilya's work has gathered a whole library of modern critical literature round itself, and opinion is now definitely divided on its age and authenticity. One set of scholars think that the work in its present form does not date back to a time earlier than the Gupta period, the fourth or even the fifth century A.D., and they deprecate all attempts to give Kautilya's work the same rank among the sources of Mauryan history that Bismarck's reminiscences have for the history of Modern Germany, or the Ain-i-Akbari for that of the Moghul empire under Akbar. Others hold with more reason, as I think, that the doubts cast on the genuineness of the work are misdirected, that in substance the book is the same as Kautilya wrote it, and that it should be taken fully into account in any study of the Mauryan political system, though it is possible that the book was revised in part by the followers of Kautilya.

Accepting the latter view, Mr. M. H. Gopal has made the Arthasastra the basis of a monograph on the financial administration of the Mauryan empire,* the first

systematic study of a very interesting subject.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part is devoted to an examination of revenue. The Mauryan financiers wisely relied on a variety of taxes securing an equitable distribution of the burden of taxation among the people and an adequate income to the State. Kautilya classified revenue in three different ways; they are enumerated and compared with modern classifications. An Appendix discusses some revenue terms employed by Kautilya. Neither the conclusions of these discussions, nor the modern equivalents sometimes suggested for the ancient terms, e.g., excess profits tax for *parisvam*, will be readily accepted by the critical student.

Chapter III concerns itself with revenue from land and irrigation. On the vexed question of State-landlordism, the author quotes the judicious views of Thomas with approval and designates it 'qualified state landlordism'. The water tax collected by the Mauryas varied from 20 to 33 per cent. of the produce—a very high rate. The discussion on octrois, tolls and customs duties (Ch. IV) would have been simpler and clearer if the author had allowed his texts freer scope instead of seeking to break them up and fit them into the framework of modern financial terminology—a process which leads to and explains some of the errors into which the author falls in the course of his work; instances are his exposition of *Sulka*, and his indecision regarding the tax on prostitutes which he mentions under both excise revenue and income tax. After a discussion of Excise and Salt revenue (Ch. V), two kinds of poll tax are mentioned and then the income tax

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which is said to have been on the proportional system—was any other system then known?—and of which the tax on courtesans is treated as the leading species. Other miscellaneous taxes (Ch. VI) follow. While treating of the Mauryan labour-tax, the author quotes R. K. Mookerjee to the effect that the great temple of Tanjore was built largely by forced labour—a statement for which there is no tangible authority. The interpretation of *utsanga* as forced benevolences is not happy; Bhattasvami, an ancient annotator, who is cited on this subject, does not bear out the translation which has been accepted from P. Banerjea.

Revenue from Government enterprises (Ch. VII), miscellaneous income from treasure troves, escheats and so on (Ch. VIII), methods of tiding over financial crisis by drawing on accumulated reserves or by extraordinary levies (Ch. IX) and exemptions from payment of taxes (Ch. X) are the chief topics considered at the end of Part I. The discussion of Public loans (pp. 136-8) conforms more to modern practice than to ancient texts on the subject.

In Part II, which consists of six chapters, the author traces principles guiding Mauryan public expenditure and considers the main heads of expenditure. The modern canons of benefit, economy, sanction, and surplus are applied as tests. Here the author repeats what he has said earlier that in ancient India there was no budgetting in the modern sense. One is tempted to ask, then, why institute these elaborate comparisons with modern standards in all their detail? This is in fact the main defect in the method of the author; he makes no attempt to understand and expound ancient Indian conditions and thought as they were, before setting out to criticise them in the light of the modern theory and practice of finance.

After an analysis of the twofold classification of expenditure as given by Kautilya,

the items of civil expenditure such as expenses on royal household and ecclesiastical expenses are examined. Other items of civil expenditure comprised medicine and poor relief, education and famine relief and irrigation.

In Chapter XV, the author traces expenditure incurred on the military establishment and on justice and police. An attempt is made to arrive at a rough idea of the expenditure on the salaries of the standing army, and this is set down at £17,000,000. The figure is reached by taking into account the salaries laid down by Kautilya and the army figures found in Pliny and by equating a *pana* to a shilling.

The last chapter is on Financial administration and the high state of organisation that characterised Mauryan administration is clearly brought out.

There is a useful bibliography and a good index. The number of typographical errors, especially in the Sanskrit passages, is unusually large for so important a publication.



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* MAURYAN PUBLIC FINANCE. By M. H. Gopal, M.A., Ph.D. (Econ. Lond.) George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 12s. 6d. net.

BHUBANESWAR

BY

DR. B. C. LAW, Ph.D.

BHUBANESWAR or 'the Lord of the World' is the name of a little place in Orissa. It is situated at a distance of 35 miles from Puri by a motorable road known as the Jagannath Trunk Road. The motor route which is well kept is enjoyable with big shady trees on its two sides. It is narrow in many places with many sharp curves. It takes an hour to reach Bhubaneswar from Puri by motor car. The road is right through bridged except at one place where there is a big river known as the *Balianti* which is crossable during the dry season.

The temple at Bhubaneswar contains the image of Lingaraja which is as old as the sixth century A.D. From the artistic point of view the temple stands pre-eminent. It is a good specimen of lattice work with very fine moulds made with great skill and care. Pilgrims from all parts of the world visit this famous temple which covers an area of $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres and is surrounded by a high thick wall. The court yard inside is flagged with stones. Some ceremonies are performed daily in the temple. They are as follows :-

1. Some sort of ceremony is observed when the door of the temple is opened.
2. Ablution ceremony of the God, that is to say, God's teeth are cleaned by pouring water.
3. Bathing, dressing and breakfast of the God.

Then comes the mid-day dinner which is followed by the waving of the lamps (*Arati*) after which the door is closed. Then again in the evening the God is given to eat and is clothed in full dress.

As soon as the waving of lamps is finished and the offerings of flowers are made by the priests, the God goes to sleep and the door of the temple is closed for the night.

In the month of Chaitra (March-April) the Rathajatra ceremony of this God takes place.

Bhubaneswar is a very healthy place and people go there for a change, specially those suffering from dyspepsia. There are some tanks in Bhubaneswar and the most notable of them are *Vindusagara*, *Papanasini*, *Kedaragauri*, the water of which is very good for dyspepsia and *Brahmakunda*. The biggest is the *Vindusagara* (*Vindusarovara*) which is embanked with stones on all sides.

Six miles from this temple are situated the ancient caves of Khandagiri and Udayagiri preserved by the Government of India under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act. The road from the temple to these caves is motorable. These caves are sacred to the Jains. The crest of Khandagiri is the highest point. Udayagiri has a small Vaishnava temple at its foot while Khandagiri has a Government inspection Bungalow at the base. The Jains have their own Dharmasala at the foot of the hills. The Khandagiri caves are double storied, some portions of which are now in ruins but preserved with great care. The place where these caves exist is frequented by wild beasts such as leopards and panthers which do much harm to cows, goats, etc. Pilgrims seldom visit these caves, as to them they are not so very interesting as to the antiquarians. The inscriptions on these caves show how ancient they were and how important they had been.

The Koch Civilisation in Assam

BY MR. KARUNAMAY MAZUMDAR, B.A. (Hons.)

THE Koch period is in the annals of Assam almost what the herculean age is in the history of Greece. The age of the Koch kings is a more agreeable picture than any other period in Assam. The profound peace with a firm Central Government established, opened the highways of commerce, and literature, art and science flourished in a high degree. The great works of art have been destroyed, but literature and philosophy still exist to increase the glory of ancient Assam.

Vishwa Sing laid the foundation of the Koch kingdom with Cooch Behar as its capital. He adopted Hinduism. The origin of the Koch kings is obscure but they traced their origin from Siva.

In 1544, Vishwa Sing died and was succeeded by his son Malladev who took the title of Naranarayan. His brother Shilla Ray whom he appointed his general was a very powerful hero.

He undertook and succeeded in accomplishing the formidable task of making himself the paramount power in Assam. He conquered the Cachari kingdom, Jaiyantia, Sylhet, Tippera and permanently annexed them to his own kingdom. At the close of his triumphal career, his kingdom extended on the north to the Himalayas. The Bay of Bengal may be regarded as the frontier on the south. The Karotiya river marked the western limit of his territories. The eastern limit was probably Lakhimpur. In short, Naranarayan's kingdom was almost equal to that of ancient Kamrup.

Though defeated in the first encounter, Shilla Ray defeated the Ahoms after a decisive battle in 1562 and brought them under the Koch rule. Bengal was then under the

Muhammadan Nawabs. The Koch kingdom extended to the border of Bengal and war ensued. The great Muhammadan General Kala Pahar who was an iconoclast, invaded Assam and defeated the Koch army. Shilla Ray was captured. Kala Pahar destroyed many Hindu temples and then went away. The signs of his vandalism are still found in the broken images at Kamakhya. After his release, Shilla Ray set his attention in the reconstruction of the temples ruined by Kala Pahar. The present temple of Kamakhya was rebuilt by king Naranarayan.

Akbar the Great, who was then reigning at Delhi, conquered Bengal. King Naranarayan concluded a treaty with him and for about 50 years there was no hostility between the emperor and the king of Assam.

King Naranarayan's name is known and honoured in Assam. It is said that he had friendly relations with the kings of China and Burma. He was a man of exceptional personal capacity and a great patron of learning.

The year 1584 saw the break up of the Koch kingdom into two parts. To Raghudev, son of Shilla Ray, fell the country between the Senkush and the Barnadi, and to Lakshminarayan's share fell the territory from Senkush to the Karotoya.

Raghudev established his capital at Sheela-Jayhur near Sarbhog railway station.

He was a very religious king, who rebuilt the temple of Haygrib Madhab at Hajo. He also made gifts of lands to these temples.

He was succeeded by his son Parikshit. Dark clouds were looming in the western horizon, and Assam needed warrior kings to maintain her independence, but she got

selfish kings. Quarrel soon ensued between Lakshminarayan and Parikshit. With the help of the Mughals, Lakshminarayan destroyed Sheela-Jayhur. After that the Mughals captured the kingdom in 1612. Parikshit's brother, Balinarayan, fled to the court of Pratapsing, and the Ahom king ruled as a tributary king in Darrang. Though the Koch kings ruled for a long time, their greatness disappeared.

ART AND LITERATURE

Sanskrit still continued to attract the attention of the cultured. The Koch kings issued their edicts in high flown Sanskrit. Purushotyum wrote his grammar "Ratnavali", which is still current in the eastern part of India. Pitambar Sidhyantabagish composed 18 Smritisastras. There were many other scholars. Literature and the science of Astronomy made great progress, and the age is marked by a great intellectual upheaval. King Naranarayan was a patron of letters. Like Vikramaditya, he gathered round his court a number of scholars.

The period saw the development of Assamese literature. The Koch kings followed a policy entirely different from that of other kings in Assam. They arranged the translation of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana into Assamese.

The learning was not confined to a few. It was fostered in the famous centres of learning. Pragjyotishpur was the best university in Assam. Its fame carried beyond the borders of Assam, and scholars from China, Burma, and Bengal came to flock this university. The kings patronised learning and made gifts to scholars.

ARCHITECTURE

The plastic and pictorial art felt the same impulse of life as literature. Innumerable

monasteries and temples were erected, which speak of the sense of spiritual hankering of the people. Temples were dedicated to a peculiar form of Tantric Hinduism, which offers special honour to female forms of the deity called Saktis. The temple of Kamakhya near Gauhati built by Naranarayan is recognised as one of the most important shrines of the cult. Parikshit, the last Koch king of importance, built the famous temple of Haygrib Madhav at Hajo. The temple situated on a hillock is rich in architecture and natural beauty. The kings issued their orders and teaching in copper plates and inscriptions. Naranarayan greatly encouraged religion and imported learned Brahmans from Bengal to conduct the religious ceremonies. Hajo is a pilgrimage, not only to the Hindus but to the Buddhists and the Muhammadans alike.

The Hajo hill or rather group of hills where is situated, according to the Lamas, the spot where Buddha was delivered from pain. The hill rises directly from the plain forming a strikingly bold and picturesque mass, and it is a testimony to its natural beauty to find that the hill has attracted the veneration of the people of all religious denominations. The Buddhists formerly occupied one of the hillocks but are now displaced by the Brahmans, who restored the temple which is now one of the most frequented Hindu temples in Assam. The Muhammadans also crowned the summit of the highest peak with a mosque.

Attached to the temple is a colony of Nati or dancing girls who, on numerous feast days, dance naked in a room adjoining the shrine. The orgies are part of the Sakti worship so peculiar to Kamrup, but nowhere it is so grossly conducted as at this temple,

The Koch kings were devoted to all forms of religion. Sankardev preached Vaishnavism in the 16th century under the patronage of Naranarayan. He is said to have born in 1449 and to have died in 1569. He preached a purified Vaishnavism and inculcated the doctrine of salvation by faith and prayer rather than by sacrifices. He first attempted to propagate his views in Ahom territory, but was subjected to so much persecution owing to the enmity of the Brahmans who had the king's ear, that he went to Barpeta where under the mild and just rule of Naranarayan, he proclaimed the new faith far and wide. Sankar's literary productions were copious. The essence of his teachings was: (1) enmity to human beings is a crime; (2) God's glory should be on the lips of everybody; (3) all are equal in the eyes of God. Amongst his own followers, Madhav attained even a greater reputation than the founder of the sect. He was himself more of an ascetic than the latter, but he permitted greater laxity to his followers who are known as Mahapurushias and still regard Barpeta as their headquarters. Anirodh, a Kalita by caste, quarrelled with Sankardev and leaving him founded the Moamaria sect, the adherents of which were destined to play an important part in the overthrow of Ahom rule.

CONSTRUCTION OF ROADS, ETC.

The Koch kings constructed many works of public utility out of public revenue and provided lands and other things for public utility. King Naranarayan's brother, Gosain Kamal, constructed a road from Cooch Behar to Narayanpur on the north bank of the Brahmaputra. The remnant of this road still exists. Naranarayan made many other roads and planted trees along them. He also erected several temples and caused numerous tanks to be dug. Naranarayan

had a mint, and coins bearing his name, dated 1477 Sak (1555 A.D.) are still in existence.

ENGLISH TRAVELLER'S ACCOUNT

Ralph Fitch visited the country during this reign and gives the following account of it:

I went from Bengala into the country of Conch (Koch) which lies 25 days' journey northwards from Tunder. The king is a Gentile (Hindu); his name is Suckel Counse (Sukla Koch or Sukladhraj); his country is great and lieth not far from Canchin China; for they say they have pepper from thence. The port is called Cacchegate (Chichakot). Here they have much silk and musk, and cloth made of cotton. The people have ears (which be marvellous great) of a span long, which they draw out in length by devices while they be young. They have hospitals for sheep, goats, dogs, cats, birds and for all living creatures. When they be old and lame they keep them until they die.

The statement that Sukladhraj was the Raja probably shows merely the extent to which the real power vested in him. There is a tradition that owing to the alleged discovery by his astrologers that he was under the influence of Saturn, Naranarayan placed the conduct of affairs entirely in his brother's hands for a whole year and wandered about in disguise, and it may be that Ralph Fitch visited the country at this juncture.

The economic condition of the country was very satisfactory. Industries did not depend entirely upon royal patronage. Their development was greatly due to non-interference and the excellent condition of the roads and communication. The Koch period may be regarded as the golden age of Assam and the epithet is not at all inappropriate.

Indo-Burma Trade Agreement

THE Government of India have published the provisional draft of an Indo-Burma Trade Agreement, which is to come into force when Burma is separated from India. The Agreement follows the suggestions made by the Joint Select Committee for a Trade Convention between the two countries with a view to prevent undue disturbance of trade on the one hand and to safeguard the economic interests of this country on the other during the period immediately following the separation. For the volume of trade between the two countries is so large and long standing that any sudden and revolutionary change in the tariffs will have undesirable repercussions. Nearly half of Burma's export trade,

not less than 48 per cent. to be exact, is with India; as for import trade, Burma takes from India 28 crores worth of Indian goods which is 42 per cent. of Burma's total import trade. The imports into India of Burman goods constitute 14 per cent. of India's total imports, while Indian exports to Burma represent $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of India's total export trade. Such close and substantial trade connections it is not desirable to cut off overnight. Burma must be given the freedom to adjust her fiscal policy in the manner which subserves her interests best, but India has a right, as the Joint Committee recognised, to see that those concerned in the Indo-Burma trade should be assured of a reasonable measure of certainty as to the immediate future.

The object of the Agreement, therefore, is to secure a certain measure of certainty and continuity in trade relations, and the Agreement which is to be incorporated in an Order in Council is to remain in force for three years. If not terminated at that time, then by a due notice given by either party, it will remain in force subject to termination on twelve months' notice.

It will be recalled that originally the Agreement provided that the existing tariff arrangements between India and Burma should continue after separation not for another three years but five years. One wonders why the period has been reduced from five to three.

When the Agreement was discussed in the House of Lords, Lord Derby moved an amendment to the effect that the higher duties in Burma on British goods should be restricted to two years. And Lord Hardinge explained how a five years' agreement with India would injure British interests. The Secretary of State interfered and warned the House of the danger of creating in India an atmosphere of hostility to Lancashire. Was it worth while creating in India, he asked, an atmosphere hostile to Lancashire over one per cent. of trade with India which went to Burma, and overlooking 99 per cent. which went to India itself?

Apparently, therefore, the three years agreed to in the present draft is a compromise and a concession to conservative demands.

The Agreement regarding immigration between the two countries lays down that there shall be no restrictions on entry of the Indians into Burma or Burmans into India other than those in force on the date of separation, but the Governor-General of India and the Governor of Burma will have the authority to exclude undesirable individuals or impose regulations in the interests of public health, public safety, or take action in the discharge of special responsibilities.

But when all is said, is not the proper arrangement one whereby the two countries concerned are allowed to adjust their fiscal relations in the way best suited to their own interests without interference or dictation?

Chandidas : The Earliest Bengali Poet

BY MR. ANANT K. SANYAL

THE poets of olden days are very often said to have received their inspiration from gods and goddesses with whom, like other ancients, it is not unoften that they had come in frequent contact. Vyas or Valmiki of our country, and coming down to more recent times, Kalidas of immortal memory, wielded the pen under divine direction. Chandidas also, the father of Bengali poetry, cannot be expected to have escaped some sort of tradition. No small amount of authenticity is attached to the belief that the goddess of the village he lived in, as we shall see later on, asked him to compose songs, and he obeyed her.

But, tradition apart, we must borrow the words of Fichte and say that it was in his music that God was visible to him. But his god is the god of flesh and blood. He comes down and treads upon this very earth of dust and dirt, of good and evil, of joys and sorrows of every day life. In the rare ecstasy of musical moments, he finds Him not as one seated in the inaccessible loftiness, not as "One", of the Upanishads, "from whom words, failing to reach, come back with the mind", but as One made of, as it were, and subject to the influence of the common dust before us. So it is that Krishna, of whose love he sings in his "Padawali's", as his songs are popularly called, weeps, just as you and I weep, in separation from his beloved one. This is why his Radha is full of indignation, as you and I will be under similar circumstances. She is mortified, she is dejected, she mourns her lot very like an ordinary human being. The lord of the universe hardly escapes the cravings and desires of the flesh! Godliness and mysticism and the inexplicable supernatural atmosphere of spirituality with which Krishna of the Mahabharata and the

Puranas is often associated, have no room in the devout and worshipful soul of Chandidas. He draws the couple exactly as he sees them in the transports of music, and absolutely unfettered he holds communion with them.

Chandidas, in all truth, is the brightest luminary in the firmament of Bengali literature. And we will dwell a bit upon his early life and career.

Born in a Bengali Brahmin family at Nannur, in the district of Birbhum, he lost his parents quite at an early age. It is probably between 1417 and 1418 that he was born. It is, however, admitted without contradiction that he flourished some 84 years before Chaitanya, the great *sannyasi* preacher and reformer of the Pathan age. And it is chiefly due to Chandidas who, as a forerunner of the preacher, moistened, so to speak, the soil of Bengal when Vaishnavism was not long to thrive. But that is a different question.

Chandidas is said to have entered no school. While very young, he was, by virtue of his exalted birth as a Brahmin, employed to worship the image of the goddess Basuli or Bisalakshee (the large eyed one) of the village, and dwelt in a thatched cottage in the vicinity of the temple, lost in devotion for the goddess. He began to maintain himself with the articles of food that the people of the village cared to offer to the goddess without complaint. But here intervenes a strange incident that may be of a little interest to our readers. A young helpless girl happened at this time to come to the village of Nannur in quest of some service. And she got a job. Although the daughter of a washerman, she was through pity engaged in the service of the goddess Basuli to do the dusting and sweeping and other menial duties. Now as she grew up

to be a fine maiden of exquisite beauty, in course of years, she had a change of fate. One night, while in sound sleep, Chandidas had a vision. The goddess appeared before him in person and asked him to seek for a spiritual guide and, what is surprising still, to compose songs in praise of the love between Radha and Krishna as a matter exclusively of religious pursuit in the company of the young girl under his employ. They say that Chandidas had already been deeply in love with her. And, in justice to the poet, we must know that the love between them was of a spiritual character. The young poet with a devout soul was completely taken aback by such an unusual suggestion, or rather command, of the goddess, specially seeing that instead of recommending her own worship and prayer, she wanted him to follow some other deities. Yet after considerable reluctance he had to yield at last. With Rami, as the maiden was called, as his companion, he undertook to compose songs and sing them in public. And thus burst forth the never ceasing spring of charmingly melodious strains under divine direction. For more than four centuries the songs of Chandidas have been ringing in the cottages, in the palace, in the streets, in the market place and in the musical performances of Bengal, whether in cities or in the countryside. A saying goes in Bengal, for which Chandidas and his followers are mainly responsible, that there can be no song that has not for its burden the love of Kanu, that is to say, Krishna.

We love Chandidas, we love his poetry, but when will the world forget the ordeals through which the earliest and by far the best poet of Bengal had to pass before he could come out to the world at large? The villagers in a body ascribed infamy to them

both and subjected them to all manner of chastisement and dishonour, with the result that they chose Brindawan to be their abode till the last days of their earthly existence.

Undoubtedly all works of fine art, painting, sculpture, music or poetry are characteristically universal in their appeal. They transcend the bounds of time and space. This, indeed, is true of all fine arts in general, yet some distinction must, however, be made between them. Music, for instance, has, by the intrinsic virtue peculiar to itself, above all, the most immediate and most universal appeal. The communion between soul and soul is never so much innate and intimate as when effected through some sweet piece of music. The heart heavy with some uncontrollable emotion or passion can speak only in the language of the heart—the language or the tune, as the case may be, that crushes out of the heart all its sweets and bitters. A picture on the wall may call for some explanation, may await some underlying meaning to be exposed, but a piece of music will not wait; it flies and flies at once quick to the heart. Or, in a word, to borrow the words of Chandidas, "it will enter through the ears and reach the inmost recesses of the heart only to leave it in eternal hankering". This unique characteristic of music was the weapon with which the poet made such an extensive conquest. He is no poet's poet—he is alike a poet of the peasant as well as of the prince. The candour, the earnestness and simplicity of his style have endeared him to the people of all ages. Even a casual reader will not miss to notice in what a wonderful way love and pathos, serenity and sensuousness, hope and resignation are harmoniously blended, sometimes in a couple of lines, sometimes in a phrase and, the best of all, often in a long pause. Any endeavour to transfer the

melody, the lucidity of expression, the fervour and intensity from the original to a foreign tongue is to show the moon with the lurid light of the lamp.

How, for example, shall one bring out the idea implied in the silence when the very first line of his work, which introduces Radha in her intensity of emotion, stops short saying:—"Who is it that mentions to me the name Shyam (Krishna, her lover)? The line stops, but how much is meant than meets the ears! The wailing note still lingers. The words are at an end, no doubt, but the heart of the reader is in an insatiable thirst after the painful sweetness of the note.

Then follows the next line: "It enters through the ears and reaches the depths of the heart only to leave it in eternal hankering." The very sweetness of the name of her lover is enough to overpower her. And the picture is complete in itself. Of whom else but this consummate artist are these two lines worthy?

Love at first sight has been the theme of countless poets, but can a picture be more perfect than what Chandidas draws by means of a single line? The occasion is this. Radha has come to take her bath in the water. She finishes her bath and is proceeding homeward again with the wet blue saree on. "The blue saree moves on," says Krishna. "She wrings the cloth and with it my soul." The sense is clear. But the word-music, the sonorousness and alliteration ringing through the original expression are sorely lacking here.

While Krishna is in such an agony, Radha also is not better off—

"Out of the room she comes hundred times in a moment. She comes out and goes in very successively. Her mind is not in herself—quick is her breath—she looks towards the wood of the Kadamba tree. . . .

Her superiors are severe with her—she does not mind. . . . Ever restless, the skirt of her saree (cloth) she cares not to place properly—it hangs loosely down."

Without taxing the patience of our reader, we will add one more instance before we have done. Radha seems not to have known that there is no rose in the world without its thorns. Hence is her lamentations over the destiny that she has brought upon herself. Says she—

"Knowing love to be the tank of happiness, I got down to bathe in it. But immediately I got up after the bath and turned round the wind of pangs of heart blows. Who is it that dug the tank? The water in it is transparent, but the shark of agony frequents in it day and night, and the heart knows no rest."

As already noted, to Chandidas, God of awe and wonder, of love and reverence appeared in flesh and blood. Krishna is his God and Radha his goddess. Yet they are something more. In their woe, in their separation and indignation when the lover accuses the lady love of lack of attention, when the latter, on the other hand, brings a charge of betrayal, is full of jealousy and sorely aggrieved, Chandidas comes over with soothing sympathy and, like a dear friend, offers consolation to the wounded heart. He stands face to face, in his songs, with them. He enjoys their love, partakes of their joys and sorrows, intervenes on occasions with retorts and jokes, and makes his readers or his audience a party to all his delight. He loved Rami and knew what love is, and with the sincere outpourings of the heart, saturated through and through with love, he worshipped Krishna and Radha—the ever new loving couple. Chandidas's popularity has never been disputed, it has never been equalled. And with the poet we may say: "Sweet Chandidas, thy song shall never perish."

The Indian Cocoanut Industry

BY MR. NYAPATHI KRISHNA RAO, B.A., B.L.

THE Ottawa Agreement brought out two facts into prominence, *viz.*, that the supply of copra is insufficient to meet the demand of the oil-crusher and that the price of cocoanut products in South India is unduly low. Hence the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research appointed a special officer to enquire and report about the matter. Dr. Patel, the special officer, dealt in his report with all the questions involved, including the question of protection for the cocoanut industry. I shall first deal with the prices and the shortage of copra.

The all-round depression is certainly one of the main factors for the falling of the cocoanut and its products. The price of other oil-seeds, such as gingelly, ground-nut, linseed, castor has fallen by 49·7 per cent., 60·9 per cent., 56·9 per cent., and 47·3 per cent. respectively. The cocoanut oil consequently has to meet with the competition of other oils by a correspondingly reduced price. Another main factor that should be considered is the large imports from Ceylon which is, indeed, threatening the Indian cocoanut planter. But Dr. Patel states that there is no evidence to show that the fall in the price of the cocoanut oil and copra is due to the increased imports. This leads to the consideration of the question of dumping from Ceylon, which has been denied by Ceylonese interests.

The advantages which Ceylon producer has vis-a-vis the Indian producer are, indeed, substantial. It may be stated that most of the cocoanut holdings in Ceylon is over ten acres each, and there are many large scale plantations which are absent in India. The Indian agriculturist, who has generally an acre or half acre plantation, has not equal opportunities of investing capital

and labour on the improvement of the land as his Ceylonese neighbour has. In the cost of production too, Ceylon has an advantage over India. The average yield per acre in Ceylon is estimated to be 2,000 nuts, while Malabar yields 1,600 nuts. The cost of production per 1,000 nuts in Ceylon is Rs. 15, while that in Malabar is Rs. 20. Further the absence of land tax in Ceylon, except the death duties and income tax of which the minimum taxable is Rs. 4,800 per annum, gives incentive to large scale plantations. In Malabar, on private Jammi lands the tax varies from Rs. 1-3 to Rs. 8-5, and on Government lands from Rs. 2-6 to Rs. 16-10 per acre. The ordinary agriculturist in Ceylon, possessing a ten acre plot, is always exempt from income tax. It will certainly be a great relief to the Indian planter if a minimum extent of cocoanut plantation, say 3 acres, is exempt from the land revenue, or the tax comparatively reduced. Lastly, the export duty was abolished in Ceylon to facilitate the export of the surplus cocoanut products, and the Government of Ceylon have been actively using all its patronage to push on the marketing of Ceylon cocoanut products. To crown all, there is the favourable tariff and the preferential freights on Colombo's exports to Indian ports. The following table illustrates how the West Coast businessman is labouring under a serious handicap in the matter of freight.

FREIGHT ON OIL PER TON				
Port to which sent	From West Coast	From Colombo	Difference.	
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	
Karachi ...	14 8 0	12 8 0	2 0 0	
Bombay ...	12 0 0	7 8 0	4 8 0	
Calcutta ...	12 4 0	9 0 0	3 4 0	
Rangoon ...	16 4 0	12 8 0	3 12 0	

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THE INDIAN COCOANUT INDUSTRY

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FREIGHT ON COPRA PER TON						
Port to which sent	From West Coast	From Colombo	Difference			
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.			
Karachi ...	9 4 0	10 0 0	0 12 0			
Bombay ...	6 12 0	7 8 0	0 12 0			
Calcutta ...	20 0 0	15 12 0	4 4 0			
Rangoon ...	20 0 0	15 0 0	5 0 0			

Besides, the tariff value of the cocoanut products has been reduced by the Government during the last 5 years as stated below:

Tariff Value	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
Copra Cwt. ...	23	17	16	11½	10	9
Cocoanut Cwt. ...	30	26	21½	16	15½	12½

With such advantages it is no wonder that Ceylon has been able to export large quantities of oil and copra to India. The Committee of the Ceylon Merchants' Chamber argues that almost simultaneously with the serious fall in imports of cocoanut in Europe, a greater demand for cocoanut products arose in India and that the Ceylon export trade began entirely owing to this and on no account can it be said that Ceylon dumped her low-priced products into India to the detriment of the South Indian cocoanut trade. Whether the imports from Ceylon into India can be called in strict theory dumping or not, it is abundantly clear that there are innumerable factors weighing in favour of Ceylon exports. Since the fall in prices in cocoanut products and the increase of Ceylon's trade with India synchronized, there is room to suppose that the fall in prices is largely due to Ceylon's imports.

SHORTAGE OF COPRA

In addition to Ceylon, Seychelles has the lion's share in her exports to India. Other places that export copra are: Aden and Dependencies and Maldives; while the

United Kingdom, Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States (in 1933 alone), and Java are the principal exporters of oil to India. The following table indicates the total imports of oil and copra into India.

Year	Oil (Gals.)	Copra (Tons)
1930-31	1,209,430	498
1931-32	3,331,140	2,222
1932-33	7,803,305	16,208

In 1933, it is estimated that India was Ceylon's best customer taking 36·9 per cent. of her total exports of copra and 33·5 per cent. of exported surplus of oil and 14·3 per cent. of the exports of her nuts. Despite the large cultivation of cocoanut for which India ranks first in the world, her acreage being 1,387,773 acres in 1932-33, Philippine Islands being the second having 1,361,126 acres, and Ceylon being the third having 1,100,000 acres, it is a pity that she is constrained to import and unable to provide for her own requirements. Dr. Patel attributes this phenomenal increase to the shortage of copra supplies on the West Coast, or increased consumption of oil and copra in India, or to a combination of both these factors. Further, the rapid strides that the trade in fresh nuts has made, may be another ground for the shortage of copra. Then, there is the differential duty on the exports of copra and cocoanut oil in Travancore. The fact is, the oil-milling industry in Travancore is subsidized. If a candy of copra is exported as copra, a duty of Rs. 4-10-9 will have to be paid and if it is exported in the form of oil and cake, a saving of Rs. 1-15-6 is effected. This preference to oil began in 1906-07, from which date the copra exports diminished. In 1911, the export duty on oil prepared from imported copra was abolished. Again in 1932-33, this concession was granted, and Travancore imported 42,293 cwts, mostly

from Ceylon, Mysore, and East Godavari; the other copra centres produce only edible copra, which is largely consumed for non-industrial purposes.

CONFLICTING INTERESTS

As at present situated, India requires large quantities of copra. But curiously enough, the copra-crushing industry on the West Coast is only working at half its potential capacity and this is partly due to the Ceylon competition on the one hand and the Bombay and Karachi competition on the other. The West Coast Mills are in urgent need of protection against Ceylonese oil and preferential freightage towards the same. But the vegetable ghee and soap industry might protest against prohibitive duties on cocoanut oil. The copra-crushing industry of Bombay and Karachi offers serious competition with West Coast, and Dr. Patel doubts whether the power-driven *chekkus* will ever successfully compete with the hydraulic presses of Bombay and Karachi. In 1932, a sum of 5.2 lakhs of rupees was lost to the nation through the importing of oil, and this amount could have been secured to the country if the oil had been crushed in India itself. But the Travancore Cocoanut Association suggests that it is clearly unnecessary to foster such an industry, whose income is 5 lakhs of rupees and providing employment for only 2,500 men at the expense of the cocoanut cultivator, who has staked his all in his cultivation and that it is perhaps advantageous to have some of the mills closed.

The other conflicting interests relate to the price level and general consumer. A high tariff against foreign copra and oil may unduly raise the prices to the detriment of the general consumer. Besides, the other fatty oil competitors of the market, for

example the ground-nut, may gain substitution. But it is urged that an increase in the import duty will not only rehabilitate the cocoanut cultivator in India, but is sure to give a helping hand to the ryots engaged in the cultivation of ground-nuts and other oil-seeds of India. The Travancore Association is of opinion that the cost of the cocoanut oil employed in the vegetable ghee and soap industry is but a tiny fraction of the price of these articles. The prices of these articles have not in fact been reduced in proportion to the prices of cocoanuts. Even granting that the increase in the import duty may affect the consumer to a certain extent, it has to be remembered that the producers of cocoanuts have for long patiently and ungrudgingly borne the burden of very heavy duties on wheat, sugar, cotton goods, matches, hardware, etc. The improvement in the price of cocoanut oil will improve the price of these articles.

Lastly, the cotton textile exports from Bombay to Ceylon have a preference under the Ottawa Pact, the corresponding preference being on cocoanut, its products and plumbago. The question largely depends on the consideration of the interests of the cocoanut cultivation vis-a-vis the Bombay mill-owner. The existing duties evidently are in favour of Bombay, and it is high time for the Government of India to take the right step in the matter.

THE ONLY SOLUTION

To tackle the present situation, it is desirable to adopt a progressive scale of duties on cocoanuts, oil and copra. The West Coast miller and the native planter should realise the benefits of such a protection within a period prescribed, say five to ten years, so that in the meanwhile India can make herself self-sufficient. The

Travancore Association has suggested a specific duty of Rs. 25 per 1,000 cocoanuts, Rs. 120 per ton of copra and Rs. 200 per ton of oil. The Ceylon price of copra being Rs. 125, a duty of Rs. 200 would suffice to plane with the cost of production at Travancore which is roughly Rs. 325. On the other hand, the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, adopting the proposition of Mr. G. K. Devadhar, recommended to the Government a specific duty of Rs. 100 per ton of copra with corresponding duties on oil and nuts. Dr. Patel suggests that for complete tariff equality, the actual amount of duty on imported copra should be 60 per cent. of the actual duty on oil, i.e., the actual import duty on oil should be 166 per cent. of the actual duty on copra. The progressive raising of the tariff will not only ease the slump in cocoanut trade, but also prove a great feeler as regards the effect thereof from year to year on the several conflicting interests. *Pari passu* with the adoption of protection by raising the duty, the steamer freights from the West Coast ought at least be equal with those from Ceylon. Even internally, the railway rates have to be considerably reduced and greater facilities afforded to the marketing of the Indian cocoanut products.

To keep up India's level of stocks during the period in which protection is to be afforded, intensive propaganda for the increase of the cocoanut cultivation is needed. In a decade, the acreage in Travancore has increased from 4,65,593 acres to 5,62,556 acres, the increase amounting to 21 per cent. Dr. Patel indicates a large scope of expansion in the North and South Kanara. In South Kanara alone there are possibilities of increase to the extent of 200,000 acres. Along the East

Coast of the northern part of our Presidency, there are large tracts of land which promise to become excellent plantations. The Government ought to take up the question in right earnest, as Ceylon Government has done. The Mysore Government has offered lower water rates for cocoanut cultivation and limited the acres under paddy. Then there is the "Eat more cocoanut campaign" initiated by the Governors of Jamaica and Ceylon, which has met with much success. The medicinal properties of the cocoanut combined with the belief in its spiritual efficacy, will easily touch the imagination of the Indian masses. Cocoanut research centres in copra-producing tracts and a cocoanut committee are absolutely necessary. We believe that, if proper measures are adopted by the Government, the cocoanut industry is sure to have a bright future in India and be rescued from its present deplorable condition.

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FIFTY years have rolled by since the Indian National Congress was founded, and during this long period it has covered several stages in the course of India's natural evolution and whatever differences may have come into being in its counsels in later years, the earlier ones—from 1885 up to 1905,—1915 or even 1921, were years of programmes almost common to the different shades of opinion and the different schools of thought that were slowly developing in India's politics. Nor were the differences of those earlier years of a very material type. The greatest difficulty in choosing the fight or arranging the battle lies in selecting the scheme of operations and the strategy that should guide them. The contending parties are tossed about between the aggressive and the defensive, between prayer and protest, between rival programmes as to whether we should invite the enemy to our parlour and to that end play a waiting game, or whether we should take time by the forelock and rush on him unawares and envelop him all round. These are the issues that rack the brains of Generals on the battle-field. These, likewise, are the issues in politics where the leaders should decide whether agitation should be in words or in conduct, and whether, if they should decide in favour of the latter, they should give fight by direct or indirect action. These issues are rapidly surveyed before our eye and still more rapidly revolved in our brain. The progressive stages of a political fight take decades to evolve themselves and what appears to-day at the end of fifty years of strenuous struggle to be profoundly easy and simple would not have struck our forbears, who had started the Congress as any thing other than unthinkable. Imagine a proposal placed before men like W. C. Bonerjee or Surendra Nath Banerjee, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta or Pandit Ayodhya Nadh, Lal Mohan Ghose or Man Mohan Ghosh, Subrahmanya Aiyar or Anandacharlu, A. O. Hume or Sir William Wedderburn, which pleaded for a boycott of foreign goods or of councils, courts and colleges, or a scheme of Civil Disobedience of select laws. It requires no imagination to see that they would have been scandalised by such ideas. Nor could such extreme

programmes be evolved before the Partition of Bengal, the reactionary policies of Curzon and Minto, or the South African experiences of Gandhi, or the Jallianwallah Bagh massacre. During the fifteen years of strife and struggle which the Congress had put in towards the end of the last century, the leaders of thought were mostly lawyers with a sprinkling of merchants and doctors who believed, and believed sincerely, that what India wanted was a lucid and balanced presentation of her case before Englishmen and their Parliament. For this purpose they wanted a political organisation, and they found in the National Congress the required organ through which to voice forth the Nation's grievances and the National aspirations.

THE KEY-NOTE OF THE OLD CONGRESS

In reperusing the brilliant addresses of the galaxy of Presidents* that shaped as well as swayed the course of Indian politics and in recalling the faith that lay behind them, we cannot lose sight of the several epochs into which the Indian political agitation during the past half a century divides itself. The circumstances under which the aspirations of the people and prior to that, their grievances called for powerful expression, have been explained by them at length and the background of the Congress has been pictured in some detail. The times and conditions would not allow in the earlier years anything else than a reasoned appeal to the authorities for the redress of grievances and a moderate demand of new concessions and privileges. This frame of mind soon developed into an art. Forensic talent on the one hand, and a richly imaginative and emotional eloquence on the other, were soon brought to bear on the task that lay before the Indian politicians and fill the pages of the two volumes. An irresistible statement of facts followed by irrefutable arguments to prove the justice of the popular cause is to be met with everywhere in the speeches supporting

* Congress Presidential Addresses. (In 2 Vols.) Containing full text of Presidential Addresses from 1885 to 1934. First volume from the Foundation to the Silver Jubilee (1885 to 1910). Second volume from the Silver to the Golden Jubilee (1911 to 1934). Price Rs. 4 each. To Subscribers of the "Indian Review", Rs. 3-8 each. G. A. Natesan & Co., G. T., Madras.

the Congress resolutions and the addresses delivered by Congress Presidents. The burden of these utterances was that the English people are essentially just and fair and that, if properly informed, they would never deviate from truth and the right, that the problem was the Anglo-Indian and not the Englishman, that what was wrong was the system and not the individual, that the Congress was essentially loyal to the British throne and fell foul only of the Indian bureaucracy, that the English constitution was the bulwark of popular liberties everywhere, and the English Parliament was the mother of Democracy all over, that the British constitution was the best of all constitutions, that the Congress was not a seditious body, and that the Indian politicians were the natural interpreters of Government to people, and of people to Government, that Indians must be admitted into public service in larger measure, should be educated and made fit for high positions, that Universities, Local Bodies and the Public Services should form the training-ground for India, that the legislatures should be thrown open to election, and the right of interpellation and discussion of budgets should be conceded, that the press and forest laws and the rigours of the Arms Act should be relaxed, the police should become friendly to the people, and taxes should be moderate, that the military expenditure should be curtailed by India's burden being at least shared in part by England, that the Judicial and Executive must be separated, and Indians should be given a place in the Executive Councils of Provincial and Central Governments and in the Council of the Secretary of State, that India should have direct representation to the British Parliament at the rate of two members to each Province, that the Non-Regulation Provinces should be brought into line with the Regulation ones, and that eminent Englishmen in the public life of England should be sent over as Lieutenant-Governors, instead of members of the Civil Service, that simultaneous examinations should be held in India for the competitive services, that the drain to England should be stemmed and indigenous industries fostered, that Land Revenue should be reduced and Permanent Settlement should be adopted. They went the

length of deprecating Salt Tax as an iniquity, Excise duties on Cotton goods as unfair, Exchange Compensation allowance to Civilians (since 1893) as an illegal gratification. They had the vision to visualise the Indian problem in its multiple aspects and pleaded for the resuscitation of the village industries of this ancient land.

EVOLUTION OF IDEAL

From this rapid review of the themes that engaged the attention of the various Presidents of the Indian National Congress, one can easily see how their minds should have been constituted. We cannot blame them for the attitude they adopted as pioneers of Indian Political Reform any more than we can blame the brick and mortar that are buried six feet deep in the foundations and plinth of a modern edifice. They, it is, that have made possible the superstructure of colonial self-Government of 1908, Home Rule within the Empire of 1917, *Swaraj* of 1921 and complete independence of 1929. Let us express our deep and abiding sense of gratitude to the great men, that led the van of progress in the earlier generation of our public life. They had to adopt methods suited to the times. They had largely to quote English authorities in support of obvious propositions. They had laboured hard and made heavy sacrifices according to their lights and their capacities. If to-day our course is plain and our goal is obvious, we owe it all to our forbears who did the spade work and cleared the forest.

Whatever periodical excitements and exacerbations of feelings there might have existed off and on amongst Congressmen, there is no doubt that the progress of the Congress from its inception in 1885 to 1905 was one even march based on a firm faith in constitutional agitation and in the unfailing regard for justice attributed to the Englishmen. It was in that view that the Congress was represented as the greatest glory of British Rule in this country. For the obverse of the ideal it was added: "We happily live under a Constitution whose watchword is freedom and whose main pillar is toleration." Lord Ripon's view that: "The Queen's proclamation is not a treaty, it is not a diplomatic instrument. It is a declaration of principles of Government", was quoted by the official Representative of the fourth session of the Congress

of 1888, Allahabad. Lord Salisbury's dictum that "Government by representation does not suit Eastern traditions" was deeply resented, and Sir Pherozeshah Mehta declared in 1890: "I have no fears but that British statesmanship will ultimately respond to the call." Mahommed Rahimtulla Sayani's declaration as President of the 12th Congress in 1896 was unambiguous: "A more honest or sturdy nation does not exist under the sun than this English Nation." And when the nation met India's approaches and appeals with repression, Ananda Mohan Bose who presided over the Madras Congress in 1898, exhorted saying: "The educated classes are the friends and not the foes of England, her natural and necessary allies in the great work that lies before her." The faith placed in the Englishmen and in England by those who have gone before us may sometimes appear pathetic, but it is our duty to recognise their limitations and to entertain, in the words of Dr. Sir Rash Behari Ghosh's speech at the 23rd Congress in Madras, 1908: "Some kindly thoughts for those who, too, in their day strove to do their duty, however imperfectly, through good report and through evil report with, it may be, a somewhat chastened fervour, but I may say, without boasting, a fervour as genuine as that which stirs and inspires younger hearts." It is in this spirit that we must cherish the memories of the leaders of the bygone generations. As for the generation to which we belong, it will be conceded that we are still in the midst of a process of a new evolution. The politics of to-day will be the history of to-morrow even as the history of to-day was the politics of yesterday, and we have neither the space nor the need to quote extensively or at all from the utterances of the Presidents of recent Congresses.

During this long course of years, various eminent men have been called upon to lead the Nation. Dadabhai Naoroji presided over the Congress thrice and introduced the term *Swaraj* into Congress phraseology in 1906. The first President presided a second time. Surendra Nath Banerjee, the Trumpet-voice of India, enjoyed the honor twice and so did the white-robed Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya as well as Pandit Motilal Nehru and Sir William Wedderburn.

The Mussulmans contributed eight presidents out of 51: Tyabjee, Sayani, Nawab Syed Muhammad Bahdur, Hassan Imam, Abul Kalam Azad, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Muhammad Ali and Dr. Ansari. Kali Charan Banerjee, a Christian, would have presided had he not been cut off in the prime of life. Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Sir Dinshaw Wacha came as the representatives of that noble community—the Parsis—who have enriched India's Vedic and Islamic cultures by the confluence of the culture of Zend Avesta. Bengal stands foremost in having contributed men like W. C. Bonerjee, Ananda Mohan Bose, Romesh Chunder Dutt, Lal Mohan Ghosh, Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh, Bupendra Nath Basu, Sir S. P. Sinha, Ambica Charan Mazumdar and C. R. Das. To U. P. belong Bishan Narayan Dhar, Malaviya, Motilalji and his son Jawaharlal. The last of the Presidents Rajendra Babu comes from Behar, which had earlier given Hassan Imam. Punjab had the honour of giving Lala Lajput Rai, and C. P., Mudholkar. From Gujarat came Gandhi and Vallabhai Patel. The crop from Bombay was abundant. Tyabji and Sayani have already been referred to; as also Mehta. Wacha, Gokhale and Chandavarkar complete the list from the Western Province. From Madras came Ananda Charlu, an Andhra; then Mr. C. Sankaran Nair a Malayalee, and finally the Grand Old Man of the South—Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachari—and Mr. S. Sreenivasa Iyengar, both of whom are from Tamil Nadu. Two ladies Mrs. Besant and Mrs. Sarojini Nayudu have graced the Presidential throne. The European community had its own turn through Messrs. Yule, Webb, Wedderburn and Cotton. This varied list shows how (the Congress is not merely a national but truly an international body.) The addresses of these distinguished leaders—all 'good men and true'—fill over 2,000 printed pages and have been published by the Natesans in two volumes. The gratitude of the public is due to this enterprising and patriotic firm—the forerunners in the field of National literature, for this act of additional service to Indian Nationalism done in the Jubilee year of the Congress.

ITALY AND ABYSSINIA

ETHIOPIA, THE LAND OF CONTENTION

THE last of the independent states in Africa is threatened with extinction. For two thousand years Abyssinia, the land of mystery and contention, has gone its own way, unconquered. Peopled by a fiercely patriotic and hardy race of primitive Christians and ruled by a succession of monarchs jealous of their independence, Ethiopia, as it is officially called, has stood its ground against the onslaughts of successive invaders contending for its mastery.

A BIT OF ANCIENT HISTORY

The Abyssinians are an ancient and God-fearing people and their Emperor traces descent straight from the line of Solomon the wise and Queen Sheba of legendary fame. They were Christians in the third century before Europe came into contact with the religion of Jesus. Their history thus goes back to the very beginnings of Christianity in Europe and is a record of a proud and continuous triumph over successive invaders. For with the Abyssinians, allegiance to foreigners is unthinkable. After the arrival of the Moslems, however, the black kingdom slept for a thousand years and its history is shrouded in mystery. Yet we have a glimpse of its barbaric splendour and its chivalry in times of stress. When the followers of Mahomed the Prophet, who were persecuted by his enemies, sought shelter in Abyssinia, it was the Negus (the Ethiopian Emperor of the time) that gave them protection. A war then ensued—one of the first wars in history between Abyssinia and the nomadic Arab tribes of that time. The Emperor of Ethiopia was victorious. Years later, the Turks took it into their heads to conquer Abyssinia. Once more the Ethiopian Emperor won. Numerous other attempts to conquer the country failed. And one of the most recent attempts, which perhaps explains the present tangle between Italy and Abyssinia, was that made by the Italians in the nineties of the last century.

THE MEMORY OF ADOWA

In 1896, Italy which owned Assab and Massahousa steadily advanced and occupied Kurai and Asmara. The Abyssinian reply, says a chronicler, was swift and deadly.

They met the Italian army at Adowa and almost annihilated them. About 10,000 men were killed and 8,000 were captured. Those who escaped carried back to Italy tales of horror that have lived in Italian memory and inspired to a large extent the ambition to revenge Adowa.

Once again Ethiopia won a resounding victory—a victory due alike to the nature of the country and the valour of its people.

ITS GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION

Situated on a lofty plateau, Abyssinia is intersected by hills and ravines which have protected it from alien conquest. Its 350,000 square miles are rich and fertile and form as it were an oasis in an arid desert. That is in fact the main attraction of Ethiopia; for more than one European power is anxious to exploit its natural resources. While Ethiopia has conceded a great deal to the powers of the West in the way of transport and trade facilities and enterprises calculated to civilise the country, it has resolutely maintained its independence. Now that independence is threatened by Italy, and the fate of Abyssinia is irrevocably bound up with the fortunes of many states and nations that count themselves as members of the League of Nations. For Abyssinia is one of the original members of the League and failure in Abyssinia is tantamount to the collapse of the League system, on which since the War, the world has developed such faith for its security.

THE POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF ABYSSINIA

Now what is all the bother about? Clearly it is no more than growing commercial expansion on the one hand and imperialist tendencies on the other. And Abyssinia occupies a position of extraordinary political significance. It is surrounded on all sides by British, French and Italian possessions. Britain has some 2,000 miles of frontier line, while Italy has over a thousand. Britain has vital interests in the Italo-Abyssinian dispute, for the Blue Nile which gives life to the Egyptian millions takes its source in the highlands of Abyssinia.

By the 1906 Agreement, the three Powers are bound to safeguard their respective interests, defined as follows:

The interests of Great Britain and Egypt in the Nile Basin, more especially as regards the regulation of the waters of that river and its tributaries (due consideration being paid to local interests) without prejudice to Italian interests mentioned in paragraph (b).

(b) The interests of Italy in Ethiopia as regards Eritrea and Somaliland (including the Benadir), more especially with reference to the hinterland of her possessions and the territorial connection between them to the west of Addis Ababa.

Despite this agreement, Italy is now on the war-path. The truth is since the terrible reverse at Adowa, Italy has been nursing her ambition to conquer Abyssinia. Feeling her position stronger to-day she is nourishing the same old ambition. In the summer of 1934, the Italian Government began to arm intensively on the frontiers of Abyssinia. Warlike preparations on a vast scale were going on and when asked for an explanation, Ethiopia was charged with aggressive intentions against the Italian colonies of Eritrea and Somaliland. Ethiopia protested its innocence but to no purpose. Obviously what were described as purely defensive operations were in fact elaborate preparations for a military offensive. The Abyssinian Emperor put the case in the following statement:

In November 1934, the Gondar quarrel occurred between some Ethiopian subjects attached to an Italian commercial agency and some local Ethiopian administrators concerning a woman. This bloody quarrel of a private character was made an occasion for energetic diplomatic intervention on the part of the Italian Legation.

THE UAL UAL INCIDENT

Much has been said of the Ual Ual incident which constitutes the fundamental base of actual differences between Italy and Ethiopia. Ual Ual is more than a hundred kilometres from the frontier as defined by the treaty of 1908. Except vague allegations on one side and protestations of innocence on the other, nothing definite has yet been known of this incident. The accounts have always been conflicting.

Italy asserts that Abyssinian troops attached to the Anglo-Ethiopian Mission

for the settlement of pasturage rights, attacked Italian troops when the Abyssinians were refused permission to pass through Ual Ual on the ground that it was Italian territory. This was in November 1934.

Abyssinia claimed that the Italians first took prisoner an Abyssinian sub-officer and that the Italians started hostilities using aeroplanes and tanks. There were 107 Abyssinians killed.

Italy lost no time in making it a strong military post.

The Abyssinian Government protested on December 6, 1934, to the Italian Chargé d' Affaires against "this illegal occupation of Abyssinian territory. Meanwhile an engagement had taken place at Ual Ual on December 5, and on December 9, the Abyssinian Government demanded arbitration as provided by Article 5 of the Treaty of August 2, 1928, between Italy and Abyssinia.

The further stages of the dispute are presented in the Memorandum which the Abyssinian Delegation handed to the Secretary-General of the League. Says the Memorandum:

When accused, Italy found it expedient to assume the part of accuser and try to make us responsible for the fault committed by her own people. Not content with the assassination of our troops, she claimed from our Government apologies and satisfaction and indemnities.

ABYSSINIA APPEALS TO THE LEAGUE

Abyssinia quickly invoked the treaty of 1928 by which the two contracting parties (Italy and Abyssinia) had undertaken to submit any differences that arose to pacific solution by arbitration. It was met with categorical refusal.

Thereupon, Abyssinia resorted to the League of Nations for a peaceful solution. At its meeting on January 19, Italy persisted in demanding that Abyssinia should own its fault. Abyssinia contended there was no fault to own and sent a fresh appeal to the League in March. On May 25 following the second appeal, the League Council set up an effective body for arbitration.

ITALIAN AGGRESSION

In the meanwhile, Italy had despatched half a million soldiers fully equipped for offensive. Preparations were also being made by Abyssinia to defend its integrity in case of emergency. But several European powers refused to supply arms to Abyssinia, and the Emperor appealed again for fair play. The whole question is now in the hands of the League Council, and as we write, representatives of the British and French Governments are busy devising a solution for peaceful negotiation.

BRITAIN'S OFFER

At this point it may be mentioned that the British Government have spared no pains to come to an understanding with the contending parties, and the British representative on the League went so far as to offer the port of Zeila to Italy—an offer which was repulsed by the Italian Government.

MUSSOLINI'S THREAT

Italy's military preparations continue on an elaborate scale, and Signor Mussolini and his henchman make no secret of their intention to conquer Abyssinia by force.

As we write, Italy is pouring her troops into Africa. And in a single week, five steamers have left with over 6,000 men, lorries, mules, artillery and other war materials. The Duce has warned Europe against interference in his "civilising" campaign "unless any one wants to run the risk of unleashing a world war". In an authoritative statement of his views to the special correspondent of the *Daily Mail*, Sig. Mussolini threatened to fight everyone who blocks his ambitions to capture Abyssinia.

If sanctions are voted against Italy at Geneva, she will immediately leave the League and whoever applied the sanctions against Italy would be met by Italy's armed hostility.

THE ETHIOPIAN EMPEROR

The Emperor of Abyssinia, Haile Sellasie, is an educated and shrewd ruler who is anxious to maintain peaceful relations with his neighbours while intent on developing his country and bring it in conformity with the civilised world. Christian missionaries bear testimony to the efforts he is making to rid his territories of slavery. Haile

Sellasie has perfected his defences. Trenches are dug and army units are stationed at strategic points to stem the massed attacks of Mussolini's mechanised army. Though the morale of the troops is excellent, they are handicapped by the lack of ammunition, which is estimated to last for only three days.

The Emperor is evidently anxious to avoid a conflict. He knows that Italy could, with all her engines of destruction on land and air, bring disaster to his fair lands, but he counts on the unflinching courage and patriotism of the Ethiopians to defend their fatherland to the last man. In a recent speech at Addis Ababa, the Ethiopian Emperor declared:

If efforts to secure peace fail and devilish force prevails, Ethiopia will arise and with the Emperor leading, defend the country to the last drop of blood.

THE THREE-POWER CONFERENCE

The momentous session of the League Council to discuss the Italo-Ethiopian dispute commenced at Geneva on September 4 under the chairmanship of the Argentine delegate, Sinor Ruizgunazu. The report on the abortive Paris Three-Power Conference, containing the Anglo-French suggestions which were rejected by Signor Mussolini, was presented by Mr. Anthony Eden. Mr. Eden declared that Britain would exert herself to that end, as the collapse of the League and the new international order would be a world calamity, and M. Laval promised the full co-operation of France.

Baron Aloisi, representing Italy, submitted a lengthy document in which it was stated that Italy had always shown patience and fairness with regard to Abyssinia. The Baron, after citing a few instances of Ethiopian aggression, said that Italy would feel profoundly wounded if Ethiopia continued to belong to the League on a footing of equality with Italy. The Italian Government, concluded Baron Aloisi, reserved entire liberty of action in order to adopt all necessary measures for the security of its colonies.

Professor Jeze, for Ethiopia, affirmed that Abyssinia desired to reach an agreement with Italy. He strongly repudiated Baron Aloisi's accusations and promised a detailed refutation later.

The Italian delegation retired as a protest.

THE COMMITTEE OF FIVE

The Council thereupon appointed a Sub-Committee of Five Members (in accordance with Article XV of the Covenant) to consider the Italo-Abyssinian dispute. The Committee consisted of Mr. Eden, the British Minister, M. Laval, the French Premier, Senor Madariga, the Spanish Minister, M. Beck, the Polish Minister, and M. Tewfikaras, the Turkish Premier.

THE BRITISH ATTITUDE

While preparations are going on, on either side, Ethiopia has not ceased to court the League's help to avert war, nor Mussolini his continual threat of defiance; though it must be said to his credit that he has promised not to declare war when the negotiations are yet going on. But his pronouncements and the action of his representatives on the League do not give much hope for peace. Yet the efforts of the peace-makers have not ceased. Every representative of the far-flung British Empire avowed allegiance to the Covenant of the League and promised to stand by the League system. From South Africa comes the voice of General Smuts imploring Britain and France "to prevent a calamity that will reverberate through the whole African continent". Addressing the Assembly, Sir Samuel Hoare, the British Foreign Secretary, made a significant pronouncement.

If the burden of the Covenant obligations is to be borne, it must be borne collectively. The security of many cannot be ensured solely by the efforts of a few, however powerful they be. Britain will be second to none in her intention to fulfil, within a certain measure, her capacity of obligations which the Covenant lay upon her.

We believe that small nations are entitled to collective protection and maintenance of their national life.

We believe that backward nations, without prejudice to their independence and integrity, are entitled to expect assistance from more advanced peoples. Something must also be done to remove the causes from which war is apt to arise apart from recourse to arms. But too often the desired change would create more injustices than it removed. Such changes will have to be made when the

time is ripe and not before, not by unilateral action and not by threat of war. Members of the League must address themselves to this as well as other aspects of security if a rule of law in international affairs is to be established or confirmed.

There is in fact an overwhelming consensus of world opinion against the aggressor. Commenting on the situation created by the intransigence of Italy, A. G. G. writes:

That is the shameful situation. In the presence of it, the white civilization stands condemned of a hideous hypocrisy and of a betrayal of elementary justice without parallel in history.

THE LEAGUE PROPOSALS

Meanwhile, the League's Committee of five rapporteurs under the chairmanship of Sinor Madariga, the Spanish delegate, presented their proposals in the third week of September. The proposals are based on the Paris offer and are designed to meet all reasonable Italian claims for economic opportunity in Abyssinia and for guarantees regarding the security of Italian colonies and of foreigners in Abyssinia.

The Committee has suggested a plan of assistance for Abyssinia, providing for the reorganisation of public services and setting out the duties of a proposed foreign mission with regard to the development of the country, opportunities for foreigners, and the part to be played by foreign specialists.

It has also provided for the ceding of strips of British and Italian Somaliland to Abyssinia.

Abyssinia accepted these proposals in general.

Italy, on the other hand, rejected them, declaring that "they do not take into account her vital rights and interests" whatever they may mean. In view of this situation, the Council, in accordance with paragraph 4 of Article XV of the Covenant, decided to prepare and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute with their recommendations thereon. The decision was unanimous while the British, French, Russian and other delegates declared the determination of their respective governments to adhere to their obligations under the Covenant. Europe faces to-day the most momentous situation since the great War.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Sir Syed Raza Ali's Plea for Unity

INDIANS in South Africa have had their troubles, but throughout the long struggle they have stood together, in hopes and fears, as a solid phalanx. In fact their strength lay in their union. But unfortunately intolerance has bred division in their ranks and for some time past they have been grievously divided. We, therefore, welcome the efforts of the Agent-General Sir Syed Raza Ali to reunite the two opposing factions of South African Indians.

An informal Conference between representatives of the two rival bodies, the Natal Indian Congress and the Colonial-born and Settlers' Indian Association has been held under his chairmanship at Durban for the purpose of finding a settlement. We sincerely hope that his urgent plea for closing up the ranks will not be in vain!

Aerial Bombing

Once again the Assembly has put on record its emphatic condemnation of bombing in the frontier. We are not surprised that the adjournment motion of Dr. Khan Saheb censuring the Government for resorting to aerial bombing should be carried by so overwhelming a majority. The depredations of the Frontier tribesmen should be checked indeed and effectively stopped; but it is sheer perversion of language to justify bombing as a humane act. The Army Secretary talked of the twenty-four hours' notice usually given to the villagers, but surely what are warning leaflets to an illiterate people? Air action, he declared,

offset the advantage of inaccessibility which the tribesmen enjoyed, and saved time and money.

Bombing may save time and money, but it is revolting to the conscience of the civilised world; and may we not hope that Government may yet reconsider their attitude!

Marketing Law in Kenya

The Kenya Council has at last passed the Marketing Bill in complete disregard of local Indian opposition. The measure, it will be remembered, gave rise to such strong feeling that four out of the five Indian representatives thought fit to walk out of the Council as a protest against its anti-Indian character. Mr. J. B. Pandya, however, stuck to his post almost to the last. And when the third reading stage was reached, he too followed the example of his colleagues and temporarily retired from the Chambers. Mr. Pandya's persistent and watchful efforts were not altogether fruitless as he was able to wrest some concessions in the shape of amendments. But Government were obdurate in essentials and the Bill underwent no modifications worth the name in the Select Committee, or in the open discussion in the Council. The odious provisions about the grant of exclusive licenses remain unaltered.

Lord Sinha and the Lords

Grave injustice has been done to Lord Sinha in preventing him from taking his seat in the House of Lords. That he can not produce his birth certificate or his father's marriage certificate is no reason for denying him the right he inherits from his father. No amount of legal quibbling could get over the simple fact that tells against his nationality. The position was tersely put by the Earl of Kinnoull, who has declared it to be his intention to raise the question of Lord Sinha's entry into the House of Lords at an early date: "I am interesting myself in the question," he said in a recent statement,

because it seems anomalous to me that the British Government should make a man a peer, even though he be of a non-Christian religion, and then prevent him from taking his seat in the Upper House.

Bombay Journalists' Dinner

What is described as an "unprecedented" gathering of Bombay journalists met at a recent Dinner to discuss the lot of the working journalist and concert measures to safeguard his interest. The gathering was fully representative of the Press of Bombay—Indian, Anglo-Indian, and Vernacular. It was presided over by Mr. S. A. Aiyar, Editor of *Reuters* and *Associated Press of India*, and among the guests were leading journalists like Mr. Francis Low of the *Times of India*, Mr. Horniman, and Mr. Brelvi who all spoke on the importance and dignity of the profession. They endorsed the Calcutta resolution of the All-India Journalists' Conference, urging the enforcement of a uniform set of rules to ensure regularity of payment and provision for Provident Fund.

Every other profession is organised for the benefit of its members. How then are journalists who preach day in and day out the virtue of concerted effort so indifferent to themselves? Is it because, as Mr. Aiyar humourously put it, we are cynics who think that we should not be expected to practise what we preach?

As a rule, the working journalist seems so absorbed in the fortunes of the world around him that he hardly finds time to think of himself. To him, journalism is not so much a profession as a seductive calling. A living wage and reasonable leisure should be secured to him, said Mr. Brelvi; while Mr. Francis Low suggested an organisation on the lines of the National Union of Journalists in England.

Such social functions have a great value in bringing working journalists together, and we wish other Provinces will follow the lead of Bombay.

The Police and the Public

We often hear a great deal about the excellence and efficiency of the London Police, while visitors to England are invariably impressed by the cordiality that exists between the public and the police there. What is the secret of this cordiality? In a note issued for the guidance of the Calcutta Police, Mr. A. D. Gordon, officiating Commissioner, sets a high standard of duty for all ranks of the service. Every attempt should be made to make all ranks realise that they are the servants of the public and not their masters. By their courtesy and unfailing civility, they must inspire confidence in the public and reciprocal co-operation. What stands in the way of such co-operation

is the overbearing high-handed conduct of the police towards the public, their hectoring, bullying methods, their lack of consideration for the feelings or the purse of others; in short, their forgetfulness of the fact that they are public servants, that the police officer is the servant, not the master of the public.

Pandit Jawaharlal's Release

The sudden release of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in view of the grave condition of his wife's health, has enabled him to fly to Europe to be by her bed-side. We congratulate the authorities on the gracious step they have taken. The Pandit, it will be remembered, was arrested in February 1934 on a charge of sedition and sentenced to two years' simple imprisonment. He is, therefore, released six months before the expiry of the period. Mrs. Nehru has been ailing for years past while her husband has been confined to prison. Apart from physical suffering, the fact of such long separation should have told on her delicate health. May we hope that the presence of her husband by her side may yet act like a tonic and restore her back to health!

A Regrettable Order

We are surprised to read the circular issued by the Registrar of the Allahabad High Court, ordering all District Courts under its jurisdiction to remove the *Leader* from their lists of approved Newspapers to which Court notices and advertisements are given. The grounds for such drastic action are set forth by the Registrar himself. We need not go into the details of the case which may be briefly summarised. A letter from Mr. Kapil Deo Malavya, an advocate, appeared in the *Leader* in June last year. The High Court thought that the letter constituted contempt and notices were issued on the writer, and the editor and publisher of the *Leader*. Leave to appeal to the Privy Council was refused.

But when the case came up before the High Court, both the editor and the publisher of the *Leader* filed affidavits through Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in which to quote the High Court's order:

They candidly state that they had no intention of defaming the High Court and that, had they thought that the article in question contained passages which might be construed as contempt of court, they would not have published it.

It was, therefore, considered unnecessary to inflict punishment upon them and they were let off with a fine of Rs. 100 each towards the expenses incurred by the Government in the proceedings.

When the whole episode had thus closed, a contemporary made a mis-statement of the facts of the case, and Mr. Chintamani as Editor was bound to correct that mis-statement. The correction involved no reflection on the administration of justice and no disrespect to His Majesty's Judges. In saying that he had not apologised, Mr. Chintamani was not withdrawing the sworn affidavit. Under the circumstances, it is unfortunate that the *Leader* should be penalised.

A Great Civilian

Madras honoured itself by honouring the memory of Sir William Wedderburn whose bust was unveiled by the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri at the Gokhale Hall. Mr. G. A. Natesan, Secretary of the Wedderburn Memorial Fund, in requesting Mr. Sastri to unveil the bust, referred to his good fortune to come in intimate contact with Sir William when he came to India to preside over a session of the Congress, and said that Sir William had dedicated himself to the service of India. Indeed, it was the supreme passion of his life, and Mr. Sastri with characteristic terseness recounted some incidents elucidating the fine character of this great Englishman. He recalled how undeterred by the prejudices of his fellow-countrymen and in spite of the unfortunate fact that those dear and near to him, his brother, brother's wife and child were killed in the Indian Mutiny, Sir William joined the Indian Civil Service and continued to take the profoundest interest in India even after retirement.

The Niemeyer Committee

The Government of India Act provides for the allocation of certain resources between the Central and Provincial Legislatures in India to be settled by an Order-in-Council. For this purpose there is need for an independent review of the financial position of the Provinces and the Centre. This inquiry, which the Secretary of State said, was to be undertaken by "an expert body", is now entrusted to one man—Sir Otto Niemeyer, Director of the Bank of England and a prominent British financier. The idea was to obtain expert financial advice free from political or party bias, but the task is one which may well baffle even an international financier of exceptional ability like Sir Otto Niemeyer.

WORLD EVENTS

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

ABYSSINIA

OUR interest this month centres in the Italo-Abyssinian trouble; the clouds are gathering, and the general fear is that war is almost certain. As a background we shall do well to bear in mind certain treaties and international agreements which have been entered into by the interested parties and which, of course, will have a vital place in the negotiations which the League of Nations are undertaking. By the Treaty of Ucciali in 1889, Italy was given privileges in Abyssinia, but because Italy used those privileges for encroachments the treaty was denounced in 1893; Italy made war on Abyssinia in 1896, but was defeated at Adowa and the Peace Treaty of Addis Ababa in 1896 annulled the Treaty of Ucciali and placed Italy at a disadvantage in Ethiopia. Later, however, Britain agreed to give Italy a special sphere of influence over most of Abyssinia with the exception of the Lake Tsana district which Britain retained because it was the head-waters of the Blue Nile.

The 1906 Three-Power Treaty is very important and is still in force; in this treaty the three powers—Britain, France and Italy—guaranteed the *status quo* in Abyssinia as provided in the existing agreements. It states: "In no case shall one of the three Governments interfere in any manner whatsoever except in agreement with the other two" with Ethiopia.

In September 1923, Abyssinia was admitted as a member of the League of Nations. Her case had been considered with reference to whether she could carry out the obligations of membership; the Committee reported that Abyssinia was a sovereign state with a stable government and well-defined frontiers; consequently she was admitted to membership on making a Declaration to the League

with reference to certain questions as the slave trade and arms.

In 1925, Britain and Italy came to an understanding in which certain concessions were given to Italy, while Italy promised not to encroach upon British rights in the Lake Tsana district. In 1928, Abyssinia entered into a pact with Italy in which both Governments pledged themselves not to take any action which would imperil the independence of the other. Article V of the Pact says:

The two Governments agree to submit to a procedure of conciliation or arbitration any questions which may arise between them and which it has not been possible to settle by the usual diplomatic means, without having recourse to the force of arms. By common agreement, Notes shall be exchanged choosing arbitrators.

These agreements throw a good deal of light upon the present situation. Both Great Britain and France are willing to allow Italy large concessions in economic matters in Abyssinia, but now Italy wants political powers also over Abyssinia.

BRITAIN AND JAPAN

For mutual benefit, British and Japanese relations are becoming more happy and conciliatory. On his way to China to advise the Chinese Government on financial and economic matters, Sir Frederick Leith-Ross, the British Chief Economic Advisor, will halt at Tokyo, Japan, and confer with officials on the future of Anglo-Japanese relations. A formal conference sometime later has been suggested to discuss:

1. Japan's special position in China;
2. The reopening of the London trade conversations, which were broken off by Japan's refusal to discuss neutral markets;
3. Naval disarmament.

Japan, although she has done well in foreign trade and the capturing of foreign

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markets during the past two years, is now feeling the competition with other industrial nations and is coming to see that she may benefit herself and her trade by co-operation with Great Britain. But Sir Leith-Ross' main interest is to study and to report upon Chinese finances.

FRENCH AFFAIRS

With the long summer vacation French politics are taking a rest, but the Government is working hard. The first problem of the Laval Ministry was to balance the budget, which it did by retrenchment in Government expenditure and taxation. A batch of decrees was issued dealing with financial matters; at first some trouble was experienced and strikes broke out, but things are much quieter now, and the country is settling down to the belief that the Prime Minister, M. Laval, means business.

A second batch of decrees has been published, which is to assist the financial recovery of the country and is constructive in their nature.

ARAB AND JEW

Palestine is a mandate of Britain, but it is going to be increasingly a difficult responsibility to carry. The Arabs are in the majority and believe the country to be theirs. Britain has upset the Arab's sense of proprietorship by introducing an element of discord in the shape of a policy looking towards Palestine as a national home for the Jews. Britain's policy is to develop self-government and then to withdraw, as she has done in connection with Iraq. As a first instalment towards this policy, Great Britain is proposing a Legislative Council for Palestine, with elected Arab and Jewish members which, it is hoped, will lead to responsible representative government in course of time.

BRITISH LABOUR PARTY

The various political parties in England are organising and preparing their plans for the General Elections which are only a few months ahead. Already Labour circles are beginning to talk about the programme for the next Labour Government. For instance, the Southport Trades Council and Labour Party desires a "stand or fall" programme for the next election with special emphasis on four subjects:

- (1) Immediate nationalization of the land and minerals;
- (2) immediate establishment of a 40-hour working week without reduction in economic circumstances;
- (3) immediate raising of the school-leaving age to 15 years with full maintenance during the last school year;
- (4) general retirement from industry at 60 with a pension of £1 a week for a single person and of £2 for married couples.

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E. Dec. '35.

TRADE AND FINANCE

By "SRIVAS"

INDIAN JUTE INDUSTRY

THE most momentous development of the month under review is the threat that, before long, the Indian jute mill industry will have completely abandoned the scheme of restriction under which it has been working for nearly a decade. By the third week of September, it was clear that the members of the Indian Jute Mill Association, which has all along been an inspiration for every form of regulation of output have, more or less, made up their minds that they would not restrict their output unless such restriction is adhered to by the entire industry. For those who are not acquainted with the history of the Indian jute mill industry or the principal features of its present position, it would doubtless be necessary to recapitulate the salient features of its motive during the pre-war period. It may be easily guessed, even if one were not to know it specifically, that the war meant an abnormal demand for jute products, the manufacture of which would require a very considerable expansion of the plant and other equipment of the jute mills both in India and abroad.

Indian jute mills were, by no means, slow to cease the opportunity of a big turnover thus offered by the war. But when the war ceased, it was found that the natural contraction of the demand meant a great deal of surplus productive capacity and that if production were not restricted, the resulting slump in prices would be ruinous to all the parties concerned. The jute mills, therefore, decided in the middle of 1921 that the members of the Indian Jute Mills' Association should work only 54 hours per week. It was soon found that this restriction was not sufficient. The mills,

therefore, came to a supplementary agreement that they should observe not only the working hours of 54 per week but should also bind themselves not to effect any addition to their plant. Up to the beginning of 1929, the scheme worked smoothly giving the mills a satisfactory margin of profit. But it was found, at the same time, that the restriction observed by the Indian Jute Mills' Association also tended to encourage the entry of new competitors both in India and in foreign countries. When, eventually, the mills became aware of this fact, they decided that an increase of the working hours to 60 per week would have the effect of securing the new entrants off the field. In actual fact, however, this decision turned out to be a boomerang; for the increase in production brought about such a severe decline of prices that not only the new but also the established members of the Indian Jute Mills' Association were severely affected. It was, therefore, decided early in 1930 that the Association Mills should revert to 54 hours from June 30, 1930. Even before this decision could be put into effect, its inadequacy became patent to one and all, and the mills supplemented the original programme with the additional proviso that the mills should be closed for one full working week in each of the months from July 1930, to March 1931. From March 1931, the associated mills decided to make the restriction even more stringent and reduce the working hours to 40 per week and to close down and seal 15 per cent. of the total looms owned by each mill. The tightening of restriction in this manner made it all the more easy for new mills to be established and run at a profit. And as these new mills were established, the Association

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endeavoured to bring them within the scope of the restriction agreement. The position, therefore, became increasingly complicated, and in the middle of 1932, a serious crisis was threatened by the fact that some of the mills gave notice of their intention to resign their membership of the Association. When the difficulty of patching up an acceptable and workable agreement became clear, the Association turned in sheer desperation to the Government asking for statutory sanction of the enforcement of some scheme of restriction of output. Those who have followed the policy of the Government in regard to the coal industry can easily guess the reply of the Government to the jute mills. The Government urge that statutory sanction cannot be given except to a scheme which is demonstrably in the public interest and which is not intended solely to render help to a group of private capitalists and that too such as cannot claim to have done their very best. And the Government added that they could only consider a scheme which included a plan of rationalising the industry with the full consent of the preponderant majority of the members, a set of proposals for the improvement of the condition of labour engaged in the industry and a guarantee of a sufficiently remunerative price for the raw material. On receipt of this communication from the Government, the Indian Jute Mills' Association naturally decided that there was no hope whatsoever of such a scheme being formulated with the consent of all the members and that, therefore, the Indian Jute Mills' Association had no alternative but to resort to free competition. Such a decision is reported to have been arrived at during the middle of the third week of September. The consequences of this process of free and unfettered competition in the Indian jute mill industry can easily be imagined.

THE FINANCIAL INQUIRY

The month under review is also important by the announcement of the Government of India that Sir Otto Niemeyer has been appointed to report on the financial relations between the Centre and the new Provinces. Sir Otto is to be assisted in this enquiry by Mr. V. S. Sundaram of the Indian Finance Department. Mr. Sundaram was associated with the Labours of the Percy Committee as its Secretary, and there can be little doubt that the credit for working out the schemes in detail must go to the permanent official. The appointment of Sir Otto is important as betokening the decision of the Government that this question can be decided more effectively and more efficiently by a single expert than by any Committee, representative or otherwise.

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E, Nov. '35.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

Aug. 24. The United States Neutrality Bill is passed in the House of Representatives.

Aug. 25. Bombay Journalists meet in Conference to discuss problems *re*: their profession.

Aug. 26. A deputation of the Karachi and Lucknow Aero Club wait on the Government of India *re*: Aero-Nautical Academy.

Aug. 27. Half-a-million men participate in the Italian army manœuvres which begin to-day.

Aug. 28. The Provisional draft of the Indo-Burma Trade Agreement is issued for publication.

Aug. 29. Queen Astrid of Belgium is killed in a motor crash in Switzerland.

Aug. 30. The Australian Federal Cabinet opposes League sanctions.

Aug. 31. The Government of India appoint a Committee for revising Central Secretariat procedure.

Sept. 1. Mr. C. F. Andrews leaves for England.

Sept. 2. Sir Henry Craik introduces the Criminal Law Amendment Act (1935) in the Assembly.

Sept. 3. Herr Hitler promulgates decrees imposing further disabilities on the Jews.

Sept. 4. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who is released, leaves for Europe by air.

Sept. 5. The Indian Hockey Team arrive in India after their successful tour in New Zealand.

Sept. 6. The Committee of the Ministers of Indian States meet at Bombay to discuss problems of federation.

Sept. 7. A special committee of five is appointed to act as *liaison* between the League Council and the parties in dispute.

Sept. 8. Senator Huey Long of Louisiana is shot by an unknown assassin.

Sept. 9. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru reaches Badenweiler.

Sept. 10. The first term of the Doon School (Indian Public School) opens.

Sept. 11. Sir Samuel Hoare, the British Foreign Secretary, addresses the League upholding the League Covenant.

Sept. 12. Mr. Lloyd George, speaking at Plymouth, supports Sir S. Hoare's policy as Foreign Secretary in European politics.

Sept. 13. Assembly rejects by 71 votes to 61 the Home Member's motion that the Criminal Law Amendment Bill be taken into consideration.

Sept. 14. The Rt. Hon. V. S. Sastriar unveils the bust of Sir William Wedderburn at the Gokhale Hall, Madras.

Sept. 15. Herr Hitler declares that Germany will not interfere in the affairs of other nations.

Sept. 16. H. E. the Viceroy addresses the Assembly.

—Assembly again rejects the Criminal Law Bill recommended by the Viceroy by 69 votes to 57.

Sept. 17. The session of the Council of State commences.

Sept. 18. The President of the Council of State reads the Viceroy's message certifying Criminal Law Amendment Bill.

Sept. 19. The Bombay Indian Merchants' Chamber protest against the appointment of non-Indian Chairman to the Financial Relations Committee.

Sept. 20. The Public Accounts Committee Report reveals a large deficit in Railway Finances.

Sept. 21. The Italian Cabinet rejects the Geneva proposals.

Sept. 22. The Indian Journalists' Council meets at Calcutta and condemns the Criminal Law Amendment Bill.

Sept. 23. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad on return from Europe advises working the Reforms Act.

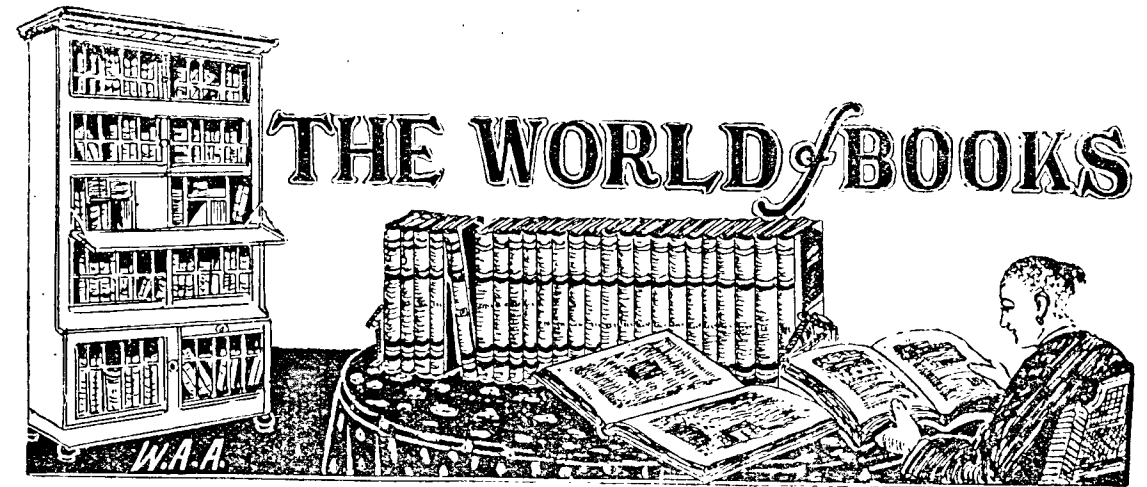
Sept. 24. The Assembly takes up for consideration the Bill for the repeal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908.

Sept. 25. The British Cabinet approves the policy of the Foreign Secretary and the British Delegation to Geneva.

Sept. 26. The Council of State passes the certified Criminal Law Amendment Bill.

—Sir Laurie Hammond, Chairman, Delimitation Committee, arrives at Bombay.

Sept. 27. Many Indian newspapers suspend publication as a protest against Criminal Law Amendment Act.



NEW TREASURE: A Study of the Psychology of Love. By the Earl of Lytton. George Allen and Unwin, London. 5 Shillings.

The new treasure is the recognition of love as the divine instinct that guides and underlies all human conduct. "This is the new principle which Homer Lane taught his pupils to find in the teachings of Christ." The antithesis between this and the religion, or legalism, of morality is sharply insisted on in the earlier part of the book specially. The goal of the religion of love is personal and social happiness and well-being actually felt and enjoyed in this life; that of morality is goodness and reward in a life beyond. The latter has, therefore, necessarily to rest on dogma, and the religious acts prescribed can have only a symbolic significance appealing to the intellect. The religion of love—best understood as the fundamental attitude which sees divine purpose in all human striving, sin included—bases itself upon the natural instincts, upon intuition, the unconscious mind. The moralist judges and condemns sin; he can at best pity the sinner. "The lover seeks the reformation of the sinner by revealing to him the unconscious divine purpose which prompted his sin. . . . by sympathy with the

craving for happiness and by showing him better ways in which it can find expression."

The book draws its inspiration from two sources: the direct and simple teaching of Christ embodied in the Sermon on the Mount and the technique of psycho-analysis as employed by Lane. Though using Freudian technique to bring out the unconscious, Lane differed from other psycho-analysts in this that he regarded all "abnormalities as evidence of the divine nature in man in revolt against the false conception of God presented to him by moral authorities". Some remarkable cases of the cure effected by Lane are described in the last chapter. The author is convinced that "Christian Love, if rightly understood and courageously practised, would better achieve all objects aimed at by morality, and at the same time avoid the evil consequences which can be shown to accompany the enforcement of morality".

The earnestness to get to the fundamentals and the fervour pervading the whole book must make strong appeal to all interested in religion. That it avoids metaphysics and system is far from being a defect in a work which is expressly meant to be general and persuasive.

GUJARAT AND ITS LITERATURE. By Mr. Kanaiyalal M. Munshi, B.A., LL.B. With a Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi. Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd.

This remarkable book full of light and life is the result of the indomitable industry which Mr. Kanaiyalal Munshi, the talented author, a busy lawyer and an active politician, has brought to bear upon the subject. It is interesting to note that the book was written mainly during the two and a half years the author spent in jail as a result of his active participation in the recent civil disobedience movement. Mr. A. B. Dhruva, the Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Hindu University of Benares, himself a well known Gujarati scholar, speaking of Mr. Munshi's work says: "In his work the literary critic is not lost in the historian; he has paid equal attention to the historical background and the literary figures." Mahatma Gandhi to whom this book has been appropriately dedicated, testifies that Mr. Munshi's survey of the Gujarati literature has made fascinating reading for him.

Amongst the many interesting features of this publication, we should draw attention to the pen portraits of the many Gujarati writers who have enriched that literature. And it is but just that a book, which purports to be a survey of Gujarati literature, should have a chapter giving a critical account of the various books written by Mr. Munshi himself. And this task has been well done by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala. We congratulate Mr. Munshi on his great work. It is hardly possible within the brief space at our disposal to do anything like adequate justice to the various topics so well handled by the author. That we must reserve for a later issue.

THE RIG VEDA AS LAND-NAMA-BOOK. By Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. Luzac & Co., London. 3s. 6d.

The name of this essay is taken from Icelandic *land-nama* which means Book of the Taking of Land. The Rig Veda is here considered as a book not concerned with events in time, but with the entering in of time from the halls of the outer heaven, that is with things 'in the beginning', the beginning being not an event in time but only in the logical order of thought. History is held to be an endless recurrence of typical patterns of thought and life, and Rig Veda as a symbolical record of such patterns, a metaphysical formulation in accordance with a logical order of thought. Whatever the reader may think of the validity of this approach to the Veda, Coomaraswamy is aware that to some students it will seem to be merely a fantastic theory, his discussion of the Vedic terms he has chosen for study and interpretation—Arya, Krsti, Natt, Yama, etc.—is very interesting, and there is much recondite learning in the notes that accompany the essay which, on the whole, is a brief and stimulating study on the unity of culture patterns in India and outside.

THE UNIVERSITIES IN INDIA. By Prof. P. Seshadri, M.A. Oxford University Press.

This is a reprint of the brilliant review of university education in India originally published in the Year Book of Education 1935. Prof. Seshadri recounts the progress of education in the country since the universities were established, and reviews the results achieved in different branches of knowledge by the respective universities with their affiliated schools and colleges.

THE LIVING TEACHING OF VEDANTA. By K. C. Varadachari, M.A., Ph.D. The Modern Book Mart, Madras. As. 12.

Integration is life; division is death. That is the living teaching of the Vedanta. Advaita realised this truth in recognising the single unique individual who is higher than and a synthesis of his various states; Visishtadvaita went a stage further and integrated the individual with the universal self in the relation of body and soul; but it failed to realise the important role of this physical world in the creative adventure and longed for the transcendence of it in Vaikuntha; Madhva waged war against this unprofitable other-worldliness and insisted on the integration being effected here and now by due observance of Svadharma. The central core of the teachings of the three Vedantins is thus essentially sound, though the followers have more often than not stressed the unessentials and distorted the teachings. Such is the theme of this booklet. Dr. Varadachari writes with conviction and vigour.

"A MINOR AUGUSTAN" BEING THE LIFE AND WORKS OF GEORGE LORD LYTTTELTON, 1709-1773. By A. Vittal Rao, M.A., Ph.D. The Book Company, Calcutta.

George Lord Lyttelton was a minor poet included at the end in Johnson's "Lives of the Poets". The present book gives us in a well printed volume details of Lyttelton, which may be interesting for the sidelight thrown on contemporary times.

DEATH IN FOUR LETTERS. By Francis Beeding. Hodder and Stoughton. 7s. 6d.

Francis Beeding is a master of sensational fiction in a style quite his own. This latest story from his pen grips the attention of the reader from first to last.

KISSING THE ROD. By P. G. H. Fender. Chapman and Hall Ltd., London.

Two people who have captained Surrey in their own days have come out with two monographs on the test match series played in England in 1934. We are now concerned with Fender's and not Jardine's book. It is Fender's thesis that the test series was lost in the Council Chamber rather than on the field of play.

One aspect of the tests assumed an importance to which it was not legitimately entitled, and that was cricket politics. England did not field her best side in the 1934 series. Jardine who is very rightly described by Fender as 'the only English County Captain worth his place in a test side for his batting'; regretted his inability to play in the tests. Also, Larwood, the great fast bowler, did not participate in the series. Even Clarke, the fast left-hander who actually played, was seen bowling to a skeleton of his usual leg-side field in the fifth and the most important test match at the Oval.

The book will be a valuable addition to any Sportsman's library. The book is an impartial and unbiassed attempt of an expert critic to depict the story of the 1934 tests between England and Australia.

THE STORY OF THE WORLD FOR YOUNG PEOPLE. By Mabel Cleverly Paine. Frederick Muller Ltd., London.

This is the first volume of a series of three, in which the author has made a successful attempt to present in sequence a story of the nations of the world in language so simple that boys and girls in their teens can understand. We await with interest the succeeding volumes.

Hyderabad

HYDERABAD'S LEGAL ADVISER

Mr. Walter C. Monckton, K.C., Hyderabad's Chief Legal Adviser in constitutional matters, has now come to this country on a short unofficial visit. Advantage has been taken of this visit to review the work so far done in connection with the Act and other outstanding questions, while opportunity has also been taken to discuss as far as is possible at this stage the ground that still remains to be covered. Some prominent Ministers of Indian States have also met him for consultation.

It may be added in this connection that it was largely due to the advice of Mr. Monckton that the Government of India Bill, as originally drafted, was ultimately amended in a manner satisfactory to the generality of States. His share in the amendment of vital clauses of the Bill, such as clauses 6, 8, 45 and 124, was predominant, and His Exalted Highness' Government have deeply appreciated the manner in which he fulfilled the onerous task entrusted to him of advising the State on issues of such consequence and importance.

THE NIZAM'S SILVER JUBILEE

A magnificent durbar, planned on the lines of those of the old Moghul Emperors, will be the great event of the celebrations during the Silver Jubilee and will attract 20,000 guests, says the *Sunday Express* (London).

The greatest event will be the fight of 100 massive State elephants.

Besides hundreds of Indian princes, representatives of the Viceroy, and Europeans, there will be visitors from Moslem countries like Persia, Afghanistan, Turkey, Arabia, and Iraq.

Baroda

VILLAGE PANCHAYATS IN BARODA

Reviewing the working of village *panchayats* in the State for the last year, the Member in charge of Local Self-Government in his report says:

For the total number of 3,067 villages in the State, there are 2,175 *panchayats* as against 2,122, showing an increase of 53 over that of the last year mainly accounted for by the creation of 64 new *panchayats* in the Baroda and Amreli districts. The Government think that the system of Union *panchayats* for groups of small villages was newly introduced and the people would like to have more definite information regarding the working of these bodies.

The village *panchayats* spent Rs. 3,25,349 during the year as against Rs. 2,43,951 in the preceding year mainly under the heads roads, wells, tanks and other miscellaneous works. The increase in the expenditure is attributed to a definite advance in the useful activities of the institutions and special facilities offered to the bodies by the Government for the execution of the works.

THE YUVARAJA OF BARODA

Shrimant Pratapsingh Rao Raje Gaekwad, the Heir-Apparent of Baroda, visited the village of Sundarpura in company with some high officials of the State and discussed the problems and difficulties of the villagers, who are heavily indebted to the Co-operative Credit Societies and are unable to pay their instalments owing to bad seasons and low prices of agricultural produce. The villagers complained of the loss caused to them by wild animals from the State Game Preserve and suggested the means which would ensure the safety of their crops without encroaching upon the State Preserve.

Mysore

CEMENT INDUSTRY IN MYSORE

A proposal is before the Mysore Government for starting cement manufacture in the State. A note prepared in this connection by the Secretary to Government in the Development Department favours the proposal and names Bhadravathi (where the Mysore Iron Works are located) as the most suitable centre for cement manufacture.

It is estimated that a capital cost of Rs. 5,50,000 and a working capital of Rs. 2,25,000 will be required to establish a factory capable of producing 60 tons a day and that the cost of production of cement at such a factory will work out at about Rs. 25 per ton after allowing for all charges.

A detailed scheme has been referred to a Committee of the Board of Industries and Commerce.

MYSORE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

A strong plea for an economic recovery scheme and the appointment of a central agency for organising actively the basic industries required in India, with a view to increasing the purchasing power of the people, was put forward by Mr. R. Sundaram Aiyar, President of the Mysore Chamber of Commerce, in his address at the nineteenth annual meeting of the Chamber, held recently. Mr. Aiyar, while welcoming the Indian Federation, urged the abolition of the subsidy and the retrocession of the Civil and Military Station of Bangalore to the Mysore Durbar.

EDUCATION IN MYSORE

In opening the Children's Week Festival recently organised by the Bangalore City School Board, Mr. S. P. Rajagopalachari, Second Member-in-Council, said that elementary education was at present under the control of a specially constituted School Board, and the main object of such a system

was to give wider scope to local education authorities for the development of elementary education on broad lines. Any suggestion to go back on the existing arrangements was undesirable from the point of educational advancement.

Mr. Rajagopalachari said that in view of the lack of funds, it was necessary to adopt a policy of slow expansion and appealed to the public for help in the matter of providing playground and midday meals to children.

RAILWAY EXTENSION IN MYSORE

It is learnt that the Mysore Government have decided to extend the Arosalu-Anandapuram railway line to Sagar at a cost of Rs. 11 lakhs.

Rewa

TRADE IN REWA

In order to encourage further the export of Rewa-made articles, the Maharaja of Rewa has virtually abolished the export duty on certain articles of perfumery, cloth, brassware, blankets, ironware, etc., manufactured in the State.

For some time past the demand for these articles has been increasing and the heavy reduction in the export duty is expected to give a great stimulus to this already expanding trade.

Rampur

EDUCATION IN RAMPUR

The Rampur State has granted annual scholarships amounting to Rs. 6,109 against Rs. 4,980 last year to Rampur students, who go for higher education in different Universities and Colleges. It will be recalled that education in Rampur up to High School is given free, and the State also grants scholarships to poor and deserving boys in school classes, and the High School results are very satisfactory.

Travancore

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN TRAVANCORE

"Travancore spent a larger percentage of the total revenue on education than any other State or Province in India," said Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan, Director of Public Instruction, speaking on a token cut motion in connection with demand for Education in the Travancore Legislative Assembly.

The Travancore Government, he added, recognised that primary education was the first charge on educational funds. The State spent 58.3 per cent. of the total educational expenditure on primary education. Over 99 per cent. of the expenditure on primary education was borne by the State in Travancore, while in Madras, the figure was 50 per cent., in Bombay 61 per cent., and in Bengal 33 per cent.

AGRICULTURAL BOARD

The Finance Committee of the Travancore Legislature, presided over by the Dewan, have recommended the formation of an Agricultural Board, consisting of the Director of Agriculture, the Veterinary Superintendent, the Bio-Chemist, the Economic Botanist, the Mycologist, all the Agricultural Inspectors and Veterinary Inspectors, five members each from the Sri Mulam Assembly and the Sri Chithra State Council, and five members to be nominated by the Government. A sum of Rs. 500 towards the Travelling Allowance of the members has been included in the Budget expenditure for the next official year. The Board will advise the Government in all agricultural matters.

Indore

HOLKAR'S BIRTHDAY GIFT

By an order issued by His Highness the Maharaja Holkar, on the occasion of His Highness' birthday, the remaining half of the emergency cut in the salaries and allowance of State officers has been restored as from 1st September 1935. The first half of the cut was restored last year.

On the occasion of His birthday, His Highness the Maharaja Holkar has passed an order further liberalising the constitution of the Indore Legislative Council. Now half of the members will be elected by various constituencies and the other half will be nominated. Besides the powers to pass laws, resolutions may be moved and representations made for the consideration of the Government by a member of the Council at its meeting. The Council will be addressed by the Prime Minister every year during the winter session.

By another order, His Highness has granted a remission of land revenue to the extent of Rs. 75,285-4-3 and has ordered the release of ten prisoners from the Central Jail, Indore.

General

THE STATE MINISTERS' CONFERENCE

The States Ministers' Conference convened by Sir Akbar Hydari met at Bombay on September 6, at Nizam's Palace. Mr. Walter Monckton reviewed the work done during the last two years in connection with the Government of India Act. Now that the Bill had been placed in the Statute-Book and the Instruments of Accession not yet ready, there was not any serious discussion.

It is understood that the draft of the Instruments of Accession will be circulated to the States by Government sometime in October. Mr. Monckton hoped all of them would meet again and join in the deliberations over it.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

South Africa

ANTI-INDIAN MOVE

Time was when Indians in Maritzburg had 600 votes. To-day they have only 250. Consequently they have not the least influence over the Municipal affairs. The Municipality had in 1930 made a by-law, strongly opposed by the Natal Indian Congress (Maritzburg Branch), restricting hawkers and pedlars from trading in certain areas. That by-law has been recently amended so as to extend the area of prohibition and to restrict the number of pedlars to 250 which is the present number in Maritzburg. Now it is the Indians who have for the past 70 years been the growers and distributors of fruits and vegetables at Maritzburg. And the by-law laying restrictions on pedlars and hawkers, though not mentioning Indians by name, will as a matter of fact kill the livelihood of the Indians, as the President of the Indian Protest Meeting observed. The restriction would affect Indian women, who, in most cases, were looking after the family because their husbands were out of employment, their displacement having been caused by the White labour policy. The position is, therefore, serious. Cumulatively it is a treble injustice: loss of Municipal franchise, restriction of the field of employment due to the White labour policy, and lastly, an attack on even the one means of livelihood open to the Indians.

INDIAN CHURCH IN TRANSVAAL

The foundation-stone of what is to be the first Indian Christian Church in the Transvaal was laid recently at Vrededorp by Lady Dalrymple. The Church, which is in the Anglican Communion, will be known as St. Anthony's Indian Church and will be in charge of the

Rev. B. L. E. Sigamoney. A message sent by General Smuts on the occasion of the laying of the foundation-stone reads as follows: "I send my sincere congratulations and best wishes for the spiritual welfare of the Indian community." The Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt. Rev. G. H. Clayton, who conducted the service, said that although the Church was primarily for worship by Indian Christians, all Christians would be heartily welcomed at the services.

Ceylon

INDIANS IN CEYLON

After a two-day debate, the amendment seeking to reduce the Ceylon Government's grant to the Indian Immigration Fund from Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 15,000 was lost and the original vote was passed by the State Council on August 30, by 31 against 6. From all sides of the House, there was strong condemnation of the policy of recruiting labour from India.

Mr. Peri Sundaram, Minister for Labour, Industries and Commerce, explaining the objects of the Immigration Fund, said that it was used to recruit assisted labour and the contribution of the Government was the result of an agreement with the Indian Government and could not, therefore, be withdrawn by a stroke of the pen. He asked the House not to mix up the question of contribution with the policy of employment.

Dewan Bahadur I. X. Pereira (nominated) reminded the House that the Government of India years ago prohibited the immigration of Indian labour into any country, but in deference to the requests of Ceylon and Malaya, the Government of India had made an exception in the case of these two countries.

E. Africa

TRADE COMMISSIONER IN E. AFRICA

Mr. C. F. Andrews has issued the following statement to the Press :

"A great deal of the difficulty of the present situation in Zanzibar and East Africa might have been avoided if a false economy had not been exercised some time ago when the post of Trades Commissioner in East Africa was cut out of the Indian budget. If this cut had not been made, the clove trade in Zanzibar might still have been kept in Indian hands and the new policy of economic marketing and monopoly in Kenya might have been framed with full regard to Indian interests.

"As it was, with no accredited representative of the Government of India on the spot, the expenses of a Special Commission to Zanzibar and Kenya had recently to be incurred after much of the damage to Indian trade had already been done. Even now, this error in judgment might be corrected by a first grade Indian Trades Commissioner being appointed. I believe that a motion to this effect at such a critical time would be carried almost unanimously in the Assembly, if only the Government of India were ready financially to support it."

INDIANS IN ZANZIBAR

Sir G. S. Bajpai, Member-in-charge, Education, Health and Lands, informed the Assembly that the position of Indians in Zanzibar continued to engage the attention of the Government of India.

An regards the Zanzibar land alienation decree, a Commission was appointed by the Government of Zanzibar to report on the problem of agricultural indebtedness in the Protectorate. Its report had been submitted and was being considered by the Colonial Government,

Fiji

INDIANS IN FIJI

In answer to a question in the Assembly, Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai said that under the Fiji Native Lands Ordinance, 1905, the consent of the Governor in Council was necessary for the lease of land by Fijian landlords to all non-Fijians, Indian or European.

The Regulations relating to conditions for such consent being granted, contained certain provisions which discriminated against Indians in the matter of the area of land and the term of the lease, but these were deleted by the Ordinance of 1935.

The Government of India made inquiries on the actual working of the Ordinance and the relevant Regulations.

The question of what further action was necessary would be decided when the result of these inquiries became available.

E. Indies

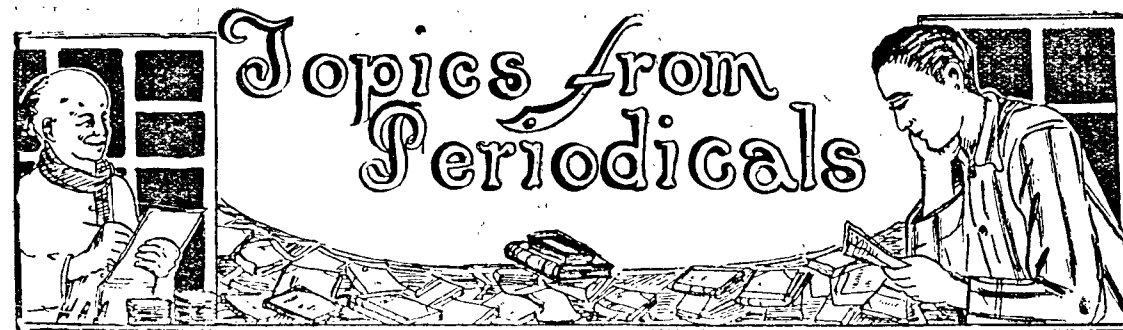
IMMIGRATION TO DUTCH EAST INDIES

The Government of the Dutch East Indies, it is understood, will shortly introduce legislation restricting Indian immigration to Java.

Among the proposed regulations is one to enhance the passport fee from 150 *guilders* to 300, and the applicant for the passport has to specify the nature of the trade he proposes to engage in and the particular place where he wishes to trade. Changing of trade or place will mean a breach of the immigration regulations involving a fine (a heavy one) and also imprisonment.

INDIANS OVERSEAS. By Dr. Lanka Sundaram, M.A., Ph.D. The book is a reliable account of the conditions of Indians settled in various parts of the world. Re. 1-8. To Subs. of the "Indian Review", Re. 1-4.

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



INDIA UNDER THE NEW CONSTITUTION

The *Twentieth Century* for September opens with an elaborate discussion of the New Constitution from the pen of the Marquis of Lothian. The Marquis apparently is not much perturbed by the cold reception accorded to it by the Indian public. He recognises that it has evoked no jubilation in India. But he goes on to observe :

It has been characteristic of the birth of nearly all the great constitutions which have stood the test of time. So unpopular was the work of the Philadelphia Convention that for long it was doubtful whether the American Constitution, which Gladstone once called "the greatest political instrument ever struck off by the hand of man at a single time," would come into effect at all. The South African Constitution was only approved amid bitter criticism and was almost wrecked at the last moment, because neither Cape Colony nor the Transvaal would concede the capital to the other. It was much the same in Australia. These constitutions were unpopular at their inception because, as in the case of the India Constitution, almost every line was a compromise between conflicting interests and ideas, leaving no party fully satisfied or enthusiastic and everybody uncertain of the future.

On the other hand, observes the Marquis, the constitutions which have represented the triumph of a party or political theory and were enacted amid popular acclamation—like the Turkish Constitution of 1909 or the

Chinese Parliament of 1912 or the Weimer Constitution—have mostly disappeared.

Though the Marquis has attempted to justify the Constitution imposed on the country, he is not unaware of the main grounds of opposition to it in India.

Objection to federation with the Princes ; objection to the Communal Award ; objection that the new constitution unduly entrenches the vested interests of property ; and the objection that the Act leaves India so fettered with safeguards that responsible progress on her own lines will be impossible.

Admitting the inadequacy of the New Act to satisfy Indian demands, the Marquis urges that those demands could yet be realised only by working the new constitution. Irresponsible obstruction, inside or outside the legislature, will only retard the realisation of India's aspiration for Dominion status.

In my view constitutional co-operation in putting through a constructive programme (perhaps as often in constitutional "opposition" as in office) is the surest—indeed the only—road to communal alleviation, to the solution of the still unsolved problems of the constitution itself, to economic advance, and also the quickest road to full Dominion status.

The success of responsible government everywhere, concludes the Marquis, depends far more on the moral courage, the public spirit, and the integrity of the politicians than on the terms of the constitution itself.

EDUCATIONAL REORGANISATION

Writing under the caption "Need for Educational Reorganisation" in the pages of the *Educational India*, Prof. K. G. Warty draws pointed attention to the enormous waste of energy and money under our present educational system. "In the first place," he says, "we notice that the policy of devolution of management to local bodies has been carried too far in primary education beyond any system of devolution."

Secondly, more time than is necessary is wasted in imparting education to the pupils, and the writer points out that

in Bombay we find that a pupil requires not less than twelve years of instruction to reach the Matriculation stage. The Hesketh Committee appointed by the Bombay Government have clearly shown that it is possible to complete this course in ten years as is done in some other provinces. There is a lot of duplication of studies throughout the system. It is advisable to have a continuous course of primary education for seven years, English being taught as an optional subject in the higher primary stage. The secondary education should have a four years' course preparing for the Matriculation of the University. There should be a public examination at the end of the primary stage, and those only who pass that examination should be allowed to continue their course in secondary schools. The Matriculation should be the school leaving as well as the Entrance examination. Separate school with separate courses in industrial and technical education should be started, and Universities should award diplomas at the end of each such course. The diplomas that are at present awarded by the Government should all be incorporated as University diplomas to be taken after the Matriculation, which every student who wishes to prosecute his studies in any branch of line should pass. It is time that the Government and the Universities co-operate in this matter of reorganisation and adjustment. The Matriculation standard should immediately be raised and the University course may be of three

years' duration. If measures are adopted somewhat on the lines suggested above, it should be possible for the Government to save a huge amount for spending it on the spread of education among the people of this country. Everything is possible if there is a will behind it.

THE CASE FOR ITALY

The Italian standpoint in regard to the dispute with Abyssinia is presented with considerable force in the pages of the *English Review* for August. The writer Luigi Villari is evidently anxious to prove to Englishmen that Italy to-day is doing nothing more than what England herself was doing in earlier centuries when the British colonies were established. The Ual Ual incident and Abyssinian inability to control frontier tribes are not, therefore, the sole reason for the Italian adventure in Africa. The real cause and justification for Italy's action are set forth by the writer:

The British view is that Italy's future action might jeopardize the prestige of the League and the system of collective security, and if in the past Great Britain did acquire vast colonial possessions often by violence, to-day this is no longer possible because the League is there to prevent such action. The Italian retort is that it is all very well for Great Britain to invoke the League now when she has secured all she wants by flourishing the Covenant in order to prevent others from doing what she did so successfully in the past, she lays herself open to the charge of hypocrisy using the League as a sort of policeman to stand guard over a *status quo*, which is exceptionally favourable to her but exceptionally unfavourable to other countries.

So much for England and Italy. Has it ever occurred to either what Abyssinia herself will have to say about the exploitation of her own territories by other powers?

WORKERS IN SOVIET RUSSIA

"If the Russian experiment succeeds, it is bound to have a tremendous world effect," writes Major D. Graham Pole in the September issue of the *Modern Review*. One of the most conspicuous things in Russia to-day is the wonderful cleanliness of the streets, due mainly to the co-operation of the workers.

In Russia, as you pass along the street, you see receptacles for litter at the side of the wall at intervals of 30 or 50 yards. Everyone deposits cigarette ends, cigarette boxes, waste paper, etc., in these receptacles and anyone seen throwing about waste paper or litter is fined one *ruble*. But so great is the sense of each for all and all for each that we saw no litter whatever and were amazed at the cleanliness of the streets and thoroughness with which the people responded to the official instructions about the disposal of litter. If this were usual in this or in any other great capital, it would mean the saving of hundreds of thousands of pounds annually in the bills for cleaning.

The workers in the Soviet Russia are better fed, better clothed and more happy than their brethren in other parts of the world. Describing the condition of the workers, Major Graham Pole says:

Every place of ground that can be turned into a flower garden and rest-place for the people is made use of. Building is being actively carried on to provide houses and flats for the workers. Many of these flats have every up-to-date comfort. They are well built, well finished, and all have large gardens and play-grounds for children. The care of the children is particularly noticeable. Both men and women work, and sex discriminations have as far as possible been done away with. On her way to work a mother can leave her children at a

creche where there are baths, beds, toys and games, with doctors and nurses constantly in attendance. The children are well cared for and well fed and the mothers on finishing their work can call and take their children home. Even the railway stations are provided with creches, where tired mothers can deposit their children and have them well looked after while they are waiting for their trains. We saw a number of children in the grounds of one of the palaces with the nurses in attendance. Every child is medically examined before being admitted, to make sure that it has no disease which may be conveyed to the other children. They look happy and well cared for.

THE ASHRAMS

In the course of an editorial note on "Ashrams: New and Old," the *Indian Social Reformer* says:

"The term Ashrama in its original sense was a stage in an individual's life. There were four Ashramas prescribed for the twice born—the student, the householder, the religious recluse, and the *sannyasin*. The Ashrama as a group or corporation was of Buddhist origin, though it was adopted into post-Buddhist Hinduism under limitations. Buddha had infinite trouble in maintaining a reasonable standard of order and propriety in these institutions; again and again public resentment forced him to add and alter the rules prescribed for their conduct. The decline and fall of Buddhism in this country was ultimately due to the monasteries which became asylums of men and women who preferred their security to the uncertainties of the householder's life. A state of society in which public duties can be fulfilled only by the renunciation, wholly or partially, of family life, lacks the essentials of stability and the Ashram system, except perhaps as a transitional shift, is no satisfactory substitute."

PRISON LIFE IN JAPAN

The *Bombay Law Journal* for the current month has an interesting account of Keimusho or the Prison System in Modern Japan. The old system founded on retribution is being rapidly replaced by a system founded on educational principles. Cells are both solitary and associate. The solitary cells are of two kinds: those for use only at night and those for continuous use.

"As a rule, prisoners when first received are kept continuously for the first six months in solitary cells in order to give them time for reflection. Prisoners who are thought to have a pernicious influence on others are kept continuously in solitary cells. The solitary cell arranged for constant use is required to have an air space of not less than 18 cubic meters, while the one in use only during the night need not have an air space of more than 15 cubic meters.

An associate cell usually holds from 8 to 12 persons. The air space of such a cell must be at least nine cubic meters per one person. Each cell is provided with scullery and lavatory and furnished with (1) Rice bowl, chopsticks and a dish. (2) Tooth-brush, dentifrice, soap, toilet paper and towel. (3) Desk, water-basin, broom and house cloth. (4) Prison magazine, Sutra of Buddhism, the Bible, and a catalogue of the books in the prison library.

Any prisoner who behaves himself well is allowed to have a flower-pot, portraits of his wife, children and parents, and a framed picture in his cell. Prisoners are allowed to borrow books from the prison library. A certain well-known anarchist in Japan used to begin the study of a new language every time he was confined in prison. In this way he mastered several languages, because of the quiet he enjoyed during his various incarcerations. His saying: 'Each time in

prison, one language' is famous among radicals in Japan."

The inmates are allowed to receive visits from their relatives and write to them and to their acquaintances. The number of interviews and letters written is limited. Prison chaplains, besides preaching to inmates both personally and in body, also interest themselves in their educational and personal affairs.

All kinds of work are taught, and prisoners are given a sum of money as reward for their work. In fine, it is pointed out that a prisoner who has behaved himself and worked well, may on the day of his release have to his credit several hundreds of *yen*, with which capital he may be able to commence a business of his own.

CO-EDUCATION

The *Indian Messenger* of Calcutta writes:

"India has not witnessed any boisterous suffragist movement like the one in England, but the result has been the same throughout the world: the hope and expectation of the emancipation of women. It does not matter whether woman has truly won her independence or not. It is enough that the expectation has grown in her mind and that changes her attitude towards life. We do not say that every woman demands equality with man. Nor do we say that in the particular class of which we are speaking, the expectation is of the same type. All we say is this: there is a good deal of chance of woman's conduct being misjudged, because of the obvious fact that she is putting over-emphasis on her emancipation. There is nothing peculiar about it. Co-education has similarly no inherent wickedness in it. On the other hand, the more there is social intercourse between the two sexes, the fuller and better each life becomes."

THE NEW BRITISH CABINET

Commenting on the personnel of the new Cabinet of Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Harold J. Laski writes in the *Nation* of New York that it is not very different from the old. One thing is certain, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's political career is finished.

As a general election cannot now be long postponed, and as Mr. MacDonald is pretty certain to be beaten if he fights Seaham again, it is a reasonable political speculation that he will no longer play any important part in the nation's affairs.

Then there is universal relief, he says, that Sir John Simon ceases to be Foreign Secretary, "but a price has had to be paid for his retirement. He has taken over the Home Office". The Colonial Office has gone to Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, the Premier's son. Of him, says Prof. Laski:

The latter, who is thirty-three, is a pleasant young man of no particular ability, whose sudden elevation may be taken as a kindly way—typical of Mr. Baldwin—of easing the ex-Premier's retirement by soothing his paternal feelings. To preserve the balance of parties, this has involved the retirement of Lord Sankey from the Woolsack. It is a fairly open secret that Mr. Baldwin was loath to let him go and that Lord Hailsham, the new Chancellor, was also eager for Lord Sankey's retention. But Mr. Ramsay MacDonald made no effort to keep him, and with his retirement the best reforming Chancellor of modern times probably disappears from public life. His retirement is another instance of Mr. MacDonald's curious inability to be loyal to those who have rendered him devoted service.

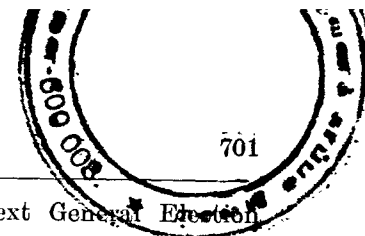
In a sense the Baldwin cabinet may be said to be a stop-gap cabinet. For soon "the able younger group of the Tories" must

come in. And at the next General Election as things stand, it is pretty certain

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald will disappear and probably his son also; and since nearly all the National Labour members will lose their seats, including I think Mr. Thomas, there will be a decisive case against the present distribution of offices. If National Labour members go, the pressure for ending the whole experiment of coalition government will be strong.

Mr. Laski is not impressed by the achievements of the National Government. The experiment, according to him, has been a failure, and it only bears out the general historic lesson that in the long run Coalition Government always redounds to the interest of the Tory Party.

In the four years of his Coalition Premiership, Mr. MacDonald has simply managed to betray that Labour Party, which made his whole career possible without even earning the respect of his new allies. Under his rule the interests of property have been able to consolidate themselves as at no time since the War. Blow after blow has been struck at the strength and prestige of the League. The Disarmament Conference has been reduced to a pathetic nullity. Economic nationalism has been gravely intensified by Ottawa and the new protective system. Education and the social services have suffered seriously. India has been given a constitution which no political Indian of prominence even pretends to defend. Anglo-Irish relations are worse than at any time since the treaty. A tacit encouragement has been offered to Hitlerite Germany, of which its masters have taken full advantage, to the detriment of any possible hope of security—and therefore recovery—in the next few years. This is the price we have had to pay for Mr. MacDonald's decision of 1931. He protests whenever he speaks that he is still a Socialist. His former associates may be pardoned for their conviction that they are now entitled to doubt whether there was ever a sense in which he was a Socialist at all.



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ECONOMIC PLANNING IN FEDERAL INDIA

In a lengthy review of Sir M. Visvesvaraya's book on "Planned Economy"* contributed to the July number of the *Asiatic Review*, Mr. R. W. Brock, late editor of the *Capital*, Calcutta, says that if all the manufactured goods now entering the Indian market were entirely excluded in favour of Indian manufacture, the transfer of production would not solve the unemployment problem. At the most it would involve the employment of under a million new workers at the price of the almost complete elimination of the oversea markets for India's surplus produce. Mr. Brock continues:

There is no possibility of Indian industries consuming all the raw materials now exported. To mention only one example in order to enable the Indian cotton mills to utilize all the raw cotton now exported, it would be necessary for them to double their output; in other words to produce and sell 6,000,000,000 yards of piece-goods instead of 3,000,000,000 yards. The fundamental hindrance to larger industrial production in India is, in reality, the low *per capita* consumption of manufactured goods, Indian or imported, and that hiatus can be removed only by increasing the purchasing capacity of the rural population—a problem Sir M. Visvesvaraya almost entirely ignores. The purchasing power of the rural population, it is necessary to reiterate, is determined largely by their ability to find oversea markets for their surplus produce at profitable prices; and in that respect, the incidence of the world depression has been disastrous. Indian exports unfortunately are, moreover, now menaced not only by narrowing markets but by the increasing recourse to scientific substitutes for natural products. At this stage, therefore, there appears to be strong justification for the view that the

primary aim of Indian fiscal policy should be, not a further increase in protectionist tariffs, but the rehabilitation of the Indian export trade in the interests of Indian cultivators and of Indian and oversea industries alike.

Mr. Brock is of opinion that a large amount of planning is in any circumstances unavoidable. Indian opinion has a traditional bent in favour of State leadership in promoting every form of economic enterprise and, under the new constitution, this desire, concludes the writer, will probably find full expression, not inconceivably culminating in some form of State socialism. If so, it will only be necessary to build on the foundations already laid by the British Administration.

"THE FOUR ARTS ANNUAL"

The spirit of renaissance in the world of art and letters in India to-day has taken one more incarnation now in the form of the "Four Arts Annual". (Edited by Haren Ghosh, Calcutta. Rs. 4. Shillings 8.) The journal is published annually from Calcutta and devoted to studying and giving expression to each aspect of this renaissance. The ultimate aim is declared in the Editorial Note as the achieving of the cultural unity of mankind.

This costly Annual got up in art paper and with profuse multi-coloured pictures, covers the subjects of Literature, Music, Drama, Dance, Moving Picture, Painting and allied arts in the forty articles filling its 24 pages. Except for a few, the articles are mostly of a general nature, intended to rouse the interest of the average lay reader. "God or No God," however, by Mahatmaji, is a masterpiece in five hundred words. Arabindo's two letters on "Literary Criticism", and Dilip Kumar Roy's article on "Some aspects of classical music" are two more contributions that must be mentioned.

INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM

India's constitutional status has become a much discussed subject both in England and in India since the publication of the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report on Indian Constitutional Reform. Mr. Tripurari Chakravarti, writing in the August Number of the *Calcutta Review*, clarifies the facts connected with this question. He says that India under the Morley-Minto Constitution of 1909 remained absolutely in the position of tutelage and the Morley-Minto reforms, merely tried, as the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report have pointed out, to blend the principle of autocracy derived from Moghul Emperors with the principle of constitutionalism derived from the British Crown and Parliament. The system of Government was frankly a constitutional autocracy and it became all the more intelligible in view of Lord Morley's disclaimer: "If it could be said that this chapter of reforms led directly or indirectly to the establishment of a parliamentary system in India, I, for one, would have nothing at all to do with it."

One of the results of the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 was to speed up the political developments of many countries in the world, and it speeded up enormously the political consciousness of India.

India got a formal acknowledgment of her position in the Empire when Indian representatives for the first time were asked to be present at the Imperial War Conference of 1917. The Indian Government being a subordinate branch of the British Government in England had no representation in the Colonial Conferences of 1887, 1897, 1902 and 1907, and Lord Crewe, the Secretary of State for India, attended only on certain occasions the first Imperial Conference of 1911. The Imperial War Conference of 1917, however, passed on the 16th April a very important constitutional resolution which for the first time recognised India as an important portion of the Imperial Commonwealth having the right to an adequate voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations,

The writer goes on to quote the pledges and promises made by the members of the Royal House and also by statesmen at the helm. He concludes that the future constitutional status of India is capable of legal definition like the constitutional status of the Irish Free State.

By saying that we do not attempt to impose upon future India the constitutional status of the Irish Free State in 1921 "put into cold storage". The constitutional status of a Dominion to which India would aspire would be the most current and up-to-date status of that Dominion. An important declaration regarding the constitutional status of India was embodied in the Nehru Committee Report and was approved by the All-Parties Convention sitting in Calcutta in December, 1928. The British Parliament might easily, therefore, satisfy the legitimate demand of the Indian Nation by incorporating such a declaration in a preamble to the present Bill.

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* PLANNED ECONOMY FOR INDIA. By Sir M. Visvesvaraya, K.C.I.E. Price Rs. 6 net. G. A. Natesan & Co., George Town, Madras.

HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT

Writing about the history of Parliament since its inception, Col. the Rt. Hon. Josiah C. Wedgwood observes in the pages of the August issue of the *Fortnightly* that as the judges have framed our law, as ecclesiastics have moulded our church, so those who were in Parliament made our democracy. A Treasury Minute of March 22nd, 1929, set up a Committee to report on the materials available for a record of the *personnel* and politics of the House of Commons from 1264 to 1832. "It would be difficult," said the Committee, "to exaggerate the usefulness of a record of Members of Parliament for the history of our country"; and they thought the cost of preparation might be £30,000 or £36,000 if, as they hoped, the pre-Union Parliaments of Scotland and Ireland were included.

The next three years were spent in collecting the funds for the research and in trying to get the first period or volume ready for publication. The Treasury have now consented to undertake the costs of publication in the reasonable hope that there may be a profit.

"The prestige of Parliament itself," says Sir Josiah, "is a thing to be cared for at a time when Parliaments, less established and less fitting, are being broken in other countries." And by giving the members a sense of their community in a famous inheritance, the writer remarks that we do much to restore both the dignity of their service and the respect in which they should be held.

It became, however, increasingly clear that no mere lives of the commoners was enough, especially for mediæval times. What was wanted was a history of our Parliament right down to the collapse of

foreign Parliaments, and of all the elements that went to make up Parliament. What had to be studied was the relation between Parliament and Government as well as that between Parliament and people. Our democracy is now the balancing result of endless interactions and communings between Parliament and Executive, between liberty and officialism, between anarchy and order, between two ever-opposing principles. It was for such a history that the money was raised, chiefly from and by those who have themselves been part of the living institution.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

THE INDIAN FEDERATION FROM IDEA TO REALITY. By Prof. Nirmal K. Mazumdar. [The Modern Student, June 1935.]

LORD SINHA'S CAREER AND BRITISH INDIAN POLICY. By "An Indian Journalist". [The Hindusthan Review, August 1935.]

THE STATE AND AGRICULTURE IN INDIA. By M. Aloysius. [The New Review, September 1935.]

INDIAN NATIONALIST PROPAGANDA ABROAD. By B. P. L. Bedi. [Contemporary India, September 1935.]

INDIAN CIVILISATION. By Swami Atulananda. [Vedanta Kesari, September 1935.]

SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO VEDIC CULTURE. By Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar. [The Prabuddha Bharata, September 1935.]

INDIAN WOMEN ABROAD. By Sasadhar Sinha. [Modern Review, September 1935.]

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

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DEPARTMENTAL

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NOTES

Questions of Importance

LABOUR'S AIM IN INDIA

The Rt. Hon. Wedgwood Benn writes:

"Labour's aim in India is twofold: political and economic. First to open the road to the same independent self-government as exists in the Dominions; second, to hand over the present British control, not to the interests, but to the Peoples of India.

India's political and economic needs are the yard-stick with which to measure the value of the new Act.

On the political side its obvious weakness is that it commands no popular Indian support.

On the economic side the Act aims at fortifying existing interests and denies to the Indian people the constitutional means of winning economic emancipation.

Those who believe in firmness should study the respective histories of the South African Union and the Irish Free State and consider the present relations of each to Great Britain.

In the one case, bold action was taken in 1906 in the face of the bitter opposition of the Tory Party. In the other, half-a-century was wasted in a futile struggle with the House of Lords."

ITALIAN AGGRESSION

"It is monstrous that Abyssinians shall be killed by aeroplane bombs in order that Italian immigrants may cultivate their land and Italian factories may secure their minerals."—*Church Times*,

HARIJANS AND PRIMARY ELECTIONS

Mr. G. A. Gaval, M.L.C. (Depressed Classes) had an interview recently with Mr. Gandhi at Wardha, when he explained the interpretation of the Poona Pact and the view taken by the members of the C. P. Delimitation Committee on the question of primary elections. Mr. Gandhi has now written to Mr. Gaval elucidating the point beyond doubt as follows:

I have gone through the interesting document left by you with me. This is my opinion:

All rules must be interpreted so as to advance their purpose, in this case, the interests of the Harijans. Therefore election of four is not obligatory, but if there are more than four candidates, four have to be elected by the college. Withdrawals are certainly permissible at any stage. Any candidate of the Harijan class has the right of becoming a candidate for the general election. If the electoral college is considered a burden, Harijans can any day by practically unanimous agreement forego the privilege. Such a provision is made in the Pact itself.

PROTECT THE HARIJANS

"The whole social structure must crumble to pieces if the so-called higher classes do not realise the obvious duty of abolishing the evil custom of considering any class of persons as lower than themselves. But, while that consummation is being reached, it is the duty of the authorities and the reformers to do everything in their power to protect the Harijans against any cruel treatment."—*M. K. Gandhi*,

THE SPIRIT OF GENEVA

"I wish now to bring to the Council the assurance that His Majesty's Government will do everything in their power to assure a peaceful settlement. In these post-war years, nations have striven laboriously and sincerely and with a measure of success to create a new international era, which shall spare mankind the scourge of war, because they have learnt at long last the bitter lesson that war is a constant enemy of progress. That is why they pledged themselves in the Pact of Paris to renounce war as an instrument of national policy. It was for these same reasons that members of the League had previously expressed their determination and gave form to their conviction in the Articles of the Covenant. The machinery of the new order is here at Geneva. If its spirit is here also, we cannot fail."—*Anthony Eden.*

ACCEPTANCE OF OFFICE

"Council entry *plus* the ban on acceptance of office is like flourishing the scabbard without drawing the sword. With the ban, Council entry will become somewhat of a shadow. It will lack substance and reality; nor do I think that we will be able to wreck the Constitution by nothing more positive than sitting tight in permanent opposition."—*Mr. C. R. Reddy.*

A BISHOP'S EXHORTATION

"The greatest enemy of civilisation is the selfish man. A nation can never register any progress if its citizens are not imbued with the spirit of service. If all Indians were filled with the idea of serving and helping their neighbours, then there is nothing on earth which can prevent her from growing into one of the greatest nations of the world."—*Bishop Waller.*

PRESS—THE CHAMPION OF SWARAJ

"The Indian press has always been, and I am confident will ever be, a staunch and unfailing champion of *Swaraj* for the Motherland held too long in subjection. In this struggle, the press has always to be in the firing line and to expose itself to risks from which public men who are not journalists are at least partially immune. The risk the Indian press has cheerfully borne during all the years of its existence, and I am sure I can speak for all and every one of my fellow-journalists, that it will be not less ready in the future to do its duty manfully by the country, let the cost be what it may."—*Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.*

WHAT THE LEAGUE STANDS FOR

"There is no use of merely finding fault with the League of Nations. It stands for an ideal that there should be no exploitation of races, nations or sexes. It stands for political freedom, social equality, economic justice and freedom of races. If public opinion brings about right Governments—Governments which really represent the higher mind and conscience of the people, only then would it be possible to incorporate the League ideals into the social life of the world."—*Sir S. Radhakrishnan.*

A NATION IN THE MAKING

"The future of Indian politics will largely depend upon the future of nationalism. This will mainly depend upon Hindu-Muslim relations. With the growth of education and under pressure of political and economic repression, those relations are bound to improve. The cultural and social contact between educated Hindus and Muslims is growing and will also grow. The consciousness of being a Hindu or a Mahomedan is being submerged in the conscious idea that everyone belongs to the nation."—*Mr. K. M. Munshi.*

H. E. THE VICEROY'S ADDRESS

His Excellency the Viceroy addressed the Central Legislature on the 16th September. His Excellency welcomed the New Constitution as a great attempt to unite Indian India and British India under a single Government. He further advised the people to take to constitutional methods and work the reforms in a spirit of accommodation and willingness.

The Viceroy deplored the communal strifes and characterised them as a shadow of evil portent which should be dispelled.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA COMMITTEE

The Government of India with the approval of the Secretary of State have decided to appoint a Committee to examine certain questions connected with the system of obtaining officers for principal posts in, and the procedure of, the Government of India Secretariat, particularly in the light of the conditions which will exist after the introduction of Government of India Act, 1935.

The personnel of the Committee is as follows: Sir Henry Wheeler, Chairman; Sir C. P. Ramasawmy Aiyar and Sir James Rae, members; and Mr. C. M. Trivedi, I.C.S., Secretary.

EMERGENCY POWERS ACT

Replying to a question in the Bengal Legislative Council, on August 26, the Home Member laid on the table of the House a statement which showed that securities under the Indian Press Emergency Powers Act, 1931, had been demanded from 82 newspapers, periodicals and printing presses of which 44 deposited securities amounting to Rs. 45,800. So far six papers forfeited their security amounts aggregating to Rs. 1,800.

INDIA AND THE LEAGUE

The conduct of the League of Nations in regard to the Abyssinian dispute with Italy is being watched with considerable interest in India. There is a feeling that beyond paying her share which is deemed excessive enough, India is not sharing the benefits of association with an International body like the League. H. H. The Aga Khan gave expression to this feeling at the recent meeting of the League Assembly. His Highness declared that Indian criticism of the League was growing.

India was troubled by the League's lack of universality and the tiny representation of Indians. She was troubled by the great attention which the League devoted to purely European interests and troubled by the magnitude of her contribution which is larger than that of any non-permanent member of the Council—disturbingly large—which contrasted with the poverty of so many of her millions.

SIR COWASJI'S WARNING

"The human element is going to play the greatest part in the future Constitution of India," observed Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Deputy Leader of the Independent Party, at a recent Reception in Glasgow to delegates of overseas legislatures of the British Empire. He frankly told his hearers that no one in India is satisfied with the New Constitution—"a Constitution that does not give us freedom, does not give us liberty to decide our own destiny". It will require supermen to look after the future Constitution, and he warned them "that one mistake, one indiscretion will meet with disaster". The British people are said to be cautious "but too much caution can bring as much disaster as too much recklessness".

Let not those terrible words be written again on the wall—too late.

INDIAN STUDENTS ABROAD

The Vice-Chancellors of almost all the Universities in India have given their opinion on Dr. Thomas Qyale's report on "Indian Students Abroad". Dr. Qyale in his report made out a strong case for restricting the number of students going abroad for higher studies from India and urged that the Universities should make it a point to explore the possibilities of finding employment for the foreign-returned students.

The consensus of opinion is of the view that parents should use a little more discrimination in deciding to send their children abroad for higher studies. Only students of above average intelligence and cleverness with sufficient financial backing should undertake foreign trips, and that before deciding to go abroad for further studies, says the *Guardian*, they should consult foreign bureaus attached to the Universities and that students as far as possible should not look to Government employment only but be independent and try to take to business.

WORLD EDUCATION CONGRESS

The World Education Congress met at Oxford on August 12. All grades of teaching from free school to university were represented. Delegates attended from the Empire, India, the United States, France, Germany, Italy, Japan and many other countries.

The Congress was the occasion of a synchronised conference of the World Federation of Education Associations, the International Federation of Associations of Secondary Teachers, and International Federation of Teachers' Associations.

EDUCATION AND RURAL UPLIFT

Mr. G. A. Natesan, presiding over a meeting of the History and Economics Association of the Madras Presidency College addressed by Sir A. P. Patro, observed that some of the difficulties confronting rural development had been brought about by the people themselves.

The present system of university education had, to some extent, added to the trouble. Most of the young men receiving university education had come from the villages and they went back to the villages with exaggerated ideas and opinions. Their old life of simplicity had disappeared and they were not able to adapt themselves to the rural conditions. Unless they reformed themselves in these matters, educated youths could not successfully tackle rural problems.

THE HONOLULU INSTITUTE

Reinforcing a link between Orient and Occident, the University of Hawaii in Honolulu announces the opening of a new department to be known as the Oriental Institute in 1936.

The Honolulu institution, already well known for its racial investigations and its Oriental studies division as well as for its agricultural and scientific divisions, is rapidly becoming one of America's most interesting universities.

With students of almost every nationality and professors drawn from all parts of the world, it is easily the most cosmopolitan university in the United States.

The new Oriental Institute will be directed by Gregg M. Sinclair, Professor of English in the University of Hawaii, for six years a resident of Nippon, and for many years a translator of Japanese literature and a student of Oriental culture.

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL

As might be expected, the Legislative Assembly threw out the motion for the consideration of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill by 71 votes against 61. The President's announcement caused quite an excitement in the House. For the long drawn out debate had kept the members on tenterhooks. Both the Law Member and the Home Member made powerful speeches in defence of the Bill, while Mr. Bulabhai Desai's trenchant arguments against the measure and his vindication of the Indian Press carried the day. Mr. Bulabhai characterised the Bill "as a hypocritical attempt to clothe autocracy with pretences". The House was with him and expressed its mind unequivocally again by 69 votes to 57 when the Bill came back as recommended by the Viceroy.

As we go to press, the Viceroy has certified the Bill and sent it to the Council of State where it will doubtless be adopted.

THE TAGORE LAW LECTURE

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayer has been invited by the University of Calcutta to deliver the Tagore Law Lecture for 1936 on "Law and practice relating to Indian States" instead of "History and functions of supreme courts" as originally decided upon.

The Tagore Law Lecture for 1936 will commence in August next.

BOMBAY LABOUR LEADERS

The Bombay High Court has dismissed the Government's appeal against the Chief Presidency Magistrate's acquittal of eight labour leaders: Alwe, Karnak, Miss Maniben Kara, Randive, Abdul Majid, Joglekar, Nimbkar and Mahashankar of an offence under the Trades Disputes Act of 1929.

SECURITY UNDER THE PRESS ACT

Mr. K. Santhanam, keeper of the *Indian Express*, and Mr. S. V. Swami, publisher of the *Dhinamani*, on whom notices were served by the Madras Government requiring them, under the Press Emergency Act, to deposit a sum of Rs. 2,000 each, deposited the amount required on 31st August, in the Court of the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Egmore, Madras. The notices were issued under Section 7 (3) of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act.

MR. MASANI'S PASSPORT

The Marquis of Zetland has removed all obstacles in the way of Mr. Masani's travel in European countries and that he is now in Russia on a four weeks' tour. This is not the first time that Mr. Masani is studying Soviet Russia and the present visit will furnish him an opportunity to compare the progress of events in that country since his last visit.

CHILDREN'S PUNISHMENT IN BOMBAY

The object of the Bill introduced in the Bombay Legislative Council last month to amend the Bombay Children's Act of 1934 is to prohibit the publication in newspapers of accounts of offences by children and young persons. Such publication is considered against the welfare of the children or young persons concerned and is likely to do permanent injury to them.

MRS. DHARAMSHILA LALL

Mrs. Dharamshila Lall, who is the first Hindu woman to be called to the English Bar, is a daughter of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal. She intends to practise at Patna next autumn. She proposes to carry on research in education in ancient India.

INSURANCE NOT AN EXPENSE BUT AN ECONOMY

Banking and Insurance, observed Mr. Amrit Lal Ojah in a recent speech at the Field Workers' Conference at Calcutta, are the two most important departments of national economy that have revolutionised the trade, commerce, and industry of all countries. "To envisage modern civilization without insurance is impossible as in its absence, none perhaps could have been able to contemplate undertaking mammoth industrial activities, the development of large scale business and all other enterprises. It would be no exaggeration to say that insurance by now has become an integral part of the commercial and social life of all countries and more so of our country where we are in greater need of help in all spheres of life.

Insurance has considerably reduced much of the financial hazard in trade, commerce and industry and as such has been chiefly instrumental in bringing down the prices of commodities that would otherwise have been borne by the consumers. Sir Josiah Stamp was perfectly correct when he defined insurance as 'the transfer of risk-taking and uncertainty bearing from the field of interest to that of production of cost'. It will, therefore, be evident and realised that insurance is not an expense but an economy."

INSURANCE COURSE IN MYSORE

At the recent Academic Council meeting which was held at Mysore, a resolution which had been brought at the last meeting to include Actuary and Insurance in the University Curricula for those graduates who wanted to study these subjects, was passed by a large majority.

DETENUS' INSURANCE

Questions on Government's policy regarding payment of detenus' insurance premiums were asked in the Bengal Legislative Council recently.

The Hon. Mr. R. N. Reid explained that Government pay the premiums in those cases in which it appears that detention has deprived the detenus of sources of income on which they relied to pay up their premiums, and there are no other sources from which they can continue the policies. Premiums paid on policies which have been taken out shortly before detention are refunded. In other cases, the premiums are paid until the policies acquire surrender and part paid-up values.

The principle followed is that while Government should take such action as is reasonable to prevent damage that would otherwise occur by non-payment of premiums, they are not justified in utilising public revenues to increase the value of the detenu's estate. Government see no reason to change this policy.

INSURANCE AGAINST HILARIOUS DEATH

A cinema proprietor in Yarmouth is said to have taken out a policy with a leading British office insuring the audience against death as a direct result of excessive laughter. The insurance company has undertaken to pay £100 to the legal representatives of any of 25,000 members of the audience who met with a hilarious death in the theatre. The policy—an excellent advertisement—is said to be on view outside the theatre. It is reported that a death from laughter has actually occurred in a London cinema.

MANAGING AGENCY SYSTEM

Dr. P. S. Lokanathan, officiating Professor of Economics in the Madras University, discussing the influence of the managing agency system on the structure of industry in India in the series of four lectures he delivered at the Senate House, said that the structure of Indian industrial organisation had been greatly influenced by the operation of the managing agency system, and that would be foolish to ignore its beneficent influences in any discussion of the future of the managing agency system.

Its significant feature came out not when a managing agency firm managed only one industrial company but when a number of concerns either in the same or allied industries were controlled and managed by one and the same managing agency firm. Then arose certain important economies of co-ordination and integration which would be lost if the managing agency system was allowed to go.

SUGAR INDUSTRY

More than a hundred representatives of various Sugar Mills in India attended the meeting of the Indian Sugar Mills' Association in Delhi last month. In the course of his presidential address, Mr. B. M. Birla observed:

"As long as conditions exist under which sugar can be imported in a large tract of India at rates lower than the rate at the British Indian Ports, foreign sugar will have a unique weapon in her armoury for competition with the Indian industry. I urge, therefore, that the Government of India should at once investigate into the matter and adjust their fiscal arrangements with these maritime States."

INDIAN STEEL

"India can now buy two of the most important kinds of steel which it needs, namely galvanised sheets and rails at pre-war prices and it now obtains greater part or the whole of its requirements from Indian sources. This fact shows that the benefits of protection are by no means confined to the industry, but are now accruing to the country," said Sir N. B. Saklatvala, Chairman, presiding over the last annual general meeting of the shareholders of the Tata Iron and Steel Company.

BENGAL SWADESHI PURCHASE

A preference in price subject to the limit of 5 per cent. would be shown to articles produced in Bengal or alternately elsewhere in India in the Stores purchase by the Government of Bengal. The policy of the Bengal Government underlying the Stores Rules would be to encourage industries of the country to the utmost extent consistent with economy and efficiency.

THE SPECIAL TARIFF BOARD

The Government of India have appointed a special Tariff Board consisting of Sir Alexander Murray (President), Mr. Fazl Ibrahim Rahimtoola and Dewan Bahadur A. Ramaswami Mudaliyar (Members) to hold an inquiry with a view to finding out the extent of protection required by the Indian Cotton Textile Industry against British Manufacturers.

INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES

Twenty-seven industrial disputes occurred in British India during the quarter ending June 30, namely, Assam 6, Bengal 7, Bombay 6, Madras 4, and one each in Burma, the Central Provinces, the Punjab and the United Provinces. The total number of days lost were 210,498 involving 28,122 workers.

WOMEN MEMBERS FOR BOMBAY

"It is a matter of great regret that there is no woman member on the Bombay Legislative Council, and it is equally to be regretted that at present an adequate number of women are not on the electoral roll. It is, therefore, not possible to compel members of the Council to consider their interests in matters of special concern to the women as a class," says a petition signed by over 1,000 women of Bombay forwarded to the President and Members of the Legislative Council, protesting against the Bill to amend the law of adoption.

The petition continues: "Even the best intentioned legislature in the world cannot reflect the women's viewpoint unless women are actually members of that legislature. It is most unfair to say that a Hindu widow will misuse her right of adoption or that designing persons will mislead her into adoption. This can be said of every right either of men or women. We find so many men misusing their property freedom or liberty but nobody thinks of depriving them of these rights."

LATE MISS JANE ADDAMS

Miss Jane Addams, world famous social welfare worker and peace advocate, died on May 21st, at Chicago.

Miss Addams has been called "the greatest woman in the world", the "mother of social service", "the greatest woman internationalist" and the "first citizen of Chicago". With her idealism, serene, unafraid militant was always paramount. Devoted to the cause of social and political reform, to the betterment of the economic condition of the masses, to world peace and to internationalism, Miss Addams's influence was world-wide. She was, perhaps, the world's best known and best loved woman.

HOUSEHOLD WORK FOR WOMEN

"In spite of all her efforts to prove herself man's equal, the woman is still the weaker sex," is the assertion made by Dr. N. Tattersall, of Leeds, at the Annual Congress of the Royal Institute of Public Health.

"Women may swim the Channel and fly to Australia, but their physical make-up is such that they cannot stand the strain and stress of industrial life as well as men can."

He is of opinion that housework is the best avocation for them.

MISS KARUNA KANA GUPTA

For the first time a lady has been appointed Lecturer in the Dacca University in the Department of History.

She is Miss Karuna Kana Gupta, who stood first in all the examinations from Matriculation to M. A. She is the daughter of Mr. Upendra Nath Gupta, who is also a lecturer of the same University.

THE MODERN GIRL

Mr. Lloyd George prefers the modern girl and the education which makes her what she is. Recalling that the school was founded just at the time when the prim and grim Victorian era was coming to an end, he continued, "the old academies for young ladies—they were not girls in those days—at best were an expensive joke, and at their worst they were an atrocity".

MARRIED WOMEN-TEACHERS

The London County Council by 76 votes to 37 approved of the removal of the ban imposed on women teachers and doctors being allowed to continue in the service of the Council after their marriage.

The order has been in force since 1928 with exceptions in the case of certain residential appointments.

WORKING OF THE PRESS ACT

In the Legislative Assembly, Seth Govind Das asked, on September 4, two short notice questions to which Sir Henry Craik, Home Member, replied by placing on the table of the House detailed statements showing that during the year 1935, action was taken against 72 newspapers and the total amount of securities deposited was Rs. 25,950.

In the Madras Presidency security was demanded of nine papers, of whom only one deposited security and the others did not, with the result that seven ceased publication and in the case of one, the declaration became void.

In the Bombay Presidency, 31 papers were asked to deposit security during 1935. Of these 12 deposited it, and 19 did not. Of these 4 were papers which could not be started for failure to make the deposit.

In Bengal, four papers were asked to deposit security and all failed to do so.

In the United Provinces, three papers were affected and all of them ceased publication for failure to deposit security.

In the Punjab, 12 newspapers were asked to deposit security, of whom four deposited it. Of these the security of one was forfeited. As for the remaining eight, two ceased publication and the others were not published.

In Burma, two papers deposited security and two did not, while only paper in Bihar and Orissa called upon to deposit security during 1935 ceased publication.

In Delhi, action was taken against eight papers, of which two deposited security and two have ceased publication.

DIPLOMA COURSE IN JOURNALISM

The Syndicate of the Madras University, who is now considering the question of the institution of a degree or Diploma Course in journalism, has appointed a Committee for the purpose and the latter have decided to co-opt the following members:

Messrs. G. A. Natesan, K. Srinivasan, V. S. Ramaswami Sastri, G. A. Johnson, A. A. Hayles, A. Ramaswami Mudaliar and T. A. V. Nathan.

CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY BOARD

The Congress Parliamentary Board which met on the 14th September unanimously elected Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai, as President, in the place of Dr. M. A. Ansari. The Board also elected as General Secretaries Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant and Mr. S. Satyamurti.

The Board decided to co-opt as members Chaudhri Khalikuzzaman, Sardar Sardul Singh, Mr. K. M. Jedhe, Mr. Kripalani and a representative from the North-West Frontier Province.

A Sub-Committee was also appointed to frame rules regarding the Board's constitution and other matters.

THE LATE MR. DAS GUPTA

The death of Babu Basanta Kumar Das Gupta, News Editor of *Advance*, removes a familiar figure from Bengali journalism. He was only 54 at his death, and he had given the best years of his life to the cause of journalism in Bengal. Das Gupta joined the *Bengalee* as News Editor. Later, he took charge of the *Dacca Herald* and the *New Empire*. When the latter changed hands, he suffered the inevitable hardships of a precarious profession until the *Advance* came into being. Basanta Babu's part in shaping the new daily and his devotion to his work are recalled with touching pathos by his colleagues in *Advance* who have paid a generous tribute to his high character and steadfast loyalty.

MR. V. J. PATEL'S WILL

A letter received by Mr. K. F. Nariman, Mayor of Bombay, from Subhas Chandra Bose, who is at present at Carlsbad, Czechoslovakia, says that the late Mr. V. J. Patel, former President of the Legislative Assembly, has bequeathed the balance of his assets after the disposal of four gifts to Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose for the political uplift of India and preferably for publicity work on behalf of India's cause in other countries.

LUDWIG ON LLOYD GEORGE

"If Mr. Lloyd George had been assassinated in December 1918, he would have gone down in history as one of the greatest men of our time," declares Emil Ludwig in his biographical sketch of the Welsh Wizard in *Leaders of Europe*.

BRAIN BATHING

Some 10,000 doctors from the United States and Canada watched a film demonstration of what is described in popular language as a 'shower-bath for the brain', a new method of treating such infections of the brain and nervous system as infantile paralysis, St. Vitus's dance, sleeping sickness and some forms of meningitis. It showed how a simple solution of common salt and water is injected into a vein at the ankle and then how fluids that accumulate in the brain and spinal column are drained off by means of a needle inserted at the lower end of the spine. The 'brain bath' is something new, but of course it is impossible to pass a definite opinion on it until a large number of controlled cases treated by this method have been observed by experts.

BLOOD DONORS

M. Saint-Rose and M. Pierry, attached to the Government Colonial Hospital, Pondicherry, have been awarded certificates of merit by the Governor of French India for allowing blood to be transfused from their bodies to those of two patients in the hospital and thus saving the latter's lives.

F. R. C. S. EXAMINATION

The Primary examination for Fellowship of Royal College of Surgeons of England will be held at Calcutta in December next. It is not intended by the College of Surgeons to hold this examination in India every year. After the examination in December 1935, it is probable that the next similar examination in India will be held in 1937.

VINCENT MASSEY SCHOLARSHIP

It is announced that on the recommendation of the Vincent Massey Scholarship Committee, His Excellency the Viceroy has awarded the Vincent Massey Scholarship for 1935-1936 to Dr. Muhammad Abdul Hammed Siddiqi, Professor of Anatomy, King George's Medical College, Lucknow, for study and research in anatomy.

COL. THORBURN

Colonel H. H. Thorburn has been selected for appointment as Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals and Prisons, N.-W. Frontier Province in succession to Colonel C. I. Brierley.

A BALANCED DIETARY

Sir W. Arbuthnot in his book "The New Health Guide" has given many useful hints on the advantages of a balanced dietary. To ensure the necessary alkalinity of health, he says that an abundance of milk, fruit and vegetables in relation to animal flesh and cereals should figure in the well balanced dietary.

"Excessive animal flesh-eating is the next most common dietetic error. A great many people have the idea that meat is strengthening and that they cannot do a hard day's work unless they have had a large ration of butcher's meat. Actually eggs, milk and cheese are adequate substitutes, and animal flesh is no more strengthening than these foods.

"Apart from diminishing body alkalinity, excessive meat-eating tends to increase intestinal putrefaction and may lead to severe intestinal self-poisoning. Extreme moderation in meat consumption should be the rule. Healthy persons free from constipation may eat meat but once a day only, and with not infrequent omissions."

PULSE AT DIFFERENT AGES

In some people, the pulse is much quicker than with others. The following table furnishes the average rate of pulsations per minute at different ages. The radial artery at the wrist is best for counting the pulse.

Age	5 years—88	pulsations per minute.
"	10—15 years—78	pulsations per minute.
"	15—20 years—69	pulsations per minute.
"	20—25 years—69	pulsations per minute.
"	25—30 years—71	pulsations per minute.
"	30—50 years—70	pulsations per minute.

EFFECTS OF HOT WATER

Two well known Specialists in recent articles have emphasised the vital importance of water for assisting the body to throw off and resist disease.

To keep in good health every man and woman should drink a glass of hot water each morning on rising. For those, however, who are troubled with sick headache, biliousness, bad complexion, constipation, furred tongue, liverishness, or rheumatism should add a teaspoonful of limestone phosphate to flush away from the liver and bowels the uric acid.

ADJUSTMENT OF PROVINCIAL FINANCES

Mr. K. E. Srinivasan, of the Indian Audit and Accounts Department Services, has been placed on special duty with the Finance Department in connection with adjustments in the Provincial Finances with regard to which a Committee will come to India from England shortly. No Indian is expected to be associated with the Committee.

It will be recalled that Mr. Nixon, Additional Secretary to the Department, had already made an extensive tour meeting the Provincial Governments as a preliminary settlement of financial adjustments between the various provinces arising out of the separation and proposed Federation.

REFORM OF BANKING

Sir James Grigg, Finance Member with the Government of India, met the Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, on August 30, and discussed with them several important questions.

Mr. Manu Subedar, President of the Chamber, urging the reform of the present system of banking, said it was disappointing that the public demand for a Banking Act had not been met.

Sir James Grigg replied that the Banking Act was an integral part of the amendment of Company Law. The general question was being actively pursued and the banking aspects of the general question were being taken up in conjunction with the Reserve Bank.

THE RATIO QUESTION

Replying to Mr. Manu Subedar's criticism of the present exchange ratio, Sir James Grigg observed at the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay:

"Let me at once say that I will be no party to any monkeying about with the present ratio and I say this because I am a servant of India and for no other reason.

"It is my sincere conviction that the effect of lowering the ratio will be to leave agricultural prices where they are, or even to lower them and to raise the prices of manufactured articles. It would also make budgetary problems in India, already sufficiently difficult, quite insoluble."

THE SOUTH INDIAN RAILWAY

In reply to the criticisms of the "Eves-dropper" of the *Indian Finance* about the S. I. Railway travel, the Agent of that Railway has sent a reply to the critic through Mr. S. S. Rajan, the well known advertising Consultant of Bombay, who has a great deal to do with the publicity section of the South Indian Railway. In the course of his reply, the Agent observes:

"The fares on the South Indian Railway are not disproportionately high compared with those on most other railways in India. In fact, the first and second class fares on this railway are cheaper than those on the E. I. Railway. . . .

I would add that we are always pleased to receive letters of criticism and it is my wish that any difficulties that may be experienced by the travelling public should be brought to notice. With this object in view, we propose to issue books to most of the important junction stations in which passengers can record any suggestions they may wish to make."

EAST INDIAN RAILWAY

Important developments are expected from the discussions that have been going for some time past between the authorities of the East Indian Railway and the Eastern Bengal Railway with regard to the project of the amalgamation of the two Railways under a single administration. Sir Guthrie Russel, Commissioner of Railways, according to well informed circles, is in favour of the scheme.

FEDERAL RAILWAY AUTHORITY

At question time in the Legislative Assembly on September 11, Sir Mahomed Zafrullah Khan, Commerce Member, informed Mr. S. Satyamurthi (Madras Congress) that it was possible that in 1936, the Government of India would move a Bill in connection with the Federal Railway Authority.

M. & S. M. RY.'S PUBLICITY WORK

The Madras and Southern Maharatta Railway are starting a campaign to advertise festival centres by issuing a series of pamphlets with attractive covers in English and the vernaculars.

SCHOOL OF INDIAN ARCHITECTURE

"An All-India School of Indian Architecture is going to be established as the first of its kind under expert control and direction. The object of the school will be to find out and maintain or develop as far as possible the traditional methods of training students in Indian architectural draftsmanship and craftsmanship as well as in constructional art based on Indian traditions. Its main purpose will be to teach Indian architectural and allied art to students and supplement their knowledge with all, including the knowledge of Occidental art and architecture, that is necessary to develop old Indian architecture to a high level of excellence," says Mr. Sris Chandra Chatterjee, organiser and general secretary for the proposed school of Indian architecture.

Mr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, has been elected as provisional President of the proposed school with Mr. Percy Brown as the Honorary Director.

NEW COMPANY OF DANCERS

Ragini Devi, the famous interpreter of Indian dancing and her troupe are shortly forming a company in Bombay, says a report.

Pleased by the new move, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has sent the following message of appreciation:

"Those of us belonging to Northern India who have lost the memory of the pure Indian classical dance, experienced a thrill of delight at the exhibition of dancing given by Ragini Devi in association with her partner Gopinath.

"I feel grateful at the assurance it has brought to us that the ancient art is still a living tradition in India with its varied grace and vigour and subtleties of dramatic expression."

KING'S PORTRAIT WOVEN ENTIRELY SILK

A talented young Bengali artist, Mr. Satyendraditya Roy, has woven entirely in coloured silk a remarkable portrait of His Majesty the King-Emperor. It is now hanging on the walls of the Government House, Calcutta.

INDIAN HOCKEY TEAM

The Indian Hockey Team, which left India a few months back, returned to India after a successful tour in Australia.

The team played 29 matches in New Zealand and won all. They scored 331 goals, as against the 22 of the opponents. The main scorers were: Dhayan Chand 105, Roop Singh 107, Wells 61, and Shahabu-ud-din 28. The team played four matches in Australia on their way to New Zealand and won all. These matches were marked by prolific scoring. The visitors' total score was 47 goals whereas the home teams put in only 11. A number of matches were also played in Australia on their way back. In the two first matches, the Indian team scored 35 goals against the solitary one of the Australians.

MR. GOPALAN

Dhyanchand, the Hockey Wizard, in a press interview paid glowing tribute to Madras and to Gopalan in particular who, he said, is a first class player and should represent India in the Berlin Olympics provided he can maintain his present form. Madras hockey, he said, is of a fairly high standard. He always cherished respect for Madras hockey. He had a piece of advice to give to Madras Hockey players. He wanted that wild hitting should be given up.

MADRAS WALKING COMPETITION

In connection with the celebration of the fourth anniversary of the Raghuveer Vyayam Mandal, Royapuram, Madras, a walking competition was held recently. It was open to the residents of the city. There were 10 competitors.

The distance of 12 miles from the Royapuram Police Station to the Western India Match Factory and back was covered by the winner in 108 minutes.

M. Kailasam finished first, beating his own previous record of 110 minutes set up last year.

THE NAZI STADIUM

A stadium which, it is claimed, will be the largest in the world, is to be planned by order of Herr Hitler for erection in Nuremburg.

The arena will hold 150,000 spectators and will be used for the Nazi Party's annual Congress.

EARTHQUAKES

A geological account of the Quetta earthquake, prepared by Mr. W. D. West of the Geological Survey of India, has just been published.

Mr. West's reading of the earthquake is that it must have been caused by the strain of a constant compression coming from the north-west and finally breaking over the wedge like promontory of peninsular India, which extended up towards Sibi beneath the alluvial covering and is acting as an obstacle to the free movement of the mountain folds of Baluchistan.

Mr. West is, however, of the opinion that Central and South India are a very old and stable area and free from the danger of an earthquake. There are no active volcanoes in any part of the Indian Empire.

The correct way of anticipating further earthquakes and of minimising their disastrous effects both in Baluchistan and elsewhere in India is to construct buildings which will withstand these severe shocks.

INDIAN SCIENCE ACADEMY

The Ruler of Bhopal has given a donation of Rs. 500 to the Indian Academy of Sciences as a token of the esteem in which he holds Sir C. V. Raman, President of the Academy and in appreciation of the great services Sir C. V. Raman is rendering in the cause of scientific progress in India.

FIRE BELT ROUND THE EARTH

The earth is encircled by a vast belt of fiery furnace at least 1,000 degrees centigrade hot, the existence of which was hitherto unknown to science. This startling discovery has been announced in the current issue of *Nature* by Professor E. V. Appleton, head physican of King's College, London.

PROF. M. N. SAHA

The Royal Society of Great Britain was pleased to sanction a research grant of £150 to Prof. M. N. Saha of the Allahabad University towards the cost of his experiments on the Thermal Ionisation of Gases.

TALKIES IN INDIA

Writing about the Talkies in India in a recent issue of the *Illustrated India*, Mr. A. V. Pandit observes that though the film industry is in its infancy in India, one is disappointed at the results. The reason being that our talkies are dominated by stage craft and stage technique which have to be discarded by producers who wish to perfect talkie productions. There is no proper balance between the dialogues and the songs, and in some cases the predominance of songs mar the beauty of the plot. So much so many good plays and novels are spoiled and the writer suggests that the experts may do well to adopt a technique that will ring true and natural. The field is vast and allows much scope for talents. Furthermore, it is a profession that has very little possibility of its being overcrowded, and people belonging to it can rightly claim to be instrumental in making this growing national industry a success.

NATIONAL NEEDS AND CINEMA

There was no denying the fact that Cinema and Radio had in these days become most effective instruments of popular education and popular movements, observed Mr. K. F. Nariman, Mayor of Bombay, inaugurating the first show of *Dhruvandar*, the maiden picture of Adarsh Chitra Ltd. He added:

"The West has made tremendous advance on the strength of these two popular instruments. In India, there was greater need of such films to rouse people to useful national activities. Therefore, he said, that it is highly essential that Indians should take more and keener interest in the cinema industry in this country."

INTERNATIONAL FILM EXHIBITION

The Motion Picture Society of India has sent two feature films: 'Life is a Stage' by Debaki Bose Productions and released through Jaya Pictures, and 'Amrit Manthan' produced by Prabhat Film Company for being screened at the International Cinematograph Exhibition at Venice.

Mr. P. Arora, a member of the Motion Picture Society of India, has been deputed by the Executive Committee to attend the Third International Exhibition of Cinematographic Art to be held at Venice.

PETROL FROM COAL

Those countries which have not discovered deposits of petrol are at a disadvantage and one can easily see that the disadvantage will increase as time goes on. England is one of those countries, and yet she is a large user of motor vehicles. An interesting experiment has been going on for a year now of trying to extract motor fuel from coal. England has still a vast supply of first grade coal; since the beginning of this year the Imperial Chemical Industries have produced 7,500,000 gallons of petrol, and up to the present time 6,000,000 gallons have been marketed. The quality and satisfaction from its use seem to be acceptable to consumers, and it is stated that no further blending or treatment is required for the fuel.

It is stated that when this one firm is in full working order, some 45 million gallons of motor spirit can be produced in a year, giving employment to about 2,000 miners and a great many others in allied industries. So that we see in this a new industry being developed which will be of great assistance to the motor business of Britain, to a further use of coal and incidentally providing employment to a large number of people. This is a very interesting development.

HENRY FORD'S LATEST

Persistent, though unconfirmable, rumours are in circulation in Edgewater in the State of New Jersey that secret tests are being made with a four-cylinder diesel engine for motor cars at the Ford Factory.

These reports say that the diesel engine at present being tested can give a car a speed of 70 miles an hour and will do 30 miles on a gallon of fuel oil costing only six cents (3d.) Such a car, it is rumoured, would sell for about 300 dollars (£60).

If this development proves true, it would be to counter foreign competition, particularly that expected from a cheap new Japanese car, which has already made its appearance on the markets. But the employees of the Ford factory, says *Reuter*, refuse to discuss any such reports.

MANUFACTURE OF AIR CRAFT

Replying to a question in the Assembly, Mr. D. G. Mitchell did not admit that the progress of aviation in India was materially checked owing to the cost of imported aeroplanes.

It was true that the cost of aeroplanes in India was higher than in the countries of origin, but the market in India at present was so small that the cost of manufacture in India would almost certainly be prohibitive. Manufacture in India was not at present possible and the only profitable line of enquiry was in connection with raw materials. Investigation into the suitability of Indian timber for use of aircraft was in progress.

MAURICE WILSON

The death of Mr. Maurice Wilson, who more than a year ago set out on a lone attempt to reach the summit of Mount Everest, has now been confirmed.

Mr. Wilson's death was announced in the English papers some time ago and now his body has been found by Mr. E. E. Shipton, leader of the Everest reconnaissance party.

The discovery was made on July 9 at a spot 300 feet above Camp 3 of the 1933 Everest expedition. Mr. Wilson had apparently died there and then his tent had been blown away by the high winds. Beside him was found a note book, a Union Jack, and some cine-films.

£100 AEROPLANE

A £100 aeroplane is to be built in Britain. It is the invention of a Frenchman, M. Mignet, and is known as the flying flea. It will have a 20 h.p. engine, flying a speed of more than 70 miles m.p.h. and a range of 200 miles. It will weigh 500 lb. and cost less than a penny a mile to fly.

AIR CRASH IN MADRAS

Flying Officer E. V. N. Everett, Pilot Instructor of the Madras Flying Club, Mr. H. J. Carter and Raja I. V. Krishna Rao, cousin of the Raja of Bobbili, were the victims of an air crash that occurred at Chowtapalam, a village near Ponnalore last month.

RURAL UPLIFT

Sir James Grigg, Finance Member, laid on the table of the Legislative Assembly a detailed statement regarding the allotment of grants to Provincial Governments from the Government of India's Rupees one crore grant for rural uplift work.

Of the Rs. 14 lakhs allotted for Madras, Rs. 5½ lakhs will be utilised for rural water supply schemes; Rs. 4½ lakhs for village roads; Rs. 3 lakhs for village sanitation; and Rs. 50,000 for anti-malarial measures.

Rural water supply works, which will be confined to new works only, Rs. 2,75,000 are to be spent on the construction of bore-hole latrines in rural areas, and Rs. 25,000 on the Poonamallee Health Unit Scheme.

A sum of Rs. 50,000 has been allotted for rural uplift work in Coorg.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN BIHAR

The Government of India have allotted Rs. 12,50,000 to Bihar and Orissa out of the rural development grant. It has been decided to allocate Rs. 6,00,000 to village communication; Rs. 5,00,000 to rural water supply; Rs. 1,30,000 to miscellaneous projects in North Bihar, and Rs. 50,000 to village welfare schemes.

GRANTS TO RESEARCH INSTITUTIONS

The Advisory Board of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research met recently and sanctioned an annual recurring grant of Rs. 1,000 for five years to the National Institute of Sciences, Calcutta, and to the Indian Academy of Sciences, Bangalore.

IMPERIAL COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURE

Mr. N. C. Mehta, I.C.S., Collector of Muzaffarnagar, U. P., has been appointed Secretary of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, Government of India.

SUGAR RESEARCH

The Sugar Committee of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has recommended for sanction the scheme for investigations on insect pest of sugarcane at a cost of Rs. 1,50,000.

RICE RESEARCH AT NAGINA, U. P.

A Research station to study the various problems affecting rice has been opened at Nagina, a rice-producing centre of the United Provinces.

WOMEN'S LABOUR IN MINES

The Government of India, we are told, contemplate the total prohibition of women from underground work with effect from July, 1936.

The subject has been regarded a controversial one, there being no unanimity over it between European and Indian mine-owners. The former have been in favour of the abolition of the system, while the latter have pointed out the difficulties in the dislocation of the labour force as well as the probable unrest in case such a system is introduced.

It has since been agreed that the system of allowing women to work underground should be gradually abolished and that, by the end of July 1939, the ultimate object be achieved by reducing the number of women workers. As a result of this policy, the total number of underground women workers has come down from 39,785 in 1928 to 12,799 in 1933.

The subject was discussed at the last session of the League of Nations, where also it was decided that the present system ought to be abolished all over the constituent countries of the League.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL CONGRESS

The United Press understands that International Congress of Sociology; which is going to hold its session at Brussels in Belgium, has invited Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar of the Calcutta University, who is a permanent member of the Society's Economic Politique of Paris, to take part in the deliberations and read a paper. His paper which is written in French, deals with the doctrine of progress with reference to the races and classes. He has also been appointed one of the Vice-Presidents of the International Congress of Population, which is meeting at Berlin at which he has a paper in German on the doctrine of optimism.

LABOUR'S APPEAL

A joint meeting of the executives of the Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party has decided to call on the British Government to urge the League of Nations to summon a world economic conference to discuss the international control of the sources and supply of raw material, with the application of the principle of economic equality and opportunity for all nations in the undeveloped regions of the earth.

DUKE OF YORK BOYS' CAMP

Every year in August, the Duke of York organises a camp for 400 boys at which he attends in person. It is a well organised and splendidly carried out holiday camp. The Duke invites his campers from both industry and the public schools; he has them live together and a fine spirit of co-operation grows up between the two classes of industrial and school boys. The idea is to build up a fine comradeship between the future hand workers and brain workers by healthy competition in games and an *esprit de corps* through camp life generally. These camps have been going now for several years and are very popular with the boys, who are fortunate enough to get the opportunity of going.

LEAGUE OF MUSLIM NATIONS

The *Bombay Chronicle* publishes the following news:

"According to *Al Balag*, a Cairo daily newspaper, Mustafa Kemal Pasha is planning to convene a conference of leading Muslim States at Teheran to explore the possibilities of forming a League of Muslim Nations.

"It will be recalled that this idea was mooted by Nahas Pasha, the leader of the Egyptian Wafd Party who, however, could not put it through. The trend of the present European situation seems to have given momentum to Kemal's move."

ITALY AND ETHIOPIA

"In no circumstances will we accept a railway through Ethiopia which is administered and policed by Italy," declared the Emperor of Abyssinia in a special cable to the *New York Times*.

"History teaches that the creation of such zones is inevitably followed by annexation.

"We shall continue our peaceful efforts and only if Italy invades Ethiopia will we offer armed resistance."

INDIA AND THE LEAGUE

India's contribution for 1935 to the League has been reduced by one unit as a result of distribution among the existing members of the units allotted to Russia on her entering the League, said Sir N. N. Sircar in reply to a question in the Assembly.

BOOKS RECEIVED

METHODS OF PSYCHIC DEVELOPMENT. By Irving S. Cooper. With a Foreword by C. W. Leadbeater. Price Re. 1. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

KHARTOUM TRAGEDY. By Marcus MacLaren. Lovat Dickson and Thompson Ltd., 38, Bedford St., London, W.C. 2.

THE SCIENCE OF DREAMS: A study of sleep and dreams. By W. B. Crow, D.Sc., Ph.D., Head of the Department of Biology, Technical College, Huddersfield. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. Re. 1-8.

A MANUAL OF GENERAL KNOWLEDGE AND OFFICE COMPENDIUM. By T. S. Srivastava, Lucknow. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Rs. 8.

INDIAN SUGAR INDUSTRY: 1935 Annual. By M. P. Gandhi. 135, Canning Street, Calcutta.

BUDS AND BLOSSOMS. By T. Sriramulu. Halkett's Gardens, Rajahmundry.

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF THE NAWABS OF THE CARNATIC: Tuzak-i-Walajahi. By Burhan Ibn Hasan. University of Madras.

SANKSHIPT-SAMIKSHA: A brief literary appreciation of Gandhiji, Kalapi, Shelley and Wordsworth. By Hiralal M. Desai, B.A. 26, Church Street, Fort, Colombo.

RIGVEDA-BHASYA of Skandaswamin (First Astaka). Edited by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon), Reader in Sanskrit, University of Madras. University of Madras, Senate House, Chepauk, Madras. Price Rs. 6.

VAJASANEYI PRATISAKHYA OF KATYAYANA. With the Commentaries of Uvata and Ananta Bhatta. By Venkatarama Sharma, Formerly Fellow in Sanskrit University of Madras. University of Madras, Senate House, Madras. Rs. 4.

DIET FOR HEALTH AND IN DISEASE. By the Sadhu Physician. The "Sunday Times" Book-Shop, Madras. Price As. 6.

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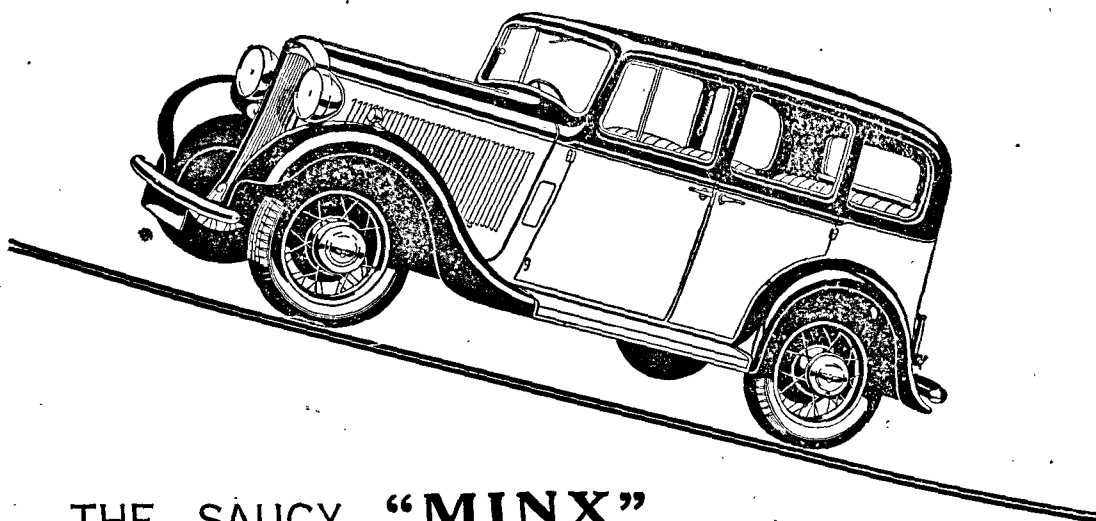
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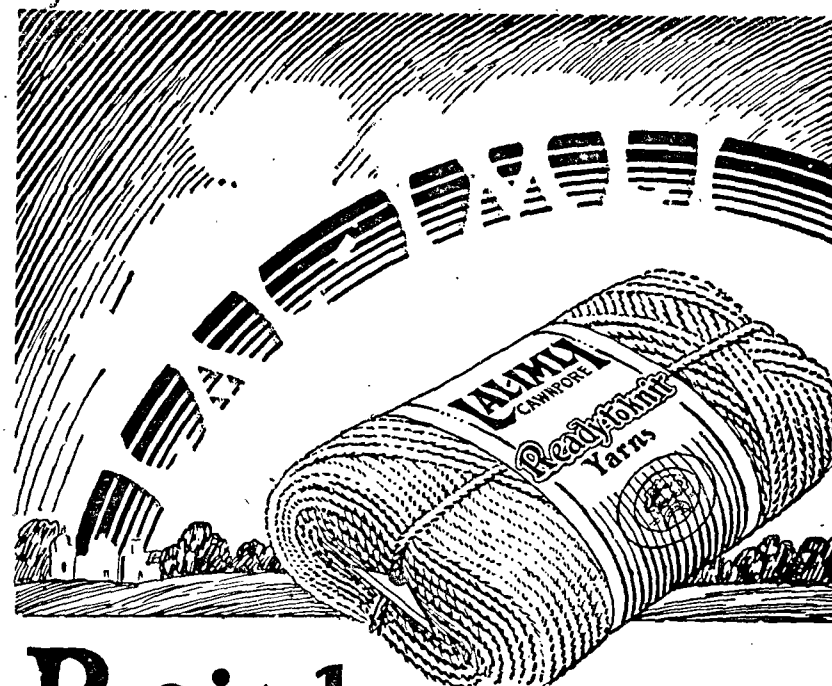


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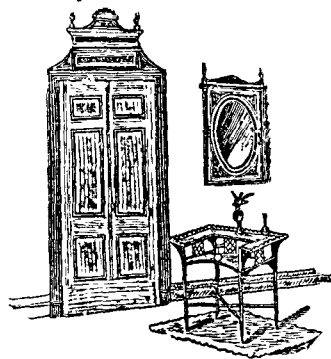


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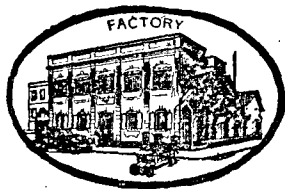
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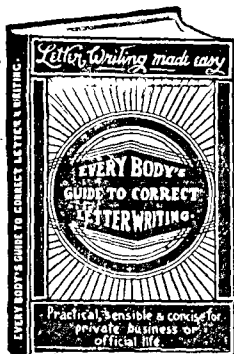
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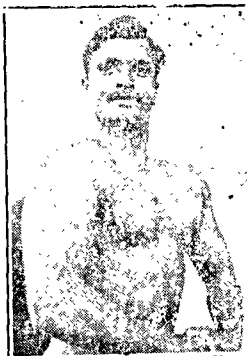
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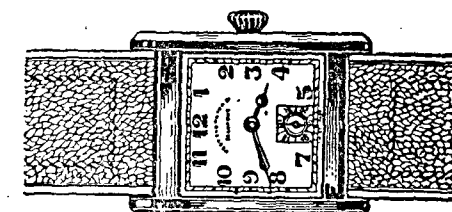
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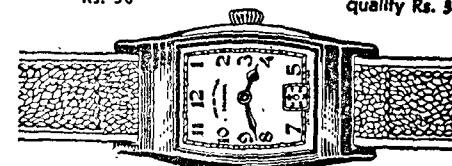
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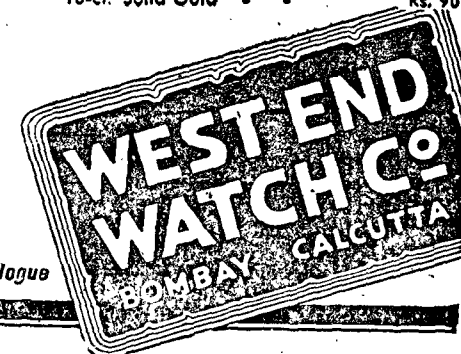


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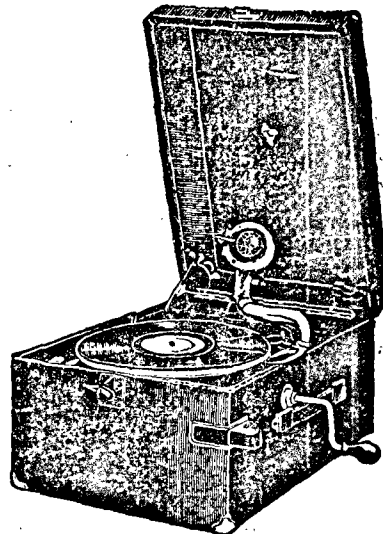
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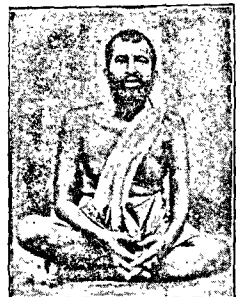
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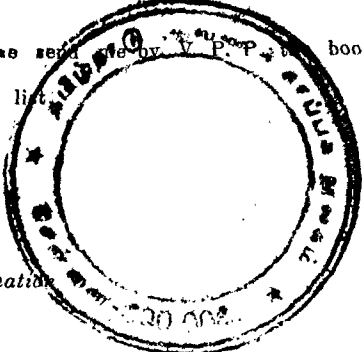
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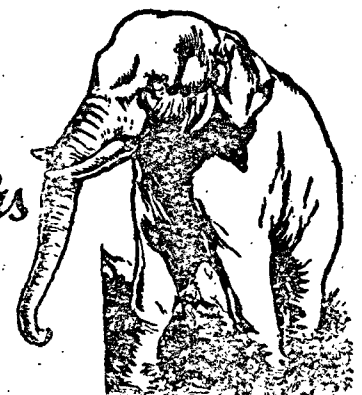
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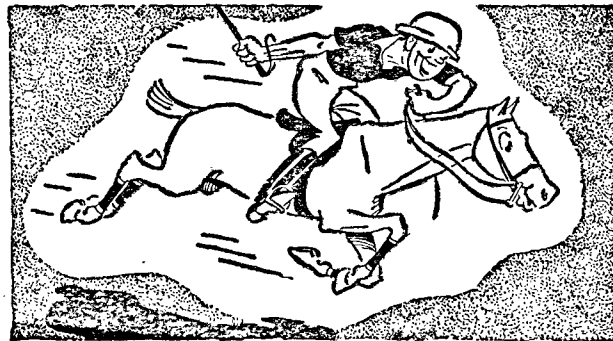


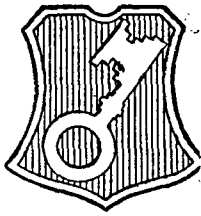
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