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The
Indian Review

1937 DIGITIZED

Vol: XXXVII

No 163

Jan - March

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VOL. XXXVIII.

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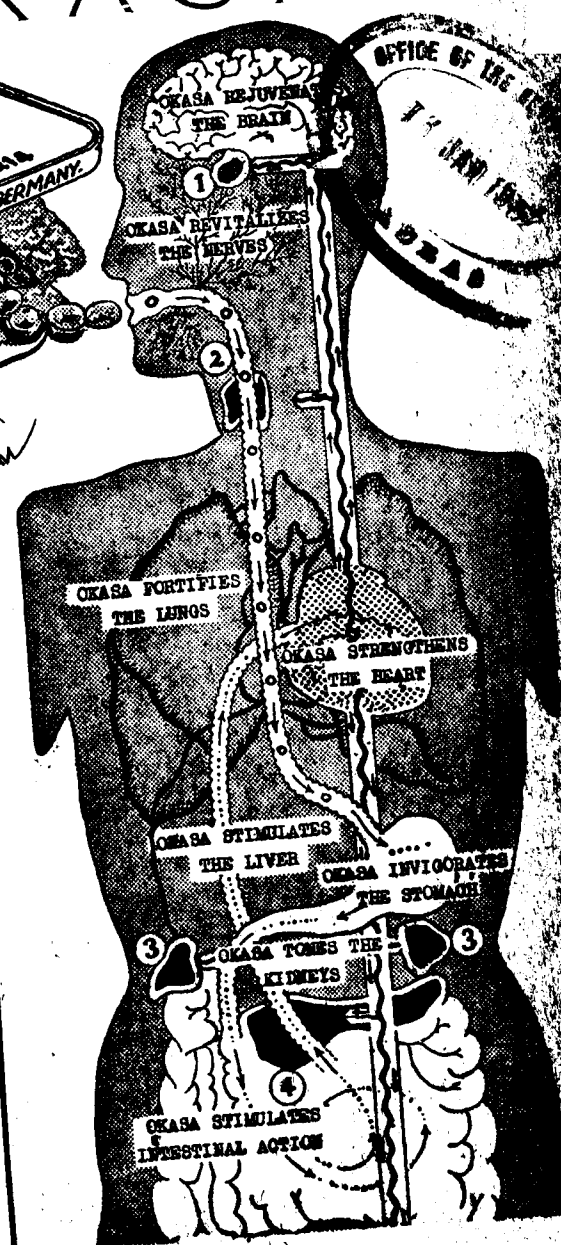
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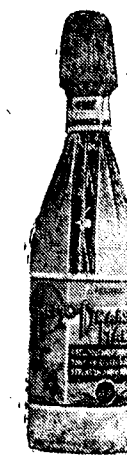
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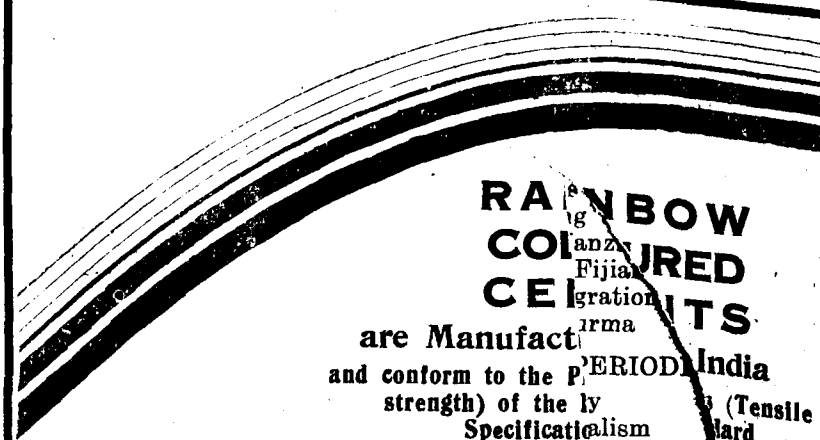
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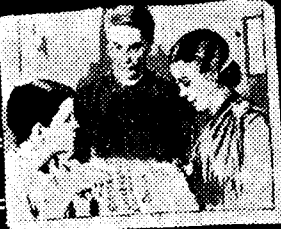
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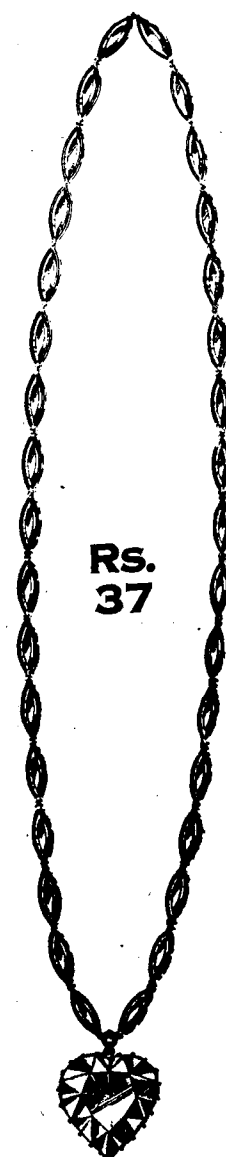
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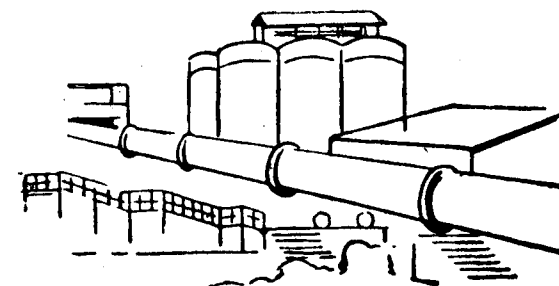
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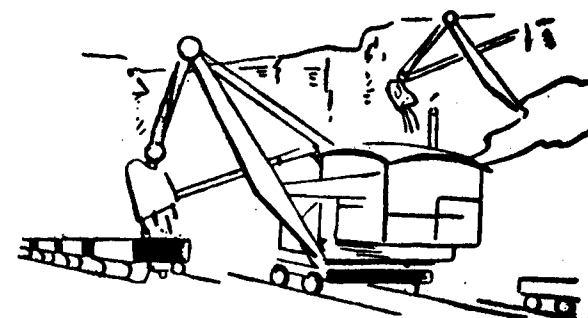
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VOL. XXXVIII.]

JANUARY 1937

[No. 1.]

The Irish Free State and the British Crown

By DR. A. BERRIEDALE KEITH M.A., D. Litt., D.C.L.

IT is natural that much interest should have been expressed in the United Kingdom at the announcement of the intention of Mr. de Valera to secure the approval of the Dail for alterations of the constitution, which will later be submitted to the electors at a plebiscite. The question of the revision of the Free State constitution has long been under consideration. Hasty action has been avoided, and the new scheme suggested promises to have special merits.

The fundamental alteration proposed by Mr. de Valera concerns the position of the Crown in the constitution, and it is of the highest importance that he has decided to treat the issues in different ways. In internal affairs one mode of procedure will be followed, while in regard to the external relations of the Free State, a completely different attitude will be adopted. The plan, therefore, bears a strong resemblance to the scheme put forward by Mr. de Valera in 1921-2 as an alternative to the treaty settlement, and in the calmer atmosphere of the present day, it may expect to receive a more unprejudiced consideration than was then accorded to it. In 1921-2, the bitterness of the recent civil war in the Free State coloured the whole of the proceedings, and the Imperial Government regarded the position in a manner which is no longer possible.

Mr. de Valera's desire is to regularise the *status quo* in internal government by abolishing the office of Governor-General as at present constituted, and by substituting for it an elected head of the State. The project must commend itself to any calm judgment, for the holder of the office of Governor-General has long ceased to exercise any functions of value. It must be understood that this position is not the outcome of action by Mr. de Valera alone. The British government had intended to keep the office as an essential link between the two countries; but in order to gratify the Irish government of the day, it was permitted to select the occupant of the post. Such a step was, of course, destructive of the independence of the Governor-General. He from the first was, and could be, nothing more than the servant of the ministry to whose favour he owed his appointment. But, not content with this, Mr. Cosgrave's government, in its legislation was at pains to eliminate from the working of the constitution all possibility of intervention by the Governor-General. Normally the armed forces, the civil service, and the judiciary are brought into close connections with the Crown, but in the Free State this tradition was deliberately reversed. The one use which was made of the Governor-General's services was ceremonial. He was encouraged to dispense official hospitality on account

of the ministry, and foreign envoys presented to him their credentials addressed to His Majesty.

On the advent to power of Mr. de Valera, this procedure was for the time adopted; but as early as 1932, Mr. de Valera, in pursuance of his republican principles, felt bound to secure the removal of the then Governor-General. The British Government had, by its acceptance of the resolution of the Imperial Conference in 1930 declaring that the choice of the Governor-General rested with the Dominion Government, precluded itself from resistance to the demand, and the officer appointed by Mr. de Valera as his successor undertook to exercise only such functions as were assigned by Mr. de Valera, and to reside in a suburban residence on a fifth of the official income. His sole function since then has been to sign the bills of the legislature presented to him, and the utter uselessness of his office is patent. Its disappearance, therefore, is highly desirable.

By providing for the election of a new head of the State, it will be possible to restore the balance of the constitution, which was destroyed by giving to the government of the day the power to control the Governor-General. In the United Kingdom, the King serves as the guardian of the constitution, and acts as a safeguard to the electorate from the misuse of powers by the ministry and Parliament of the day. While it is no part of the royal functions to withstand the will of the people, it is his essential duty to secure that the ministry shall not go beyond the mandate which it received at the general election. Revolutionary action by a ministry with a majority in the House of Commons can no longer be negated by the House of

Lords, though it can be delayed. It rests, therefore, with the King to secure that constitutional or economic changes of a revolutionary character are put before the people before he is asked to assent to legislation giving them effect. It is due to this reserve power, in no small degree, that British politics are marked by moderation, and Mr. de Valera expressly recognises that in the history of the Free State there have been cases where its absence has worked mischief. That is notoriously the case in respect of the much too drastic measure passed to deal with political opponents, which, used by Mr. Cosgrave against his rivals, has now been turned against him and his followers when out of office. It is now contemplated that the new head of the State shall normally act on the advice of ministers, but shall have independent authority in cases in which he thinks that the ministry is overstepping its mandate from the people.

A further improvement in the proposed constitution is the restoration of the referendum for important constitutional changes. This was duly provided for in the original constitution, and it was a grave error on the part of Mr. Cosgrave to eliminate this safeguard from the constitution and to permit amendment by simple Act. Mr. de Valera, with a much higher political insight, has determined that it must be restored. It is an essential safeguard, and should never have been weakened. Even under the original constitution, the upper chamber was impotent to prevent unsuitable legislation, and any new chamber erected will merely have revisory powers. It follows, therefore, that essential changes should have popular sanction.

While in all internal matters, the Free State will under the proposals have

virtually a Republican constitution, Mr. de Valera suggests that for external relations the model of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, should be followed. This suggestion is of special importance because it involves the maintenance of the essential connection existing between the Dominions and the United Kingdom. These Dominions invite the intervention of His Majesty in all matters of treaty-making and international relations involving action by the head of the State. In this way the formal unity of the Commonwealth is preserved side by side with the autonomy of the parts, while the several governments of His Majesty engage freely in consultations on foreign policy. Had Mr. de Valera followed the model of the Union of South Africa, he might have conferred on the new head of the State all external as well as internal royal authority, as has been done in the Union of South Africa, so that treaties could have been concluded, ministers accredited to foreign powers, and neutrality or war declared without personal action of the King. Such a step would involve a definite and deliberate severance of existing relations in foreign affairs, and that it has been avoided suggests the readiness of Mr. de Valera to treat for the adoption of the scheme for which he argued in 1921-2.

The essence of that scheme, of course, was that the Free State should be permitted to adopt a republican constitution while accepting co-operation with the United Kingdom and the other Dominions, and recognising the King as the head of the Commonwealth. It is easy enough to understand in the state of feeling in 1921-2 that such a solution seemed wholly impossible. Much has happened since then, and the definition of Dominion status, and its extension by the Union of South Africa have rendered in the main obsolete the old British objections to the proposals. All that is vital for Britain is to be assured, as Mr. de Valera is willing to assure her, that Irish territory shall never be allowed to be used by any enemy of Britain. That could be secured under the proposed arrangement, which would involve, moreover, a definite understanding regarding the use of Irish ports by the British fleet in time of war,

and the termination of the futile commercial war between the two countries, which has diminished the prosperity of both.

The way to an understanding is open, but it must be gravely doubted whether there is sufficient statesmanship either in the Free State or the United Kingdom to enable an accord to be achieved. It is dubious if the Free State will accept any solution which involves the maintenance of partition, and Britain is pledged to continue the autonomy of Northern Ireland, which is divided from the Free State by religious and other causes of paramount validity. It is possible also that the State might refuse to grant the use of her ports in war time, although such a refusal would be unreasonable; for the State cannot afford a navy of any sort and would be impotent to prevent use of her waters by enemy vessels. Britain again might find it impossible to devise a formula satisfactorily safeguarding the position of the Crown in external relations. But in itself there is no logical reason against the existence of a formal republic within the British Commonwealth, under the headship of the King, any more than there is against the existence of the Indian Empire. With changing conditions legal ideas should, and can, expand to accord with emergent situations. Unhappily two centuries of ill-feeling and distrust obscure to far too many Irishmen the essential facts of today, and Mr. Baldwin's government, as he confessed on November 12, to the consternation of many of his friends, follows on, instead of leading, public opinion. Mr. de Valera also, though he has given evidence of statesmanship of no mean order, is hampered by a certain narrowness of outlook, which may prevent him showing that readiness for compromise which is the essence of the British political system. But recent events in Europe should serve as an eloquent warning of the weakness of a small and isolated power to protect its own interests or further in any way common security. There is the possibility of securing a new and fruitful partnership between Britain and Ireland, and, if it could be achieved, fresh lustre would be added to the Coronation, at which it is the present intention of the Free State to decline to be represented.

THE MIND OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

By MR. C. R. REDDY, M.A. (Camb.)

(Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University)

IN this representative selection* of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru's writings, it is difficult to single out one letter or one essay for comprehensive comment. The passionate patriotism, of which none can be in doubt, tears through even the socialist inclinations of the Congress President. In fact, Patriotism, the lesser category, often overcomes Socialism, the higher; and Nature proves to be stronger than idea. "I work for Independence, because the nationalist in me cannot tolerate alien domination." But he has no hatred for Englishmen. He wants Independence because he would have no truck or barter with Imperialism, and the British Empire is, in his opinion, the most conspicuous example of Imperialism in action, though how he can reconcile this with the Statute of Westminster and the Federalism it embodies is difficult to perceive. Is Ireland under Imperialism to-day, though she is anti-socialist?

That does not mean that necessarily we lay stress on an isolation of India or a breaking away of India from such associations as might exist with England or other countries, but it does mean—the word 'Independence' is specially used to lay stress on the fact that we want to break the Imperialist connection with Great Britain. If Imperialism survives in England, we must part from England, because, so long as Imperialism survives in England, the only connection between England and India is likely to be the connection of an imperialist domination in India in some form or other. . . . Therefore in terms of Imperialist Britain, the Independence of India means the separation of India from England. Personally, I can conceive and welcome the idea of a close association between India and England on terms other than those of Imperialism.

Mr Nehru's case for the country's Independence is based upon his deep conviction that it is in the interests both of world civilisation as of the economic well-being of the masses of the Indian peasantry and workers.

Capitalism has led to Imperialism and to the conflicts of Imperialist powers in search for Colonial areas for exploitation, for areas of raw produce and for markets for manufactured goods. It has led to ever-increasing conflict with the rising nationalism of colonial countries, and to social conflicts with powerful movements of the exploited working class. . . . Asia is the main field of conflict between Nationalism and Imperialism. Asia is still undeveloped as compared to Europe

* INDIA AND THE WORLD. By Jawaharlal Nehru. Allen and Unwin Ltd. (G. A. Natesan & Co., Rs. 3-12.)

and North America. It has a vast population which can consume goods if they had the necessary purchasing power to do so. . . . Hence the talk of a "push to Asia" to find an outlet for the surplus goods of the West and thus stabilise Western Capitalism for another period. Capitalism is a young and growing force in the East; it has not, as in India, wholly overthrown feudalism yet. But even before Capitalism had established itself, other forces, inimical to it, have risen to challenge it. And it is obvious that if Capitalism collapses in Europe and America, it cannot survive in Asia. . . . Capitalism, in its difficulties, took to Fascism with all its brutal suppression of what Western civilisation had apparently stood for; it became, even in some of its homelands, what its imperialist counterpart had long been in subject colonial countries. Fascism thus stood out as two faces of the now decaying Capitalism. . . . Socialism in the West and the rising Nationalisms of the Eastern and other dependent countries opposed this combination of Fascism and Imperialism. "I am convinced that there is intimate connection between world events and our national problem is but a part of the world problem of Capitalist-Imperialism. . . . India's struggle to-day is part of the great struggle which is going on all over the world for the emancipation of the oppressed."

He regards the freedom movement in India as linked up with the Socialist movement abroad. He would have the English or the French Socialists remember that Indian Nationalism is "essentially different from the new and terribly narrow Nationalism of Fascist countries; the former was the historical urge to freedom; the latter the last refuge of reaction". There can be no hope for the successful establishment of socialist governments in the politically free states of the world, unless Imperialism is overthrown and subject peoples are given their political freedom. Nay, it is even more important to realise the essential and organic connection between Fascism and Imperialism; for only a destruction of both can ensure a stable world peace without which it would be impossible to retain the fruits of civilisation. If only the British Labour Party could realise this connection!

Our freedom movement is thus not merely an Indian affair but forms a part of the historic fight of progressive forces all over the world against reaction. It is also an essential condition for dealing with the problems of Indian poverty and unemployment.

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THE MIND OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

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Indian freedom is necessary, because the burden on the Indian masses as well as the middle classes is too heavy to be borne and must be lightened or done away with. The measure of freedom is the extent to which this burden is removed. . . . I see no way of ending the poverty, the vast unemployment, the degradation and subjection of the Indian people except through Socialism. That involves vast and revolutionary changes in our political and social structure, the ending of vested interests in land and industry as well as the feudal and autocratic Indian States system. That means the ending of private property, except in a restricted sense and the replacement of the present profit system by a higher ideal of co-operative service. . . . I work for Indian freedom because it is the inevitable step to social and economic change.

Whether one agrees or not with Mr. Nehru's reading of the situation, one cannot but admit the sincerity, vigour, and eloquence with which his ideas are put forward in these pages. There is no doubting the fundamental conviction of the man. He may have started life as a pure nationalist; but to-day his nationalism is a half way shelter to socialism, and he is a socialist, not only because he cannot bear to see poverty but it is the only 'ism' which appears to him to give reasonable hopes of the maintenance of world peace as well as of world civilisation.

Nevertheless, he is not a doctrinaire politician. He is willing to take count of reality and work with even those with whom he may have fundamental differences. Even Socialists are capable of compromise!

Much as I wish for the advancement of Socialism in this country, I have no desire to force the issue in the Congress and thereby create difficulties in the way of our struggle for Independence. I shall co-operate gladly and with all the strength in me with all those who work for Independence, even though they do not agree with the socialist solution.

His little essay on "Mahatma Gandhi" is a remarkable exposition of the ties that still link these two famous figures, in spite of their extreme differences, amounting to antagonism in ideas and policies.

To us he (Mahatma Gandhi) has represented the spirit and honour of India, the yearning of her sorrowing millions to be rid of their innumerable burdens, and an insult to him by the British Government or others has been an insult to India and her people.

Their spirit is alike, though their minds are different.

Mr. Nehru is not only a politician; he is essentially humanitarian in outlook and his sympathy always flows to the suffering.

Has he not himself suffered? His essays on "Prison-Land" and "The Mind of a Judge" are a terrible indictment of the administration of justice in India, the needlessly heavy punishments, the almost complete absence of any modern ideas of punishment in both prosecutors and judges and the way in which gaol administration sets out deliberately to destroy the soul of the prisoner. His constructive suggestions for prison reform may well illumine the mental and moral darkness of the Authorities in India.

Mr. Nehru has a quiet and restrained style that runs smoothly and yet can rise on occasions of intense emotion to sublime heights of feeling. He can be sarcastic, ironical, and thrust his points deep into the flesh. It is hard to resist quoting an illustration. Relating the story of a Naib-Tahsildar and two persons who, in the course of realising irrigation dues from the residents of a village, beat an unhappy peasant with sticks and his subsequent death,

The Naib and peons were subsequently tried and convicted for simple hurt, but they were forthwith released on probation of good conduct for six months. The good conduct, I suppose, signified that they must not beat another man to death within the next six months.

Even those who cannot agree with him in his policies must admit and admire his soulful sincerity and stern resolve for action. He has the grace, not over-plentiful in India, of living the principles he preaches and paying the price that Imperialism exacts of Liberators. The instruction he sent his daughter Indira in his first letter to her from prison: "Be brave and all the rest follows," finds ample illustration in his crowded life. Courage is the key-note of his character, as it is the salt and salvation of life.

All the same, I cannot hail his message as unassailable gospel and infallible remedy. The way the word 'Imperialism' is repeated makes one feel that it is a *mantra* which does duty for clear, classified thought and definition. Is it merely the opposite of Socialism? And can a State or a race, socialistic within itself, not be imperialistic relatively to other countries and races, more especially such as are regarded as inferior? Is Nationalistic Socialism a self-contradictory conception? And may

not a Socialistic State, when sufficiently strong, tend to become Imperialistic by imposing its domination on other races and exploiting them for the benefit of its Proletariat? Or is it that a Socialistic State is a contradiction in terms and that there can be no true Socialism except in a World Socialistic State or rather Society? To Mr. Nehru, the revolt of the Arabs against the Jews and their protectors, the British, in Palestine, is a fight against Imperialism. Almost every fight of the weaker against the stronger or a subject race against the suzerain, even when bereft of economic motives and led by the aristocracy, is a fight against Imperialism. What the Devil was to the Medieval Monk, Imperialism is in Mr. Nehru's interpretation of history—the author of all evil and the only author of evil.

Capitalism, he says, has led to Imperialism. When Yudhistira invaded the neighbouring kingdoms and subjugated them and even sacrificed a king with all due ceremony as a symbol of his over-lordship, was that, I wonder, a Capitalistic overflow into Imperialism? In term of race psychology, it seems to me, Capitalism and Imperialism are factors and symbols of Power, and it is Power that the virile races covet and pursue, and it is in the quest for increased Power that they come into conflict with each other. The love of domination appears to be a natural trait in the character of races, and the acquisition and employment of Capital and Colonies a process for achieving the idea of power and proud supremacy.

In linking up the freedom movement in India with the socialistic movement abroad, he is indulging in a metaphysical interpretation. For, the freedom movement in India, as idea, arose long before Socialism made itself felt in Europe; and the historical urge referred to has been apparently very leisurely in its operation. Nor can he on his own hypothesis hold that there is essential unity between the two forces and that there will be eternal co-operation between them. For he admits that Socialism is not consistent with Patriotism or Racialism; and Nationalism is the embodiment of both.

In describing Fascism and Nazi-ism as the last refuge of reaction, he misses their true character. Their great aim is to develop the power of the State

or of the Race. Whether this is to be achieved by a Capitalistic or a Socialistic policy, by promoting Individual liberty or by suppressing it, are subordinate considerations. It is the easy-going Cosmopolitanism of the Italian Socialists and the low estimate in which they held or professed to hold the Military forces of the country that was one of the causes that engendered Mussolini's movement in Italy. As has been illustrated by the German persecution of the Jews, the essence of Nazi-ism is Racialism and race power and prestige. All else are means to this end. The cultural reaction witnessed towards Paganism in Germany is a further illustration of this point, *viz.*, that the soul of Nazi-ism is not Capital and Property but Race.

As regards Mr. Nehru's present position in Indian politics, he himself seems to be aware that he has made the position of the Congress and Nationalism more difficult and less united by the interjection of Socialism and class cleavage. True, he would like to postpone socialism till after Nationalism is achieved and Patriotism has had its brief but transcendent hour. But this explanation cannot undo the mischief of disunity already wrought. Human nature being what it is, it is no use telling people that patriotism is the lesser thing and asking them to concentrate on it, while revealing a different road supposed to lead to greater glories and prosperity. Furthermore, human nature being what it is, to ask the different classes to join together and wage a fight to-day under promise that they will, after the fight is successfully accomplished, be let loose against each other, does not appear to be the most inviting way of engendering or maintaining national unity.

I have deliberately relegated my criticism to the end after first giving a continuous exposition of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru's remarkable book; for a reviewer should not, as a rule, stand between the author and the audience, though he may wind up the proceedings as a Chairman.

Post Script: "Since the above was written, Romain Rolland, in his greetings to the Indian National Congress, has employed the expressive phrase 'Racial Fascism', which I regard as a confirmation of one of the central points I have emphasised."

The British Drama: Its Present and Future

BY

MR. B. K. GUHA-THAKURTA, M.A.

INSPITE of my passionate admiration for the English Drama, the post-war drama has left me cold and even disgusted. They are completely devoid of human interests, being mere wind-bags of talk and only talk—endless, meaningless, pointless and at times not very witty. Take, for example, Mr. Noel Coward, the most popular figure in the present-day theatre world and the best box-office attraction. He has been connected with the stage for a pretty long time and has had the unique distinction of being an actor, producer, playwright all rolled into one. Yet his plays have always been a series of disappointment to me, 'The Vortex' being the only honourable exception. In spite of his ample opportunities to learn his business, he seems never to care for the technique of construction, and his plays are frankly dashed off in a way in complete contrast to the careful and well-considered works of men like Pinero. Of course, his terse dialogue imitates to perfection the account and affectations of contemporary society and that is all. He somehow lacks the spark of a Shaw or a Galsworthy, and his problems are too thin to be considered as problems at all. And I do not hesitate to admit that Mr. Coward has failed to impress me in spite of his tremendous stage success. So has been the fate of his many contemporary playwright-celebrities with me. I have gone through two volumes of six famous plays of 1932 and 1933, containing 'Journey's End', two pieces of Van Druten: 'London Wall' and 'Young Woodley' and 'Autumn Crocus'; the name of the rest I have forgotten (and they are not worth remembering at all) and 'Journey's End' and 'Young Woodley' I remember because of tremendous stage-success in spite of their intrinsic badness. Of these I really liked 'London Wall' and 'Autumn Crocus,' and wished that the rest could attain at least their standard to be readable. The others were mere drawing-room cackles; mere bubbles, vanishing the moment they rose; full of epigrams, not very flashy and witty at that. One is not far from wrong if he suggested that the present-day British

Drama is not what it used to be in the good old days, even what it used to be before the war. Really where is the pointed word, the crystalline word, the inevitable word we seek and the actor pines to utter, and where again is the eternal sense of conflict, which is the corner-stone of all human dramas? Of course, some of the modern dramas are good entertainers but so have been the antics of many clowns, whom we have managed to forget. It has to be remembered that entertainment by itself is mere nothing to a drama if it cannot stir up the subtle and cherished human emotions, which the modern drama invariably fails to do. True, the books I read had been good stage-successes and had a long run, but for that actors and not authors have to be congratulated; the brilliance of acting has made the best of a bad job. My point is, if there is something intrinsically good and soul-stirring in a drama, it would move and affect us even while we are reading it, stage-setting and acting is not essential for that purpose. (Remember Shaw and Barrie, Synge and O'Neil, Ibsen and Chechov not to mention Shakespeare) and the modern drama can hardly stand this post.

So the question suggests itself: What has happened to the British Drama, why is it so bankrupt and empty at this moment? It cannot be that English genius is barren of dramatic talent; for has it not a long unbroken tradition beginning from Shakespeare down to our own Shaw, Galsworthy, Barrie, and Synge? Is it then the reflex or post-war good-timing mentality? Disillusioned and with the tragic gloom in their hearts, do the post-war men want mere entertainers? I doubt very much, for in spite of Bertie Russel and his ill-fated extravertism (distorted into modern 'good timing' philosophy), we have in fields of fiction Aldous Huxley, D. H. Lawrence and Virginia Woolf. Then is it because of the talkies and the radio? This might be a plausible ground, but if we go deep into the matter we find that the theatre satisfies a different human craving different from what the motion-pictures and the radio satisfies

The art of photography has about it a printed stamp of uniformity, capable of being reproduced, and so it holds before us an emotional pattern of some moment in the past. In spite of their technical perfections, the motion pictures are nothing but reflections of the Dramatic Stage, caught in the Camera, fitted in the Director's Studio, so that the contact with the persons who appear on the screen is indirect, remote and impersonal, while on the stage the contact is real and personal. It thrills us, because we see actual people playing imaginary parts. So the legitimate stage will always hold it against this interloper, the talkies, only because the emotional art of an actor possesses the freshness of an original momentary creation.

And the radio, it can never be a serious rival to the theatre in as much as its contact with the audience is remote enough not to be any real contact at all—from a lonely room in the broadcasting hall, the artiste desperately throws off his or her voice in the air and the voice rolls on in waves through space reaching all corners of earth without the echo or approbation or disapprobation ever having any chance of reaching the poor artiste. Everything is unreal, the artistes and the listeners-in are exasperated at last; for don't we after all pine for the personal human touch in everything? So the radio, if it competes at all, it will compete with newspapers and cannot permanently take away the actual theatre-goers from the theatre.

We have then to fall upon the theatre for its faults, for its degeneration. The present drama is now in the cross-way of purposes, scarcely knowing its mind. It is the drama of our callous times, dealing with things and experience, so near to us, never going to the depth of dealing permanent human motives and emotions as Ibsen and Hauptman have done. Our drama is drama of ideas, arousing controversies about interests having the remotest relation to theatrical art. If the dramatist has some brilliant idea which he wants to blurt out, he immediately rushes to the stage, and the tragedy is this that his ideas are not brilliant and

flashy as Mr. Wilde's or his utterances as saucy, gingery and full of meaning as Mr. Shaw's. They fall flat on the audience and the poor souls are crushed; one splendid evening lost for ever. The moderners are bold experimenters no doubt, but they don't feel the urge of exploiting the long traditions of the English drama. There are sincere dramas of current social life, written by men with sensibility and knowledge of the stage, but seldom the young dramatist feels the inducement of re-exploring the old-field of dramatic intrigue. They are busy with this problem and that—now it is 'Sex' then it is 'labour', again it is incompatibility of temperament in married life (of which we hear so much in modern days) and the talk goes on and on, the dramatic action being stagnant all the while till the curtain drops to the relief of the poor audience. The naturalistic drama which flourished with Jones and Pinero, Shaw, Galsworthy and Baker, which was inspired by Ibsen and Hauptman and Chekhov has now been disturbed in the hands of the young dramatist, and its triumphant march has been brought to a halt in the post-war days. But we have nothing to regret for it. Romanticism in Shakespeare's days had been banal in the end. So had been the fate of classicism in Racine's day; now it is the fate of naturalism to die only to resurrect in a fresher and more vigorous form; for has not the British Drama a long and lasting tradition behind it?

Another defect of the British Stage has been that it has always been a mere sounding-board of the author, the producer never taking to his task seriously. An imaginative producer is as much essential for the upliftment of the British Drama as an imaginative treatment of real life by an author. To the producer, the art of theatre should not be a mere 'pick-me-up'; 'it is a communion; no, it is a famous temple', to quote Mr. Gordon Craig. And Mr. Gordon Craig's cry has been up till now a cry in the wilderness so far as the British Stage is concerned. It is time that he is listened to.

Congress and Office Acceptance: A Symposium

[In response to a request from the Editor of this *Review*, a number of politicians and publicists have been good enough to contribute to a symposium on the most discussed question of the acceptance of office under the New Constitution. While publishing the first instalment of views on the subject it must be added that these contributions were received before the Faizpur Congress passed the resolution postponing a decision on the subject. It is proposed to continue the symposium on this important question in the succeeding Numbers also.—Ed. I.R.]

HON'BLE SIR PHIROZE SETHNA

THE question of acceptance of office has arisen owing to the attitude of the Congress with regard to it. From the point of view of the Liberal Party, it does not arise at all. All non-Congress parties have agreed that the new constitution should be worked so as to take the fullest advantage of it with a view to promoting the material improvement of the masses, and accelerating the achievement of Dominion Status. It necessarily follows from the fundamental proposition that ministerial offices should be accepted. To a Liberal, non-acceptance of office would mean the deliberate stultification of the party which would refuse to accept them. The policy of non-acceptance of office cannot but be extremely harmful to the interests of our country. Of course, I realise that a non-Congressman has no right whatever to give any advice to the Congress on this question. Nor do I think that Congress leaders will pay the slightest heed to the advice coming from any quarter outside the Congress ranks. Non-Congressmen had better refrain from giving any advice to Congressmen on this matter, let them decide this question just as they like. After all, the policy of the Congress is to end the new constitution, even when offices are accepted. It makes very little difference, therefore, whether the Congress decides or not to accept offices. From the Liberal point of view, the only hope is that in case the Congress adopts the policy of accepting offices, the Congress Party will realise from its own experience that it is one thing to indulge in tall talk about wrecking the constitution, and quite another to be able to do so. As ministers, Congressmen will begin gradually to realise that it is impossible to wreck the constitution, and that the wiser policy is to work it for what it is worth.

I have carefully read the speeches and statements of Mr. Satyamurti and other

Congress leaders who are in favour of accepting ministerial offices. The arguments they have advanced in support of their position appear to me sound, apart from the point they constantly reiterate that the constitution can be wrecked even by accepting offices. But from my point of view as a Liberal, the real, fundamental issue is whether the policy of the Congress with regard to the new constitution is or is not for the good of India. I feel not the slightest hesitation in saying that this policy is bound to be suicidal. What is wanted is abandonment of this policy. But I have not the slightest hope that the Congress will be able to realise the utter futility, folly and harmfulness of this policy. Only bitter experience will disillusion it on this question, as it has already done on the questions of non-co-operation, civil disobedience and boycott of Councils. As I view the policy of the Congress during the last sixteen years, I have a very painful sense of the tragedy of our national harm, what unnecessary suffering, what misery would have been avoided if only Congress leaders had shown a keener perception of the realities of the Indian political situation and had not allowed themselves to float in the clouds. Some Congress leaders are, no doubt, great men and I feel the greatest respect for them. What, however, they seem to me not to realise is that sound judgment is no less essential than ardent patriotism and the spirit of self-sacrifice. I have no doubt that their patriotism and spirit of self-sacrifice outrun their judgment. There is such a thing as the evil that great men do, and I have often the feeling that Congress leaders, while they are serving the cause of their country honestly and sincerely, to the best of their lights, have done a lot of harm by their conspicuous lack of judgment.

The Congress will soon have to decide this question of the acceptance of office;

indeed it should have decided it long ago. My only hope is that the ultimate decision of the Congress will be in favour of acceptance of office and that the country will be saved from the graver disaster which will inevitably follow from the policy of rejection of the constitution combined with non-acceptance of office. It looks, however, that wiser counsel may not prevail; for only yesterday, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his Presidential address observed that:—

Acceptance of office was a negation of the policy of rejecting the Act, and he challenged the pro-office section to demonstrate that office-acceptance was the way to non-co-operate with the Act and to end it.

Would to God that our Congress friends will yet decide to leave the barren and ruinous paths which they have hitherto followed and which lead to nowhere.

MR. BHULABHAI J. DESAI

Mr. G. A. Natesan asks me to write on the question of Acceptance of Office under the new Constitution. The objective of the Congress is well-known, and that is complete independence for our Motherland. Acceptance of office, if the Congress decides in favour of acceptance, can only be the means to that end and not an end by itself. So if the spirit behind the Congressmen entering the Legislatures is fully appreciated, then I am sure so much undue importance will not be attached to this question.

Why have we decided to contest the elections? When the late Viceroy dissolved the Central Legislature in the fond hope that the country would approve of the rule by repression, we decided that we should go to the country and take a measure of the people's confidence in us to demonstrate whether the people stood for us or whether they stood for those who attempted to suppress us. It is now well-known that in every constituency we contested, the people's confidence in us was renewed and those who sold us during the time we were in jail were consigned to eternal shame whatever other places of pleasure they may occupy. We have justified the claim that so far as the future is concerned, we shall not allow it to be said through the instruments of Government that India is being

willingly governed through its representatives. We have succeeded in excluding all our enemies from the Central Legislature who while we were in jail, for self-interest or otherwise assisted the Government in forging every weapon in order that they themselves and their own countrymen may be enslaved. Therefore whatever may be the phase of our struggle, we have decided in the light of past experience that we shall not let our enemies have this vantage ground where a foreign power through its instruments may declare that India is being ruled by its own representatives nor shall we allow those instruments another opportunity to assist that Government in suppressing us. So our real and main aim is to oust every opponent and replace him by a loyal and devoted soldier of the Congress.

Therefore, the question of what is called Office Acceptance which looms large in the minds of some men and women is but a trifle to be decided as circumstances require. As it is not a matter of principle and as it is purely a matter of policy, it can be decided as circumstances require at the proper time. Naturally to men of personal ambition, it must become a matter of principle but to Congressmen who are there only in the spirit of service, it cannot be a matter of principle.

MR. S. D. DEO (POONA)

(Chairman, Rec. Com., Faizpur Congress)

The new constitution is designed to consolidate the imperialist forces by gathering under the imperialist fold all the anti-national and reactionary elements in India and outside and thus to create an effective and strong opposition to frustrate the ever-increasing strength of progress and growth. (The Indian National Congress has seen through this game and is bent upon wrecking it. This wrecking can never be done from within the Councils alone, it can be only successfully carried out through direct action outside, through a mass movement having its roots in the militant and conscious organisation of the impoverished masses of India.)

It is this faith in direct action as the only weapon to wreck the new constitution which distinguishes the Congress platform from all other reformist parties. It is very necessary

to make this clear and emphasise it when we approach the question of ministerships. Whether we accept or reject offices we do it to intensify our wider struggle, to complement it and make it deeper so that our movement forges ahead with a richer social content, and therefore when we accept offices we are not becoming traitors to our cause and work the constitution; we accept them with a determination to destroy it and a definite programme which we undertake to follow will make deadlocks inevitable and our success in breaking the constitution almost certain. Mere constitutional deadlocks, however, will not suffice, such deadlocks must be backed up by popular agitation outside.

We might expedite a constitutional crisis but if there is no organisational strength to force the issue and make the crisis effective, it seems difficult how acceptance of offices will help us. The movement and its present low level of organisation makes some of us condemn office acceptance as unwise, because they feel that paper deadlocks will carry us nowhere while the burden of administration will slowly demoralise our ranks and divert our attention from the main goal.

Rejection in acceptance of ministries therefore can never be made into a fundamental issue. To my mind it is a question of strategy. If office acceptance can intensify our struggle we cannot afford to fight shy and let the opportunity go. If it is making our position difficult we will have to remain in opposition and do as much as we can. Let us not be blinded by mere words. The game of politics is subtle and the cards we can play are many.

While in the immediate present our task, though straight and simple, is difficult, we are to unite all our forces and condemn the constitution by electing only those who are determined to wreck it. The Congress must be elected with a majority everywhere to make the question of ministerships a practical issue. And we can certainly take our decision then by a fresh evaluation of the objective situation. Till then, we must try to get an unequivocal verdict of the nation that it stands solidly behind the Congress for destroying the constitution.

SIR MOHAMMAD YAKUB, M.L.A.

The acceptance or non-acceptance of office under the New Reforms depends on the potentiality of the Reforms themselves.

It must be admitted that an experiment in Democracy is being made, for the first time, in a country the traditions and ancient history of which have, from time immemorial, been linked with autocracy and personal rule, and where the monarch has been considered as the incarnation of the Deity, or the shadow of God, possessing Divine powers, and above control and criticism by his subjects. That being so the fresh experiment must, necessarily, be made with the utmost care and caution, particularly at a time when communistic tendencies and the doctrines of revolutionary socialism are being vigorously inculcated in the minds of the people, and a regular campaign is undertaken to wreck the whole structure of the existing civilisation as soon as the iron hand of strong administration is loosened and the limitations imposed by Law are relaxed.

Judging from this point of view, no sane and prudent politician can condemn and censure the safeguards which surround the autonomous machinery of the Provincial Government, which, no doubt, is based upon sound principles and is pregnant with great possibilities.

The expansion and healthy growth of Provincial Autonomy, therefore, demands patriotic and careful tutorage and fostering stewardship. Acceptance, rather capturing, of office by those who are bent upon wrecking the new constitution would, no doubt, be a great calamity for the progress of the country.

It must be the first and foremost duty of every true son of the soil to guard against this tragic catastrophe. The Cabinets in the Provinces must be manned with sober and seasoned politicians, who have a sincere desire to steer the boat of Autonomy safely to the shore of India's final aspirations and who should be free from communal bias and religious fanaticism.

THE VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE

By DR. P. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A., Ph.D. (LOND.)

In view of the Sixth Centenary Celebration of the famous Vijayanagar Empire, held in December 1936, the following article from the pen of Dr. P. Srinivasachari, drawing attention to the cardinal features of this Empire, will be read with interest.—[Ed. I.R.]

FOR centuries after the southern campaign of Samudragupta, the history of India, south of the Vindhyas, ran its course of incessant rise and fall of kingdoms with practically no intervention from outside, until about the end of the thirteenth century, when the Muslims began to pour down south. The basis of the older kingdoms was far too unsuitable to meet and withstand successfully this new danger. A new power had to arise on altogether a new basis, occupying a far more strategic position than any of the older kingdoms; and it was this driving force of the political needs of Southern India that gave rise to the Vijayanagar Empire.

The legendary account of the origin of the city of Vijayanagar is only symbolic of the religio-political basis of this empire. Dharma and the protection of Dharma was the uppermost idea in men's minds, and even the petty donor and the humble tax-payer felt that he was doing his little best to uphold the cause of Hindu Dharma. As long as this basic idea was firm in the minds of the people, their efforts were crowned with success. They arrested the growth of the Muslim power and fostered everything that was good and great in the Hindu Dharma and the Hindu Society. But when the empire reached the height of military strength and glory, the absence of all fear from the Muslims led them slowly to forget this basic idea. The fall was inevitable, and was, indeed, very characteristic of the peculiar factors that brought it about. The empire was at the height of its military strength and glory. Ramaraya, the Vijayanagar leader, had previously won many a military success, and there had been absolutely no new factors contributing to strengthen the arms of the Muslims. But the religio-political basis of the Vijayanagar State had vanished and a secular autocracy had arisen which managed the affairs of this vast empire. The citizens of Vijayanagara at this period were proud and confident, but they had no driving force behind them. They did not have the same religious

zeal, the same spirit of heroic self-sacrifice that formerly led to the building up of a vast empire as a bulwark against the Muslims. The empire survived for many generations after the battle of Rakshasatangidi (Talikota), but its main task was over and it slowly declined and passed away.

The history of Vijayanagar deals with a period of nearly three centuries beginning from circa A.D. 1336, but the latter part from A.D. 1565 onwards forms a separate chapter quite distinct from the rest of it. The credit of laying the foundations of the future great empire goes to a family of five brothers, the eldest of whom, Harihara I, became the first king of Vijayanagara. Under him and his successors Vijayanagar rapidly spread over the whole of South India, and before long the king of Vijayanagara could describe himself with some justification as "Emperor of the South", "the publisher of the commentaries on the Vedas" and "one that established the Vedas, and maintained the four castes and orders". It is noteworthy that the famous *Sayana Bhashya* of such inestimable value for understanding the Vedas, is a product of this age. The reign of Devaraya II was, perhaps, the most prosperous period of Vijayanagara history under the first dynasty, and there is an elaborate account of a foreigner called Abdur Razack testifying to the greatness and prosperity of Vijayanagar at this period.

With the accession of Krishnadevaraya we pass into a new epoch, which was really the greatest period of the history of India, south of the Vindhyas. Krishna-devaraya was a great king, and with the help of an equally great minister called Timmarusu, he set out on a career of conquest and aggrandisement, and in less than a decade, he had placed his kingdom on the heights of military glory. The second half of his reign was spent in peaceful activities. But already now we see the germs of future change and decay. The confidence born of success and prosperity led people away from the path of devotion and self-sacrifice for high ideals.

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THE VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE

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The basis of the State turned gradually secular and princes and generals began to aspire for power, not so much to serve the State in a better way but to enjoy the rank and power of office. Factions arose even in the time of Krishnadevaraya when he fell ill, but in his successor's reign one of them did not hesitate to bring in the aid of the Muslim power for his own selfish purposes. Ramaraya's ultimate success and Sadasiva's accession brought the State under the control of a single authority. But the change of ideas manifested itself in arrogance and *Adharma* and aggressive hostility toward the Muslim power. They resorted to excesses during times of victory and forgot all rules of conduct towards the vanquished and the suppliant. The Muslims were divided and weak and put up with Vijayanagara intervention for quite a long time. But after all Vijayanagar was their common foe and for once in A.D. 1565, they joined together against Vijayanagar and defeated her at the famous battle of Rakshasatangidi (Talikota). The capital was transferred to Penugonda, and not long after, the kingdom was divided. The empire had outlived its utility, and slowly it marched on to its inevitable doom.

The political history of Vijayanagar is, perhaps, the least important part of the story. Vijayanagar did produce great warriors and generals, and her political history is quite as remarkable as that of any other empire. But it is in her social life and administration that her contribution is specially noteworthy; for, with a few inevitable changes it has lasted through centuries down to the present day. Much of what we think is peculiarly ours to-day, we really owe to Vijayanagar. We have ample material in contemporary literature and inscriptions to enable us to picture life as it was in Vijayanagar times. For example, we know from the testimony of unimpeachable evidence the exact nature of their houses, their dress and ornaments, their foods, drinks and enjoyments, their court life and public life, their various systems of land tenure, their crude but efficient administration of justice, their trade and commerce, their industry and agriculture and, in fact, almost every detail of their life as clearly as we can know and understand the life of other people

in distant lands. We see it all pictured in their literary works, and we can also see it portrayed far more effectively in the various sculptures and paintings of the period still existing to-day.

The panels of sculpture in the Hazara Ramasvami temple at Hampi and the temples at Tadpatri must be regarded as "the finest galleries of the Vijayanagara art that have come down to us". Specimens of Vijayanagara painting still surviving in the temples at Hampi, Lepakshi, Sompalli, and Tiruparuttikundram after centuries of neglect and decay show that the art of painting had attained quite a high position during Vijayanagara times. It is hardly necessary to speak about the architectural achievements of this age, for few Hindu dynasties of eminence have neglected to add to the architectural treasures of our country. But the contribution of Vijayanagar in this sphere is particularly interesting, as providing us with specimens not only of temples but buildings raised for secular purposes.

The contribution of Vijayanagar in the field of literature is by no means inconsiderable. The patronage of the rulers was extended equally to Tamil, Kannada and Sanskrit although in the best days of her prosperity, Telugu occupied a higher position as seen from the number and excellence of the works extant. It was primarily an age of independent composition, and although a few translations were still made, the major works of the age in Telugu are Prabandhas. The great king Krishna-devaraya himself composed several works in Sanskrit and Telugu, one of which a Telugu poem named *Amuktamalyada* is in several respects, the most typical product of the age. Mention has been made already of the most important religious and scholarly achievement of the age, namely, the Vedic commentary of Sayana. It was but natural that in an age of such marked devotion to Dharma and the propagation of Dharma, many important religious works were composed and special mention may be made of the famous works on Advaita and Dvaita, of Vidyaranya and Vyasa-tirtha respectively.

In short, it was an age of independence and fame, of prosperity at home and respect abroad.

DEVALUATION

[In view of the persistent controversy over the question of Devaluation of the Rupee, the Editor of this *Review* invited a number of economists and businessmen and Professors of Colleges and Universities for an expression of their views on the subject. It is hoped that the publication of the discussion of the case for and against devaluation by leading economists and others will be read with interest. As the subject is engaging public attention, it is proposed to continue the discussion in the succeeding Numbers also. ED. I. R.]

SIR MONTAGU DE P. WEBB, KT.

India is not now allowed to fashion and issue her own money. Its manufacture and issue are the monopolies of Government. And the money is issued, not so as to keep its *measuring function stable for the 375,000,000 people of India*, but so as to keep its *external value* in the neighbourhood of 1s. 6d. for the benefit of foreign money-lenders and traders.

As the issue of rupees (of silver, and paper) is the monopoly of Government, traders are compelled to pay Government for such rupees as they must have, whatever price Government may demand. At present the Secretary of State demands a little over 1s. 6d. for each rupee that he sells.

But why 1s. 6d.? It will be asked. Why not 1s. 8d. or 1s. 4d.?

That, indeed, is the question of the moment. The Hilton-Young Commission of 1925-6, thinking that the level of world prices had by then settled down, and the late Sir Basil Blackett having managed to raise the sterling value of the rupee to 1s. 6d. at that time, the Commission recommended that India should be placed on the gold standard,—that the sterling value of the rupee should be pegged at 1s. 6d.,—and that the volume of rupees in India should be restricted.

Alas, world-prices had *not* settled down! In England, mainly a *manufacturing country*, the general level of prices fell thirty per cent.; whilst in India, (mainly an *agricultural country*), the prices of agricultural produce *fell over fifty per cent.*! Thus, the chief recommendations of the Hilton-Young Commission were built on what proved to be quite unsound foundations. Great Britain, and most other countries, were subsequently forced off the gold standard, and compelled to devalue their currencies in terms of gold; whilst India, again I repeat, *an agricultural country*, found herself compelled to lower the rupee prices at which she sold her surplus products overseas, *to a greater degree than any other*

great agricultural country, in order to overcome the 1s. 6d. handicap and compete in world markets. That, in truth, is how experts have arrived at the conclusion that 1s. 6d. is too high a sterling valuation. In short, the rupee is *over-valued*.

The immense increase in the *local value* of the rupee, (i.e. the terrible fall in rupee prices), coupled with the same demands as before for land revenue, taxes, interest, etc., (and increased prices of agriculturalists' needs owing to additional import duties), has reduced many agricultural interests to ruin. The silver and gold savings of many years have been sold for what they would fetch, (most of the gold has eventually found its way to Europe and America), and India's overseas trade has sadly withered. In time, when the people's savings have been further depleted, the balance of trade in India's favour will not be sufficient to pay the whole of her sterling liabilities; and then the rupee will "de-value" itself, without Government's permission!

Government to-day stand charged with flouting the best informed Indian opinion and stubbornly adhering to the pegging of sterling exchange at a rate—1s. 6d.—which is based on incorrect and unsound foundations, and which has in consequence led to (1) the insolvency of agriculture and the loss of the people's metallic savings or reserves; (2) the bankruptcy of the railways; (3) the withering of exports, and therefore of imports; (4) the serious straining of the finances of both Central and Provincial Governments; and (5) the partial paralysis of progress in several directions.

Nothing but a practical recognition of error, by a gradual (a) lowering of external value of the rupee to, say, 1s. 4d.; (b) lowering of taxation all round, including import duties, and (c) issue of more currency based on the credit of the State not on silver or gold (as has been done before), can check the terrible economic wasting disease that is slowly dragging India down.

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DEVALUATION

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MR. MATHURADAS VASANJI

Devaluation has been found in the last ten years of increasing effect by more than one country, in improving the average price-level within the country. Agricultural countries particularly suffer most and longest in such depressions as have been prevailing for the last 7 years in India. If Devaluation of the rupee were adopted, there would be some hope of improving substantially the price-level of the principal produce in India.

The indirect Devaluation, following upon the devaluation in effect of the British Pound Sterling, is not only not sufficient for the requirements of Indian Agriculture; it is, with reference to sterling, hardly any devaluation at all. The Rupee is still tied to sterling, and, as such, so far as the Price-level in sterling is concerned, the Indian producer could hardly be said to have derived any advantage. If Devaluation followed by a certain consequent ease in the Money Market,—Inflation, to give its current name, were effectively used as a remedy for price improvement in this country, the Rupee must, in the first place, be de-linked from the Pound Sterling. And, having done so, it must then be allowed to find its own proper, natural level, under the conditions of India's Foreign Trade and the Balance of Accounts, as they exist to-day. We have no means to judge, in advance, as to precisely at what level the Rupee could be maintained without any undue oscillations. We must, therefore, gather independent experience as to the proper natural level for the Rupee; and that can only be done if it is de-linked from Sterling, and allowed to find its own level.

The Devaluation of the Rupee would accidentally put an immediate stop to the drain of gold from India, which now aggregates enormous quantities, and constitutes a serious menace to the internal national economy of this country. Once the Rupee is delinked and devalued, and the Government of India is no longer obliged to issue gold to meet its foreign obligations,—but either arranges for Loans abroad to meet the temporary adverse balance, if any, or utilises the favourable balance, most likely to result in the Trade

Account of India, thanks to the devaluation of the Rupee,—the Gold Stocks of India would soon come to be replenished; and the national economy more balanced than has been the case in the last 5 years.

The only argument on the other side may be that of the finances of the Government of India. That body may have to find more Rupees to meet its annual Home Charges. If the Rupee is devalued by 2 pence, it might mean an additional requirement on account of the Home Charges by 6 crores. This, however, may be more than made up by the improvement in the economic conditions of the local commerce and industry,—and consequently in the revenue yields of the principal items of taxation. Even if that improvement takes longer to be realised than the immediate need of Government, the burden of a foreign Loan,—in these days of low interest rates,—to meet a temporary deficit, will be insignificant in comparison with the immense benefit to the national Agriculture and Industry and consequent gain in the Foreign Trade of India from this measure.

MR. D. BRUCE SCOTT

I am against devaluation. Perhaps I have been unfortunate in my reading, but there does not appear to me to be anything in the ideas of the devaluationists which is conclusive in support of an urgent, or even ultimate, reversion to the level of 1sh. 4d.

So far as I can see, there are three main arguments in favour of devaluation: (1) it would improve the export trade of India; (2) it would give protection to internal industry; and (3) 1sh. 4d. is the 'natural' level and so it would stop the export of distress gold. We can dismiss the third point because there is no such thing as a 'national' level (relevant factors having been properly adjusted, one exchange level is just as good as another) and I have never been able to see the 'distress' of a person who buys gold at £3-17-10½ and sells it at about £8.

What then of the improvement in the export trade? What devaluation really means is that it is hoped India will be able to sell at lower prices than other countries in the markets of the world. This particular type of "game" has already

been played by most countries. It was started by France and Germany, and for different reasons it was made effective in Britain and all "Sterling" countries after September 1931 when the Gold Standard was abrogated. Since then it has been followed by other countries. But can it be said that devaluation itself increased the export trade of any country? I think not. It can be said it led to a pernicious system of tariffs, quotas and even barter, which have done much to stultify world trade.

When Britain went off the gold standard (for reasons which are not pertinent to this discussion), India in fact devalued by having the Rupee linked to sterling. Since then there has been a steady approach to equilibrium of world prices and world exchanges. A further and important factor is that the Government of India has been able, without much apparent effort, to keep exchange rates reasonably steady. It is at such a period that the devaluationists would seem to want to start India again on the road of currency competition. If for no other reason than that nothing should be done at present to stir up further competition in currency matters, I think India should leave well alone. If in the future there is an approach to general world-wide economic agreement, India can join in and help a settlement in the interests of world trade. If devaluation should then prove necessary, the Government of India have given the Reserve Bank power to review the currency standard. To take unilateral action in a world which knows the devaluation game every bit as well as India, is simply asking for retaliation, and in the event the export trade would not necessarily improve.

There remains the question of protecting internal industry. Hitherto, where protection of this nature has been necessary, it has been effectively applied by tariffs on particular imports. To increase the price of all imports by devaluation seems unwise.

To my mind, however, the real significance of the suggested reversion to 1sh. 4d. is the desire for inflation, the dangers of which cannot be over-emphasised. If the rupee were made 1sh. 4d. to-morrow we would be in for another period of disparity between real values and money values during which there would be uncertainty. (We can hardly

say that prices have not adjusted themselves in a preponderating degree to 1sh. 6d.) But there is another important aspect which the devaluationists seem to me to have ignored or skated over. A reduced rupee will, in effect, be a capital levy directed against a particular class of the community. The trusting investor who has put his savings into fixed interest bearing securities will have part of his capital expropriated, while the real wages of all salaried officials, and others with fixed incomes will fall away because internal prices must rise. So much for the people in the country. For those who live abroad, and have invested their money in fixed interest bearing Indian securities, devaluation would be expropriation of capital and nothing else. To those who have invested in Indian Government Sterling Loans nothing will happen, but it will cost the Government of India considerably more to pay its interest liabilities.

No one of my points is in itself sufficient to prove anything (to achieve any such purpose would require a very lengthy discourse) but each one is proof that many factors have to be considered. If there comes a time when the factors internally, but more particularly externally, can be even approximately determined, then will be the time to consider if any change in the value of the Rupee is necessary. To deliberately alter a fairly steady value when world trade is already difficult and when economic conditions are in a state of flux is, to my mind, undesirable.

It would be good if all devaluationists remembered the words of Sir Josiah Stamp:

Quite as good business can be done on one price level as on a level twice the height, provided it is a stable level and all the factors have been fairly adjusted to that level. It is the transition from one to the other, without an even or proportionate change in all the factors, that works the mischief.

This dictum is worth remembering, and it is also worth remembering that no country to-day can take unilateral economic action without serious and grave consideration. For that reason the policy of the Government of India in trying to maintain stability of exchange and stability of prices, while watching events, is the sane policy,

DICTATORSHIP AND DEMOCRACY

BY SIR J. C. COYAJEE

THE race and rivalry between Democracy and Dictatorship is not an affair of our own age only. From the dawn of Democracy in ancient Greece a sword of Democracy in the shape of Dictatorship has been hanging over it. Peisistratus and Themistocles, Demosthenes and Philip, the Gracchi and Sylla, Hampden and Cromwell, Mirabeau, Robespierre and Napoleon follow close on each other's heels. The true thesis is that in civilised countries there is a long-period trend towards Democracy interrupted by Dictatorships at certain critical stages. The present climax of dictatorship is due to the political and economic solidarity of mankind and to the fact that capital and property are threatened on one side by the great Economic Depression and on the other by Bolshevism.

A great variety of views have been propounded to account for the transitions from Democracy to Dictatorship and *vice versa*. Among the ancients, the greatest political philosophers saw clearly the defects and excesses of Democracy which must lead to reactions in the nature of tyrannies. In our own days, a great sociologist like Max Weber insisted on the relativity of Democracy and Liberalism—these being phenomena dependant for their existence on a suitable economic machine of continuous progress. An Oxford savant writing on the topic of Democracy and Dictatorship has emphasised another aspect of this relativity, democracy being suitable only to certain races or stages of civilisation. Another eminent writer of the day has attributed the reaction to the fact that Democratic Government has largely extended the sphere of its functions. He does not, however, explain how it was possible for the State to keep to its older narrow function at a time when the tasks of conquering industrial fluctuations and unemployment have become too urgent to be neglected and the economic system seemed to be breaking up. How also was it possible for the State in the West to ignore the alarming decline of population?

While there is some truth in all these views, there is one defect or shortcoming in all of them—the want of historical

perspective. It is assumed that Democracy is a static ideal and an ideal that has already been achieved and attained. The truth is that Democracy is even now a very young institution constantly on its trial and constantly adaptable. Democracy is something much more complicated and has many more facettes than we commonly imagine. It implies, for example, something like an equalitarian economy, a great deal of territorial decentralization, a system of education which fits men for their lofty functions in a democratic regime. It has yet to learn how to elect its real leaders, to shun demagogues and to have an elite or aristocracy as its kernel. It has yet to avoid the mistake of opposing the two entities of the Individual and the State, and of aggrandising the former at the expense of the latter. Besides the State and above the Individual stands the Group or the Corporation. As an able writer on Political Science has put it: "All human society and any segment of it is a constellation of constellations down to the group of individual atoms. This human society is not yet so organised that all groups fall systematically into an established place in relation to the whole."

But before envisaging this democracy of the future, it is well to emphasise the weak points of the present-day Democracy which have made for the present debacle. It is almost superfluous to point to the dangers of the party system which have been admitted by the best advocates of Democracy. The dictator has risen to power by making use of the party machine and the technique of the party for swaying opinion and influencing emotions. If party propaganda is a political drug, then the dictator has only administered a larger dose of it and with greater success. Another weakness of the present type of Democracy is its inability to throw up the right sort of political leaders; indeed, the last half a century has seen a great decline in the moral as well as intellectual calibre of the leaders of Democracy. Moreover, our present Democracy has not shown itself possessed of that flexibility and adaptability which is required by the highly dynamic economic, and political

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conditions of the day. Not only has it failed to give security on the political side, but the efforts of even leading democracies like Great Britain and the United States to plan economic life leave much to be desired. Democracy was granted a great opportunity of establishing stable international relations both on the economic and political aspects, but that opportunity was wasted. It could not rule, it could not plan, it could not agree, and it could not secure order. No wonder that men are tempted to secure order even at the cost of liberty and initiative.

But there is no need for the champions of Democracy to despair. Dictatorships have the merits and the defects, the hardness as well as the brittleness of trusts and monopolies. That concentration of power and unity of will can work wonders for a time, but Dictatorship is liable to degeneration and decrepitude. Nor is it always likely to afford security and peace even at the price of liberty. Dictators of different countries might early come into conflict and even in the same country. We see how frequent and drastic purges have to be administered by the Dictator to his own party. Thus there are great probabilities at once of external and internal conflict, and dictators are not always of the calibre of Lenin, Mussolini, and Hitler. Moreover, politics is pre-eminently a matter of psychology. People may be easily tired of the overproduction of security, and that revolutionary phase of the political cycle is passed when inordinate value is attached to security. Already two great world factors might be said to be beginning to sap dictatorships—the slow disappearance of the economic depression and the gradual turning of Russia towards Parliamentary system. The fate of Zinoviev and Kamenev and the exile of Trotsky might mean that Bolshevism has passed its zenith. Not that the overthrow of dictatorships is likely to be an early affair. Political fashions and mentality take long to change; and the influence of that great trio—Lenin, Mussolini, and Hitler—might be expected to last a few decades at least.

When, however, the age of dictatorships has passed away, it will have left a rich legacy to Democracy which will have learnt much during the period of adversity.

The experiences and experiments of such a difficult era as ours will doubtless enrich our political experience. Fascism will give us a good many tips as to how to control party, to give its due to Corporativism in politics, to ensure industrial peace and to hold the balance between Capital and Labour. Surely, the Nazis, in spite of all that can be urged against them, have in their possession the medicine which is an efficient cure for a defeatist national psychology. And as for the Russian dictatorship, it has carried out a vast experiment in planning drastically and radically. While economists of note are asserting that planning must be either complete and comprehensive or better not attempted, there is much to learn from that experiment—provided it is carried out at the cost of another nation. There will be many other items in the repertory of Democracy and we may note in passing how much has been done by Riza Shah Pehlevi and Kemal Ataturk to contribute to the progress of their nations and to bring them over from a medieval status to advanced civilization.

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The Federal Court

BY MR. S. RAMASWAMI IYER, B.A., B.L.

IN response to the Editor's request, I gladly write a brief note on the Federal Court which will be shortly established in India. The Government of India Act, 1935, gives effect, as is well known, to two important proposals: (1) The creation of autonomous provinces, and (2) the establishment of an All-India Federation of these Provinces and the Indian States. The first comes into force on 1st April 1937. The second will come into force on a later date by a Proclamation of His Majesty-in-Council when a certain condition is satisfied. This condition is the accession to the Federation by the rulers of at least half the number of Indian States, judged by their population or their voting strength in the Upper House of the Federal Legislature to be known as the Council of State. The first schedule to the Act gives the population of the various Indian States and the number of seats reserved for them in the Federal Legislatures. The total population of these States is 78 millions and the number of seats reserved for them in the Council of State is 104. When the States commanding at least 52 seats or with at least half of the total population execute Instruments of Accession which have been approved by His Majesty-in-Council, a Proclamation will establish the All-India Federation and bring into existence the various Federal Authorities. These Authorities on the legislative side are the Federal Legislatures known as the Federal Assembly and the Council of State. The Federal Authority on the judicial side is the Federal Court. A Federal Court is, as stated in the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, an essential element in a Federal Constitution. "It is at once the interpreter and guardian of the Constitution and a tribunal for the determination of disputes between the constituent units of the Federation." Readers of this magazine would doubtless have heard of the famous Federal Court called the Supreme Court in the United States. The Government of India Act follows the recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee in establishing a Federal Court for deciding disputes regarding the powers of the Federation and

its units and providing for that Court assuming later by virtue of an enactment of the Federal Legislature the powers of a Supreme Court of Appeal from the High Courts in ordinary civil cases. In this respect the Act as well the Report departs from the proposal of the White Paper to form a separate Supreme Court of Appeal in addition to a Federal Court.

By the Draft Order-in-Council placed before the Parliament recently, the Federal Court is to come into being on 1st October 1937. It will thus come in advance of the Federation itself because the units of the Federation are formed on 1st April 1937 and there must be a judicial authority to decide questions arising between them.

Part IX of the Government of India Act consisting of Sections 200 to 218 defines the constitution and powers of the Federal Court. The Act provides a maximum of six Judges besides the Chief Justice who is styled as the Chief Justice of India. A Judge is qualified for appointment if he has been for at least five years a Judge of a British Indian High Court or of a High Court of Federated State or a barrister or advocate of ten years' standing. The Chief Justice should, however, be a barrister or advocate of fifteen years' standing. The Judges can serve till 65 years of age. The recently published draft-Order-in-Council fixes the salary of the Chief Justice at Rs. 7,000 and the Judges at Rs. 5,500 per mensem. It is worth comparing with these high salaries the salary of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States which is \$ 13,000 per annum, about Rs. 8,000 per mensem, and the salary of the other Judges which is \$ 12,500 per annum. The Federal Court will sit in Delhi and such other places as the Chief Justice may with the approval of the Governor-General direct. The jurisdiction of the Federal Court is of the following four kinds:

- i. An original jurisdiction.
- ii. An appellate jurisdiction in appeals from British India.

iii. An appellate jurisdiction in appeals from High Courts in Federated States.

iv. An advisory jurisdiction when consulted by the Governor-General.

The original jurisdiction of the Federal Court, *i.e.*, the jurisdiction to allow parties to go to the court, directly and in the first instance and not by way of appeal from another court, is confined to certain cases, *viz.*, disputes between any two of the following parties that is to say, the Federation, any of the Provinces and any of the Federated States. In other words, no private person including a corporation can move the Federal Court in the first instance to decide any dispute between such person on the one hand and another such person or a province or state or the Federation on the other. Such a dispute can go the Federal Court only after it has been decided by a High Court or a State Court. The dispute that can be taken up by the Federal Court in its original jurisdiction must further satisfy certain tests. First, it must involve some question on which the existence or extent of a legal right depends, *e.g.*, a right to property, to money, to levy a tax. Secondly, when a State is a party to the dispute, the dispute must concern the interpretation of the Act or of an order-in-council made thereunder or the extent of the legislative or executive authority of the Federation by virtue of the Instrument of Accession of that State; or the dispute must arise under an agreement made with a State for the exercise by the Ruler or his officers of functions in relation to the administration in his State of any law of the Federal Legislature, *e.g.*, levy of customs or regulation of factories under any such law in force in a State. Therefore, other kinds of disputes concerning States cannot go before the Federal Court on its original side, *e.g.*, a boundary dispute between two States or a State and a Province. I am mentioning this to correct a prevalent impression that the Federal Court will decide all inter-statal disputes. But if a boundary dispute arises between two provinces, it would apparently go before this court. A word may be said about one class of disputes, *e.g.*, as to waters of rivers or other natural sources between Provinces or States. Such

disputes are excluded from the Federal Court and would be decided by the Governor-General on the report of a Special Commission appointed by him for the purpose.

The Federal Court has an appellate jurisdiction in respect of any judgment of a High Court in British India if the High Court certifies that a substantial question of law as to the interpretation of the Act or of an order-in-council is involved. Therefore in such a case a private party can take it up to the Federal Court. Instances of such cases will be when a private person's rights are affected by any legislation, rule or notification which he challenges as a violation of the provisions of the Government of India Act, say an Act of a Province for which the sanction of the Governor-General is said to be required and wanting. One can anticipate another class of disputes which are likely to arise, *viz.*, disputes by British subjects or companies on the ground that some federal or provincial legislation offends against the provisions of the Act against racial or commercial discrimination (Chapter iii). Disputes for which an appeal is provided as aforesaid must go to the Federal Court and cannot be taken direct to the Privy Council from the High Courts. The Federal Court will become a supreme court of appeal from the British Indian High Courts in civil cases when the Federal Legislature passes an Act for that purpose. The Act will specify the civil cases in which an appeal lies and also the value of the subject-matter in dispute which must be Rs. 15,000 or upwards. When the Act provides for such appeals, it may also provide for the abolition of appeals from the High Courts to the Privy Council in whole or in part. The Privy Council will, however, continue to be the only appellate tribunal in criminal cases.

An appeal lies to the Federal Court from a decision of the High Court of a Federated State if a question of law arises regarding the interpretation of the Act or of an order-in-council, or the extent of the legislative or executive authority of the Federation by virtue of the Instrument of Accession or arises under an agreement of the kind mentioned above in relation to the original jurisdiction of the Federal Court.

An appeal to the Privy Council is provided from the decision of the Federal Court in the above three classes of cases.

The Federal Court has also an advisory jurisdiction as power is given to the Governor-General to consult it on any question of law of public importance and obtain its opinion. The report of the Federal Court to the Governor-General must be in accordance with an opinion delivered in open court with the concurrence of a majority of Judges present at the hearing.

The Act also provides that the law declared by the Federal Court must be recognised

as binding on and followed by all the courts in British India, and so far as respects the interpretation of the Act on any matter on which the Federal Legislature has power to make laws in relation to the State, in any Federated State.

It is needless to add that the Federal Court will necessarily play a great part in the working of the Indian constitution, and in due course in the normal administration of justice in the country. It is to be hoped that the Judges of that Court will establish a great tradition for independence and learning like that created in the United States by Judges like Marshall and Holmes.

Indians in Western Banking in India

BY MR. C. H. DIVANJEE, A.I.L.B.

THERE is a long standing controversy between Calcutta and Bombay as to which City was first responsible for a Western Banking Institution. Mr. Cook in his book "The rise, progress and present conditions of Banking in India" published in 1868 made a statement that the Bank of Hindustan was the first European Bank started in Calcutta in 1770. All the subsequent writers relying on this statement have given Calcutta the credit of having the first European Bank. But Mr. B. R. Rau in his monograph on "Organised Banking in days of John Company" conclusively proved that the Bombay Military Bank was started in 1688 and the Government Bank of Bombay in 1720. Leaving aside the controversy, it will be of interest to learn that Madras was the first to have an European Bank. The first Government Bank of Madras was formed in 1688 and thus among the Presidencies, Madras is the pioneer of Banking in Western line.

If we take this controversy a little further and try to find out which Presidency gave first Indians to the European Banks, we shall have to admit that Bengal led in this respect, Bombay comes second best and Madras last.

The credit of having the first Indian Director on the Board goes to the Bank of Calcutta, started in the year 1806 and subsequently changed to Bank of Bengal

in 1809. The name of Maha Raja Sookmony Ray comes as first Indian to join the Board of Directors of this Bank. The Cashier of the Bank was also an Indian, Mr. Ramchander Rao. The Bank that took the first Indian Director and the first Indian Cashier has had an unimpeachable record of existence from 1806 to 1901, when it ceased to have its individuality on account of the amalgamation of the three Presidency Banks into the Imperial Bank of India.

The next Bank which is associated with the Indian Directors is the Commercial Bank, started in 1819 with Head Office at Calcutta. The Indians connected with the Bank are: Baboo Gopey Mohan Thakoor and Baboo Dwarkanath Tagore.

After the Commercial Bank comes the Union Bank which absorbed the Commercial Bank and hence we have the Indian Directors in the Union Bank. They were: Baboo Dwarkanath Tagore, Baboo Promothnath Day, Baboo Prosunnacoomar Tagore, and Baboo Radhamohan Banerjee. The Bank closed its doors in 1848. We then find that the Agra and United Service Bank started in 1833 had the services of Indian officers at their Calcutta Branch. Mr. Ambikachurn Soor was Assistant Accountant and Mr. Madoosudan Sen was the Treasurer. The Bank had its Head Office at Agra, but was subsequently transferred to Calcutta,

After this comes the Bank of Bombay started in 1840. It had Indian Directors, *viz.*, Hon. Seth Rustomji J. Jeejibhoy and Seth Cowasjee Jehangir. This Bank also has a record of unimpeachable existence till 1921, when it was transformed into the Imperial Bank of India.

After the Bank of Bombay comes the Delhi Banking Corporation started in 1844 with the Head Office at Delhi. The Bank had an Indian trustee Lala Choonnamull of Delhi and had Mr. Sebachander Dutta as Cashier at the Calcutta Office.

After this comes the Commercial Bank of India started in 1845 with Head Office at Bombay. This was the first Bank sponsored by Indians with a majority of Indian Directors. The promoters were prominent Parsi businessmen of Bombay: Seth Bomjee Hormjee, Seth Jeejibhoy Dadabhoy, Seth Maneckjee Limjee, Seth Cursetjee Cawasjee and Seth Cawasjee Nanabhai. The Directors included Seth Limjee Maneckjee, Seth Mangaldas Nathoobhai and Seth Byramji Jeejibhoy. The trustees were: Seth Byramjee Jeejibhoy and Seth Sorabjee Framjee, while the first Indian Auditor of the Bank was Mr. Sorabjee Pestomjee Framjee, who has the credit of being the first Auditor of a Bank on Western line. The Bank came to grief in 1866 on account of the speculation in which it interested itself then.

We have then the Dacca Bank started in 1846 with Head Office at Dacca. The Indian projectors were: Kajeh Alumoolia of Dacca and Baboo Nandlal Dutt of Dacca, while the Indian among the trustee was Kajeh Abdul Ganni of Dacca. Mr. Kisto Coomar Seal was the Accountant, Mr. Cheytun Kissen Bysack was the Assistant Accountant and Mr. Benyo Chunder Roy was the Treasurer. The Calcutta Agents of the Bank were: Mr. Saroop Chunder and Mr. Mudhoosudan Poddar.

Then we have the Benares Bank started in 1844-45, which had a large number of Directors who belonged to the army, and it is known for its infamous notoriety on its failures. Though the Bank had no Indian director nor Indian officer, it is mentioned here as its failure caused a devastating misery to a large number of Indian depositors and shareholders.

After this we get the Mercantile Bank of India, London and China in 1853 with Head Office in London. The Indian promoters were: Seth Jagannath Samkerseth, Seth Cajee Jehangir Hirjee, Seth Mangaldas Nathoobhai and Seth Cawasjee Nanabhai. This was wound up in 1857.

Then in 1860 was started the Central Bank of Western India whose Directors were mostly Indians: Seth Veerjivandas Madhavdas, Mr. E. D. Sassoon, Seth Byramjee Jeejibhai, Seth Curshedjee Nusserwanji Cama, Seth Veenayakrai Jugganathjee, Seth Dhujee Punjabhai, Seth Sorabjee Pestomjee Framjee, Seth Khanbhai Kalubhai and Mr. Fazal Gulamhusein.

In the same year another Bank was started called the People's Bank of India. The Indian Directors were: Mr. Hari Mohan Sen and Mr. Nilmony Mothy Lall of Calcutta.

In the year 1828, a Bank was started by Rajkisher Dutta and Mr. Pramkissen Haldar in the name of Bank of India, but the Bank had no support and stopped next year.

All the Indian joint-stock banking activities before 1880 were started by Europeans except the Commercial Bank of India and the Central Bank of Western India started in Bombay under the enterprising patronage of the Parsi Merchants of Bombay. But all these Banks had European managers.

The first purely Indian Bank was sponsored in 1881 in the name of Oudh Commercial Bank. In 1894, the Punjab National Bank was started by Lala Harkishenlal, who has the honour of being the pioneer of Indian banking and industry in the Punjab. The Punjab National Bank is still in existence and is one among the big fours of India. Due to some difference with the Punjab National Bank, Lala Harkishenlal started the People's Bank of India in 1901, which failed in 1913 along with many other Indian Banks and was the only Bank that paid back the depositors 100 per cent. of their dues in liquidation.

Among the other Joint Stock Banks with which Indians have been associated, the Allahabad Bank Ltd. is the oldest, but this Bank is now more connected with the Exchange Banks on account of its affiliation with the P. & O. Banking

Corporation which, in turn, is controlled by the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China.

After the Allahabad Bank comes the Bank of India Ltd. with Head Office at Bombay. This Bank has a mixed Directorate of Indians and Europeans and a European manager. Greater importance is lent to this Bank, as the offshoots of the Bank of India we had in Bombay two purely Indian-managed Banks with Indian Directorate. The Specie Bank of India was started by Mr. Choonilal D. Sarya, though he was one of the promoters of the Bank of India. Here in Bombay, the Punjab history was repeated and Mr. Sarya, on account of the disagreement with the Bank of India authorities, started his Specie Bank, but as ill-luck would have it, it closed its doors while the Bank of India is still going strong.

The other Bank started as offshoot of the Bank of India is the living monument of India's leading purely Indian managed Bank—The Central Bank of India Ltd. The history of the Central Bank of India is so widely known that it will be out of place to give further details thereof in this short article. The credit of successfully navigating an Indian Bank with a purely Indian staff and doing all type of modern banking goes to Sir Sorabji Pochkhanawala, the Managing Director of the Central Bank of India, who has so much identified himself with his Bank that the Central Bank of India is more known as Pochkhanawala's Bank than the Central Bank of India Ltd.

When the Western Capital was floating Banks under Indian management, the Southern Capital Madras had a banking crisis in the failure of Arbuthnot & Company. It was at this juncture that a few public-spirited leaders of the South decided to start a Bank under Indian management, and the Indian Bank was organised with Pandit Vidya Sagar Pandya as Secretary. Since then, the Bank has grown from strength to strength and all this is attributed to the respect and veneration that Panditji was held in throughout the Presidency on account of his having successfully steered the Bank in its initial stage. It was a very difficult task to create confidence in Banks and particularly Indian Banks, when one had lost faith even in European-managed Banks on account of the failure

of a powerful European Banking concern in which almost everybody lost something.

The success of the Indian Bank Ltd. was responsible for several of the new Banks that have been since successfully floated and flourished. Two of such prominent Banks are: the Quilon Bank Ltd. and the Travancore National Bank Ltd. which have made rapid strides in British India. Mr. C. P. Mathen, Managing Director of the Quilon Bank Ltd., has been strenuously devoting his time to develop the institution, so also Mr. K. C. Mammen Mappillai, Chairman of the Travancore National Bank Ltd. When we are talking of these institutions, we must not forget another small but powerful Bank that exists in Madras. That is the Nedungadi Bank.

The history of Indians in Western Banking in India reveals to us three outstanding personalities: Lala Harkishenlal in the Punjab, Sir Sorabji Pochkhanawala in Bombay, and Pandit Vidya Sagar Pandya in the South. Unfortunately, Lala Harkishenlal's banking enterprises have failed, and so while one may not appreciate his name being associated with outstanding personalities in banking in India, still he must be given credit for first organising Indian-managed Banks, and stimulating the idea of having Indian-managed Banks.

To Sir Sorabji goes the credit for organising a purely Indian-managed Bank doing all modern banking, including the foreign exchange which was till now considered a monopoly of the European Banks in India.

Pandit Vidya Sagar Pandya's work in the South has been carried on in a slow and silent manner without much furor about it. His name will be more remembered in future as one who fought for getting the Indians on the Board of the Bank of Madras for nearly 13 years without fear or favour, and at last the authorities took up Indians on the Madras Board of the Bank of Madras, when it was converted into the Imperial Bank of India.

Indian officers either in European-managed Banks or purely Indian-managed Banks owe a deep debt of gratitude to these three stalwart Bankers of India, who have contributed a good deal to compel the European-managed Banks to give Indians chance as officers in their Banks.

BIG GAME ENCOUNTERS

By MR. H. J. C. MILLETT, I.F.S.

THIS book* establishes a highwater mark in the literature of shikar. Twenty-four authors, each of them an acknowledged expert in dealing with shikar in India's jungles, have contributed an account of the most thrilling incident in their careers. The wealth of experience which makes up this unique symposium is most admirably summarised by the author of the book, who is himself that indefatigable sportsman—the Editor of India's most popular *Illustrated Weekly*. Consequently the book is itself as notable a departure from the monotonous and beaten track of the ordinary manuals on shikar, as the experiences described are themselves off the beaten tracks of the jungles.

The weak point in any "shikar book" that we have hitherto read, seldom fails to force itself upon the reader's notice after the first few chapters. It is that any book that purports to lay down the law concerning what animals will, and will not, do, must inevitably develop as a boring exposition of the views of one individual writer on the subject. This catastrophe is successfully avoided in "BIG GAME ENCOUNTERS," by employing twenty-four authors under the able leadership of an editor who ensures that the book shall contain more news than views; though in deference to the accumulated experience of the two dozen most famous shikaris of the present era, including five officers of the Forest Service whose work brings them into close contact with the wild views of actual value and importance are not overlooked or excluded.

In the main, however, the pills of learning that await digestion by the readers of this book, are very generously submerged in the delectable jam of hairbreadth encounters with and escapes from charging tigers and other no less dangerous game. Experiences such as these occur but once in the lifetime of a shikari. Repeated, he may never live to write of them. In this respect, a close parallel may be drawn between individual war on dangerous game, that when conducted with scrupulous regard to rules we dignify by the term 'shikar'; and the other sort of war that

seems doomed to be conducted without regard to any rules of decency, namely that each consists of long periods of comparative monotony attended by a greater or lesser degree of discomfort, only to be rarely enlivened by moments of hectic blood and thunder and supreme danger that the exponent may account himself fortunate to have survived. It is the accurate and unexaggerated accounts of these tense moments with big game that comprise the best jam to be taken with the purgative of learning. It may be true to say that the perfect shikari would never experience a tense moment with big game, and it is almost certainly true that every tense moment arrives as a result of a fault or error in the technique of shikar. But since, fortunately for sport, neither the perfect shikari nor his perfect companion have yet been born, it is still possible for the experienced big game hunter and for the tyro alike to profit by other people's experiences and to learn from their mistakes.

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Indian National Congress

FOR the first time the Indian National Congress met in a village amidst rural surroundings—at Faizpur. Over a lakh of people had gathered round the village and the 50th Session was attended by no less than 60,000 visitors and delegates.

WELCOME ADDRESS

Mr. Shankar Rao Deo, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his Welcome Address delivered in Marathi, reviewed the history of Indian freedom since "Lokamanya Tilak hoisted the flag of revolt and declared 'Swaraj is my birth-right and I shall have it'".

It was the speaker's honest conviction that the political programme of Mahatma Gandhi was the logical evolution of the politics and ideals of Lokamanya Tilak. Where resistance within the limits of the law reached its completeness, it must inevitably express itself in terms of Civil Disobedience. Tilak himself had said that if he were in India at the time when Gandhiji first started his Satyagraha, he would have joined it. That was sufficient proof that Tilak was not an opponent of the Gandhian programme.

Discussing the objectives of the different groups in the Congress, Mr. Shankar Rao observed:

The advocates of the legislative programme, the non-co-operating votaries of constructive work and village organisation as well as those who stand by the mobilisation of the workers and peasants—all these groups are united in their faith in the potency of Satyagraha as a powerful weapon of mass action. If the representatives of the Congress enter the legislatures to-day, it is with no desire to wring such concessions as we can out of that constitutional machine. We enter the legislatures admittedly to defeat the Imperialist Conspiracy of defying with impunity on inalienable right of self-determination and "to wreck, uproot and destroy" the Slave constitution which is being foisted on us in the teeth of the severest opposition of the entire nation. It is further our object to implement this task by convening a Constituent Assembly based on adult franchise, which alone will vindicate our birth-right of self determination and self-government. Between the successful wrecking of the present constitution and the convening of the Constituent Assembly lies an inevitable phase of mass action. This fact is even admitted by those who stand for the Council programme. This is the crucial point which marks the difference between the Legislative programme of all other political parties on the one hand and the Congress on the other.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Pandit Nehru's presidential address had few surprises, and he reaffirmed what he had been repeatedly saying since the Lucknow Session. The Indian struggle

must be regarded, he said, against the background of the world conditions. "I would remind you," he said, "that our problem of national freedom as well as social freedom is but a part of this great world problem, and to understand ourselves we must understand others also." "Changing conditions in the world," he said further on, "demand a new political and economic orientation, and if this does not come soon, there is friction and conflict," leading to a revolution first in the minds of men and then in the world of action. Coming to the new constitution, he characterised the Government of India Act of 1935 as "a new charter of bondage" and declared the Congress resolve to wreck it. Congressmen are going into the legislatures not to co-operate with the apparatus of British imperialism but to combat the Act and seek to end it. He deplored the dangerous drift of trying to compromise over the elections in order to gain a majority in legislatures and said:

The elections must be used to rally the masses to the Congress stand and to carry the message of the Congress to the millions of voters and non-voters alike to press forward the mass struggle. The biggest majority in a legislature will be of little use to us if we have not got this mass movement behind us, and a majority built on compromises with reactionary groups or individuals will defeat the very purpose of the Congress with the effort to fight the Act, and as a corollary to it, we have to stress our positive demand for a constituent assembly elected under adult suffrage. This is the very corner-stone of Congress policy to-day and our election campaign must be based on it.

They had to create the mass support for it through the elections and later through other activities. The Working Committee's recommendation for a convention of all Congress members and others would give them the right perspective and a sense of All-India discipline.

Touching the vexed question of office acceptance, the President said that those who were inclined to acceptance of office must demonstrate that this was the way to non-co-operate with the Act and end it.

It seems to me that the only logical consequence of the Congress policy, as defined in our resolutions and election manifesto, is to have nothing to do with office and ministry. Any deviation from this

would mean a reversal of that policy. It would inevitably be a kind of partnership with Imperialism in the exploitation of the Indian peoples, an acquiescence even though under protest and subject to reservations in the basic ideas underlying the Act, as association to some extent with British Imperialism in the hateful task of repression of our advanced elements. Office accepted on any other basis is hardly possible and if it is possible, it would lead almost immediately to dead-lock and conflict. That dead-lock—impasse—does not frighten us. We welcome it, but then we must think in terms of dead-locks and not in terms of carrying on with the office.

Utterly bad as the Act was, there was to him nothing so bad in it as "this federation". Congress must exert itself to break it, he said, and thus end the entire scheme of reforms. To live not only under British exploitation but also under Indian feudal control was to him something altogether intolerable. Indian States would have to fit into the scheme of a free India and their peoples must have the same personal civil and democratic liberties as those of the rest of India.

Thus our opposition to the federal part of the Constitution Act is not merely a theoretical one but a vital matter which affects our freedom struggle and our future destiny. We have got to make it a central pivot of our struggle against the Act. We have got to break this federation. Our policy is to put an end to the Act and have a clean slate to write afresh.

GANDHIJI'S SPEECH

After the Presidential address, Gandhiji, who arrived with Pandit Malaviya, made a great speech declaring that the Congress should take a vow to hold all future sessions in villages, and emphasising that that was the only way to carry the Congress message to millions of Indian villages.

You come to villages, take four annas subscriptions and signatures from villagers and do nothing else. Our socialist friends also say that you have no contact with the masses. That is why I want the Congress to be held in the villages.

Continuing, Mahatmaji said:

Swaraj cannot be achieved only by long talks. What I told you in 1920 is still there—Charkha, Hindu-Moslem unity, anti-drink programme and removal of untouchability. Take the words of an old man that if you cannot do all these, you will never get Swaraj.

Earlier in the day, Gandhiji made a capital political speech in which he declared:

I said in 1919 in Calcutta: 'If you follow me on my terms you will have Swaraj in one year.

I am not ashamed of what I said then. I repeat that if you follow the same conditions you will have Swaraj from me.

Have we got the one crore of charkhas (spinning wheels) that I asked for? How many have spun for half an hour daily? The removal of untouchability is a religious responsibility of the Hindu alone. He has failed in that. These are things I talked of then. I am a realist, I thought as a realist it was necessary for me to bless the Council-entry programme in 1934.

I am of origin a bania and, if one business does not start well, I start another and that is why the Parliamentary programme has been placed before you. But Swaraj rests at the end of a cotton thread.

RESOLUTIONS

The Subjects Committee at its numerous meetings had adopted, after strenuous controversy, a number of resolutions which were adopted at the open session without much delay. Immediately after Gandhiji had made his speech, the President put from the chair resolutions regarding: (1) World Peace Congress; (2) Burma; (3) Spain; (4) Excluded Areas; and (5) Natural Calamities. All the resolutions were unanimously passed.

Two other resolutions related to war danger and Government's Frontier Policy.

When the Congress met on the 28th, resolutions on the following subjects were adopted: (1) Detenus, (2) Indians Overseas, (3) Colliery disasters, (4) B. N. R. Strike, (5) Mass contact, (6) Authorising the A. I. C. C. to decide the time of the next session of the Congress, (7) Suppression of civil liberties, (8) Rejection of the New Constitution, (9) Formation of a National Convention, (10) Agrarian problem, (11) Election appeals, (12) Non-participation in Coronation celebrations, (13) Observing hartal on 1st April, and (14) deciding to hold the next Congress session in Gujarat.

The main resolution of the day was of course the one rejecting the new constitution and demanding the convening of a constituent assembly to draw up a constitution for India. The text of the resolution adopted after a heated discussion in the Subjects Committee in which Mr. Bulabhai Desai, Mr. M. N. Roy and Sardar Sardul Singh had taken part, was as follows:

This Congress resolves that after elections to the Provincial Legislatures are over, a Convention

shall be held consisting of Congress members of the various Provincial and Central Legislatures, members of the All-India Congress Committee and such other persons as the Working Committee might decide upon. This Convention shall put the demand for a Constituent Assembly in the forefront and shall determine how to oppose by all possible methods the introduction of the Federal structure of the New Act and will consider what other steps should be taken in the Legislatures to give effect to the policy laid down in the Congress election manifesto and the Congress resolution. The Working Committee shall take all the necessary steps for the calling of the Convention and shall lay down the procedure governing it.

Babu Rajendra Prasad in moving this resolution said:

Congressmen were not going to the legislatures with the hope of achieving Swaraj, but to prevent those who used these legislatures to the detriment of the country's interests.

PR. MALAVYA'S EXHORTATION

Pandit Malaviya, who had not missed a single session of these fifty, made a fervent speech in seconding this resolution. In the course of an impassioned appeal, he Pandit said:

I have served this country for 50 years now.

National Liberal Federation

THE Eighteenth Session of the National Liberal Federation of India met at Lucknow on December 29, under the presidentship of Sir Cowasji Jehangir.

WELCOME ADDRESS

In the absence of Raja Sir Rampal Singh, Chairman of the Reception Committee, his address of welcome was read by his brother Thakur Hanuman Singh. The Chairman criticised the policy of the Congress as at once futile and disappointing and said that the new Act is proof against all tactics of wrecking.

The strong probability is, as has been abundantly demonstrated by our experience of the activities of Congress members in various legislative bodies during the last 13 years, that once they are there they will be very much like other nationalist members, save for noise and bombast, and also periodical staging of walks out; that once the elections are over, they are likely to seek the co-operation of persons and parties now ostentatiously condemned and that they will be interested in exploring the possibilities more of office than of destruction.

He was frightened less by their election talk, he said, than by the foundations they are laying of a class war, which will ultimately

I am about to take leave of this country. I am about to take leave of this world. I can hardly express to you this agony that I feel when I think that I may have to pass away without seeing my country free from this bondage of slavery. I call upon you, my countrymen, to our maximum effort for hastening the dawn of freedom in this land of ours, so that old men like us may be spared that agony and humiliation at our last moments. I charge you as one of the oldest comrades in arms to go ahead with the determination to be free and you will find that all obstructions and difficulties have melted away and that your path to the cherished goal has been smoothened.

The Pandit was followed by Mr. Satya-murty, who also spoke for the official resolution. Amendments moved by Mr. Danje and Sardar Sardul Singh having been rejected by 451 to 262, the main resolution of the Working Committee was adopted.

The Session terminated with the passing of two resolutions put from the chair regarding Congress non-participation in the King's Coronation and the observance of hartal on the 1st April. The next Congress will be held in Gujarat.

prove disastrous to the classes and the masses alike. At the same time he expressed surprise at the attitude of the Government which looks askance at the Liberal Party, which

seeks to reform and not to subvert or overthrow it. Its attitude is always discriminating. When it criticizes Government's policies and measures, it does so in the spirit of the physician who gives unpleasant medicines to heal and not to kill. But if the Congress is perverse at one end, the Government is blind at the other. It favours parties created and in existence chiefly to flatter the Government and bask in the sunshine of its favour. These, it thinks, are its real well-wishers.

SIR COWASJI'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Sir Cowasji Jehangir, in his presidential address, reviewed the present political situation at some length and said that the new Act was a definite advance on the present constitution and that it should be given a fair trial. A great deal, he said, would, however, depend upon the Viceroy and Governors, who would be called upon to shoulder great responsibilities.

First and foremost, we would make strenuous attempts to secure the early revision of the new constitution with a view to the attainment of Dominion Status at the earliest possible moment. We would insist upon the resignation of ministers if the safeguards or reserved powers are exercised unreasonably or arbitrarily for interference with the responsibility of ministers or if the Governor-General or Governors act against the spirit of the constitution.

Sir Cowasji added: "We have always stood for Dominion Status as a practical and feasible goal of our ambition." He went on to say that "our differences with the Congress have been widened, since they are unable to decide on the all-important question of acceptance of office". Touching the wrecking programme of the Congress as adumbrated in the Congress election manifesto, Sir Cowasji pointed out the illogicality of their position.

It is stated that the purpose of sending Congressmen to the Legislatures under the new Act, is not to co-operate in any way with the Act, but to combat it and seek to end it. It goes on to state that the new Legislatures are hedged in and circumscribed by Special Powers for the protection, among other things, also of vested interests. It again reiterates its belief that Independence cannot be achieved through the Legislatures nor can the problem of unemployment and poverty be effectively tackled by them. But most illogically, in my humble opinion, the manifesto then goes on to explain the programme for their members of the Legislatures. It repeats its declaration made at Karachi that the Congress stands for a reform of the system of land tenure and revenue and rent, and an equitable adjustment of the burden on agricultural land. They again desire an urgent consideration of indebtedness and the formulation of a scheme including the sealing down of debts and the provision for cheap credit facilities by the State. Now may I ask how it is possible to seek to end the Act and, at the same time, enjoin upon its representatives the urgent necessity of adopting measures through the instrumentality of the legislatures for the true and lasting benefit of the country?

The President then passed on to review the position of Indians overseas and concluded with a reference to what the Liberal Party would do in the legislatures under the reforms.

RESOLUTIONS

Considerable discussion marked the proceedings of the Subjects Committee, but all the resolutions were passed unanimously without a dissentient voice in the open session. Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri moved and Dr. Paranjpye seconded the main resolution on the new constitution. The resolution reiterated the Federation's considered opinion:

That the constitution embodied in the Government of India Act 1935 was extremely unsatisfactory and altogether unacceptable. It was not merely utterly inadequate but retrograde in many respects and included features obnoxious to Indian national opinion. Nevertheless it had to be utilised to the best advantage of the people for the amelioration of their social and economic condition and accelerating the pace of further constitutional advance to the dominion status.

The resolution expressed the earnest hope that in the elections to the new provincial legislatures, the electors would return national candidates, who would neither attempt the impossible nor be subservient to authority nor prefer sectional interests to national, but who would do their best for the well-being and advancement of the people as a whole, etc., etc.

Mr. Sastriar referred to the omission of Dominion Status as the goal of India's aspirations, in the Act, and criticised the various safeguards which, in fact, are impediments to our progress. Referring to the Congress attitude to the question of office, Mr. Sastriar held that a large majority, particularly in Madras, would vote for office acceptance.

The working of Reforms, he added, would go on merrily while attempts to wreck them would throw power in the hands of the Government and add to their worries. On the other hand, if the wreckers succeed in their attempts, they would take centuries to achieve their end.

Pandit Kunzru moved a resolution urging the necessity of bold and far-reaching measures of social and economic amelioration, facilitating agricultural improvement and economic development. Another resolution moved by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad viewed with concern the attempt to curtail opportunities for higher education to the Indian youth. The Hon. Mr. P. N. Saprú followed with a resolution condemning the continued unresponsiveness of the Government to the repeated demand for nationalisation of the army in India. He also moved two other resolutions: one on Indians Overseas and the other on the Repressive Laws. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani moved the next resolution relating to the reform of the Indian States, reaffirming complete sympathy to the Federation with legitimate aspirations of the people of the Indian States for civic and political liberties. The Federation decided to hold the next session at Calcutta during the Christmas week of 1937.

Recent Convocation Addresses

THE season of University Convocations has brought forth a number of addresses of outstanding interest on education and kindred subjects. Men of culture and distinction, who have made their mark in different spheres of public life, are generally called upon to discourse on these occasions. Besides offering general advice to the youth about to enter life, they usually take the opportunity also to give their opinions and impressions of important problems affecting the country. It will be profitable to make a survey of these important pronouncements and draw attention to the more striking observations on subjects of diverse interest. In the nature of the case, it is inevitable that the speeches should cover the same ground and overlap one another. An attempt is made in the following pages to draw attention to observations of distinctly individual character from addresses of general exhortation.

MYSORE UNIVERSITY: DR. METCALFE

Addressing the new graduates of the Mysore University on October 28, Dr. E. P. Metcalfe, Vice-Chancellor, raised the question whether the expansion of University education had resulted in reducing illiteracy in the State. He said:

It appears to me that not nearly enough force is being concentrated against this citadel of darkness. Consider these figures—in the 20 years between 1912 and 1932, the percentage of illiterates over five years of age taken over the whole of our population, urban and rural, fell from 93 to 89.4 per cent. Contrast this with the expansion in the volume of University education during the same period.

Judging from results, it would appear that the plan of campaign against illiteracy has failed and that some new form of attack must be devised. If I may venture a suggestion, there is, perhaps a lack of suitable inducement to learn to read. Literature of the right kind is neither abundant nor sufficiently accessible.

ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY: SRI P. SETHNA

Sir Phiroze Sethna delivered the Convocation Address at the Annamalai University on the 20th of November. Referring to the grinding poverty of the masses, Sir Phiroze said:

Over 70 per cent. of our population do not live, but merely exist, carrying on an unending struggle

against the caprices of Nature and the whims of man. If you can lend a helping hand to lift even one single soul out of this morass by utilising and bringing to his aid the benefits you have derived from your fortunate connection with this University, you will have done what your Alma Mater expects you to do. Decide to devote a part of your daily programme to the cause of the nation—in recreating environment in our villages and towns, in removing illiteracy, in providing recreation to the needy, in providing a desire for a better life in our less fortunate fellow-beings and in like creative activities.

AGRA UNIVERSITY: DR. P. BASU

Dr. P. Basu, Vice-Chancellor of the Agra University, addressing the Convocation on November 20, advocated the separation of teaching from research. His contention was that teaching and research call for two different, not to say opposite qualifications and cannot, therefore, be combined in the same person. There has been considerable difference of opinion on this subject, but Dr. Basu urged the separation of teaching from post-graduate work in the university.

Apart from this, Dr. Basu urged on the students the need for social service work. He deprecated the excessive emphasis on personal freedom and put duty to the society on a higher level. Duties, according to him, came first and then alone rights and individual freedom.

In India, we are still fighting for and working on the basis of the old idea of personal freedom, irrespective of its effects upon society as a whole. If you are really young and therefore mentally alert, and if you want to have a successful career as leaders, organisers, and directors in any branch of social activity, I should think that you will have to take account of the new trend of social philosophy and see that your career fosters and does not hinder social good, that you are not merely parasites on the social organism, and that your success and prosperity in life is not at the cost but to the furtherance of the general betterment of society—the society which has taken pains and undergone vast expenditure to give to you the highest culture and training which it is possible for its educational institutions to give to you. If you fail to attain to this position in life and persist in attempting to eke out a career which is antagonistic to social welfare, society in its turn may seriously have to consider whether it is worth its while to foster a system by which is generated intellectual vigour that will be directed against itself and the general body of its members,

RANGOON UNIVERSITY: SIR A. COCHRANE

H. E. Sir Archibald Cochrane, Governor of Burma, chose an appropriate theme for the Convocation of the Rangoon University on November 24. In these days of decaying democracies, the need for proper leadership is more urgent than ever, and His Excellency's observations on democracy and leadership are very pat to the occasion. Neither India nor Burma can be said to be democratically governed but it is perfectly true, as he said, that the process of a democracy depends in no small measure upon the kind of leaders it throws up.

Any man who, for the purpose of self-glorification, aspires to be a leader but who has not the requisites of leadership within him, is likely to be more of a nuisance than a help to his country.

His Excellency rightly stressed the fact that the strength of democratic institutions was drawn in a large measure from the necessary exercise of broad-mindedness or toleration. Governments founded on democratic principles, he said,

generally acted somewhat slowly but the advantage to be gained by such restraint was, that there was reason to hope that the course adopted would be based on the firm foundation of a measure of consent that might not be obtainable by any other means.

PATNA UNIVERSITY: MR. C. R. REDDY

The address to the Patna University Convocation was delivered by Mr. C. R. Reddy, Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University on November 26. Mr. Reddy is an educationist of ripe experience, and he touched on a wide range of subjects including unemployment, higher education, citizenship, nationalism, the new constitution, and so on. He ridiculed the idea of making University education the main cause of middle class unemployment. Coming to the most vexed question of socialism and communalism, he pointed out that class war was no cure for communal strife. His words deserve to be quoted:

Can we not be Indians politically and for secular purposes without ceasing to be, if we are so minded, untrue in religion and spiritual culture to our respective traditions? After all it is a state that we want to found, and neither temple, mosque or Mutt. But, indeed, the obligations of the past should never be regarded as more important than our obligations to the future.

For, the past is dead, even if not altogether dead, and it is for the future that the present is or should be a preparation. Broadening time will not flow back to its narrow source, however fervently priests mutter their incantations. But if reactionary orthodoxy has its way, the present will be no more than a donkey on which the past would ride for ever.

Touching the goal of Indian aspirations, Mr. Reddy observed:

One word of political faith—unpopular though it may sound—and I have done. I am a believer in the British Empire, which is a Commonwealth of Nations except in relation to India. If India could attain the position of a sister commonwealth, that would be far better than independence. Grant that the Empire as now functioning has been an evil to us. Still the point for consideration is, can it not become a good? Has it not become good in respect of Canada and other Dominions? Vast historical unities that bring together different races, creeds and cultures and promote fecund intercourse, should not be lightly broken up. If we are strong for independence, we are *a fortiori* strong enough for Dominion Status which combines the advantages of separation and combination. From the point of view of universal humanity, our cry for Independence is another form of communalism. With India as a Dominion, the Empire will become an epoch-making stage in the federation of the world. We must not leave the greater for the smaller or break up the known for the uncertain advantages of the unknown. Similarly in regard to the idea of a Pan-Asiatic Federation, expansion of the existing British Federation, or rather the Indo-British Federation is a more feasible prospect than destruction and reconstruction in untried directions.

MR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA

In his valedictory address to the graduates, Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, the new Vice-Chancellor, commended to them Voltaire's ideal embodied in the famous dictum: "The body of an athlete and the soul of a sage." Mr. Sinha said:

I ask you to keep up a cheerful spirit, and to believe with me that by reason of your education you are all the better fitted to cope successfully with the struggles of life than you would have been otherwise. You should always be careful to see to it that nothing is allowed to influence your mind, which may be likely to wither that hope and enthusiasm which Providence has planted in the hearts of all young men and women. It is only by preserving your physical health and maintaining a hopeful outlook that you will be able to realise Voltaire's ideal for a perfect and happy life as expressed in his famous dictum: "The body of an athlete and the soul of a sage."

ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY: SIR T. V. ACHARYA

Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya, who addressed the Convocation of the Allahabad

University on December 5, urged the need for research in Indian universities.

No Western country, except perhaps Russia, has yet fully realised the national value of science. And in India the realisation is extremely imperfect. The future of the world lies in the scientific advance, and more so in India than elsewhere with the population increasing at the rate of ten thousand per day and with only three-fourths of an acre under cultivation per head for food crops.

He suggested that universities should take research work suited to and of importance to the area in which the respective University is situated.

In a country so large as India, in which many problems of vital importance to the largest industry of the country have to be solved, it seems to me of an urgent necessity that provision should be made for every University to take up research work suited to and of importance to that area and for the expansion of the work in these universities, where research in agriculture is already in progress.

As a corollary to this, he urged the students to go out to rural areas where await opportunities of selfless and patriotic work to every graduate whether of science or economics.

NAGPUR UNIVERSITY: SIR HYDE GOWAN

The need for reform of University education was stressed by H. E. Sir Hyde Gowan, Governor of the Central Provinces and Chancellor of the Nagpur University on December 5. His Excellency said that while the Universities should not close their portals to any class or community, they ought not to admit students who were unfit to benefit by higher studies. He said:

There is general agreement that one of the factors which led to the present lack of employment admission into our universities of students who are unfit to benefit by the higher studies. How far this accusation is true of this province is a matter which only the University can decide.

MR. SHYAM PRASAD MUKHERJEE

Mr. Shyam Prasad Mukherjee, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, who delivered the Convocation Address, enumerated the essential prerequisite for a truly national and adequate educational reorganisation. Not until India is mistress

of her own destinies, he said, could that condition be realised.

First and foremost a system of education consistent with the genius of the people of India and suited to modern life and conditions cannot be fully achieved unless and until India enjoys a political status which will give her the liberty to decide for herself what constitutes her national needs and how best they can be satisfied. Call it Dominion Status, Responsible Self-Government or Swaraj—I am not concerned with the nomenclature; I am concerned with the supreme fact that the constitution must give us real and not shadowy rights and powers and enable India to be the mistress of her own destiny.

According to him, the Indian University must regard itself as one of the living organs of national reconstruction. That more than 90 per cent. of the Indian population should continue to be illiterate even after 175 years of British rule in this country, he said, is an intolerable situation which calls for immediate action.

A new race of University-trained youths must go forth and, fired with a spirit of zeal and sacrifice, undertake the duty of directing the affairs of schools, throbbing with life and energy, to be opened at every village from one corner of the country to the other.

The school will be the centre from which will radiate the joy and glory of knowledge, applied to the needs and conditions of every grade of society, not treated as separate units but as living parts of one cognate whole—knowledge that will liberate the latent abilities of the children of India and enable them to know themselves and the heritage that is theirs.

LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY: SIR P. THAKURDAS

Sir Purushotamdas Thakurdas addressed the Fifteenth Annual Convocation of the Lucknow University on the 12th December. As might be expected of a business magnate and a captain of industry, Sir Purushotamdas dealt with the practical aspects of a commercial and industrial career. He put in a powerful plea for the adoption of commercial careers by University graduates. He said:

Success in a commercial career calls for full play of individuality, provides ample scope for development of the creative instinct, and the realisation of one's self in one's work. The equipment which is necessary for a commercial career—it is simple though possibly uncommon—is integrity, industry, perseverance and enterprise and also tact, resourcefulness, personality, capacity to think for

oneself, courage to shoulder responsibility at the right time, clear thinking, the will to face facts and a quick decision.

If there is scope for a graduate in any sphere, it is in the commercial which is obvious from the fact that while the import and export trade of the country is of the order of Rs. 100 crores yearly, the internal trade of the country, modestly estimated, is from ten to fifteen times that figure yearly. While the Government of India's interest in the agriculturist is welcome, any disproportion at the emphasis of one pursuit to the detriment of others is unsound.

Sir Purushotamdas said in conclusion that in ensuring the commercial-cum-industrial mentality in the educated youths of India, the Government of India and the Central Legislature can play a leading part.

In fact, I see no solution for the problem which is facing us in India except that the raw material which India produces must be used by India to the fullest extent possible, and I have no doubt that if the Government of India resolve upon that policy, it would not only make India more happy and contented but it would make India a stronger, more reliable, and if I may use the word, sincere partner in the Commonwealth of the British Empire. I need hardly repeat here the warning which has been uttered so often in the past that a strong and contented India is a source of strength to the Empire, but a weak and discontented India can be nothing but a source of weakness to it.

H. E. Sir HARRY HAIG

H. E. the Governor, presiding at the Convocation for the first time, complimented Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas on an address which, he thought, was most stimulating and suggested new ideas on long-debated problems. Sir Purshottamdas, he said, had given a most encouraging message.

Perhaps in the past we have been too much inclined to the view that if a young man does not go into Government service or the learned professions, his only chance of obtaining employment is that he should be provided with definite technical qualifications and that his connection with industry must be that of a technical expert. In this province, perhaps, business is conducted on rather old-fashioned lines, which are not specially favourable for the admission of graduates, but I am sure this must gradually change and I trust our new Appointment Board may be able to devote itself to exploring possibilities of this kind, which might have considerable effect on the prospects of those who at present find it difficult to make a living.

PUNJAB UNIVERSITY: Sir T. B. SAPRU

In his Convocation Address to the Punjab University on December 22, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the veteran statesman, offered sound advice in regard to the problem of unemployment. Indeed, no problem of recent times is more exasperating to the Government and the public alike than this. Sir Tej Bahadur himself has spared no pains to come to grips with this question, and his efforts to find remedies are well known. After dealing with the various problems of education facing the country, Sir Tej Bahadur pointed out:

That the success or failure of the New Governments, which are to come into being in the provinces within the next few months, will be measured by their ability or inability to face and cope with India's economic problem and that there is no problem connected with our young men, which has come more to the front in recent years than the problem of unemployment.

On the question of unemployment, Sir Tej Bahadur said that the only silver lining in an otherwise dark and despondent atmosphere is, that public conscience has been roused and Governments are just beginning to feel somewhat feebly their responsibility in this matter.

The U. P. Government have already started an Unemployment Board, and I hope that this is only a beginning and that the work to follow may be on a much ampler scale. I trust the Central Government may give a clear and definite lead to all the Governments in the country before it becomes too late.

After detailing the actions taken and the progress made in the United Provinces and the Punjab, Sir Tej observed:

The problem of unemployment, I venture to submit, so far as the educated classes are concerned, cannot be solved without reorganising our entire system of education, so as to produce not merely men of culture but also practical-minded men who can become useful economic units of the nation. Side by side with this and as an indispensable accompaniment of educational reform, we have actually to provide more careers for our educated young men, to establish on modern lines cottage industries, to absorb those possessing technical, scientific and practical knowledge in large scale industries and to open avenues for work. While I realise the growing importance of vocational education and industrial training, I also feel that such education and such training by themselves cannot solve the problem, unless each province assumes responsibility for developing those wealth-producing activities, which alone can find employment for our young men.

CALENDAR REFORM—THE DIFFICULTIES

By MR. G. E. WALKER, BAR-AT-LAW

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THE interesting article by Mr. Narayanachar on Calendar Reform published in the *Indian Review* for December, ignores two of the most important aspects of any change in the present ("universal") calendar.

The first is the complete lack of agreement among the reformers themselves. There are two main schools of thought, and the opinions of each are anathema to the other. They are the "twelve-monthers" and the "thirteen-monthers"; but Mr. Narayanachar seems to belong to neither.

He visualises a year of four equal quarters of 91 days each. Ninety-one days represent thirteen seven-day weeks, and he vouchsafes no information as to how he proposes to divide 13 weeks into an equal number of months. One can only presume that the month is to be abolished from his system, and it can safely be said that such a suggestion will receive no support anywhere in the world.

The only proposals that the League of Nations has yet been called upon to consider are the systems which divide the year into 13 months of 28 days, and 12 months of 30 days, respectively.

The arguments in favour of each are heatedly debated by their adherents, and neither party seems able to see anything in favour of the other, so that there is little chance of a united reform party being in a position to appear at Geneva in the near future.

Business men as a whole oppose the 13-month scheme, largely on the ground of expense. The extra labour of a thirteenth monthly account and pay day (and possibly the effect on their customers of receiving a thirteenth monthly bill) is their principal objection, and it is a very cogent one.

The scheme propounded by the "thirteen-monthers", however, is of interest. They take the seven-day week as their unit; four weeks make one month of 28 days, and 13 months of 28 days make a 364-day year, with one *dies non* as a makeweight.

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Their suggested calendar is based on the climate of western Europe; they propose to insert a month called "Sol", between June and July; and their *dies non* will come either at one end of Sol or between December and January—they are not unanimous about it. The quarter, as such, does not enter into this scheme at all, which from many points of view is a consideration against it.

The scheme does, however, have one merit. The relation between the days of the week and the dates of the month is constant. That is to say, every month will begin on a Sunday; Mondays will be the 2nd, 9th, 16th and 23rd of every month, and so on, which would certainly avoid confusion.

But business, and especially big business, will have none of it. The uneven number of months, the absence of the quarter, and the extra book-keeping necessitated by the scheme, incline business men to the "rational 12-month year". This, as its name implies, is a year of 12 equal months of 30 days each, with a 5-day bank holiday, either all in one lump or divided into two sections, one in midsummer (once again based on the western European midsummer) and the other at Christmas—to be taken in substitution for all other bank holidays throughout the year. There are several variants of this system, each with its own devoted adherents, and there is no need to go into details here.

But there is one aspect of calendar reform which must give every one food for deep thought before he can adopt the "rational" point of view to which Mr. Narayanachar has given such able expression. It is the argument which prevailed against all "rationalism" on the last occasion on which calendar reform was discussed at Geneva; and it may yet continue to prevail—and many of us hope it will.

It is this: all the great religious systems of the world are based on the uninterrupted seven-day week. Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Jewry—all alike base their observances on the seven-day cycle. It has remained unchanged through the ages,

It is inconceivable that any one should dispute this: the evidence is incontrovertible. As far back as the recorded history of man extends, the seven-day cycle has remained unchanged.

When Pope Gregory instituted his reforms, he interrupted the sequence of dates, but not of days. It is of no importance whether you call to-morrow the 3rd of July or the 16th of Sol, provided that, to-day being Tuesday, to-morrow is Wednesday. The week is uninterrupted.

And the rock on which all systems of calendar reform split is the interruption of the weekly cycle by the introduction of the *dies non* at the end or in the middle of the year.

To millions of devout men in all countries, one day in every seven is "blessed and sanctified". Whether it is the sixth day of the Muslims, the seventh day of the Jews and some of the Christian sects, or the "eighth-day sabbath" of Christendom at large, it is the weekly day of rest that has been handed down through the ages, and is unalterable in our lives. Hindu readers will be able to supply instances from their own belief, of which the present writer has too imperfect a knowledge to justify quotation.

What will be the effect of the "rational" calendar? To take a simple instance: the thirteen-month calendar begins to operate on Sunday, January 1st, 1939. December 28th of that year (*i.e.*, the last day) will be a Saturday, and on the following morning Christendom will wake up to its "sabbath". But it will not be Sunday. It will be the Nameless Day—the Day of Enlightenment—or whatever the reformers choose to call it. The day called Sunday will follow it; but to Christianity it will have no significance.

The last Muslim holy-day of 1939 will have been Friday, December 27th. The completion of their seven-day cycle will bring them to Thursday, January 6th, 1940; and throughout the year 1940, the Muslim "Sabbath" will fall on Thursday, the Christian on Saturday. And by 1941, confusion will be worse confounded. The intervention of another Extra Day will bring

the Muslim holy-day to Wednesday, the Christian to Friday, and so on.

The dislocation of business will be complete, and the whole object of the reforms will be stultified.

It may be thought that the devout, of whose lives the seven-day week is such an integral part, will allow themselves to be persuaded by the ~~CV~~ business needs of the community at large, to wink at the interrupted week, and conform to the political calendar, keeping Fridays, Sundays, and the rest, on the days which bear those names in the new calendar. But a glance at the proceedings of the League of Nations Committee when the subject was last discussed will show that this will not be the case.

The Jews (the most rigid of sabbath-keepers) led the opposition to the so-called "reform"; the Seventh Day sects of Christianity were also to the fore. The Pope intimated that the interruption of the seventh day week would be contrary to the belief and practice of the Church of which he is head; Sunday-keeping Protestantism was not very vocal; representatives of other religions do not seem to have been consulted.

This much is certain, however: to introduce a political calendar and allow the devout of all religions to go their own way, and to keep their own festivals and holy-days, would be to create incomparably more confusion than exists already. Rigidly to enforce the holidays and working days of a "reformed" calendar would be to offend the religious susceptibilities of half mankind.

Would the reformation of the present calendar be an unmixed blessing?

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INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The King's Abdication

INDIA with the rest of the world has been deeply stirred by the circumstances that led to the abdication of King Edward so soon after his accession to the throne of this great Empire. The alternative before the King was renunciation of the greatest magnitude such as seldom faced any hero in story or song. The events that led to this denouement and the act of abdication itself will remain a most memorable episode in contemporary history.

Abdication under the circumstances was inevitable and, perhaps, the only way out of the difficulty. But one figure emerges out of this crisis with marked distinction. Mr. Baldwin's part in this affair is one which has commanded the respect and admiration of all. Indeed, the Prime Minister has rendered the greatest service to the British throne and the Empire in general by the common sense and courage he had displayed in this extremely difficult and delicate situation. The British monarchy, with all its shortcomings, stands unique in the world in many respects, and it would be a pity, indeed, if any act of the King in any way rendered it the subject of unpleasant talk among peoples of the world. There is a great deal in the old adage that the King should be above all suspicion.

is Congress President

So Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is re-elected President of the Congress for the third time. It is, indeed, a rare honour—an honour that was bestowed on Dadabhai Naoroji among the stalwarts of the old Congress. To Jawaharlal it is no doubt a great personal distinction. That does not certainly mean endorsement of his policy

either in headquarters or among the rank-and-file. Indeed, none knows it better than he, and he took a perfectly correct view of the situation when he declared in his statement on the eve of his election: "It would be absurd for me to treat this presidential election as a vote for socialism or anti-office acceptance."

But then there is no guarantee that he will suppress his socialistic activities and keep within the bounds of the Congress Manifesto. Indeed, more than once Congress headquarters have taken objection to his interpretation of things. But they are shrewd men at the top and they know that Jawaharlal is a *persona grata* with the socialists. So those likely to be elected withdrew in favour of the Pandit as a sop to the extremists. And they made sure that the President's official activities shall be tuned to their string. That was good strategy. But how long could this temporising go, and how far would the President suppress his ego and carry out the behests of his powerful colleagues in the Congress?

In his Presidential address to the Faizpur Congress, Pandit Nehru has taken the opportunity to reaffirm his convictions.

Congress and Office Acceptance

Once again the Congress high command has failed to give a proper lead. The Working Committee which met at Bombay reiterated its resolve "not to submit to this Constitution or co-operate with it but to combat it both inside and outside the legislatures so as to end it". Brave words! After this emphatic declaration to reject and end the Constitution, one wonders how there could be any question of office

acceptance. And yet, for technical reasons we believe the question is left unsettled. This is hardly fair to the electorates who have a right to know the line of action that Congressmen propose to take on their return to the legislatures. It is presumable that Congressmen will ultimately accept office when they are in a majority and in other places do exactly what the "Opposition" usually does under normal conditions. And this is exactly what the Liberals propose to do. We fail to see what else Congressmen could do despite tall talks to the contrary!

Discussing the question of office acceptance, a well known Congressman, Mr. C. R. Reddy, analyses the position with characteristic vigour and acuteness. "I am positive," he says :

that Council entry must carry with it the obligation to accept office either singly, if the Congress has a good majority or in combination with other parties, if a reliable coalition can be formed for the promotion of a definite set of measures calculated to strengthen Indian nationalism."

Himself a redoubtable nationalist, Mr. Reddy admits that all talk of wrecking the Constitution is bunkum. "Council entry for the sake of wrecking is an advertisement of goods which cannot be delivered because they are not there to be delivered." It will be best in the interests alike of the Congress and the country that a frank and straightforward avowal is made instead of shirking the issues and postponing the decision indefinitely.

As we go to Press, we learn that even the Congress itself has definitely postponed its decision till after the elections are over, leaving the electors as much perplexed as ever before.

Indians Overseas

Our good friend, Mr. Polak, Honorary Secretary of the Indians Overseas Association, who is now on a professional tour in this country, has for some three decades been intimately associated with the problem of our countrymen abroad. In a statement to the *Associated Press*, he points out the need for closer contact between the mother country and overseas Indians, and appeals to young India to make a special study of the problem affecting the welfare of the two millions of Indians settled abroad. What are the best means of bringing about this closer contact? In the first place, official and parliamentary visits such as that of the South African delegation should be cultivated and reciprocated as often as possible. Non-official visits, too, like those of Gokhale in 1912, of Mr. Andrews and Sarojini Naidu and Mr. Kodanda Rao are equally productive of considerable good. They bring the Governments and people of the territories concerned "in direct contact with the recognised Indian leaders of light and culture"; and they make them realise "how deeply concerned is the motherland in the welfare of her children abroad". Now for some years past the tendency has been to transfer from Whitehall to Delhi the direct handling of Indian affairs abroad, it is of the greatest importance, too, that public opinion in this country should be vigilant and "should collaborate closely with the Government of India in endeavouring to secure redress of grievances of the Overseas Indian community". And Mr. Polak puts forward a practical suggestion to further such contacts between Indians at home and abroad.

Indian opinion should insist, in my view, that funds should be made available without delay for the appointment of Indian Agents of the Government of India, whether primarily for trade purposes or exercising diplomatic functions, or both, in those parts of the Empire with large Indian populations.

Dr. Tagore's Appeal

The report of two recent cases of alleged suicide in Bengal in quick succession has naturally roused public feeling in the country. There is something deeply tragical in cases of suicides among prisoners detained without trial. One cannot dismiss them as abnormal symptoms as such frequent occurrences are most disturbing. That men deprived of their liberty for an indefinite period should be prone to such acts of self-immolation is itself a reason for an enquiry into their case. Dr. Tagore, as President of the Civil Liberties Union, has appealed for an independent enquiry into these cases. Public opinion has strongly endorsed this appeal. For it would be reassuring to know the real facts of the situation. If the reports are exaggerated, it would be something; but if they are real, surely it is time that steps should be taken to remedy the situation.

The late Krishna Kumar Mitra

In the death of Sjt. Krishna Kumar Mitra, we have lost a great and good man—one eminent by virtue of his life and character. An "utterly selfless worker in the vineyard of the Lord", he was like his guru Keshab Chander Sen "a terribly earnest man". Throughout his long and strenuous life he was inspired with the loftiest ideals, and his "plain living and high thinking" was a source of perennial inspiration to all who came in contact with him. His faith in the Brahmo Samaj was at once strong and unshaken, and he threw himself into the work of the mission with an ardour of conviction unsurpassed even in the history of that great religious movement. For 70 years he continued unceasingly to give of his best to public causes. The memory of such a life will be a cherished possession for long.

Sj. Patel's Advice to Civic Workers

Sj. Vallabhai Patel gave some wholesome counsel in his reply to the civic address presented by the Corporation of Madras during his recent tour to the South. He has always felt Municipal work as most fascinating, and he gave a bit of his experiences in Ahmedabad. We must make room for one observation of his:

The key to efficient administration lies in the proper selection of officers and once the selection is made, you ought not to interfere beyond certain limits with the exercise by the officers of the powers entrusted to them. No man, however clever, however intelligent and however able, can conduct an administration merely in the light of the guidance given by others. An officer can discharge his duties only in the light of his own vision, intelligence, ability and ideas.

It is best for us to recognise that and act accordingly.

The late Mr. Raghavan

It is with profound regret that we record the death of Mr. G. S. Raghavan of the *People* (Lahore), after a motor accident near Patiala. Mr. Raghavan was one of a group of brilliant young men who joined Mr. B. G. Horniman when he first took charge of the *Bombay Chronicle*. Raghavan, like his chief, had a turn for vivid phrases and fine writing, and he was quickly recognised as a brilliant journalist of promise. But then brilliant journalists are not always successful in life, and he had his vicissitudes, hopping from one paper to another. His friends were, therefore, pleased to see him installed at the *People* where he was doing excellent work. But the Fates have been perverse, and he has been cut off at the prime of life when the fulfilment of his early promise seemed so near. It is melancholy to recall his last letter to the Editor of this *Review*—almost his last written words—as it was indited from his bed in the Hospital. Raghavan wrote with characteristic optimism:

It was a miracle I was saved. There are more trials for me in this world to face, but since it is God's Will, I must live and fight.

Alas, the Fates decreed otherwise and that was not to be!

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

The Situation in Spain

WHAT between the rebel attacks and the Government's counter-attacks, the fate of Madrid, though unsettled, is all but sealed. Whatever the outcome of the struggle, the gay, old Madrid will be a thing of memory. Already a great part of that beautiful city is in ruins and a continuance of the grim fight will complete the devastation.

Meanwhile, Mr. Eden's statement on British attitude towards the Spanish civil war emphasises her neutrality. While non-intervention remains the keystone of British policy, it is something that Great Britain is supplying the Spanish Government with gas-masks. This is a purely humanitarian measure long over-due and does not transgress the London Pact.

Britain and Belgium

It is reassuring to be told that at least on one point British foreign policy is firm and unequivocal. And the foreign minister did well to give expression to it in time. At the luncheon in London to Premier Von Zeeland of Belgium, Mr. Eden took the opportunity cordially to reaffirm Anglo-Belgium friendship. In proposing the toast, he spoke of the special place Belgium occupied in the friendship of the British people. He said:

There is, I believe, no greater service by our country to the cause of peace than clarity. Let me, therefore, on this Anglo-Belgian occasion once again affirm that the independence and integrity of Belgium is of vital interest to this nation, and that Belgium could count upon our help were she ever a victim of an unprovoked aggression.

I say these words deliberately, because I am confident that they represent the will of the British people and that to make this plain is a contribution to peace.

The Public Order Bill

One of the most important of recent legislations in England is the Public Order Bill, which makes it an offence for any person in a public place or at a public meeting to wear uniform signifying association with any political organisation or with the promotion of any political object, but under certain conditions; exceptions concerning ceremonials or anniversaries or other occasions not likely to involve risks of public disorder may be permitted by approved authority. It is left to the Courts to decide what constitutes political uniforms.

The difficulty has, of course, been in arriving at the exact point of justifiable interference; but the warning afforded by the countries in the Continent can hardly be ignored. It is those private armies that have been the undoing of the States in Italy, Germany and Spain, and England has not learned the lesson too soon. For already Fascist and Communist marches in London are becoming a real menace to peace.

Lord Nuffield's Gifts

Lord Nuffield has made a further gift of £2,000,000 for promoting permanent schemes of recovery for the afflicted areas in South Wales, Durham and Scotland. This vast sum is placed in the hands of three trustees, with full power to administer it freely for the benefit of the people now in acute economic distress.

As the *Daily Mail* truly remarks, the only recent precedent for Lord Nuffield's munificence is the munificence of Lord Nuffield himself. The total amount of his benefactions, including his recent gift to the Oxford University, is well over £7,500,000.

NUARY 1937]

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

39

Soviet and Its Enemies

It is a very queer way—these European tions are striving for peace. Hitler talks peace and points to the 15 million Nazis who will rise as one man at his bidding, the mere snap of his fingers. Mussolini lks of the "forest of spears" that would ndicate the honour of Rome. And now the erman-Japanese alliance is provoking the viet to declare that the Pacific and Baltic ets "are ready to annihilate any enemy ring to approach our coast". "The threatening attitude of Germany id Japan is compelling the Soviet Union build the most powerful navy in the orld." This startling declaration was ade by Admiral Orloff, Chief of the . S. S. R. (Russia) Naval Forces, when ; addressed a meeting of the All-Russian ongress of Soviets.

Urging the necessity of constructing the orld's biggest fleet, Admiral Orloff pointed it that Germany was completing the nstruction of 37 war-ships, 15 cruisers, id hundreds of aircraft-carriers, mine-yers and submarines.

"Since 1933," continued Admiral Orloff, "the viet Fleet has increased to the following extent: bmarines have been increased sevenfold, war-ips threefold, coastal artillery has been increased 75 per cent., anti-aircraft defences have been ubled, and the naval air-force has been reased fivefold."

So much for the Russian Navy. What her Air-Force? The Union of Socialist viet Republics will have 100,000 military rmen this year, according to M. Khiprin, ssistant Air-Force Commander. In an ddress to the All-Russian Congress of viet at Moscow, he declared:

We have hundreds of air-des-royers capable of speed of 360 miles per hour, which can drop battalion of fully armed men by parachute ready attack the enemy in the rear within 10 minutes. oe betide the Germans if they attack the viet Union.

On the strength of these, M. Litvinov, eople's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, declares: "Soviets will continue to strive r peace."

Civil War in China

The civil war in China has had a surprising turn. Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek, who was kept a prisoner by orders of General Chang, has been released suddenly, and in a statement he says that his detention arose out of a mistake. General Chang, whose loyalty to the Government the Marshal does not doubt, had an impression that Chiang Kai-Shek was not being loyal to the Revolution, and as soon as he discovered his mistake, he rectified it "as Chinese gentlemen should". The General is very penitent and acknowledges his crime and is willing to abide by the Government's decision as regards the punishment. It is understood that Chiang Kai-Shek will intercede on his behalf.

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DIARY OF THE MONTH

Nov. 25. The Nobel Peace Prizes have been awarded to Carl von Ossietzky and Dr. Saavedra Lamas.

Nov. 26. The House of Commons ratifies the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty.

Nov. 27. Germany and Japan conclude an agreement directed against the Communist International.

Nov. 28. The Italian Forces capture Gore.

Nov. 29. The Rt. Hon. Sastri leaves Calcutta for Malaya by S. S. *Ekma*.

Nov. 30. Travancore citizens present a public address to the Maharajah in appreciation of his Proclamation.

Dec. 1. H. M. King Edward gives audience to Lord Sinha at the Buckingham Palace.

Dec. 2. Sir Maurice Gwyar is appointed the first Chief Justice of the Federal Court of India.

Dec. 3. The House of Lords approves the draft instructions to the Governors of Indian Provinces and Burma.

Dec. 4. France assures Britain of help against unprovoked aggressions.

Dec. 5. The new Russian Constitution recognises the Franco-Soviet Pact.

Dec. 6. The 98th Session of the Tamil Nadu Political Conference meets at Vellore.

Dec. 7. Sir Frank Noyce opens the All-India Industrial Exhibition at Lucknow.

Dec. 8. Sir Jagadish Prasad opens the Co-operative Societies' Conference at Delhi.

Dec. 9. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru is re-elected President of the Indian National Congress.

Dec. 10. King Edward abdicates: The Duke of York is proclaimed King.

Dec. 11. Ex-King Edward leaves London for the Continent.

Dec. 12. The Governor-General of Ireland signs the Bill which abolishes the post of the Governor-General of the Free State.

Dec. 13. H. M. King George addresses the Parliament for the first time.

Dec. 14. Heavy bombing of the Madrid by the rebels is reported.

Dec. 15. Lord Islington is dead.

Dec. 16. Briton declines a *de jure* recognition to the Italian annexation of Abyssinia.

Dec. 17. The B. N. Railway workers strike work.

Dec. 18. His Majesty assumes the title of Colonelcy-in-chief of the Royal Marines.

Dec. 19. The Chinese Government troops capture Hwah-Sien.

Dec. 20. The Madras Film Conference meets under the presidentship of Miss Enakshi Rama Rao.

Dec. 21. H. E. the Viceroy opens the Associated Chambers at Calcutta.

Dec. 22. Britain and France decide to withdraw their legations at Addis Ababa and have only Consulates-General.

Dec. 23. All-India Socialist Congress meets at Faizpur under the presidentship of Jaiprakash Narain.

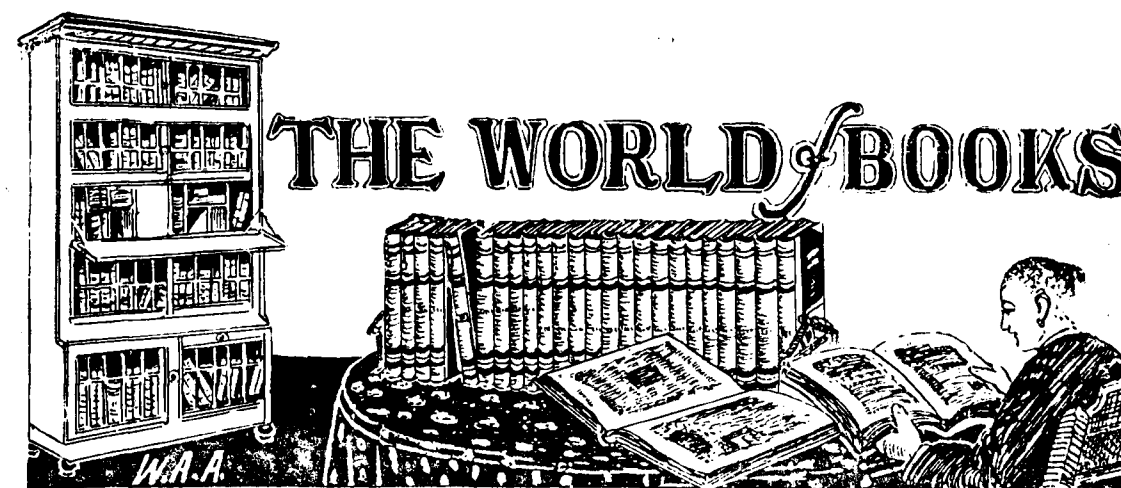
Dec. 24. Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek is released by the Chinese rebels.

Dec. 25. H. E. H. the Nizam opens the Indian Fine Arts Exhibition at Calcutta.



PT. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Dec. 26. The Indian National Congress meets at Faizpur under the presidency of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.



INDIA IN THE MIDDLE AGES: Economic Conditions in Southern India, 1000-1500 A.D. Two Volumes. By Dr. A. Appadorai, M.A., Ph.D. Madras University Historical Series No. 12. Rs. 10.

The two massive volumes of Dr. Appadorai represent his researches into the economic conditions of Southern India from 1000-1500 A.D. The outstanding economic institutions and methods characteristic of mediæval life in Southern India, the self-sufficing agricultural unit, primitive methods of agricultural and industrial production, the organisation and control of industry and commerce by means of local guilds are clearly and vividly portrayed.

The first volume deals with the sources, the economic life of the villages, and the growth of towns, while the second has for its scope industries, foreign trade, state action, charitable works, famines and poor relief, and the standard of life. No doomsday book or manorial records light the path of the economic historian of India in the Middle Ages. It is significant to note that Dr. Appadorai has richly and fruitfully drawn from the diverse material available, such as the works of foreign travellers like Alberuni, Abdur Razzak, Paes, Nuniz, William Rubruck, Marco Polo, Odoric, Jordanus, Ibn Batuta, Conti, Nikitin,

Varthema and Barbosa, the many South Indian inscriptions, Royal grants and the literature of the period.

As under the feudal system in Europe in the Middle Ages, the social ideal under the caste system in India was static and rigid and social divisions were horizontal. At the outset one gets a glimpse of the village life in its manifold aspects which formed the economic unit of Southern India in the Middle Ages. With the growth of agriculture, towns begin to spring up and multiply with improved arts and crafts, with guilds controlling trade and commerce. Gradually industries assume new shape and size with the patronage of Cola and Vijayanagar kings, and the reader witnesses the growth of shipping, development of ports, commercial communities, finance and taxation, currency and exchange, new methods to combat famines and draught, and a rise in the standard of life of the people.

Though the canvas is not complete, it is rich in colour and significant in detail. The value of the work has been considerably enhanced by the appendices at the end of the second volume. Students of Southern Indian Economic History will find much food for thought in these volumes, which are at once penetrating, sincere, and scholarly.

VALUE AND EXISTENCE. By N. O. Lossky, Professor of Philosophy in the Russian University of Prague, and John S. Marshall, Professor of Philosophy in Albion College, London. George Allen & Unwin. 7sh. 6d.

Prof. Lossky's theory of value is distinguished from the realism of Scheler and Hartmann, in that it does not like the latter, divorce value from existence. Hartmann's theory deprives existence itself of intrinsic worth, whereas, according to Lossky, value resides not merely in a quality that is possessed but also in the bearer of the quality. In spite of his neo-Platonic heritage, Lossky's theory bears greater affinity to the spiritual pluralism of James Ward, as his pupil and expositor indicates. It is never made clear how this pluralism is consistent with the underlying neo-Platonism. This is a real difficulty to those who hold that immanentism, though not necessarily solipsist, inevitably leads to monism.

The book consists of two parts: the first, a translation from the author's Russian by Mr. Serger Vinokooroff, and the second an interpretation by Prof. Marshall. The author's own exposition is quite clear and forcible, while Prof. Marshall's commentary is mainly valuable as making clear certain implications and basic conceptions. The volume, though small, requires and deserves close study.

THE TEACHINGS OF ISLAM. By Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. Published by Abul Fizz Mahmood, Qadian, India.

This is an attractively printed booklet containing an authoritative exposition of the fundamental doctrines of religion from the Muslim point of view. It was originally written in Urdu and presented at the great Religious Conference held at Lahore in 1896.

SRI HARSHA'S "RATNAVALI". With Sanskrit Commentary. Edited with Introduction, Translation, Notes and Appendix. By V. P. Ramanujaswami, M.A. Published by V. Ramaswami Sastrulu and Sons, 292, Esplanade, Madras. Rs. 2.

This work, the translation of "Ratnavali", is done with care and precision. The introduction to the work by the author gives an exhaustive survey of the origin and development of the drama in general and Sanskrit drama in particular, besides giving a short account of Sri Harsha's life followed by a critical exposition of Harsha's place in Sanskrit poetry. Detailing similarity of events and description between Harsha's works such as Nagananda, Ratnavali and others, and the works of earlier Sanskrit poets, the translator Mr. Ramanujaswami concludes that Harsha's indebtedness to other poets is considerable. The learned translator points out, too, that on the other hand the indebtedness of other poets to Harsha is not altogether inconsiderable. The translation on the whole is a work of considerable labour and careful critical evaluation. The Publishers deserve to be congratulated for their neat printing of Deva Nagari characters.

THE HUNTED. By John A. Lee. T. Werner Laurie Ltd. 7s. 6d.

John Alexander Lee earned high praise from Bernard Shaw for his novel "Children of the Poor." In "The Hunted", he deals with the life of Albany Porcello, an inmate of a reformatory school. The stern discipline, the severe torture, physical and mental, which results from his abortive attempts to run away, and his final escape from the clutches of law, are portrayed with characteristic grimness and vitality.

EARLY LAND REVENUE SYSTEM IN BENGAL AND BIHAR, Vol. I, 1765-1772. By D. N. Banerjee. Longmans, Green & Co.

There has been accumulating a growing literature on the subject of the land revenue experiments of the English in Bengal leading up to the Permanent Settlement of 1793. When the Company stood forth as the *Diwan* of Bengal, it had to take up the work of collection on itself; but could not do so and had to entrust it to the management of the Nawab's deputies. It was anxious to have as large sums raised as could be collected. The English Resident at the Nawab's Darbar was forbidden to interfere to save the cultivators from oppression; and many of the latter abandoned their holdings and turned to vagabondage. This was the state of affairs till 1772, though English Supervisors were appointed in 1769 and two Councils of Revenue were established in the following year. This period is examined by the author, who has sifted the manuscript records in the Imperial Record Office and in the Bengal Secretariat Record Room and has come to the conclusion that, although some of the subordinate officers of the Company were guilty of acts of indiscretion and oppression, the Court of Directors and the Council and the Select Committee of Fort William were on the whole as much anxious to protect the ryot as to increase the revenues from lands.

SMILES & TEARS. By K. Vaidyanathan, B.A. Kosapet, Vellore, South India. Re. 1. Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

"Smiles and Tears" as the title indicates, is a collection of short poems on a variety of subjects. They have an easy flow of language and striking imagery. The poems form attractive reading specially to the younger generation.

LORDS AND MASTERS. By A. G. Macdonell. Macmillan. 7sh. 6d.

After surveying (in two serio-comic best sellers) the populations of England and America, Mr. Macdonell turns his satirical attention to Man (with a capital M). This Man is analysed and black-washed not only in his domestic capacity and *vis-a-vis* Woman, but as a social and economic entity as soldier, lawyer, businessman and politician.

It is difficult to say where in this novel the story ends and the social satire begins, or to say even where the joking ends and the preaching begins. In view of the fear of a great many people (and the hope of a few) that a mighty war is impending over Europe and the world, the ways of war-makers and war-victims, of armament manufacturers, commercial magnates, politicians and soldiers have now a special topical appeal. But whatever the subject, topical or universal, Mr. Macdonell's handling of it is nothing if not critical and interesting.

BOOKS RECEIVED

THE TRAMP AND OTHER STORIES. By Dal Stevens. Macmillan & Co.

FEDERAL FINANCE. By M. Mir Khan. Robert Hale & Company, 102, Great Russell Street, London.

THE MAHABHARATA. Ed. by Prof. P. P. S. Sastri. Vol. XV, Santi Parva, Part III. V. R. Sastrulu & Sons, Madras.

MODERN MYSORE. From 1868 to the Present Time. By M. Shama Rao. Two Vols. Higginbothams, Bangalore.

MATHEMATICS FOR THE MILLION. By Lancelot Hogben. George Allen & Unwin, London.

ADYAR PAMPHLET No. 187 (Communalism and Its Cure by Theosophy). By Bhagwan Das. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.

INNER LIGHTS: A devotional anthology. Compiled by Editor R. Richards. George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

THE GERMAN PROBLEM IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. By Josef Chmelar. Consulat, 17 Cooperage Road, Fort, Bombay.

Hyderabad

THE EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

Mr. Kashinath Rao Vaidya, M.A., LL.B., presiding over the third session of the Hyderabad People's Educational Conference, urged that in all State schools provision must be made for teaching in different vernaculars in accordance with the need of the locality. Urdu is the medium of instruction in the State, as it is also the official language of the State. But then Urdu is the mother tongue of barely 1/9 of the population. Hence he urges that due provision should be made for teaching in Hindi, Marathi, Kanarese and Telugu as well. For the difficulty of multiplicity of languages is not peculiar to Hyderabad alone.

There are several districts in the Bombay Presidency whose local language is Marathi and others have Kanarese. The districts of Gujarathi, and Sindhi is the local language of Sindh; similarly Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kanarese are the four languages spoken in the presidency of Madras. In spite of the plurality of languages in both these provinces, provision is made for instruction through the medium of the mother tongue of the boys, option being given to adopt English as medium of instruction if they so desire. Our request to the Government of His Exalted Highness is, that similar provision should be made in the High Schools in the State. It is said that in one town we cannot have four High Schools for four languages, but we most respectfully submit that they are not at all required at one and the same place. Our demand is that in the High Schools located in the Marathwada, Marathi should be the medium of instruction; similarly Telugu in Telingana, and Kanarese in Kannada. We never want a Kanarese or Telugu school at Aurangabad or a Marathi or Kanarese school at Warangal. There are certain districts on the borders of Marathwada, Telingana and Kannada where Kanarese are spoken, such as the districts of Nizamabad, Adilabad and Bidar. A careful examination of these places will show that in the same district all the Taluqas have not all the languages, but each Taluqa ordinarily has got one language. Our proposal, therefore, is that middle and high schools in the districts should have the provincial language as the medium of instruction.

The Conference accordingly adopted a resolution to this effect.

Baroda

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION IN BARODA

The Naib Dewan Mr. Manilal B. Nanavaty, who recently returned from the tour of Japan, has submitted some proposals to the Government of Baroda. The report describes the immensely practical aspect of industrial education in Japan and its industrial efficiency. Organisation of a grid system is suggested for a wider use of electricity on a cheap basis for the rural areas. It is further learnt that industrial and vocational education would be reorganised, which would naturally develop the present Kalabhavan into a full-fledged technological institute if the suggestions are adopted by the Government. It is understood the State may depute certain officers to acquaint themselves fully with various aspects of Japanese life, if the State agreed to adopt such a policy for the organisation of the educational and industrial policy.

BARODA TEACHERS' CONFERENCE

The eighth session of the Baroda Secondary Teachers' Conference was recently held at Baroda under the presidency of the Commissioner of Education in the State. Acting Dewan Col. Kumar Shivrajsingh, opening the session, referred to the useful work done by the Conference since its inception in 1925, and stated that he would be glad to see a great body of teachers, primary, secondary, and higher combined in one solid mass like the National Union of Teachers of England, not for the sordid purpose of making money or revising grades, but for the grand purpose of lifting the society higher and higher from the mire of ignorance, superstition, jealousy, and religious fanaticism.

Travancore

TEMPLE ENTRY IN TRAVANCORE

In the course of an article in the *Harijan*, Mahatma Gandhi says that his misgivings in regard to the actual execution of the noble Proclamation has been completely dispelled by accounts of the genuine reaction of the whole people of Travancore to the new movement. He had asked himself, he says, if it was only a political document with loopholes and reservations and if it was only a superimposed thing?

But the latest happenings described by the Harijan Sevak Sangh of Trivandrum with a wealth of detail has dispelled all doubt. The Mahatma adds:

The actuality has surpassed all expectations. The enthusiasm of the Harijans, the absence of all opposition to their entrance to the farthest limit permissible to the highest caste, and the willing, nay the hearty co-operation of the officiating priests, show the utter genuineness of the great and sweeping reform. What seemed impossible for man has been made possible by God. Royal proclamations cannot convert tens of thousands of people. Here, therefore, is an instance of mass conversion of Caste Hindus. It is real because it is spontaneous.

HUMANITARIAN CONFERENCE

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, presiding over the 14th Session of the All-Travancore Humanitarian Conference held recently, said:

"First of all, be proud of your past traditions and reject imitations. Secondly, remember that you are part of the world, that the world is shrinking, that the currents of the world-forces pulsate through all nations and countries and can leave none unaffected. And so seeing and so realising, make that assimilation of your past traditions with your present, the reconciliation of the old heritage with the needs and demands of the new situation, in which the safety and prosperity of national life lies."

Mysore

HARIJANS IN MYSORE

The example of Travancore is catching, and we are glad to see that the following resolution signed by a number of non-official members of the Mysore Legislative Council has been sent to Government to be moved at the forthcoming sessions of the Legislative Council:

This Council recommends to Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore that they will be pleased to permit the Adikarnatakas, Adidravidas and other untouchable classes of the Hindu community to enter and worship at all the Hindu temples under the management of the Government Muzrai Department, subject to such rules and conditions as may be laid down and imposed by Government for preserving the proper atmosphere and maintaining the rituals and observances in the temples."

THE SUBSIDY QUESTION

The inauguration of the Federation is near at hand, and all the Indian States are exercising their minds as to the terms of the Instrument of Accession to be agreed upon. Mr. A. C. Lohian was recently at Mysore to confer with the Durbar on this matter and to settle the conditions upon which Mysore was to enter the Federation. Writing about this subject, Mr. B. S. Puttaswami, President of the District Board of Mysore, indicates the feeling of the people on such an important question.

The subjects of the State, however, feel strongly that so long as the subsidy or any portion of it is being levied by British Government from them, it is highly undesirable to enter the Federation with that stigma of inferiority. It has been admitted on all hands that it is an unjustifiable levy and Federation or no Federation, this illegal impost must be extinguished immediately.

HINDI IN MYSORE STATE

Prof. A. R. Wadia's proposition to add Hindi to the list of optional subjects was carried by a majority in the Mysore Senate. Very vehement speeches both for and against were made and, after all, the mover carried the day when he appealed to the members for the adoption of Hindi.

Patiala**PATIALA MAHARAJAH'S WARNING**

H. H. the Maharajah of Patiala, addressing a meeting of the rulers and ministers of the Punjab States, referred to the proposal to organise a Conservative Party consisting of Princes and the aristocracy of land and wealth. His Highness said:

"The Princes of India—rulers of their States and sovereigns of their own people—cannot be parties to class and property distinctions. In their own States, they are placed above all class with the God-given duty of holding the scales even between the rich and the poor, between the landed magnate and the ryot, between the patrician and plebeian.

The proposal that rulers should ally themselves with landed magnates and aristocracy of wealth is to undermine the position of the rulers as sovereigns of their own States by making them active parties to class conflicts. We may ignore only at our peril the fact that our States consist alike of the poor and the rich, that we as rulers of States cannot have any alliance with the aristocracy of land and wealth unless we desire to introduce into our States the pernicious doctrine of class warfare."

Jind**REFORM PROGRESS IN JIND**

The recent session of the Jind Assembly and Council under the guidance of Mr. G. Kaula, the Chief Minister, gave a much desired fillip to industrial development in the State. A well-planned policy is being steadily developed, new industries are being opened, and an earnest effort to improve the economic and social conditions of the people is in evidence.

Cochin**THE COCHIN CHIEF COURT**

With a view to empowering the Chief Court of Cochin to regulate its own practice and procedure, the Cochin Government will introduce at the ensuing session of the State Legislature a Bill to amend the Chief Court Regulation II of 1070 M. E.

The object of the Bill is that while this Regulation confers upon the Chief Court power to issue general rules for regulating the practice and proceedings of all courts subordinate to it, it does not confer power to issue rules for regulating its own practice and proceedings.

Rewa**REVENUE REMISSION IN REWA**

Liberal remission ranging from 12½ per cent. to 25 per cent. has been granted by the Maharajah of Rewa to distressed agriculturists in the current year's land revenue.

The Maharajah has further enjoined the zamindars to grant similar remission in land revenue due from agriculturists in their respective estates, failing which the Maharajah has threatened to take serious measures against them.

Nawanagar**THE NAWANAGAR CONCESSIONS**

On the occasion of the Durbar held in Jamnagar to commemorate the Hindu New Year Day, His Highness the Jam Sahib not only announced the remission this year of the *bosta* collection, which is one-fourth of the land revenue payable for 20 years, but added that on receipt of complete returns from all the districts, necessary measures would be taken for the relief of the cultivators.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

South Africa**S. A. INDIANS NOW IN INDIA**

Though the South African Indians at present in India are scattered about and have no central organisation, and though the Government of India were unwilling to give them an opportunity of honouring the Hofmeyer's Goodwill Delegation by a tea party on the ground of limited time at their disposal, Mr. Ahmed I. Momoniat, a young businessman and public worker of Johannesburg now visiting India, succeeded in giving the Goodwill Delegation a grand farewell on board the *S. S. Tairea* at Bombay, on the 14th October 1936, when the leader, Hon. Mr. Hofmeyer, his colleagues and six accompanying ladies were presented with useful souvenirs of Indian craftsmanship and culture, on behalf of South African Indians now in India, Mr. Momoniat in addressing the Delegation, said:

On behalf of South African Indians, I have great pleasure in garlanding you and the other members of the Delegation and presenting an Indian-made article as a humble token which carries our best wishes. We wish you all a bon voyage and hope you will carry away pleasant memories of India and that the bonds of friendship will remain even stronger.

Mr. Momoniat headed the Indian Deputation, which consisted of prominent and representative gentlemen from South Africa and India. Members of the Delegation were delighted and freely chatted with their South Africans and were even surprised to find their African language being spoken in India. The happy delegates sang their national song "Saru Marais" as the ship sailed slowly away.

INDIANS GOING TO SOUTH AFRICA

The following regulation has been issued by the Minister of Public Health Union of South Africa regarding vaccination against small-pox, of Indians going to the Union:

"No person who has, immediately prior to embarkation, been in any part of India shall be permitted to enter the Union of South Africa unless he produces to the satisfaction of the Port Health Officer or other Officer duly authorised thereto by the Minister of Public Health, acceptable evidence that he

(a) has been successfully vaccinated against small-pox, not less than twelve days and not more than three years, prior to the date of embarkation from India, or

(b) bears marks of having had the disease previously, or

(c) is insusceptible to vaccination or re-vaccination owing to previous acceptable vaccination or other cause."

East Africa**INDIANS IN ZANZIBAR**

In a recent interview at Bombay, Mr. C. F. Andrews gave expression to his distress at some of the recommendations of the Binder Inquiry Report regarding Indians in Zanzibar. The Indian community, he says, have lost heavily:

Surely, it is nothing less than a scandal that the moratorium which involved huge sums of Indian money is now to be renewed for the third time, making in all more than two years during which Indian merchants have received no payment.

"The second thing which struck me," said Mr. Andrews, "is that the Clove Growers' Association are to continue to dominate the situation with added powers in some important directions.

The way the Clove Growers' Association have been boosted up by the Government in the past, gave no hope that they would be any less antagonistic to Indian interests in the future.

This body which has proved so hostile to Indian interests is still to control the whole situation."

Fiji

INDIANS AND FIJIANS

In a series of articles to the Press on Indians in Fiji, written with first-hand knowledge of conditions over there, Mr. C. F. Andrews, who has just returned after an extensive tour of these parts, discusses the question of land leases which are causing considerable difficulty to Indians:

The British Government in Fiji by its lavish promises to both races—Fijian and Indian—has not only reached a state of incredible muddle, but has also in the long run rendered itself unfair to both. For the British Cabinet promised to the Fijians in 1874 that their land rights should be preserved and then in 1875 promised to the Indians that they should have land rights in no way inferior to those of any other race.

How has this promise been kept? The policy pursued by the Government has proved injurious to both Fijians and Indians. About 80 per cent. of the land is held as tribal land while 20 per cent. is owned by the Colonial Sugar Refinery Co. The latter will not allow this land to slip into the hands of the Indians. Under the existing rules, no alienations of the tribal land are possible, though Fijians are free to leave it out for periods not exceeding 90 years. And this is no easy thing. For as Mr. Andrews points out:

The first approach in renewing a lease is made by the Indian. He has to deposit £10 or more for the survey. After that, the whole trouble begins. The Indian attends a meeting of the tribe and is called upon to supply tobacco and a feast. A long process of blackmail of the Indian often ensues until life becomes hardly worth living. In the end the Indian, who is fearful of losing the renewal of his lease, is almost bled white. Many pitfalls exist and further bribery is needed. So the wretched round of misery goes on.

The only way out of this tangle, according to Mr. Andrews, is to take the leasing of the land out of the hands of the members of the Fijian tribe and place it in charge of some authority whose integrity is unquestionable.

Ceylon

CEYLON IMMIGRATION

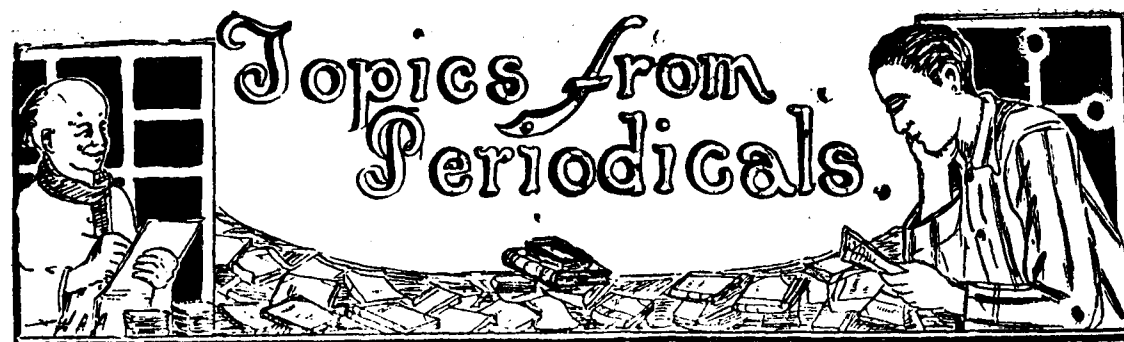
"The Agent of the Government of India in Ceylon has been instructed to give the local Indians every assistance in his power to state their case before the Commission of Inquiry into Immigration, and through him the Government of India are keeping in touch with the situation in Ceylon." In these words, Sir G. S. Bajpai, Secretary to the Government of India, Education, Health and Lands Department, replied to Sir P. Thakurdas, Chairman of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, who recently wrote to the Government of India asking them what steps are being taken by them to ensure that the Indian point of view will be adequately put forward before the Commission.

Burma

INDIANS IN BURMA

Burmese political circles appear to be busy gauging the respective strength of parties, based on the results of the elections to the House of Representatives. Though the United G. C. B. A. is the leading Burmese group, non-party members, who are the next strongest, hold the key to the formation of the first Cabinet of separated Burma.

Already a campaign has been started to win over the non-party members. The United G. C. B. A. is hopeful that a large number of them will support the G. C. B. It is also stated that quite a good number of non-party members have signified their intention to join Dr. Ba Maw's party. The Indian members, on the other hand, are contemplating to form an Indian Party, with a view to joining the strongest Burmese party to safeguard their interests, as well as if possible to secure a portfolio in the Cabinet.



EUROPE TO-DAY

Returning after a visit of the principal countries of Europe, Sir Hari Singh Gour gives his impressions of those countries in an article in the November number of the *Calcutta Review*. France has always led Europe in social revolutions, and the return of the Popular Front to power with M. Blum at its head is a significant move in French politics. But the wave of communism in France has its set back:

In the great industrial centres like Paris and Lyon where the capitalist influence is naturally strong, there is an influential party of conservative republicans who look askance at the new sansculottes of no-property campaign. Behind them stand a small band of royalists who have not forgotten the glories of monarchical France and whose dethronement from privileged positions has not yet eclipsed their memories of their privileged past, nor destroyed their hope of a similar future. They are comparatively few, probably not more than a million out of the 44 millions of France's population, but their influence must not be judged by their numbers. But between them and the Popular Front, there still stand about 20 millions of the republicans who are anti-monarchist, no doubt, but are equally anti-communist. They have been routed at the polls but not yet routed out of their influence in the body politic of France. They are a standing menace to the established Government as also to its doctrinaire head who occupies the shaky chair of the Premier.

Sir Hari Singh is impressed by what he saw in Italy and Germany. Both have gone Fascist, and the Dictators have a common aim. They dream of great empires, Hitler of lost colonies and Mussolini of the forgotten greatness of the Caesars.

Italy is coquetting with France against Germany; she is seen closeted in solemn conclave with her enemy and seriously discussing with the rectification of frontiers and the acquisition of new territories overseas. As a great statesman observed:

"Great Britain has by force annexed one-fifth of the globe. She cannot have more. So she is now preaching to us the moral law against the villainy of force."

It is clear that both Hitler and Mussolini are for the re-partition of the world and both "appear to have their eyes upon India as a carcass which would yield them fare for a long time to come. The recent activity of the Italian Admiralty in the Red Sea is obviously intended to secure a strategic base for its fleet, while the fortification of Capuarna is another move to secure mastery of the Mediterranean".

But the rapprochement between Italy and Germany must not be taken to be a simple matter, for inspite of the exchange of courteous phrases between the two dictators, the Italians suspect that Germany not only wants her expansion on land, but as Kaiser William declared long ago her fortune lies on the sea; and Herr Hitler in inviting Italy to give a hand in the shaping of European policy knows that he is inviting the fly to walk into his parlour, which Mussolini knows too well. The recent pact between Germany and Austria was talked of in political circles in June and treated by international diplomats as a thin end of the wedge. Mussolini has boasted that he has eight million troops to take the field, but they will be an embarrassment to him if an aerial armada with one fell swoop plants the Swastika on the capital.

Europe, says Sir Hari Singh, is now in the pangs of a neo-renaissance. All its institutions are in a melting pot.

A strong reaction against the extreme form of democracy has resulted in the discomfiture of democracy itself; and most of Europe is now under the rule of dictators. The parliamentary institutions are discredited as slow and evolving a policy of the ignorant rabble. A wise dictator is the best of parliaments but he must be wise, let the people beware. The conflict between democracy and autocracy will probably result in the ultimate triumph of the former, but for the nonce all central and southern Europe is in the hands of its dictators, and so will probably be Spain before these lines appear in print.

INDIAN NATIONALISM

In a thoughtful article in the December Number of the *New Review*, Mr. M. Ratnaswamy discusses the basis of Indian nationalism and points out that the safest foundation for true nationalism is to be found in the passionate and all-absorbing love of the Motherland. The recent riots in Bombay have obviously stirred him to a consideration of this problem. In the first place, it must be noted that they were due to religious, not social, intolerance. But the fact remains that French patriotism has not suffered from the battles between the Catholic League and the Protestant Huguenots in the seventeenth century, nor English solidarity from the persecution of Protestants and Catholics about the same time. Nor do we discount German nationalism, because the Nazis are at war with the Catholics and Jews. In spite of these deadly religious feuds in these countries of Europe, patriotism has stood four square against the forces of political disruption.

Why then, in spite of the growth of nationalism during the past half a century, is communalism so strong in this country?

The reason is to be found in the fact that nationalism in this country arose not as a positive and irrepressible passion for the mother country, but only as a by-product of the liberalism of the old Congress. The history of Indian nationalism shows that originally it began as a protest against certain wrongs of the administration, and subsequently on the model of certain subject countries in Europe as a protest against alien rule. Italy with her inspiring leader Mazzini, who freed the country from the yoke of Austria, set the example for Indian politicians:

The exotic origins of Indian nationalism explain at once its success and its failure. As a protest against British rule at a time when no provision had been made for parliamentary methods of criticism and influence, it gathered a certain measure of popularity. But it has been little more even when, under the influence of Mr. Gandhi, it got hold of the masses. It has not achieved the positive, active, unity of the people of India. It has not killed or neutralised the influence of communalism. It is a form of political criticism, it has not become the people's way of life. It has been used as a stick with which to beat British rule. It has not acted as a cement for the political union of the people.

The failure of Indian nationalism to achieve what nationalism has done in Europe, is to be explained only by its origins.

It arose as a protest and continues to be a protest. It was born as a political theory and continues to be used in political criticism. And as political protest or theory or criticism, it will continue to be feeble and fruitless. If it is to do great things for the people, it must be more than a political theory or argument. It must spring from the depths of Indian life. It must be bound up with the life of the people. It must be born and grow as it did in Europe long before the days of the political theory of nationality.

The Italians' proud memories of ancient Rome, German love of the Fatherland, and British devotion to

this precious stone set in a silver sea
what are these but symbols of their passion for the Motherland and faith in its destiny? Thus it was on the solid love of country that the nationalism of European countries was raised.

It was on the solid foundation of love of country then, that the nationalism of European nations was raised. If Indian nationalism is to be something more than a counterblast to British policy or a flag to wave on flag-waving occasions, or a magic formula, the constant repetition of which will dope us into forgetting our communal squabbles, it must be founded on the love of India. If Indian nationalism is to be active, positive and fruitful, a habit, a way of life, part of the thoughts and feelings and acts of the people, it must be fed by the love of India. The love of the land of India, its mountains, its rivers, its valleys, its fruits, its plains, must become the dominant secular emotion of its people. Next to the love of parents for their children, says Edmund Burke, the strongest instinct both natural and moral that exists in man is the love of his country. This instinct must be fed and nourished and made to grow into a passion, so that the natal soil, as Burke said, has a sweetness in it beyond the harmony of verse,

A LEAGUE OF PEACE

The future of the League of Nations is causing grave concern to war-weary Europe. Now that the coercive League has failed, attempts are made to make the best of what remains of the League's possibilities. We have to face facts, and a writer in the *Round Table* urges that the functions of the League should be restricted to those purposes which are within its power to perform. For the League has to deal with a world in which

Germany has become once more the most powerful military State in the world and is outside the League, in which Japan also armed to the teeth is militarily dominant in the Far East and is encroaching on China without resistance from the outside world; in which Italy, while still a member of the League, armed to the teeth, is highly militarist in sentiment and is following policies diametrically opposed to the principles upon which the Covenant is based; and in which the United States and Brazil are also outside the League.

It is in the light of these facts and not of League theory alone that we have to consider the future of that body. The Covenant must be able to deal with the world as it is. We cannot unfortunately remodel the world so as to make it fit the Covenant. Hence the League, to be really serviceable, must be shorn of its coercive aspects, its military and economic sanctions. For, it cannot undertake to do what it cannot in the nature of things perform. In our view, says the writer:

It is essential until the League once more becomes universal in membership and until some degree of federation is possible, that the coercive functions of the League should be abandoned. The coercive functions cannot be made to work in a world of sovereign States. Defence and war are functions of the sovereign State and so long as States are sovereign, they alone can assume responsibility for these functions. It should be the duty of the League to be a peace-maker, not a war-maker, to be the universal arbitral authority to which disputes must be referred for consideration and advice. It has already a great and praiseworthy record in this field. It is essential that there should be an organism in a position to go on working for peace even if some of its members are at war among themselves.

WOMEN IN ISLAM

Maulvi Abdul Karim Saheb, who contributes an article on "The Status of Women in Islam" to the *Hindusthan Review*, says that Islam, "secured to woman such rights and privileges as she had never enjoyed before." The Maulvi continues:

She was placed on a footing of perfect equality with man in the exercise of all legal powers and functions. In the matter of inheritance and individual right of property, the position of a Muslim woman is far better than that of a woman professing any other religion. "Men ought to have a part of what their parents and kindred leave," says the Quran, and "woman a part of what their parents and kindred leave; let them have a stated share." Thus fourteen hundred years ago, Islam gave woman the right to property. But she did not get that right in England until 1875, and she has not got it in France even yet.

According to the Quran, the writer says that women have as much capacity for intellectual and spiritual progress as men.

In her honour one complete chapter of the Quran has been revealed after her name. The very first verse of this chapter strikes the keynote: "O people, fear your Lord, Who hath created you from one soul, and of his kind created his wife and from these hath spread abroad many men and women. And fear your God, in Whose name ye ask mutual favour, and reverence the women that bear you. Verily God is watching you."

Does not this give the lie direct to the monstrous allegations made by some non-Muslim writers that Islam recognises no soul in woman? The Quran does not even hold, as does the Bible, that woman was made for man. On the contrary, it distinctly teaches that each has obligations towards the other on an equal basis. "And if you men have certain rights on them (women), they have similar rights on you in all fairness." To a Muslim, it is the pure love of a virtuous woman that transforms the brute of a man into an angelic being. Such is the exalted position to which Islam raised womankind. Their position in Muslim countries is infinitely better in certain respects than that of their sisters in other countries. If in some places, Muslim women are backward in education and enlightenment and do not occupy their proper place in society or even in their homes, it is due to lack of culture in the community and not to any flaw in Islamic Laws or tenets. It would be doing a great injustice to Islam to judge it by the life led by many of its present-day followers.

Thus, concludes the writer, the Holy Prophet of Arabia did for woman what no other religious reformer had ever done for her.

INDIA AND WORLD CIVILISATION

Writing on the above subject in the *Indian Cultural Review* for October, Mr. C. C. Pillai describes the ancient civilisation of India and her great achievements in philosophy, art, and science—

The great flights attained by the Indians of the Vedic times in the domain of thought are borne out by the following statement of Sir Monier Monier-Williams, the famous Oriental scholar: "Indeed, if I may be allowed the anachronism, the Hindus were Spinozites more than two thousand years before the existence of Spinoza, and evolutionists many centuries before the doctrine of evolution had been accepted by the scientists of our time, and before any word like evolution existed in any language in the world."

Buddhism, the religion of Sakyamuni, the sublime religion of Love—love not only for humans but love extended to beasts and even to plants, with lofty ideals of knowledge, purity, courtesy, uprightness and peace, which has exerted considerable influence on the creed and on the art as well of one-third of the human race, i.e., China and Japan, Burma and Siam, has its roots imbedded in the Upanishads.

The writer quotes Mr. C. F. Andrews in regard to the contribution of Indian thought towards the birth of Christianity:

There may have been in Western Asia a connection between the Buddhist teachings carried everywhere by the itinerant *Bhikkhus* or Buddhist monks, and the later tenets of Judaism in the century before the birth of Christ. Nazareth, where Jesus spent His early youth and manhood, was close to one of the main highways between East and West in the Roman world, and it requires no stretch of imagination to picture such a contact.

He goes on to describe the influence of Indian literature on Far Eastern and Western thought. The great classics in Sanskrit, particularly the epics and dramas, have had a profound influence on the culture and civilisation of the ancient world.

Panini who lived three thousand years ago, made a great philological discovery, viz., the re-solution of the Sanskrit language of his time into a few simple roots. This discovery gave an impetus to the development of the modern science of comparative philology, and now the thousands of words of any language can be reduced to a comparatively few roots.

Two of the greatest epic poems of the world have sprouted from the soil of India, viz., the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, which have had immense influence on the culture of not only India but also of the countries colonised by Indians, where they are still read and acted as they were in the early Christian era.

The drama being the index of an advanced stage of civilisation and the noblest production of the artistic instinct of man, the dramatic works of Kalidasa, Bhartrihari and other authors, which have contributed much to German romanticism, demonstrate clearly that India during the Augustan age of her literature, under the famous Emperor Vikramaditya, possessed the highest civilisation and culture.

The achievements of Indians in the exact sciences like mathematics and astronomy, and the example of Moghul architecture in medieval times, have had far-reaching influence on the art and thought of Europe. India's contribution to medieval science is in itself a thing to be proud of.

The writer concludes:

"Bharatavarsha is proving to the world that she is no longer plunged in thought or wrapt up in cogitation, but wide-awake cognisant of her immense potentialities and is aware of the fact that Eastern and Western civilisations are complementary and that she has much to give as well as to take."

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DICTATORS OR DEMOCRACY

Major Graham Pole contends in the pages of the *Modern Review* for December that the Dictators in Italy and Germany got to power by sheer bluff and bluster. All other dictator-ridden countries also unfold a similar tale. It is a pity, he says, while Fascists have got away with the prize, democratic leaders concern themselves with the niceties of policies of non-intervention.

If the policy of non-intervention which France initiated in the end plunges France in dissensions and perhaps reaction, are we still going to cling to the plea that we must be neutral?

France, encircled by Fascists armed to the teeth, has only one powerful ally—Russia. Are we going to allow German Ambassadors to come here preaching pseudo-crusades against Russia?

Signor Mussolini dreams of an Italian Mediterranean. From Gibraltar to Suez, he would like to oust the British ships. With one eye on Suez of course, he has for years been fomenting trouble for Britain in Egypt and Palestine.

Isn't it time for someone to call the bluff of the Dictators? Because bluff, if it isn't called, is just as successful as valour. Let it never be forgotten that the Fascists in Italy gained their position by bluff. In the autumn of 1922, the Fascists marched on Rome. They had only 35 seats out of 535 in Parliament. The Prime Minister wanted the King to declare martial law but he refused to do so and instead called on Signor Mussolini to form a government. 35 seats out of 535. What a bluff!

The Major urges Britain to stand up to this spirit of aggression and extremism that is making so much trouble in Europe. It is a mistake, he says, to be afraid to speak out lest worse should befall.

Then let the Britain call on her neighbours to consult together and to see if they cannot together arrive at peace. If the time for conference has past, if the Dictators will no longer come to Geneva and will do nothing but pour scorn on Geneva, then let Britain and France and the Scandinavian countries and all the rest who still believe in the Geneva way, issue their own conciliatory programme, and if the Dictators will have none of it, then, at least, history will know how to judge them. As things are, if we let things drift on into war, history will judge us.

SISTER NIVEDITA AND INDIA

Prabuddha Bharata for November has unearthed a hitherto unpublished letter of Sister Nivedita, dated October 1901. The following extract from that letter may be read with interest. After referring to the then condition of her health, she writes:

Only your friend is not right about India's requiring foreign rule. Does the history of India bear the statement out? Of course not. Even as written by her enemies it shows that India, as large as Western Europe, never suffered from such disorder. Think of the wars between France and England alone, between England and Spain, between Germany and France, of the French Revolution; of the wars of Succession in every country; of the brigand raids of large communities into small. Nothing is so extraordinary in India as the combination of intense religious conviction with marvellous political peacefulness, when one takes a large enough view of the situation to get the facts at a true focus. The only thing that never is written is good history, at least about India, that I do understand.

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SPIRIT OF MOTHERHOOD

Shrimati Rukmini Devi's address to the Geneva World Congress of Theosophists is printed in the October number of the *Theosophist*. In the Hindu philosophy, she observes, motherhood in its physical aspect is representative of the divine power in human beings.

"To bring up children and to educate them is the same as producing a great piece of Art. It is divine, and this was realised in ancient India. Where a woman happens to be a mother on the physical plane, she represents the divine spirit of motherhood. The fact that she is woman brings out the spirit of motherhood, and she should represent in all phases of life that great spirit of motherhood whether she is a mother on the physical plane or not.

The Lord Vaivasvata Manu in his book of laws wrote wonderful things about the greatness of motherhood. Where the women are honoured, the Manu said, there happiness and harmony prevail. As times are to-day, women are not honoured as they should be, nor do women behave in such a way as to make themselves worthy of honour. We do not realise what womanhood truly is; we have not learnt how to worship motherhood. Nations do not know what motherhood really is."

She appeals to the nations of the world to look upon motherhood as sacred:

"If nations realised what motherhood is in the real sense of the word, then they would see that every mother was protected, that every child was considered as belonging to the State, that the child was the responsibility of the State and should be provided for by the State."

STUDY OF SANSKRIT

In an article entitled "Humanising Effect of the Study of Sanskrit" contributed to the October issue of the *Aryan Path*, Prof. Franklin Edgerton, of Yale University, asks: "Is it necessary to study Sanskrit literature in the original? Would not translations or interpretations in other languages suffice to impress on Europeans the human value of Indic civilisations?" Answering these questions, he says:

The answer which has been borne in upon me more and more by years of study, is that no one can really understand a writer unless he knows his language. And the more remote in space and time he is, the more hopeless is an attempt to do so. Concrete statements of objective facts may be understood, though sometimes a commentary is needed even with them. But the moment one gets into the realm of cultural, psychological or emotional matters—and how can one avoid them completely even in the simplest piece of literature?—it becomes impossible to 'get under the skin' of the writer, if one has to rely on a translation. As a simple instance, how can any English word or phrase reproduce what the Sanskrit word *buddhi* means to an Indian? But it is not even a question of such technical terms alone. The story of Nala and Damayanti is composed in extremely simple Sanskrit and for that reason is a favourite text for beginners. I have read the opening chapters of it with my elementary Sanskrit classes probably twenty-five times. Yet I hardly ever fail even now to discover some little nuance, some fine shade of meaning, some new light on the exact psychology of the author, which I had never noticed before. And every such discovery adds to my sympathetic understanding of the author, as a man. This is far more important with more abstruse works. The more one reads them, the more one gradually comes to feel with them; to approach a genuine understanding of their authors' personalities. The general effect of this process is to bring us to the realisation that we are dealing with men. Men like ourselves on the average neither greater nor less—men whose external background is often very different from ours; but whose humanness can be appreciated once we have penetrated the veil of these superficial differences.

This is to my way of thinking the most fascinating kind of study open to man. And its great value is, that it brings us to a realisation of the essential oneness of mankind.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

"Observer", writing in the *Twentieth Century* for December, reviews the present situation in India in relation to the future. That situation is growing in interest, if also in complexity. As we approach the elections for the New Constitution, the interest is thickening as also speculation as to the results.

The Constitution continues to be the favourite subject of denunciation on public platform, and yet is a remarkable tribute to its power of attraction that everybody who has got the political urge in him, wants to contest a seat. It is perfectly natural that men should seek shelter, even though it may be under a sense of necessity, or for the sake of expediency, under one party or the other. The Congress which happens to be the biggest organised party in the country, with men and resources at its disposal, which are not available to others in such ample measure, now consists of a growing number of men, not all of whom are converts to its creed, but many of whom make no secret of making use of it for electioneering purposes. The remarkable feature of the whole situation is, that Congressmen are united only in one thing, and that is, in their desire to capture the Parliamentary machinery; in many others they are hopelessly divided.

Wisely enough, he says, the Congress does not want to commit itself to any policy on the question of acceptance of office. It must wait and see if it wins the elections; the question can then be decided; if it loses, the question cannot arise. The general relief is, that if the Congress can win the elections anywhere, it will not only accept office but work the Constitution.

Of the other parties in the country, which have a chance of capturing power, one of the biggest is that led by Mr. Jinnah. But it is difficult to place him in Indian politics. Is he a nationalist? Is he a communalist? Is he a Congressman in the guise of a Muslim Leaguer? Is he a democrat or an aristocrat or autocrat in politics? What exactly is his contribution towards the synthesis of Indian life at present? President Wilson put forward his fourteen points and then America refused to join the League of Nations. Mr. Jinnah put his fourteen points and he has gained some, but the Hindus and the Muhammadans are wider apart than ever before.

Not is there much to commend the Hindu Maha Sabha, according to

"Observer". He is critical of the panicky courses of Bai Paramanand and Dr. Kurtkoti.

The experiment of the "priest in politics" has not always turned out to be a success in human history. Dr. Kurtkoti may be a very learned scholar and very pious but a poor specimen of a political leader. For any Hindu to say now that Hindustan is and must be only for the Hindus is to unwrite the history of India from the days of Kasim of Sindh and Mahmood of Ghazni, and to ask for trouble for the future. It is certainly not nationalism; if it is communalism, it is the blindest form of it. This is not the way to set Hindus on their feet.

He admonishes the Princes for their vacillation and fears that they are acting as buffers against further advance.

But the political momentum is bound to force the issues. In spite of the cloud now hanging, the prospect is not without hope.

It will be out of this Constitution with all its safeguards and restrictions, shortcomings, omissions and weaknesses that the possibilities will arise of a further advance when those features of the Constitution, which prevent India from achieving the status of a Dominion to-day will disappear, and India will come into her own. Not by wrecking it nor boycotting it, nor by condemning it day in and day out, but by constructive and synthetic work can we hope to look to a future worthy of India.

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THE JAPANESE PARLIAMENT

The newly elected Parliament in Japan is to some extent more representative of popular opinion than its predecessors. Its proceedings have naturally breathed a freedom and a frankness not certainly known since the Manchurian incident in 1931. The change began, observes Mr. Ernest H. Pickering in an article in the *Asiatic Review* before February 26, and is all of a piece with the tendency to rehabilitate Parliamentary control. The results of the General Election were evidence of a greater determination on the part of the people to elect members, who strongly advocated radical social reforms and were most critical of the work of the Government in that respect.

The rebellion in February was primarily due to the fact that Government was out of touch with the realities of the situation, and the army mostly of inexperienced young men tried to meddle in politics without adequate knowledge. The need of the hour is thus expressed in the words of Mr. Takao Saito :

The road which our country must take is nothing other than that of the parliamentary government, which the Emperor Meiji inaugurated for all time. Parliamentary statesmen should express their views in the Diet without flinching and enforce policies which they deem proper. If radical leftist thought is harmful to the nation, extreme rightist thought is equally pernicious. We must with determination dislodge all these elements which plot the destruction of the State in the name of the proletarian masses, or those who seek to realise their political ambitions by conspiring with adventurers outside the political field.

To have put to the sword Finance Minister Takahashi, Inspector-General of Military Education, General Watanabe, and Viscount Saito, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, in whom the Emperor placed much confidence, is an action which cannot be sufficiently denounced and which was at the same time so utterly futile and meaningless.

What did some quarters of the army do at the time when the Cabinet was formed? They declared that no political party men should join the new Cabinet causing embarrassment to the Premier, whom the Emperor had appointed in his task of choosing ministers and prevented members of the Diet

elected by the will of the people from becoming members of the Cabinet. Why should they do this? The people now have many things to say and debate. But freedom of speech has been restricted and one must stifle his complaints and remain silent. The people can only sympathise with each other and express their indignation by mute gestures.

The chief value of this speech is, that it has inspired all Parliamentarians and all varieties of liberal opinion with a new courage. It is the duty of political parties, says Mr. Pickering, to shape a definite programme of reform such as may meet the present exigency.

I am rather intimately acquainted with the leaders of the Minseito Party, and I knew that there are those among them who are determined to make every effort to persuade their colleagues to frame and accept a programme which can achieve the reforms so ardently desired and so urgently necessary. It seemed to me a sign of grace that one of these men should go so far as to say that he intended to try to persuade his party to adopt the ideals of the recent rebels in order to prevent a recurrence of their methods. The methods of force would inevitably prevent any real reform; for they would mean the proscription of all intelligence and the enthronement of zealous incompetence in its place. The present need is for an intelligence fully conscious of the prevalent injustices and resolved to seek a genuine cure. We are now eagerly waiting to see if the political parties can furnish it. If they can, then the future is bright for Parliamentary Government, which in itself will do much to consolidate the peaceful relationships of Japan with the rest of the world.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

MAHATMA GANDHI AS AN ETHICAL TEACHER. By Dr. Har Dayal. [The Hindustan Review, December 1936.]

THE STUDY OF SANSKRIT AND ITS BENEFICENT INFLUENCE. By the Editor. [Prabuddha Bharata, December 1936.]

THE VOICE OF INDIA. By Dr. Adolphe Ferriere. [The Vedanta Kesari, December 1936.]

CALCUTTA'S DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION. By R. Dhara. [The Calcutta Municipal Gazette, November 1936.]

ORISSA TEMPLES. By Nilima Devi. [Indian Railways Magazine, December 1936.]

LABOUR LEGISLATION IN INDIAN STATES. By Dr. Rajani Kanta Das. [The Modern Review, November 1936.]

RAM MOHAN ROY: SOME FACTS CONNECTED WITH HIS EARLY LIFE. By Upendranath Ball. [The Calcutta Review, December 1936.]

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS + DEPARTMENTAL + NOTES

Questions of Importance

THE PROCLAMATION

The Government of India issued the following Proclamation announcing the abdication of King Edward VIII in favour of his brother King George VI.

Whereas by an Instrument of Abdication, dated the tenth day of December nineteen hundred and thirty-six, His former Majesty King Edward the Eighth did declare his irrevocable determination to renounce the throne for himself and his descendants and the said Instrument of Abdication has now taken effect whereby the Imperial Crown of Great Britain, Ireland and all other of His former Majesty's Dominions is now solely and rightfully come to the high and mighty Prince Albert Frederick Arthur George;

We, the Governor-General of India and the members of the Governor-General's Council, therefore, do now hereby with one voice and consent of tongue and heart publish and proclaim that the high and mighty Prince Albert Frederick Arthur George is now become our only lawful and rightful liege and lord George the Sixth, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, Ireland and British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India; to whom we do acknowledge all faith and constant obedience with all hearty and humble affection; beseeching God by whom Kings and Queens do reign to bless the Royal Prince George the Sixth with long and happy years to reign over us.

POLITICAL DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

"It seems clear that the women have secured, once and for all, a vantage-point in India," declares the *Manchester Guardian*, in the course of a leading article under the caption 'Advent of Political Democracy'.

Now that legislation on social matters is debated under conditions approximately to those of democracy, we begin to realise that the Depressed Classes have more to hope than to fear from the unsettlement which Swaraj is likely to bring. The innovating spirit of democracy acting through parties competing for the votes and strong arms to back their voting power is apt to make short work of ancient privileges supported neither by reason, strength, nor courage. The champions of caste privilege are already in retreat, which looks like becoming a rout.

It is significant that the man behind the Travancore temple concession is no fanatical reformer but that he is a shrewd and experienced Brahmin politician, Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, a man skilled in the calculation of how the Indian cat is going to jump."

THE LEAGUE AND PENAL REFORM

"There has, perhaps, never been in all history a time when so many men and women were shut away from liberty as in the last few years, declares an appeal prepared by the Howard League for Penal Reform and circulated among the delegates to the League of Nations at Geneva. The Howard League draws attention to the large number of people who are imprisoned because of their politics, their race or their religion.

Many of these are not, in the ordinary sense of the word, criminals. Some have no other fault than that of being deprived by world events beyond their control of any rights as nationals. Others belong to those minorities which it has been the repeatedly expressed aim of international negotiation to protect. Even with regard to ordinary law-breakers, only a small minority are professional criminals.

The League supplies an interesting census of the number of those deprived of their liberty in different countries of the world. The standard of comparison is the number of adults in prison for every hundred thousand of inhabitants.

On this basis the figures for England and Wales are 29.9; Scotland is a little lower and the Irish Free State lower still with 19.4. These are, unfortunately, exceptional. The next group are democratic States like France, Norway, and Denmark, which all work out round about 50. Then there is a big rise. Austria has 104, Poland 150, and Germany 156 (which does not include those in concentration camps). The Baltic States show up worst in Europe; Finland, Estonia, and Latvia have all well over two hundred. In Africa, Sierra Leone has an unenviable record of 383.7. The Union of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia have both over 230, which compares unfavourably with Tanganyika and Uganda, which have 53 and 51 respectively. In India, the worst areas are the North-West Frontier Province, which has almost three hundred, and Burma, with 171.

Commenting on these figures, a Contemporary observes that they present sufficiently striking contrasts to make us wonder who all these "criminals are and whether it is a wise Government that detains them."

KING GEORGE ON ACCESSION

The following is the text of the speech of the new King George VI, to the Accession Council on December 12:

I meet you to-day in circumstances which are without parallel in the history of our country. Now that the duties of Sovereignty have fallen on me, I declare to you my adherence to the strict principles of constitutional Government and my resolve to work before all else for the welfare of the British Commonwealth of Nations with my wife as I look for support to all my peoples. Further my first act on succeeding my brother will be to confer on him a Dukedom. He will henceforth be known as H. R. H. the Duke of Windsor.

EX-KING EDWARD'S BROADCAST

The ex-King broadcasting from Windsor Castle first declared allegiance to King George VI, and said:

You have all known the reasons which impelled me to renounce the Throne, but I want you to understand that in making up my mind, I did not forget the country or the Empire which, as Prince of Wales and King, I for twenty-five years tried to serve, but you must believe me when I tell you, I found it impossible to carry the heavy burden of responsibility and discharge duties as King as I would wish to do without the help and support of the woman I love.

MR. JINNAH AND THE NATION

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, addressing the Muslim Students' Union, Bombay, on December 15, replied to criticisms against the Muslim League. He said:

When an issue comes, wherever we are—either in the Legislatures or outside—we will never desert the national cause and the fight for the country.

There is no sinister motive behind our organisation. We are striving to gather strength so that we may be able to be independent, progressive, patriotic, and nationalist and stand by the interests of the country. We have got to hammer out plans whereby the two great communities can come together and work for the common good of the country. Under the present conditions, don't be carried away by slogans that are entirely divorced from realities and the present conditions of the country. The object of the Muslim League is to co-operate with all nationalist and progressive groups in the country. At present the Muslim League is the only organisation in the country that can deliver the goods on behalf of the Muslims. The Muslim League is pledged against the New Constitution, and is for replacing it by democratic and full self-government. Though the League is pledged for rejection of the reforms, it will work them in order to extract the maximum benefit out of the Constitution for the uplift of the people.

VICEROY AND NEW INDIA

Speaking about the political evolution of India at a dinner given by the Chelmsford Club, Delhi, on November 27th, H. E. the Viceroy made the following observations:

I think it is salutary that those of us who are engaged from day to day in this capacity or in that with the business of administration, should occasionally extend our horizon and contemplate for a little some of those wider problems and tendencies that are exercising the minds of statesmen and of public opinion in other regions of this planet. Indeed, I will go further and say that, in my judgment, it is a most healthy sign that more and more public interest in India is turning towards the study of world problems and of international affairs.

That is, I submit, a matter for real satisfaction; for it shows that Indian thought and Indian opinion are assuming that attribute of national consciousness which leads a great people to feel responsibility not merely for its own advancement but also for the progress of mankind everywhere, while in the field of legitimate self-interest this tendency must serve the better to equip Indian public opinion to take a wise and informed view upon questions of policy including, in particular, those of economic policy at this moment.

SIR SAMUEL ON COMMUNISM

Referring to Communism and Fascism at a meeting of the Junior Imperial League in London last month, Sir Samuel Hoare said:

Neither Communism nor Fascism has any roots in British soil. We shall not ignore them. We are determined to show that our ancient democracy can govern, and we are not prepared to stand aside and let foreign inspired minorities assume symbol of the powers of the Government.

THE WICKEDNESS OF WAR

It is useless to imagine we can discipline war and regulate it and abolish its vilest practices.

Can we hope to lay down rules for the orderly conduct of the supreme disorder?

In spite of the ratifications of the gas protocol of 1925, every Military Power is spending large sums on research to perfect gas attack. 'I labour unto them thereof, they make them ready for battle.' There is no hope in an armament race—'Faith, hope and parity', as someone called it. Euclid showed long ago that each of two things cannot be greater than the other, and an armament race is a marathon with death.—*Dr. James Bowie*.

POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE

This is an extract from a statement issued to the Press by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru:

It would be absurd for me to treat this presidential election as a vote for socialism or anti-office acceptance. I do believe political independence is the paramount issue before the country and that the necessity for joint united action on this is incumbent on all of us. I say this to remove misunderstanding and not to suggest, even indirectly, that I should be elected.

If, in spite of this, I am elected, it can only mean my general line of activity during the last eight months is approved by the majority of Congressmen and not my particular views on any issue. Considerations that have led me to act in that way hold good and, in so far as I can, I shall continue to act in the same way whether I am President or not.

The Pandit has since been elected President of the Congress for the third time.

MUSLIMS AND THE CONSTITUTION

Opening the Tamil Nad Provincial Conference at Vellore on December 10, Mr. Yakub Hasan observed:

Mussulmans are as much dissatisfied and even disgusted with the New Constitution as any of their fellow nationals and they have denounced it in no uncertain terms. Mr. Jinnah has given his assurance beforehand to all parties in the future legislatures that Mussulmans will give their whole-hearted support and co-operation to any party that sincerely and equitably works for the salvation of India. I want my fellow-Congressmen to so conduct themselves in the legislature as to earn and deserve the confidence of a great limb of the Indian nation, without whose co-operation India can never dream of attaining independence.

DISCIPLINED DEMOCRACY

"The British Government's failure to consult India in the recent crisis will be characterised as discriminatory treatment," declared Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics, Oxford University, at the annual dinner of the Indian Students' Union, London.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan exhorted the Indian students to follow the example of disciplined democracy in Britain.

INDO-BRITISH CONNECTIONS

Sir K. V. Reddi during his recent visit to Guntur was presented with an address by the Anjuman Islamia. Replying to the address, Sir Kurma said, that the more he saw of what was happening in the world, the more he felt convinced that faith in constitutionalism was the only way to the safety of the world. Referring to the present situation in Spain and Abyssinia, he warned Indians against taking lessons from them if they wanted to escape the same fate.

The aspirations for Swaraj are legitimate and every one born in this country ought to be patriotic, but we must take facts as they are. We cannot forget the great services rendered by the British people by giving us an orderly system of Government. It is moonshine to talk of altogether doing away with British connections at once. Imagine what will happen to India if the British left the country; on the one hand, it will be exposed to dangers by the aggressive nations of the West and of the Asiatic Powers on the other.

CAPITALISM

"I do not believe in the inevitability of class war. While I detest Imperialism and admit destructive inequality between the capitalist class and the famishing poor, I do believe it is possible to purge capitalism of its hideousness. While the Congress holds non-violence and truth as the indispensable means for the attainment of independence, Congressmen, to be logical and true to their profession, must believe in the possibility of weaning those who are mercilessly exploiting the masses from what is a crime against humanity.—*Sirdar Vallabhai Patel*.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

The following *Communique* has been issued:—

India will be represented at the Imperial Conference next May by His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, Maharajah Sir Sayajirao Gaekwar Bahadur, Maharajah of Baroda, and Sir Muhammad Zafullah, Member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General.

ALL-INDIA STUDENTS' CONFERENCE

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, who presided over the recent Students' Conference at Lahore, appealed to the youth of the country not to rest until the freedom of India had been achieved and until unemployment and poverty had become things of the past.

"I look to the youth of the country," said Mr. Bose, "to evolve a movement essentially political and economic, but at the same time social and cultural. Do the youth of India suffer from weariness of the flesh? Do they also suffer from littleness of spirit? It is for you to answer these questions."

Among the resolutions passed at the session were the following:

This Conference of the students of India strongly condemns the policy of detaining students without trial and demands the immediate release of Mr. Jagatjit Sarkar, who was a member of the Working Committee of the All-India Students' Federation Committee and who has been detained in Bengal under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act.

This Conference of the students of India congratulate the students of Aligarh University for their brave stand against the attempt to foster communalism amongst them by rejecting a proposal for the organisation of an All-India Muslim Students' Federation.

In the opinion of this Conference, the acceptance of offices under the New Constitution will amount to co-operation with it and will be detrimental to the best interests of the country.

This Conference protests against the Government's policy of proscribing books on progressive thought, as that policy would lead to cultural deterioration of the nation.

This Conference condemns the action of the Bengal and Punjab Governments in keeping students under detention and demands their immediate release from detention.

PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION

Addressing the second annual meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education, the Hon. Sir Jagadish Prasad, Education Member, said that the object of the Board was not to place hindrances to the advance of education nor to cast a

malignant eye on universities. On an average, Indian universities turned about 12,000 graduates and wastage was enormous. If the Government sounded a note of warning, it was because most of them were deeply impressed by the tragic spectacle of thousands of young men drifting aimlessly through life. If universities turned out men who could not find a livelihood afterwards, it was obvious that they were accumulating explosive material which, in the end, might blow up the foundations of stable society.

The question, therefore, could be asked whether universities should not confine themselves mainly to the aristocracy of intellect and give them the precedence and preference which Nature seemed to have designed for them or whether they were to go on the theory that although all were not born intellectually equal, yet all must have the same opportunities of receiving university education on a somewhat uniform pattern.

The Education Member asked the Board to apply its mind to these important questions.

SIR C. P. AS SASTRI LECTURER

The V. S. Srinivasa Sastri Lectures for 1936-37 under the auspices of Madras University will be delivered by the Dewan of Travancore, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, towards the end of this month or the beginning of February.

There will be either one or two lectures and the subject will be Indian Political Theories.

The terms of the endowment lay down that the lecture or lectures would be delivered in Madras and should be on the subject connected with the study of political science with special reference to India.

FEDERAL CHIEF JUSTICE

The following *Communique* has been issued:

H. M. the King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Sir Maurice Gwyer as first Chief Justice of India to take effect from 1st October 1, 1937, the date approved by Parliament for the constitution of the Federal Court.

The Government of India has arranged that Sir Maurice Gwyer should visit India as Chief Justice-designate for about three months from January next in order to make the necessary preliminary arrangements for the inauguration of the Court.

LALA HARKISHAN LAL'S PETITION

Lala Harkishan Lal's petition for maintenance and for a hand in the management of his property was dismissed by Mr. Justice Monroe of the Lahore High Court.

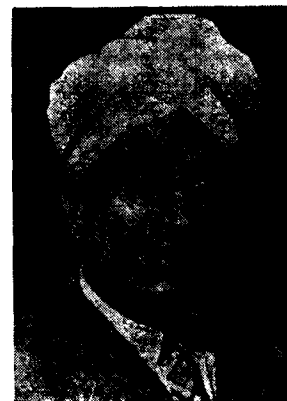
It will be recalled that L. Harkishan Lal was declared insolvent by the Lahore High Court. He was committed to jail for contempt of Court and on his release from jail, he filed a petition for maintenance allowance and for being allowed a hand in the management of his property.

PUBLIC TRANQUILLITY ACT

His Excellency the Governor-in-Council of N.-W. Frontier Province has directed that several provisions of North-West Frontier Province Public Tranquillity (Additional Powers) Act 1932 shall continue to remain in force in Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, Dera Ismailkhan and Hazara districts till November 29, 1937.

INDIAN SUCCESSION ACT AND WOMEN

This Act came into force in 1925. Under it, women have equal rights of property with men and a daughter gets an equal share with the son. A widow is entitled to one-third share of the husband's property but receives a one-half share if he has left no children and the whole of his property goes to her if there are no kindred. This should be noted, as under the English law to-day a widow does not get more than one-half of her husband's estate even if there are no kindred, as under these circumstances, the other half reverts to the Crown. This Act at present applies only to those who come under the Special Marriage Act and to Indian Christians. Its application to the Hindu and Muslim communities would, perhaps, be the easiest way of obtaining legal equality for women.



Mr. P. KRISHNAMURTY AIYAR
Judge, Chief Court, Pudukottah.

COMPANIES ACT

In pursuance of Sub-Section (2) of Section 1 of the Indian Companies (Amendment) Act, 1936, the Governor-General-in-Council is pleased to appoint January 15, 1937, as the date on which the said Act shall come into force.

INDIAN INSURANCE RECORD

According to the Insurance Year Book for 1936, the number of Indian Companies come up to 217, of which 61 are in Bombay, 41 in Bengal, 37 in Madras, 29 in the Punjab, 14 in Sind, 10 in U. P., 10 in Delhi, 4 in Bihar, 5 in C. P., 3 in Ajmer and Marwara, 1 in Burma, 1 in Assam, and 1 in N.-W. Frontier Province.

Most of the companies carry on life business, 52 carry on other business along with life, while 16 do purely non-life business. Total business remaining in force at the end of 1934 is Rs. 137 crores of rupees. The total assets of Indian Companies amount to Rs. 40 2/5 crores at the end of 1935, of which Rs. 1,53,91,000 are invested in Government Securities. The total life insurance income at the end of 1934 amounts to Rs. 8,34 lakhs. The number of foreign companies is 149. The total assets in India of non-Indian companies amount to Rs. 44 crores.

INSURANCE AND BANKING

"Insurance is the twin sister of Banking," observes Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya in a clearly reasoned article in the *Progress* (a welcome addition to Insurance journals, edited by Mr. K. S. Subrahmaniam, Madras) "and both these may one day become exclusively State concerns. Pending the occurrence of such a far off divine event, we must make these utility services really serviceable. The elimination of the shareholders has led to mutual companies, the admission of agents to equal partnership removes a standing disability and injustice. The next step should be to federate the Insurance Companies and make all agents the representatives of all companies and the final culmination should be that the State should take over the whole concern."

INSURANCE REFORM

We referred in our last issue to some of the recommendations of the Insurance Advisory Committee on the revision of the Insurance Law. Writing about the recommendations, a writer in the *New Indian States Journal* says:

The very first step proposed by the Committee is intended to strike at the root-cause of the present evils. They recommend the licensing of Insurance Companies and at the same time increasing Government control over their operations. For this purpose, it is sought to constitute a new Government Department for Insurance in charge of an officer designated Superintendent of Insurance. He will be charged with the duty of issuing licences to companies applying to do business, and he will be fully empowered to exercise powers of supervision over their work and activities. He will see that the companies concerned file regular returns of account and secure the widest publicity to their financial and other affairs. He will further have the power to deal with defaulters and otherwise interfere when necessary and set matters right.

The proposed new Legislation makes it compulsory for every company licensed to do business to make the initial statutory deposit of Rs. 2 lakhs with the Controller-General; they will besides have always on hand sufficient working capital to meet their day to day obligations and should also file annual statements of their premium and other income for general information.

The law on the subject will thus be brought up to date and in conformity with the requirements of the present day.

HONEST TRADE

The Bishop of Durham, Dr. Hensley Henson, delivered a remarkable attack on various aspects of commerce in a sermon to the delegates to the National Chamber of Trade at Scarborough:

The conditions under which commerce now proceeds are not friendly to righteousness.

Competition becomes ever more ruthless; nationalism brings its terrorist fervour into economic life; and in the vast communities of the modern world, the fruits of organisation and of advertisement are so great that personal rectitude is subjected to severe strain.

'Honesty is the best policy' is not a Christian formula but a businessman's working rule, which may be broken if circumstances seem to require it.

Competition need not be unscrupulous. Advertisements, so indispensable, need not be misleading and mendacious. Neither national aggression nor economic rivalry are favourable to mutual consideration and equitable trade.

SUGAR MERCHANTS' CONFERENCE

The All-India Sugar Merchants' Conference, which met on November 30, under the presidency of Mr. Jagjivan Mulji at Cawnpore, was opened by Sir J. P. Srivastava. In the course of his address, the Minister said,

that with the rapid expansion of sugar industry under the stimulus of protection arose the need for organising the trade of Indian sugar. It was, therefore, imperative for local and other associations to work in close co-operation and harmony with the manufacturers not being unmindful of the interests of cane-growers and consumers.

In the course of his presidential address, Mr. Jagjivan Mulji severely condemned the attitude of sugar mill-owners in dealing with sugar merchants, and said that under the Sugar Protection Act,

the merchants and middlemen had suffered heavy losses, while the mill-owners had made profits because the latter, according to him, had acted without any responsibility to the trade and the Protection Act had resulted in the exploitation of the labour, agriculturists and the trade as the Government had not imposed any conditions.

A number of resolutions were passed, including the provisional adoption of a draft contract form. A Committee was appointed to negotiate with Indian sugar mills, with a view to replacing the existing contract form by the draft.

The Conference recommended the standardisation of qualities of sugar and minimising their number.

By another resolution a Committee of fifteen was appointed for collecting necessary information regarding the Indian sugar industry for the consideration of the Tariff Board.

The permanent office of the Conference will remain in Cawnpore, but a camp office will be stationed with the President. The next venue of the Sugar Merchants' Conference will be Bombay.

CO-OPERATIVE CONFERENCE

"There is no movement which has greater potentialities for good than the co-operative movement," observed Sir Jagadish Prasad, Education Member, addressing the Twelfth Co-operative Societies' Conference, which opened at Delhi on December 8. Outlining the history of the Co-operative Movement, Sir Jagadish emphasised at the outset that it owed its initiative to the Government and not to any popular demand. He deplored the defects in the working of many societies. In eight provinces, he said, over 25,000 societies had been liquidated. Despite this, the movement had progressed in several Provinces and States.

In the Punjab, out of every 100 villages 42 had societies. In Bengal, 23 villages had societies out of every 100 villages. In Madras, 22 out of 100 villages had societies. In the U. P. only 5 out of 100 villages had societies. Altogether, 15 millions including families of members had been touched by the movement.

And in a country of 360 millions, the scope for the movement was great, indeed.

But the fact that there has been saving of Rs. 30 crores by societies throughout India should encourage all to proceed with the beneficent activities of the movement, provided that there is proper emphasis of the use of money and all are determined to inculcate virtues of thrift.

Questions concerning finance and marketing were discussed at the Conference and resolutions adopted thereon.

LALIMLI COMPETITION

Owing to the popularity of this competition and on account of repeated requests from Burma and other places far afield, the closing date of this competition has been extended to the 28th February 1937.

The Lalimli Mills manufacture yarns of all types and colours, suitable for all purposes, and it is observed that they are now manufacturing special yarns, from which Rugs can be simply and inexpensively made in the home.

WOMEN IN KERALA

Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya, writing in the *Hindusthan Times* about the women of Kerala, says that the freedom enjoyed by the Hindu women of Kerala might almost excite the envy of their European sisters. He writes:

The marriage laws are judging by articles that I have seen written by Englishmen in English periodicals of the ideal type and it will take a long time before even England is able to reach up to them. Either party to a marriage can divorce the partner at pleasure, and even where in imitation of customs elsewhere, local laws have been enacted requiring the parties to apply to a Judicial Court for a divorce, the Court is expressly debarred from inquiring into the reasons for which the divorce is sought. All that the Court has to ascertain is if there is a subsisting marriage and if so, whether one of the parties requires its dissolution. In practice, this freedom which in the old days could be exercised without any formality, has not led to any undesirable results. Normally, the marriage tie is regarded with as much respect as elsewhere, and capricious exercise of the right is uncommon. On the other hand, the Malabar people claim that the right of a husband or a wife to divorce the other at pleasure has the beneficial effect of making the parties reasonable and courteous in their behaviour to each other. The man has not the feeling that the marriage ties down his wife for ever and he can afford to do what he likes. And the legal bar on the Court's inquiry into the grounds on which divorce is asked for saves a lot of dirty linen being washed in public. Less unsavoury matter for the prurient curiosity of a section of the public to feed upon.

There can be little doubt, continues the writer, that the high position enjoyed by the Hindu women in Kerala is partly connected with the law of succession and he says:

Succession is through the female line. It is not the man's son that succeeded but his sister's son. In the rest of the world, the family stops wherever there is a daughter. In Malabar, it stops when it comes to a son. It is a very ancient custom, and though persons coming into contact with it for the first time profess to be shocked by it, a little reflection will show that if any faith is to be put in the value of heredity, the Malabar rule is more sensible than the rule which obtains with the majority of mankind. Maternity is a matter of fact, while paternity is a matter of opinion.

THE QUEEN MARY'S COLLEGE

It is twenty-two years since Queen Mary's College (Madras) came into being, and it is good to have an authentic record of its beginnings and growth from those competent to supply such a record. (Queen Mary's College: The first two decades. Published by the Old Students' Association, Queen Mary's College, Madras. Rs. Two. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.) For public memories are short and it would be a pity if the origin and early history of this interesting pioneer institution in women's education in Madras were left to the vague guess-work of future historians. The college has grown from small beginnings to its present position of strength and popularity, mainly under the fostering care and indefatigable labours of its first Principal—Miss De la Hey—who has been the guiding spirit of this admirable institution. Beginning with nearly 88 students in 1914 in what is known as the old Capper House, it now accommodates 180 students in the long line of buildings that form part of the landscape of the Marina. The record contains all the facts about the college, the growth of its buildings and departments and the career of all its students and staff from year to year for two decades.

BACKWARD POSITION OF WOMEN

"The disparity in the educational position of men and women in India, and the backward position of women, is one of the main difficulties in the way of social development of India," said Lord Brabourne, who performed, on November 25, the opening ceremony of the building for the Shreemathi Nathibai Damodar Thackersey Women's University.

LITERARY

INDIAN PHILOSOPHICAL CONFERENCE

Opening the twelfth session of the Indian Philosophical Conference at New Delhi on December 17, Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, Secretary, Education, Health and Lands Department of the Government of India, declared that "the world has greater need of philosophy, consolation and guidance to-day than ever before". Was it not natural he asked,

that in this fierce clash of old loyalties and new prophets, the ordinary man should be bewildered and long passionately for a detached but firm guidance, and who was better fitted to supply this than the philosopher? Religion alone was not enough, for the youth of to-day were apt to question the authority of what, rightly or wrongly, they regarded as dogma or codes of conduct of mere prescriptive sanctity.

Mr. Ram Kishore, welcoming the delegates, deplored that the claims of Indian philosophy for study and research had not been admitted in practice by Indian universities to the extent it deserved:

What I really desire to say is that we have in India systems of philosophy which are worth studying by all, particularly by Indian men and women, whose historical tradition and cultural atmosphere make them much better understood than other systems of philosophy.

He said he would like to see Indian philosophy take its deserved and legitimate place in the university courses of study, not to supplant but to supplement Western philosophy.

Prof. S. N. Das Gupta, who presided over the Session, spoke on the technical side of philosophy, while a number of papers dealing with different aspects of philosophy were read at the session.

GUJARATI SAHITYA CONFERENCE

The 12th Gujarati Sahitya (Literary) Conference met at Ahmedabad on November 2 under the presidency of Mahatma Gandhi. In the course of his address, Gandhiji said:

I claim myself to be the chosen representative of the dumb millions living in villages and I appeal to you, literary men, to write books in simple language which they can understand.

It was the duty of the Conference, he added, to prepare literature for the use of the dumb millions. Villages were the only fit places for original writing and intellectual development, and literary men should go to the villages.

PERSONAL

SIR N. N. SIRCAR

The Governor-General-in-Council has granted the Hon. Sir Nripendra Nath Sircar leave on private affairs for a period not exceeding four months with effect from April 11, 1937, or subsequent date on which he may avail himself of it.

During his absence, Sir Manmatha Nath Mukerji will act as a temporary member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General and will hold charge of the legislative department.

THE LATE LORD ISLINGTON

Death has occurred of Lord Islington at the age of 70. He was Parliamentary Under-Secretary for India in 1915-18, and was Chairman, Royal Commission on Indian Public Services in 1912-14.

Lord Islington was a Conservative member of Parliament from 1898-1904 and was created a baron in 1910. In the same year he was appointed Governor of New Zealand. He was Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies from 1914 to 1915.

DR. P. N. CHAKRAVARTY

Dr. Purnendu Nath Chakravarty has sailed for America from London having been appointed to a post specially created for him in the Research Department of Princeton University in the United States.

Dr. Chakravarty has had a brilliant academic career. After completing his education at Calcutta University, he worked for some time as Research Chemist in the Bio-Chemical Laboratory of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works in Calcutta, working on the isolation and chemistry of Vitamins A and B₁, B₂, the latter two being essentially necessary for animal growth and maintenance of normal health.

MR. PATRICK DUNCAN

The King, on the recommendation of Gen. Hertzog, the South African Premier, has appointed Mr. Patrick Duncan, Governor-General of South Africa in succession to the Earl of Clarendon. Mr. Duncan will be the first South African to be Governor-General of the Union.

RESEARCH WORKERS' CONFERENCE

The fifteenth session of the Conference of Medical Research Workers in India was opened at Calcutta on November 30, by Major-General Sir Cuthbert Sprawson, Director-General of the Indian Medical Service. In his opening address, Sir Cuthbert Sprawson pointed out that during the past year two new lines of work, both of great importance to the country, had been undertaken.

A Special Committee had been formed to consider the ways and means of tackling the problem of maternal mortality in India. He observed on the authority of his predecessor in office that about 200,000 women died every year during child-birth. The figure equals the combined annual mortality in India from small-pox and plague and was nearly equal to the deaths from cholera every year. The problem, therefore, was one of first rate importance from the point of view of public health.

Another Committee that had been set up was the Nutrition Advisory Committee, which had included agricultural and veterinary experts. Sir Cuthbert stated that the finances of the Indian Research Fund Association had continued to be unsatisfactory. A Research Programme Committee had, therefore, been set up by the Governing Body of the Association with the purpose of scrutinising all the current researches and of drawing up a programme of work in their order of urgency.

AYURVEDIC CONFERENCE

The 26th, Session of the All-India Ayurvedic Conference was held at Benares on December 18, in the presence of a large number of Vaidyas from various parts of India. Pundit Malaviya, welcoming them, stressed the necessity for developing the Ayurvedic system of medicine and adopting modern methods of treatment.

Vaidyashastri Narayanshankar Devshanker, in the course of his presidential address, appealed to medical men all over India to move their respective Provincial Governments to take keen interest in the cause of Ayurveda and patronise it in the way the governments of Madras and U. P. have done.

An exhibition of Ayurvedic medicines is also arranged, which was opened by the Commissioner, Mr. Pannalal, I.C.S.

RESEARCH IN NUTRITION

The need for co-ordination of the nutritional researches that are being carried out in different laboratories of India, was emphasised in an address delivered by Dr. B. C. Guha, Professor of Applied Chemistry of Calcutta University, at the Indian Institute for Medical Research recently.

Dr. Guha said that nutritional work was now proceeding at the Indian Institute for Medical Research, the Institute of Hygiene, Calcutta University, the University of Dacca, the Coonoor Laboratories, the Madras, Bombay and Allahabad Universities and some other places. Work on animal nutrition had also been speeded up by the energetic lead given by His Excellency Lord Linlithgow. It is now of paramount importance that these lines of work in different laboratories were co-ordinated under one central organisation, so as to eliminate overlapping and waste, to facilitate exchange of note among the research workers and to plan future lines of work.

NUTRITION IN PROVINCES

Dr. Sir John Megaw, an eminent physician and authority on problems of nutrition, has published statistics relating to the percentage of persons in the different provinces of India, who are well nourished, half-fed and ill-fed. His figures are given below:

PROVINCE.	WELL-FED.	HALF-FED.	ILL-FED.
Assam	53	38	9
Madras	32	50	18
Bombay	45	44	11
Bihar and Orissa	42	40	18
Punjab	42	38	20
U.P.	40	39	21
C.P.	32	50	18
Bengal	22	47	31

HOW TO LIVE LONG

Mrs. Emma Coate, of North Curry, Somerset, the oldest woman in the west country, celebrated her 106th birthday recently. Her recipe for long life is: hard work, plenty of outdoor exercise, and daily a glass of beer. She is still able to do a little gardening.

SIR OSBORNE'S RESIGNATION

The apprehensions of the commercial community over rumours that serious differences with the Government forced Sir Osborne Smith to resign the Managing Governorship of the Reserve Bank of India are stressed by the Secretary of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, in a letter to the Secretary of the Finance Department, Government of India. In the course of the letter, he says:

My Committee are very anxious that nothing should happen to impair in the slightest degree the position, prestige and independence of the Reserve Bank. But they think it necessary to remind Government that when the Reserve Bank Bill was under discussion in the Legislative Assembly, Government themselves were most solicitous for keeping the Bank out of any sort of political influence. If, therefore, there is any truth in the rumoured interference of Government in the management of the Bank, my Committee trust that these rumours are without foundation and that Government will be pleased to assure the public to that effect.

THE RATIO QUESTION

Sir Montagu Webb, the well known economist, in a recent interview at Karachi, stated that the Rupee at 1sb. 6d. was over-rated. This is, indeed, a question on which no two economists agree. Sir Montagu, on the other hand, suggests

that the Currency League should be revived in order to bring home to the Government of India that a stubborn adherence to the incorrect decision of 10 years ago, which has already handicapped India, can only lead to further disasters, and the bankruptcy of both agriculturists and the Government.

THE CURRENCY LEAGUE

The Currency League, Madras, recently addressed a letter to the Viceroy, asking him to receive a deputation.

The Private Secretary to the Viceroy, in reply, stated that there was no intention of changing the policy of the Government of India in regard to the maintenance of the present rupee ratio and that in these circumstances it was clear that no useful purpose would be served by His Excellency receiving a deputation on the subject.

THE RAILWAY CONFERENCE

H. E. the Viceroy, opening the Annual Meeting of the Indian Railway Conference at New Delhi on November 21, observed in the course of his speech:

"Passenger amenities must be improved, especially those provided for the humblest class of traveller who forms the bulk of India's travelling public. As regards this last point, I have been gratified to learn that active steps are in progress to improve the standard design of our third class carriages."

Mr. H. N. Colam, in the course of his presidential address, examined the various suggestions made for revising the existing rating structure and also discussed the railroad problem.

Referring to the railroad problem, Mr. Colam denied the assertion that motor transport was more economical and that reduction of administration charges would enable the railways to meet on equal terms the road transport. If things were left as they were at present, there could be only one result—railways would eventually have to be subsidised out of taxes either directly or indirectly by writing down capital invested. It would also be necessary to revise the rating structure. The only other course open was regulation and restriction of road traffic.

Sir Zafarullah Khan, the Commerce Member, whose speech was read by Sir Guthrie Russell, said in the course of his observations:

"Complaints, in many cases well-founded and justified, continue to reach the Government, of lack of consideration, want of courtesy and absence of helpfulness on the part of the railway staff towards passengers on some systems.

There have been signs of improvement in this respect, but much still remains to be done.

There is a great deal of room for improvement in the arrangements for the booking of third-class passengers in the standard of cleanliness in third-class waiting halls and carriages, and in the timings and connections of trains."

ALL-INDIA MUSIC CONFERENCE

The Second All-India Music Conference of the Prayag Sangit Samiti opened at Allahabad on November 18, under the presidentship of Maharaj Chakradhar Singh, the ruling chief of Raigarh.

In the course of his speech inaugurating the Conference, Mr. V. N. Mehta, the Commissioner, said:

Human nature craves for two types of music: one which is associated with the music of the Austrian musician Schubert, who worked, as has been said, with his eyes shut. He did not care for the audience. He put his whole soul into the words of his song and into the execution of the song. He represents the impersonal type of singer. On the other hand there is the art of Mozart, who composed music that was to be played or sung with eyes open. The meaning behind this expression is that the executant had to entertain the audience with music with the help of the technique which would appeal to the head as well as to the eye. This is the personal type of music. The audience is interested in the person of the singer and expects from the singer not only music, but the accompanying arts which form suitable setting of the roll of the waves of music.

If I may make a suggestion, it would be best if you advise the combination of both types of singers to be represented on the panel of singers selected for the broadcasting stations of India.

Maharaj Chakradhar Singh, in his presidential address, observed that in India

music was always looked upon as one of the most potent instruments for the soul. Ancient Indian music was indissolubly bound with religion, and it was only later on during the Muslim period that music came to be considered only as a form of amusement. It is a matter for gratification that in recent years there has been a revival of music, as a result of which it has been reclaimed from the undesirable surroundings into which it had fallen.

CEYLON AND INDIAN ART

Two scholarships for Oriental music, one for Oriental art, one for Western music and two other research work scholarships are to be awarded to Ceylon students, according to the terms of a motion to be sponsored by the Minister of Education at the next meeting of the State Council. The music scholarships are apportioned for a study of Carnatic music in India, North Indian music in India, and Western music at a recognised institution in the West. Provision is also to be made to enable a student to study Oriental Art at Visvabharati University.

MADRAS PRESIDENCY FIXTURE

The Madras Presidency Match between the Europeans and Indians to be played shortly should be the most outstanding game in the history of this annual contest. Negotiations are afoot, says the *Orient Illustrated Weekly*, to make the famous England bowler, Harold Larwood, play for the Europeans, and from all accounts there is every likelihood of their proving successful. Madras will thus have the privilege of seeing the brilliant bowler in action. Larwood is now in India on a coaching engagement, thanks to the initiative of the Maharaja of Patiala and the Board of Control for Cricket in India. The Bombay Quadrangular Tournament organisers, the four Gymkhanas, hit on the idea of utilising the presence of Larwood to make the Bombay fixture a big draw. The three Gymkhanas, apart from the European, welcomed the suggestion. Now Madras has followed suit. Larwood will be in Madras next month on his coaching tour. The most discussed bowler of recent years, Larwood, who is 32 years old, is the fastest and most accurate bowler in the world at present.

TESTS FOR PHYSICAL FITNESS

There are school certificates for examinations of many types. Why not a certificate for physical fitness? One school at least has already solved the problem.

At Newton Abbot Secondary School, England, a series of nine tests has been compiled, and when a boy successfully completes them, he is given a certificate of fitness. The tests are:

1. Sprint 100 yds. in 12 sec.
2. Run four miles in 25 min.
3. Jump over 4 ft.
4. Dive from 6 ft. above water.
5. Swim 200 yards.
6. In gymnasium, climb rope and come down, using arms only.
7. Circle from the back, hanging to balance support.
8. Balance, march backwards, on the round side of beam.
9. Handstand, vertical, for 4 sec.

INDIAN SCIENCE INSTITUTE

The Government of India have finally passed orders on the Quinquennial Reviewing Committee's proposals and recommendations regarding the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore. The Irvine Committee has made important recommendations calculated to make the Institute more useful to the Indian industries.

The main recommendation of the Committee, which has been accepted by the Government, states that, while research in pure science should continue to be an approved purpose, the major part of the resources of the Institute should be applied to such investigations as are likely to be of direct benefit to industry in India.

To this end, the Committee have proposed changes in the administration, chief among which are the proposals to give greater measure of independence to individual departments, to appoint a Registrar who will do the routine duties now undertaken by the Director and to constitute a Finance Committee to secure effective financial control.

The Committee propose the reorganisation of the Chemistry Department with an Organic Chemist as Professor and four Assistants responsible for selected branches of the subject.

The Institute of the future will consist of three sections: Physical and Mathematical Sciences, Chemical Sciences, and Engineering Sciences, which will find a common meeting place in the reconstituted Senate.

PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY IN INDIA

In a memorandum submitted to the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, Mr. Raj Mitra B. D. Amin, B.A., M.S.C.I., Managing Agent and Director of the Alembic Chemical Works Ltd., discusses the difficulties, needs and requirements of the spirit and pharmaceutical industry of India. He invites His Excellency Lord Linlithgow to take a personal interest in the industry and expedite the removal of the handicaps to its progress. For apart from excise restrictions, the pharmaceutical industry in India is open to attack from trade in adulterated and spurious drugs which has in recent years increased to large proportions. Mr. Amin points out in his appeal to H. E. "that the progress of this industry is closely connected with the advancement of public health, that the chief aim of the industry is to bring standard medicines within the purchasing capacity of the rural classes, and that the industry plays a vital part in the advancement of rural welfare".

MADRAS FILM CONFERENCE

The first Madras Provincial Film Conference was held on December 18, at the Gokhale Hall, under the presidency of Mr. G. Ramaseshan. Srimathi Enakshi Rama Rao opened the Conference, and Mr. A. N. Marudachallam, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the President and the delegates. The Conference was largely attended.

The Conference passed resolutions suggesting the abolition of the entertainment tax for films, and the reconstitution of the Board of Film Censors with sufficient representation given to people engaged in the film industry. There was a heated discussion on a resolution which condemned the practice of women taking the roles of men, and men taking the roles of women.

Another resolution urged that "this Conference is of the opinion that it is not desirable to produce any film of more than 14 reels for exhibition in any single show."

INDIAN CINEMA INDUSTRY

"The cinema industry all over the country is expanding by leaps and bounds," observed Sir Phiroze Sethna, President of the Motion Picture Society of India, speaking at a public meeting held under the auspices of the Madras Film League on November 21, at the Gokhale Hall.

Sir Phiroze said that nearly 11½ crores of rupees were invested in the industry. There were 650 cinema houses in India, which no doubt was a large figure.

He complained that the Government was apathetic towards the industry and urged that they should help the industry, which was giving employment to about 25,000 people.

QUALITY OF INDIAN FILMS

"I have had the opportunity of visiting almost every film company and studio and found that in our film industry at present there is more wrong than right," observes the Editor of *The Movies* after his recent visit to Bombay.

There is a large number of bogus men, huge amount of waste and a good deal of corruption."

MOTOR UNIONS CONFERENCE

The grievances of motor and lorry drivers were enumerated at the All-India Motor Unions Federal Conference, which met at Delhi on December 6, under the presidentship of Mr. Hasan Muddin, President of the Punjab Motor Union. The Conference demanded an amendment of motor rules whereby private and military lorries should be allowed to carry more maundage in vehicles of 157 and 181 inches wheel base and be allotted a maximum of 70 and 56 maunds respectively.

It protested against the heavy taxes in the U. P., N.-W. F. P., the Punjab and other provinces and in some municipalities and in other local bodies and requested the Government to take away from local bodies and municipalities the right of imposing motor taxes. The Conference opposed the rules framed by the Road Traffic Controlling Authority, Meerut division, and pointed out certain hardships imposed by the rules. It appointed a Provincial Committee of 15 members *inter alia* to create an atmosphere against the Motor Vehicles Bill.

The Conference finally adopted a resolution demanding from the Government

that under Section 16 of the Motor Vehicles Act, the limit of fines should be Rs. 10 instead of Rs. 100 and the drivers be challaned by a police officer not below the rank of a sergeant or a sub-inspector and at least two prosecution witnesses be produced to prove the breach of the law committed by them.

MOTOR TYRE MANUFACTURE IN INDIA

For the first time Motor and Cycle tyres are being manufactured in India. H. E. Sir John Anderson, the Governor of Bengal, opened the Dunlop Factory recently at Shahagunj.

In declaring the factory open, His Excellency said: "It seems to me that the establishment of this industry, not merely in India but on this side of India, is an event of some importance to the province of Bengal."

The Governor added: "I have been pleased to learn that an overwhelming preponderance of your staff of over 600 has been employed locally, and more than half of those employed are Bengalis."

FIJI AS AIR PORT

Fiji has suddenly leapt into commercial fame and strategical importance as the chief of the Key Island groups in the South Pacific, writes Mr. C. F. Andrews. This is partly due to the amazingly rapid advance in air navigation. For Fiji is singularly well situated lying to the north of New Zealand, and the east of Australia. Thus it will be the new last halting place for new giant aeroplanes, which will fly over the Pacific from San Francisco to the Southern Continents.

What Honolulu has become north of the Equator, Fiji will soon become in the South Pacific. It is already the last port of call for the Trans-Pacific ocean liners. The great 20,000 ton luxury steamers go in and out of Sava harbour every week. But far more important will be the modern aerodromes, or air ports now being constructed with all the latest scientific invention. Here very soon twice a week the ocean planes will descend with passengers, letters and newspapers. One aeroplane will pass on to Sydney, the other will go to Auckland, the capital of New Zealand. A regular service is soon to be established in both directions.

1937 is likely to see the beginning of this new American airways.

IMPERIAL AIRWAYS

The growing popularity of aerial travel during the outgoing year of Imperial Airways Ltd. is showing by an increase from 1,760 miles of airway operated in 1924 to 27,000 miles in 1935. The twelfth annual report of the company states, among other things, that if Imperial Airways, which is virtually a national undertaking, is to retain its position in the world, it is of paramount importance that the company should have adequate resources behind it. This company receives no subsidy from Government without corresponding obligations which is, however, the rule in all countries. The total traffic on all the company's services was more than double the traffic in 1932-33. The average distance flown per passenger on its Empire services was 2,025 miles.

THE INDUSTRIES CONFERENCE

The Hon. Sir Frank Noyce, opening the Eighth Industries Conference at Lucknow, surveyed the industrial expansion in India during the last few years. He referred to grants made by the Government for the development of hand-loom and cottage woollen industries and maintained that the position regarding cotton piece-goods and sugar had now completely reversed.

Sir Frank then discussed the potentialities and usefulness of the organisations connected with the Industries Conference, and enumerated the contributions made by them to the advancement of industries in the country.

As regards middle class unemployment, Sir Frank said there was no cut-and-dried solution for this problem. But he believed that those responsible should endeavour to bring the educational result of the country to correspond to its needs. He feared they could do little by concentrating their attention too much on education of the middle class. In the end, he said, it is in villages rather than in colleges or industrial areas we must find a lasting solution to unemployment. The Conference discussed and adopted resolutions regarding hand-loom grants to the various provinces. The Conference also agreed that standardisation of weights was desirable.

THE SWADESHI EXHIBITION

There has been in Madras an Exhibition of swadeshi goods in the Congress House since December 11. Articles from all over the country are displayed in the Exhibition. They include almost anything used in our houses from earthenware to medicine. Demonstrations of cottage industries and variety entertainments form part of the Exhibition.

In opening the Exhibition, Sardar Patel made a characteristic speech. He pointed out the importance of buying things Indian. He bemoaned that we do not have enough freedom in fiscal matters—freedom which may be used to foster the development of home produce. He emphasised therefore that along with the fight for Swaraj carried on by the Indian National Congress in this country, we should carry on an intense campaign for the spread of swadeshi.

IRRIGATION SCHEME FOR TUMKUR

To the several irrigation projects in the Mysore State one more will be added, viz., the Markonahalli Reservoir in the Tumkur district. This has just been sanctioned by the Government.

The reservoir will be constructed across the river Shimsha at Markonahalli, about 12 miles from Kunigal on the Bangalore-Mangalore trunk road. The total cost of the project is estimated at about Rs. 22 lakhs.

The project, when completed, will bring a total area of 10,000 acres under irrigation.

The reservoir will be at the confluence of the Veera Vaishnavi and Shimsha rivers. It is proposed to construct a masonry dam of about 400 feet in the river portion with earthen planks. The water will be used for irrigation only on the left bank by means of a channel about 18 miles long.

Out of the estimated cost of Rs. 22 lakhs, the Government hope to get about Rs. 17½ lakhs by way of contribution from the ryots in that area.

It will take about 5 years for the project to be completed. About 5 per cent. return on the capital outlay is expected.

NEED FOR AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH

"No Western country, except perhaps Russia, has yet fully realised the national value of science. And in India the realisation is extremely imperfect. The future of the world lies in scientific advance and more so in India than elsewhere, with the population increasing at the rate of 10,000 per day and with only three-fourths of an acre under cultivation per head for food crops." These remarks were made by Sir T. Vijayaraghavachariar in the course of the Convocation address of Allahabad University recently.

THE VICEROY AS COW-PROTECTOR

His Excellency the Viceroy saved six cows and one she-buffalo from the butcher's knife and presented them to the Delhi Pinjarapole. He considered the slaughter of the cows as an inhuman practice and said that the railway freight rates have been reduced to encourage purchasers from the mofussil to acquire dry cows from Calcutta and Bombay.

THE RAILWAY WORKMEN ON STRIKE

About 5,000 workmen of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway struck work in obedience to the command of their Union executives. A *communiqué* issued by the Agent on December 17, stated *inter alia* that the strike called by the Bengal-Nagpur Railway Indian Labour Union resulted, in abstention from work of practically the whole Indian labour force in the Kharagpur Workshops and the absence from duty of about 80 per cent. Indian inferior staff of the Loco Carriage and Wagon Transportation and Commercial Departments at most of the main headquarter stations of the Railway. Certain elements of the Indian supervising and clerical staff of the Loco Carriage and Wagon Transportation and Commercial Departments also struck work.

MALAYALEE LABOUR IN CEYLON

The Ceylon Malayalee Mahajana Sabha has submitted a memorandum to the Immigration Commission, emphasising the ungrudging and loyal yeoman service, which Malayalee labour has performed in railways, public works and municipal services in Ceylon. The success and popularity of the Malayalees is due to the fact that they do not undercut the Sinhalese worker and that they keep a decent standard of living and obtain higher wages than those paid to local labour. But complaints have been made that Malayalees are not accompanied by their wives and that they live cheaply in dhummeries. To this the Sabha replies that this is so because of the difficulty of obtaining suitable houses near their places of work and also because of the system of holding lands peculiar to Malayalees.

PUBLIC WORKS IN INDIA

Although expenditure on public works is not expressly designed to combat unemployment, it does in fact diminish it.

A sum of Rs. 877 crores has been spent during the last 15 years on economic development in India from capital sources by Government agency alone, apart from expenditure from ordinary revenues on agriculture, road and other forms of development.

KARNATAKA UNIFICATION CONFERENCE

The sixth session of the Karnataka Unification Conference was held at Belgaum on the 28th, 29th and 30th of November under the presidency of Dr. U. Rama Rao of Madras.

Mr. Balavanta Rao Datar, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in the course of his welcome address, explained the circumstances under which the Conference was held. He said that lack of agitation on the part of the Kannadigas was responsible for Karnatakas not getting a province of their own.

Dr. U. Rama Rao, in the course of his presidential address, said that owing to the considerations of administration and historical accident, the Kannadigas were scattered among different provinces.

After stating that the unification of Karnataka was essential for the preservation and development of Karnataka culture, and for the material progress of the people, Dr. Rama Rao remarked:

In the autonomous provinces of the future, I am afraid we shall be nowhere. Political and administrative expediency, therefore, demand that we should have a province of our own to shape our own destinies.

The Karnataka Province, he said, will consist of eight districts and five outlying taluqs, with a total extent of 84,408 square miles and a population of 8½ millions.

The Conference adopted a resolution that the ultimate ideal of the Karnataka Unification Sabha was the formation of a United Karnataka Province, including territories in the Native States.

NUMISMATIC CONFERENCE

Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, the well known Indologist, gave a striking address to the last session of the Numismatic Society of India, held at Udaipur, on the invitation of the Maharana. Dr. Jayaswal in unfolding the story of the ancient coins of India, said:

"Coins along with inscriptions prove that we had before the foundation of the United States of America, the largest Federal Republican State in the Yaudheya Federation in the time of Samudra Gupta, comprising the large tract between the Sutlej and the Jamuna."

A CIVILISATION AT BAY

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By Dr. K. KUNHIKANNAN, M.A., Ph.D.

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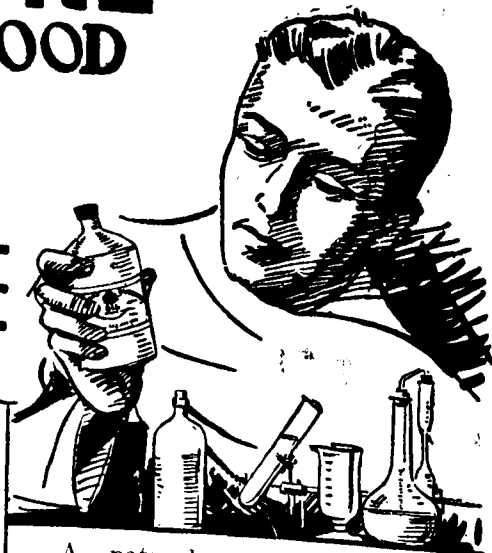
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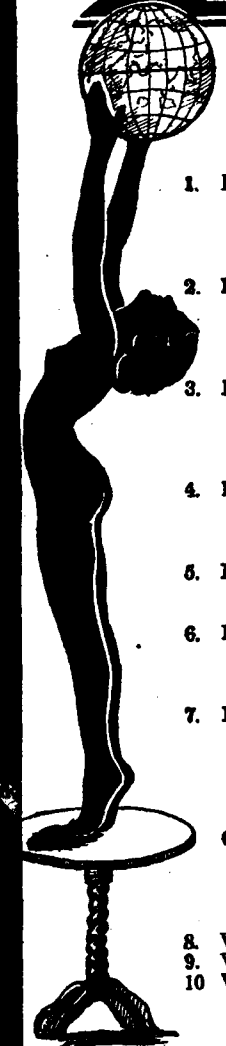
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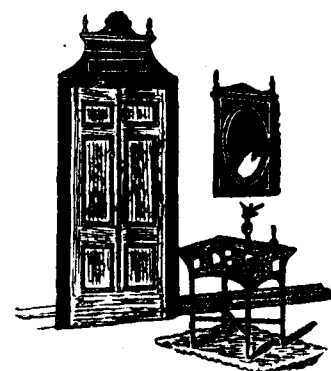
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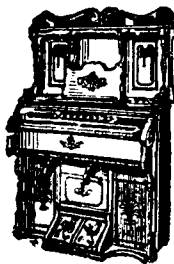
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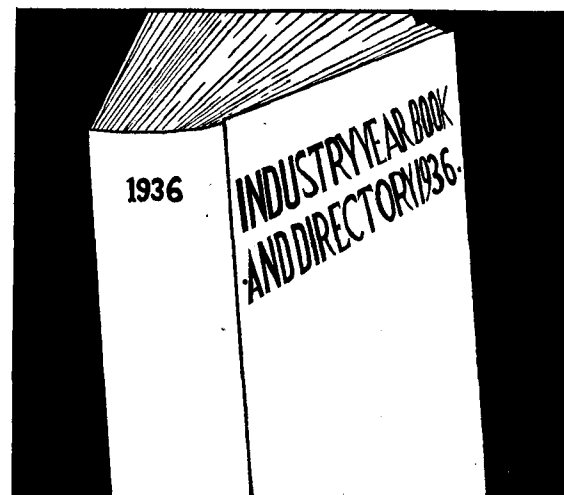
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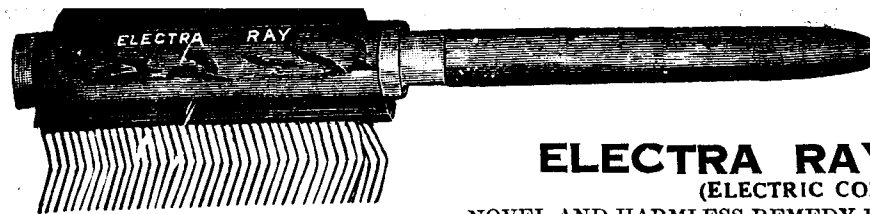
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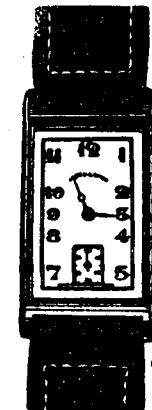
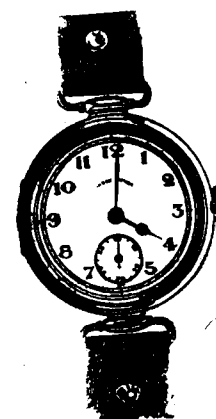
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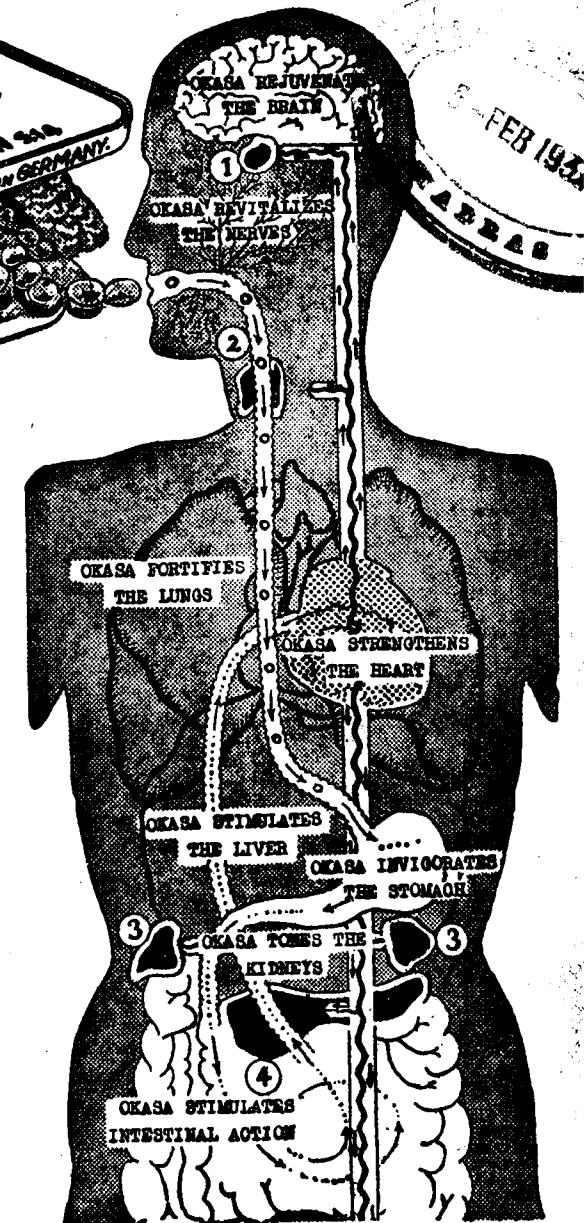
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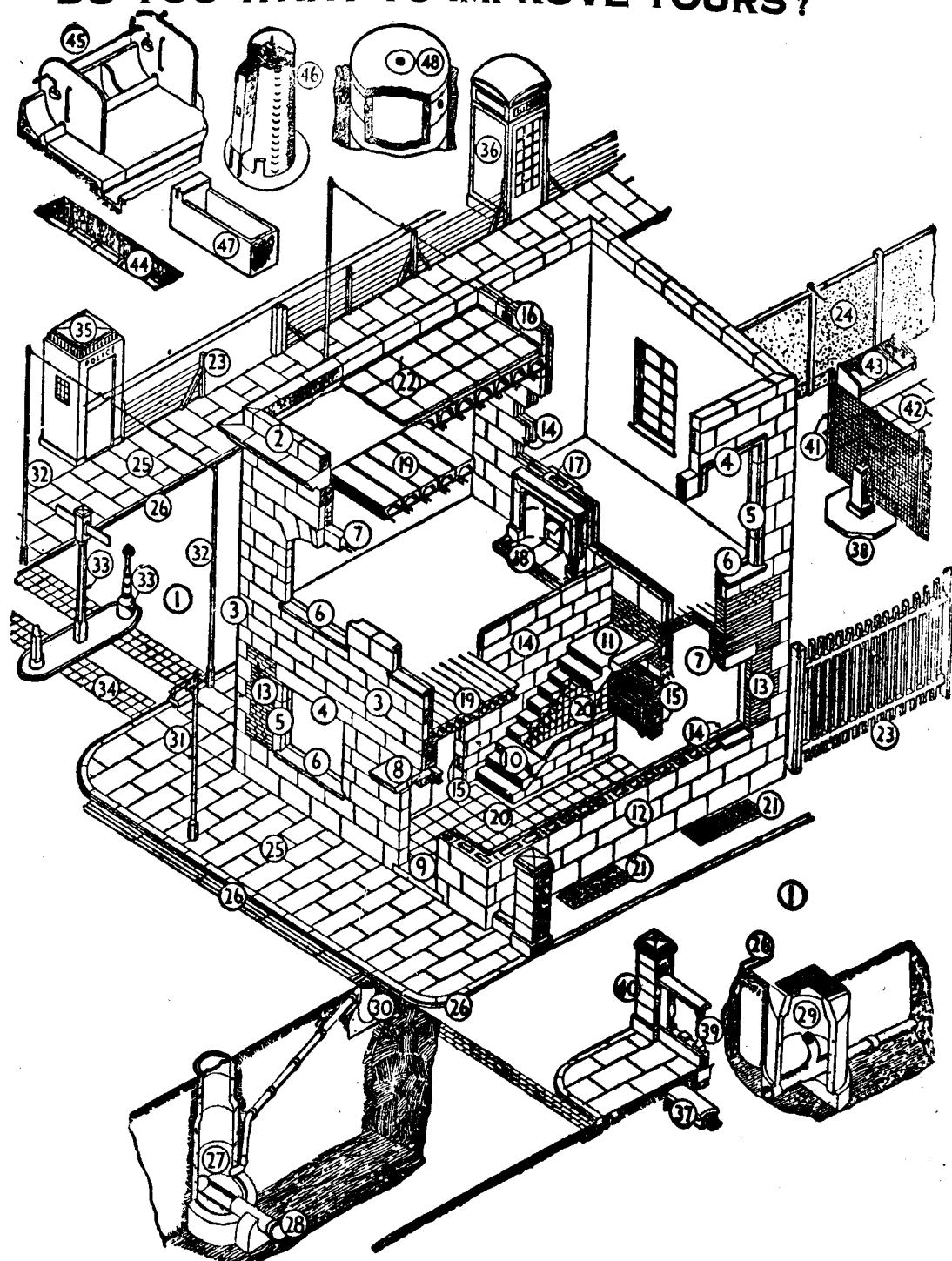
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VOL. XXXVIII.]

FEBRUARY 1937

[No. 2.]

All-India Federation

BY SIR V. T. KRISHNAMACHARI

(*Dewan of Baroda*)

NOW that the arrangements for the inauguration of provincial autonomy are well forward, His Excellency the Viceroy has taken the first definite step for inaugurating the next stage of the Constitution—the All-India Federation—by sending representatives to meet Rulers to explain to them the implications of the federal idea and to acquaint themselves with the points of view of the States generally as well as problems confronting individual States. As at this stage the details are apt to overshadow main principles, it will be useful to invite attention to fundamental conceptions.

Broadly speaking, under the new Government of India Act, India is given the power to decide and execute its own economic policies. This power again is to be shared by British India and Indian States working together as partners in a federal constitution. The point I wish to make is that this should be regarded as a necessary and, indeed, inevitable step in India's progress towards Dominion Status.

The Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Government of India Bill of 1919, discussing economic relations between Great Britain and India, wrote as follows:

“Nothing is more likely to endanger the good relations between India and Great Britain than a belief that India's

fiscal policy is dictated from Whitehall in the interests of the trade of Great Britain. That such a belief exists at the moment there can be no doubt. That there ought to be no room for it in the future is equally clear. . . . Whatever be the right fiscal policy for India for the needs of her consumers as well as for her manufacturers, it is quite clear that she should have the same liberty to consider her interests as Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa.”

The march of events since then has enormously strengthened this position. I shall mention only a few of the relevant factors. Before the War, a small fraction of the public debt of India was held in India by Indians. In the present year, it has been calculated that nearly 60 per cent. of the public debt is held by Indians, and many of these are quite small investors. There are, at the present moment, over 2½ millions of depositors in the Post Office Savings Banks and many thousands of holders of Postal Cash Certificates. Again, Indian Industries and Banks have grown into dimensions undreamt of 20 years ago; textiles, iron, cement and sugar are examples. In such concerns many thousands of small people hold shares. The recent development of the policy of economic nationalism all over the world has served only to strengthen the

widely spread belief in India in a thorough-going policy of protection. These changes have made it more than ever necessary that the power to regulate economic policies should rest with Indian Legislatures responsible to the people of India. The fact that at the present moment the negotiations with Lancashire and Japan for commercial agreements are being carried on in India in the closest consultation with the interests concerned, recognises the logic of facts. The new constitution thus records an accomplished fact—marks an inevitable development.

If India is to be enabled to shape its own economic destinies, this power should be vested equally in both parts of India.

Whatever policy may be decided on will affect British India and Indian States equally, and both of them should, therefore, have a voice in its formulation.

The next stage in the evolution of India will be the handing over of the responsibility of defence of the country to the people of India. Here again it is obvious that both British India and Indian States should share in the responsibilities.

These fundamental facts underlying the Indian situation lead to the conclusion, that the future constitution should be one in which these two Indias will be united together as equal partners in forming policies and executing them—in the rights as well as the responsibilities of government.

WAR AND PEACE

BY

DR. C. DELISLE BURNS, M.A., D.Lit.

THE fear of war has become an obsession in the minds of Europeans: and the results of that obsession affect public policy all over the world. A war between nations would be bad enough; but recent events in Spain have shown how closely related national rivalries are to civil war in all nations. If there is another world war, it will be accompanied by civil war in most nations; and this is well known to the dominant groups in the different nations. All the nations are preparing for war. Each believes that its armaments are only for "defence"; but no nation believes that any other nation's arms are only for "defence". And yet no one wants war. Some dictators may want what cannot be had without war; but even they believe that they are working for "peace". Indeed, everyone knows what war is and many have a good idea of what civil

war would be like; but there is no clear idea about peace.

Peace is not merely the absence of war. Peace is not a vague sentiment of friendliness. Peace is not inertia in some heaven or nirvana. Peace is a principle of policy—a method of social organisation. It requires skill in administration and negotiation, knowledge of facts, and a grasp of the essentials of co-operation between ordinary men and women of different races, religions and nations. Peace is not merely an interval between wars, but an alternative to all war and all preparations for war. When real peace exists, "defence" will be unnecessary. But that time has not come, because the great majority of men have no conception at all of positive peace. They would prefer to be left in quiet, of course; but they have no idea how their own actions affect other people; just as

the rich would like to be kind to the poor, but do not really understand what effect the successful pursuit of riches by some has upon others. So peace is conceived by most people as a time when each man looks after his own interests, although in war-time every loyal citizen is supposed to serve the common good. But is there no common good, superior to private interests, in time of peace?

The common good, the service of which is real peace, is the improvement of health, knowledge and social intercourse among all peoples. The advocates of peace waste too much time in opposing war. They would do better to work for some positive alternative—such as universal service for the common good. It is fairly obvious that it would be for the advantage of India, for example, if the people of Japan were less poor, better fed and less exhausted by toil. To put it at its lowest, the result would be

less epidemic disease; and no nation derives gain from epidemic disease in other nations. But it has not been grasped, even by a minority in any nation, that they owe a duty to the citizens of other nations, to help them to live happier and healthier lives. Each nation thinks of its own Government as an instrument for its own welfare, not as an instrument also for the welfare of common folk in other nations. But we cannot have real peace until at least we begin to understand what real peace is. We cannot overcome the fear of war, until we have established in our own nation the conception of a common good for which all nations should work. The best way of working for peace therefore is not to concentrate attention on preventing war, but to increase friendly contacts between common folk in all nations and to work for their good in quite definite terms of health and knowledge, leisure and social intercourse.

The Appeal of the Bhagavata

BY DR. SIR P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYER, K.C.S.I., LL.D.

IT has been the ambition of Mr. G. A. Natesan to popularise the three most important poems in the sacred literature of India by bringing out abridgments of the original Sanskrit texts with an English translation. He first brought out an abridgment of Valmiki's Ramayana, the most famous Kavya in the classical literature of India. This was immediately followed by the abridgment of the Mahabharata, the greatest Itihasa. His latest venture is the abridgment of the Srimad Bhagavata which may be justly described as the greatest and most popular of the Puranas. Every Purana has necessarily to deal with a certain number of topics according to traditional conventions,

and the manner of treatment of these topics is more or less on similar lines. But each Purana is further intended to serve a special purpose. The Puranas generally contain a strange medley of fables and fairy tales, philosophy and religion, myth and legend. It is not easy for a Western reader to appreciate the teaching and value of our Puranas without a knowledge of the methods employed by the ancient Indian sages for inculcating the principles of ethics or the tenets of religion. The Bhagavata shares the defects of Puranas generally. It is full of incredible stories and miracles, and embodies divergent philosophical doctrines, divers cults, stories intended to exalt some particular incarnation

or manifestation of the Deity and stories which do not hesitate to attribute faults of character to God or which may appear to the reader to have an immoral tendency. It is not free from the bias of sectarianism. Its literary merit is not uniform and is so uneven in substance and in style that we may reasonably suspect many interpolations and the work of more hands than one. The style is often harsh and rugged, involving highly artificial combinations of words. It has got its peculiar terminology. In this respect it compares unfavourably with the Ramayana. In spite of these defects, the Bhagavata has acquired a wonderful hold upon the minds of Hindus. It has a fascination even for the minds of those who, like myself, are keenly alive to its defects.

What is the secret of the appeal that the Bhagavata makes even to the mind of the educated Hindu? The main theme of the Bhagavata is the importance of Haribhakti or devotion to God, especially in His manifestation as Krishna. It is generally said that the Bhagavata is par excellence the Purana which emphasises the value of Bhakti (devotion) and Virakti (detachment). Attractive stories are a vehicle employed by the Hindu sages for teaching morality and religion. The author of the Bhagavata has largely availed himself of this method.

The sage Vyasa who had edited the Vedas and composed the Mahabharata did not attain serenity or happiness in spite of the completion of his labours and his immersion in philosophy and religion. If there was any philosopher who could have appreciated the truth of the Vedanta philosophy and enjoyed intimacy with the formless Absolute (Nirguna Brahman), it was Vyasa. He was told by Narada that he could attain peace of mind and happiness only by

dwelling upon the incarnations of Lord Vasudeva and singing his glory.

The stories of the Deity and His miraculous intervention to help His votaries often read like fairy tales. They are not, however, accepted by the thoughtful at their face value. It is pointed out by Sri Sankaracharya that the object of myth and legend in the Vedas is merely to lure the mind to the truths of religion. The stories are treated as mere Arthavada (eulogistic) and not as facts. If, notwithstanding the progress of knowledge, educated people still listen with delight to these stories, it is because even they have not outgrown the credulity of childhood. What appeals to the childhood of the human race appeals even to grown-up individuals in civilised societies. Bernard Shaw has remarked that there is evidence for a law of conservation of credulity. Our appetite for the marvellous still persists in the hidden recesses of the mind. Stories of miracles are to be found in the Bible and in the literature of most religions. It is these defects which first strike the superficial observer who is unable to separate the pearls of truth and wisdom from the shells in which they are imbedded. Macaulay made fun of the history and geography of the Hindus, "of history abounding with kings thirty feet high and reigns thirty thousand years long, and geography made up of seas of treacle and seas of butter". But no educated Hindu takes these descriptions for history or geography.

Dismissing these stories as intended for the entertainment of undeveloped minds, we find in the Bhagavata the highest truths of religion and philosophy and the highest principles of ethics expounded in appropriate language. The lilt of the verse

in the Bhagavata has a peculiar charm of its own; it varies with the occasion as it is gay or grave, from the lighter and swift-moving measure of the madrigal and the pastoral song to the slow and solemn measure of the hymn. There is a solemnity and grandeur in the devotional songs which attunes the mind to the high theme. It is a poem to suit different modes and emotions, the mood of adoration or worship, of sorrow or joy, of peace and tranquillity, of discontent with the things of the world and a desire for freedom from its trammels, of humility and regret over wasted opportunities for salvation, of perplexity about the mysteries of the universe and the ways of God or of passionate yearning for union with God. While the Western mind prefers to contemplate God in the role of a law-giver, a judge or a friend, the Hindu mind prefers to dwell upon the conception of God in His incarnation as a child, a son, a lover, a hero, a guide and counsellor, a protector of the oppressed and the humble and the pure in heart, and a saviour. This is the secret of the special charm of the Krishna Avatara.

The virtues ascribed by the author to the Deity may sometimes appear to be carried to extremes. Like the God of the Israelites, the God of the Hindus is described as partial to the Devas or Suras who are His chosen people. This favouritism is unaccountable in view of the fact that the Gods or Suras are, like the Gods of Greek antiquity, not patterns of morality, and the Asuras or Titans are very often superior to the Gods in courage, chivalry, character and religious devotion. The moral superiority of the Asuras is conspicuous in the case of Vritra, Prahlada and Bali, whose character stands

out in shining contrast to that of Indra, the ruler of the Devas. One plausible explanation which occurs to me is that God has been often depicted in the Puranas as a tribal God, and the partiality shown towards the Devas is consistent with this character. The unwilling testimony borne by the Puranas to the character of some of the Asuras is strange and calls for an explanation. The Asuras and Suras were agnatic relations, and the Asuras, who were the Gods of the ancient Iranians, represented the heroes of the Iranian branch of the Indo-Aryan family from which the Aryans of India separated when they trekked towards India.

The protection of servants, dependants and votaries is an obligation and a virtue. Krishna exhibits a most touching solicitude for the inviolability of the troth of his Bhaktas even at the sacrifice sometimes of his own. One circumstance which must never be lost sight of in our appraisal of the characters and events depicted in the Puranas or, for the matter of that, any work of past history, is that they reflect the conditions of the society in which the authors lived and the beliefs and ethical standards current at the time.

The scale of ethical and religious values is no doubt liable to change in course of time, but the development of morality and religion had attained such a height in ancient India that it is doubtful whether humanity has made any great progress in these spheres.

It is often popularly supposed that idolatry is favoured or enjoined by the Hindu religion. While Hinduism permits the worship of idols, it is only a concession to the ignorant who are incapable

of rising to abstract conceptions and the higher forms of religious belief. It is recognised and allowed only as the lowest rung of the devotional ladder. But when the mind is educated and becomes capable of concentration, abstraction and meditation, the worshipper is gradually led on to the highest truths of religion. The Bhagavata recognises the principle of relativity and its spiritual prescriptions are adjusted to the different stages of individual development.

I have already referred to the tendency of our moralists and religious teachers to emphasise the value of the particular truths which they wish to impress on the mind by recourse to exaggeration. The importance of obedience to the father is illustrated by the story of Parasurama who killed even his mother at the bidding of his father. The banishment of Sita to the forest is intended to illustrate the obligation of the sovereign to sacrifice his own personal happiness for the purpose of avoiding even the slightest breath of scandal against the throne. The value of the invocation of the Deity and the repetition of His name as a means of leading the mind to the thought of God and concentration upon the idea of God is illustrated by the extravagant story of Ajamila who was saved after a life of libertinism by pronouncing the name of Narayana. The human wish for longevity which often expresses itself in the longing for eternity is illustrated in the story of an ancient king Bharata who is said to have lived for ten million years. The slaughter of Kshatriyas by Parasurama must be interpreted not as a wanton act of revenge, but as an attempt to crush the growing militarism and aggressiveness of the warrior caste.

The amours of Krishna have often proved a stumbling-block to the faithful and have furnished a handle to the critics of Hinduism. Several explanations have been attempted and the author of the Bhagavata himself raises the question and suggests an explanation that super-men are not to be judged by the standards of ordinary humanity. Many interesting questions are raised by this riddle. Are the incidents historical facts or were they merely the outcome of the luxuriance of the poet's voluptuous imagination? One circumstance which may throw light in forming an opinion upon this question is that Krishna has always been depicted in the Bhagavata as an incarnation in which he asserted and manifested his omnipotence and other divine attributes from time to time. He often declared himself to be divine and was believed by his kinsmen and followers to be divine. When the sage Narada wished to find out how Krishna could lead a happy married life with his 16,000 wives, he visited their mansions and found Krishna in every one of their homes. We must interpret the story and judge of the characters with due regard to the setting of the story and its milieu. Even the Gopis who ardently loved him addressed him as being not the son of a Gopi, but as the divinity residing in the hearts of all persons, who had taken a human form for the protection of the world. They idolised him as the Paramatman in the flesh.

Hinduism often depicts God as the creator, preserver and destroyer of the universe. He is often identified with relentless time or fate. He is represented in the Bhagavata as having become incarnate as Krishna to reduce

the over-population of the world. War was one of the well-known means by which the evil of over-population was rectified in the world. When the author of the Bhagavata describes Krishna as assuming responsibility for the drunken brawls and mutual slaughter of the turbulent Yadavas, he is simply identified with the evolutionary process of the world. The story is also intended to emphasise the evils of addiction to liquor.

The value of the Bhagavata to the devout consists not so much in the stories and legends with which it abounds or in the charming lyrics or in the beauty of its poetic descriptions or in the portrayal of human nature with its intense human interest, but in its exposition of the main theme of the book. The essential truths which it emphasises again and again are the imperishability of the soul, the goodness, power and helpfulness of God and the attainment of salvation by the method of Bhakti. The path of Bhakti or devotion has sometimes been misrepresented by hostile critics. The true spirit of religion implies the adoration and love of God and the desire for union with God. The highest conception of bliss is not, according to the Hindu mind, mere prostration and service at the foot of the Almighty, but a loving union with Him. The salvation may take the shape of Salokya, Sarupya or Sayujya. In emphasising Bhakti as a method of salvation, the Bhagavata does not fail to lay stress on the need for the service and love of humanity, nay of all living beings. There are innumerable passages dwelling upon the importance of identifying oneself with all humanity. It is sufficient to quote one of the many passages in which goodness is defined:

कृपालुरकृतद्रोहः तितिक्षुः सर्वदेहिनाम् ।

सत्यसारोऽनवद्यात्मा समः सर्वोपकारकः ॥

कामैरहतधीर्दान्तो मृदुः शुचिरकिञ्चनः ।

अमानो मानदः कल्पः मैत्रः कारुणिकः कविः ॥

धर्मान् संत्यज्य यः सर्वान् मां भजेत स सत्तमः ॥

No other work in the Hindu religious literature has made a more careful study of the psychology of Bhakti. The man who truly loves God cannot possibly go astray.

Mr. Natesan's object in publishing this* abridgment of the Bhagavata is laudable. In making the selections from such a voluminous work, he has followed a principle of his own. His purpose is evidently to give some idea of all the Avatars described in the Bhagavata. To keep his book within the limits of space he has prescribed for himself he has cut out many passages of great beauty, especially the hymns. Opinions may differ as to the portions of the original which should have been included or excluded. But this is to a great extent a matter for individual judgment and taste. I understand that it is his intention to follow up this book with an anthology of hymns in which I hope several of the hymns of the Bhagavata will find a place. Mr. Natesan has been fortunate in securing the services of Pandit A. M. Srinivasachari for the task of condensation and of Dr. V. Raghavan, a competent Sanskrit scholar, for the translation of the original text.

*THE SRIMAD BHAGAVATA. Text in Devanagari and English Translation. Condensed in Vyasa's own words by Pandit A. M. Srinivasachari. Translated into English by Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D. Price Re. 1-4.

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AN ASCETIC

BY

DR. YONE NOGUCHI

—: o :—

A stranger to life's circumstances,

He replies to footsteps echoing down the ghostly distance ;

Opening his meditation-eyes,

He gazes on the garden grasses where light and shadow are woven
like a rug.

Drunken in the bliss of self-realization,

A mango with falcon's wings in its leaves,

And a coco, a tree-stork stretching its neck up to the sky,

Bid adieu to a petty world, paying reverence toward the boundlessness
of life.

The houses, towers and fountains that I see here

Exchange between them noddings and whispers.

The holy man, poor in cloth but rich in thought,

Pricks up his ears to a mighty procession of liberty and relief,

Stamping feet on the ground, hoisting flags in the air.

The garden fountains, lo, spurt up high

To draw with water a rainbow hung from tree to tree.

Oh, what a beauty of freedom, what a splendour of spirits relieved !

A hundred birds fly up and down the rainbow decking the world anew.

Congress and Office Acceptance: A Symposium

[Last month we published a Symposium on the above subject. Since then we have received the views of Sjt. C. Rajagopalachari, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Mr. S. Satyamurti and others—for and against office acceptance by Congressmen.—EDITOR, *Indian Review*.]

MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

I consider that it should be the primary object of Congressmen as well as others who have condemned the new constitution imposed on India, to get it abandoned or otherwise set aside. Our policies should therefore be examined and shaped by this test and towards this end.

I do not think the way to set the constitution aside is by showing that we can create dead-locks. It would be only disproving the draftman's skill, and not amount to anything but a demonstration. Our object can only be achieved by development of national unity and strength.

I think the time for mere demonstrations within or without the legislatures is gone. To show that we can create dead-locks in spite of the legal acumen and forethought of those who drafted the constitution, is a mere demonstration and a stale one at that. To show that a dead-lock must result is a different affair. That would bring about a change for better or worse which depends on our national unity and strength.

A natural and inevitable conflict worthy of the nation and its representatives and such as would help to increase the national grit and gather fresh and irresistible popular support for the Congress can, under certain circumstances, arise by patriotic and well thought-out action on the part of Ministers accepting office under the new constitution. Whether such circumstances exist can be decided only upon the strength of the majorities secured, their quality and that of the persons actually leading the majorities in the various provinces. It cannot be decided beforehand. When the time arrives, it should be decided and I am convinced that the question is purely one of strategy for the leaders of the nation to decide and not a matter of political dogma for public discussion. All steps in a conflict, whether non-violent or violent, are not suitable for public discussion, and this is one of the kind that must be thought out entirely by those whose responsibility it is to lead; though of course, ultimately, the approval of the people which is another word for confidence in the leaders, is necessary.

MOULVI ABDUL KARIM, M.L.C.

The new constitution does not offer an appreciable measure of genuine self-government to the people of India, as is unmistakably indicated by the numerous restrictions, reservations and so-called "safeguards". If the Executive Heads of the Provincial and Federal Governments exercise the extensive powers and privileges vested in them, the alien grip would be tightened rather than relaxed. In fact, the constitution will practically be at the mercy of the Executive Head, who can by his wide and loosely defined over-riding powers bring about a dead-lock at any time. There is hardly anything in the constitution that can restrain a Governor of the Sydenham or O'Dwyrian type from assuming, whenever it may please him to do so, the role of an absolute dictator. Some reserve power may be necessary, particularly during the transitional period. But these must not be so very wide and unrestricted as to enable the Executive Head to paralyse the working of the constitution when it suits his purpose.

Such is the constitution that will have to be worked by those who will accept office. It has to be decided by those who will be elected to the Council whether it should be wrecked or worked. It would not be wise to adopt the first course which is likely to stand in the way of early attainment of real Self-Government. The constitution should be so worked as to expose its inherent defects, so that the authorities may be convinced that its thorough revision is necessary. Unless able and tactful men are appointed to work it, this purpose cannot be served. Besides, it should be proved that until an appreciable measure of genuine responsibility is guaranteed, political discontent cannot be allayed.

The smooth working of the constitution, I need hardly say, would depend upon the capacity, tact, sympathy and resourcefulness of the Executive Heads. Let us hope that men of such liberal views, broad vision and wide outlook would be appointed Governors as would refrain from creating occasions for the exercise of their extraordinary powers, which might cause a break-down of the constitution.

SIR HARI SINGH GOUR, Kt.

When the new constitution was promulgated, I gave my views to the effect that it had been diluted beyond recognition from the commitment made by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald both as the head of the Labour Government as also that of the National Government. Even the proposals, diluted as they were in the White Paper, became subject to further attenuation owing to the increasing and vigorous pressure of the die-hard group who, failing to defeat the Bill which in their heart of hearts they knew they would never be able to do, directed their attacks upon its main provisions with the result that the measure emerged from Parliament as a mere pale shadow of its former self even as adumbrated in the White Paper. But it is the best that the Conservatives were prepared to give and India must make the most of what she has got.

Of all the political parties in the country, such as they are, there can be no doubt that the Congress is the largest and the best organised. But this is due to the fact that it is the cry of the starving millions of India whose growing poverty and diminishing wealth *per capita* that is being reflected in the surging discontent of the people. The people have no notion of what their discontent will lead up to. The Congress is exploiting them in the hope of liberalising the constitution to the extent acceptable to the people and for this purpose they are mobilising their forces to return their nominees to the Provincial Assemblies in the elections now proceeding. They have so far refused to declare their future policy regarding the acceptance of office under the new constitution. But this is not because their accredited leaders have not made up their minds so as to give the rank and file a lead on the subject, but because the Congress as a body is sharply divided on the subject. Having pledged itself at one time to Civil Disobedience and non-acceptance of office by defiance of the constitution and established authority, they find office under the new constitution a bitter pill to swallow, but at the same time they know that office means power and the Congress is not free from the

frailty of human nature to thirst for power. This is the dominant view of men like Vallabhbhai Patel, Satyamurti, Bhulabhai Desai and the other right wingers of the Congress. But between them and the extreme socialists who are both against the Congress taking part in the elections much less the acceptance of office, there is an intermediate group who have made opportunism a fine art; and these have made a common cause with the right wingers and are keeping their own counsel till they know the result of the elections now proceeding which will be completed by March next. They will probably give liberty to each province to use its discretion in the matter of the acceptance of office. Everybody knows how this discretion will be exercised. Wherever the Congress is in the majority, the Congressmen will accept office. There cannot be any manner of doubt that in the majority of the provinces the Congress will sweep the polls, and I have not the slightest doubt that in such provinces the Congress will accept office; but there will be exceptions where the Congress cannot gather force on account of its dubious policy on the communal award. Provinces like Bengal, the Punjab and Sindh, are by no means easy to marshal by the Congress High Command. On the whole, I have not the slightest doubt that the Congress will accept office; but it is not the acceptance of office but the spirit in which it is accepted and in which its duties are discharged that matters. I am afraid that the bulk of the intelligentsia—men of light and leading—have remained away both from the Congress and the elections. It is a sorry compliment to the Congress that it was not able to mobilise the national forces of intellect, experience and statesmanship which would lie rusting outside the council chamber. The nominees of the Congress have been selected not on their merits but upon their loyalty to the Congress creed.

The unity of the Indian people would have been a tower of strength for the national demand, but this unity is lacking because of the fissiparous tendencies in the Indian body politic due to the narrow outlook of the main communities concerned. I still hope, though it is a forlorn hope, that

those who are at the helm of political parties might yet be persuaded to close up their ranks and do what England and all other more civilised countries with larger experience of democratic government have done by forming coalitions and thus securing a solidarity and strength in their national evolution.

Peering into the future I do not think that the refusal to accept office will in the slightest degree improve the chances of an early revision of the new constitution. Even if the Labour Party came into office, which it is not likely to be for a long time to come as they lack both leaders and leadership, they would not scrap the present constitution and throw its weight in favour of its revision by a Constituent Assembly elected by the mass vote of the people; though it is reported that the Congress Working Committee have at their meeting held in Bombay on the 10th December 1936 reiterated the "Congress determination to reject the new constitution in its entirety" and it goes on to emphasise "that the Congress stands for a genuine democratic State in India which could come into being through a Constituent Assembly elected by adult suffrage" and this decision has since been ratified by the Congress. It postpones the question of acceptance of office for decision of the All-India Congress Committee after the election results are known. It, however, enjoins on the members to oppose by all feasible methods the introduction of the Federal structure of the new India Act. If this be the policy of the Congress, it is difficult to harmonise it with the acceptance of office and one can easily foresee a struggle proceeding within the new Provincial Assemblies inconsistent with the purpose of provincial autonomy which the Act regards as the electoral unit for the introduction of responsibility at the Centre.

The question of convoking a Constituent Assembly by the adult vote of the entire populace would be either a fiasco or a farce since the populace are illiterate and ignorant of the very meaning of democracy.

The question of installing a "democratic State" is reminiscent of a Soviet declaration to that effect. As is Pandit

Jawahar Lal's address to the Congress delegates whom he addressed as "comrades" and to whom he promised a State with "the rule of the masses," i.e., dictatorship of the Proletariat in the language of Karl Marx. It embodies the Pandit's own frank Bolshevick leanings, and served as a sop to the socialist wing of the Congress; but one need not construe too literally or even logically these resolutions which are as divorced from the reality of Indian life as would be the Fascist demonstration in the East End of London, divorced from the mentality of the average Englishman. One thing is certain: the Congress is reiterating its programme that heralded the Montagu-Chelmsford Act of 1919 and its history is well known, though many of us have forgotten it. If the Congress decides upon a policy of dead-locks and obstruction, the fissures that existed in the previous Act have all been fully sealed up and the present Act provides for such an emergency in a manner that the obstructionists will find four-square to their repeated tactics.

The future hope of India, therefore, lies in what is popularly known as responsive co-operation. If the provinces are well governed, the Centre will be strengthened to that extent. The weakness of the present constitution is a weak Centre under the reforms. That Centre will not be strengthened till a bold step forward is taken by mobilising all the available talent in the country and uniting it in a common ideal which may not be dramatically appealing to the people but is the only ideal within the pale of possibility. The Congress still pipes its song of Independence while the whole world is seeking co-operation upon the lines of federation, international understanding and conjoint action. India has still to study the meaning of the Statute of Westminster. It would give to India all that it needs and all that is implied by the largest demand made by the Congress. That should be the immediate goal upon which all parties in the country should coalesce, and pressure should be brought to bear upon England to bring India within the charmed circle of the nations scheduled in that Statute.

MR. SARDUL SINGH CAVEESHAR

Those who think that India can achieve Swaraj through Parliamentary methods and Parliamentary methods alone, however strongly they might condemn the new constitution, have no other option but to accept the offices and work the new constitution as best or as worst, as they possibly can. On the other hand, those who believe that Parliamentary methods have only a limited scope as regards pushing forward the country's march towards Swaraj, and that Indians, in order to reach the national goal, must mainly depend on mass action and mass pressure, cannot work the new constitution or accept offices under it without stultifying their position.

It is not surprising that Liberals who only yesterday swore against the new constitution, to-day plead so earnestly for working it. All weapons in their armoury to get the new constitution modified so as to make it acceptable to their countrymen have been exhausted; now they find an iron wall standing against them; they have no other option but to capitulate and conform themselves to the new conditions. Discretion, in their opinion, is as well the better part of valour in politics as in any other sphere of life.

But could the Congress attitude towards this question be the same as that of the Liberals? The Congress, no doubt, has suspended Civil Disobedience, but it is yet committed to Mass Action as the main plank to carry the country to the desired goal. Even those of the Congressmen who have gone to the Legislatures and who are supposed to have adopted whole-heartedly the Parliamentary methods, thunder from the Opposition Benches the popular slogans declaring the country's firm faith in Mass Action and Civil Disobedience.

But it would be idle to deny that some of us have lost faith in direct action. The failure of the last campaign of Civil Disobedience has proved a huge damper to our enthusiasm. The trouble begins when such persons try to hide their views by specious arguments. These gentlemen cleverly declare that they can best reject the new constitution by accepting ministerships. When in office, they assure

they would confront the Provincial Governors with such proposals as could not easily be accepted by them, and when those propositions are not accepted and the Governors make use of the "safeguards" allowed to them under the constitution, our friends would resign, create dead-locks and crises and blow the constitution to pieces.

One need not bother much about the arguments put forward by the advocates of this policy. Except the fact that they can cleverly juggle with words, there is not much substance in what they say. They can be offered ministerships only if they were in a majority; and if they were in a majority they could create dead-locks and crises even without accepting any office. The best way for them to end the new constitution would be not to allow any ministry to function. Apart from the fact that the acceptance of offices may create internal dissensions and produce general demoralisation, no dead-lock can beat in its effectiveness the situation that could result in a province from the non-formation of a ministry.

The new constitution perpetuates autocracy under the guise of a democratic form; by destroying the chances of the formation of a ministry, you tear down that democratic veil and leave autocracy in its ugly nakedness. Why then first accept offices and then reject them, when you can from the very beginning manage that no one is allowed to hold a ministerial office at all? It is like the clever man of the story who would catch a bird only when it has first been blinded by the melting wax placed on its head while it stood quietly in the sun.

But there are others whose line of argument is not so difficult to understand. A section of Congressmen openly declare that we should try to make use of the new constitution as best as we can, utilise the power and privileges which can be had under the new constitution for the general good of the country and prepare that way the people to exert pressure for further reforms. They even assure the starting of Civil Disobedience later, when the country has had some respite and gained some confidence under the

influence of such power and privileges as the new constitution may confer on the Congress. In their opinion, the country's battles are finally to be won in the field of Mass Action; but as for a few years to come, there are no prospects for such an action, it would be of great advantage to occupy, during this period, the positions of power and patronage and utilise the same for furthering the cause of Mass Action and for consolidating the Congress position.

Those who advocate such views certainly deserve serious attention, but they seem to forget that for preparing the country for Mass Action, nothing should be done that may have an adverse effect on mass psychology. It is true that by co-operating with the Government now or under some future constitution, it is possible to derive some personal advantages, or even some petty public benefits. But you cannot lead a country to the goal of Swaraj by working a constitution that is admitted to be reactionary, not only by all Congressmen but also by all other political parties in the country. You can create mass movements only by instilling into the hearts of people the spirit of discontent against all that is reactionary and undesirable. If you succumb to the greed of petty advantages and petty reforms, you are lost for ever to the cause of country's freedom. You cannot produce non-co-operation out of the spirit of co-operation, or fighters out of the spirit of calculating crumb pickers. The Congress stands for Swaraj; it is committed to peaceful fight for that goal. By stopping at the way-side to pick up a few stray grains, the country is bound to lose sight of the goal, the attainment of which alone can bring happiness and prosperity to the masses and classes. To change this mentality would be more fatal to the advancement of the country than any policy of repression or persecution from unfriendly quarters.

As long as the Congress is committed to the attainment of Swaraj by all legitimate and peaceful means, and as long as Congressmen think that Mass Action is the only way to attain that goal, the only straightforward course left to the Congress is not to work any constitution that is not acceptable to it, or at least has not

the moral support of a great majority of Indians. By adopting that course alone, the Congress can gain and maintain its prestige and strength in the country. There should be no vacillation in declaring such a policy. It is bound to create a set-back in its influence for good if the Congress ever hesitates to declare its mind. The Liberals by following a half-hearted policy have lost all influence in the country; even the Government has no use for them. Their tragic end should be a warning to all those Congressmen, who are inclined to flirt with the new constitution. The country wants whole-hearted devotees; it has no respect for those who desire to play Mr. Facing Bothways.

But whatever some of us might or might not say, I hope the heart of the Congress is sound. The Congress is bound to reject the new constitution, not merely by words, but by clear cut action. The Congressmen in the Legislatures cannot be allowed to become part and parcel of the Government by accepting offices; they shall have to fight the Government at each step and they shall continue to fight thus till sufficient strength is again gained by the country to assert its own rights and proclaim its own freedom.

MR. L. R. TAIRSEE

The query as framed by you Sir Editor does not admit of the question whether to go or not to go to the Legislatures. It being so, the question whether to accept or not to accept office under the New Constitution does hardly arise. To my mind, it cannot arise and it is redundant as one has to play the game according to the rules of the game. You cannot say I will play in a cricket match, will only take batting, but will not either field or bowl. That will not be cricket, nor will it be cricket to go to legislatures and refuse to accept office. One is the logical inference of the other, the rest is as the poet has it, "leather or prunella."

According to me that is that, the rest is tall talk and bunkum.

DR. B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA

Imagine yourself first a minister in a province—say Madras and visualise how far you can fulfil the election promises you have made. You have doubtless raised hopes in your constituency that you will reduce Land Revenue by a half and abolish Drink and other sin money. How can you do it! Seventeen crores of Abkari and seven crores of Salt and Opium are no small items. To forego 24 crores—you must be able to reduce expenditure elsewhere and the reduction of military expenditure to a half—from 48 to 24 crores—is the only conceivable set-off. Likewise what is lost in Land Revenue must be made good by a reduction of the salaries of the Services. That is a nice balancing of the Budget. But to-day the Central Government is not transferred. India is no doubt one and indivisible, but the Indian Government is not so. Even if it were transferred, military and the services would be reserved. The departments yielding revenue which you would like to halve (Land Revenue) or abolish (Drink, Salt and Opium) would be transferred, while the Military and the Services where you would like to reduce expenditure would be reserved. This alone if nothing else is a bar against acceptance of office. The body politic is truncated—the head being kept in London with a promise that it will be attached to the trunk later, if the latter functions well.

Before we see how the truncated provincial autonomy is destined to function, let us rapidly survey the remaining departments of the Central Government. The finance department will doubtless have a minister but there will also be a financial adviser, and we know what a bureaucrat's advice would be like. It would be mandatory in character. Then there is the Railway Board whose members will be appointed by the Governor-General and which will determine Railway rates—the key of the British trade in India. Likewise, in emergencies the Post need not deliver your letters, the Telegraph need not receive your message and the Railways need not issue your tickets to your destination. The C. I. D. which has powers of initiative in prosecutions is not transferred.

So is the Ecclesiastical section. The Governor-General has a fourfold functioning—one as Viceroy, second as G. G. in Council, third as G. G. in his discretion and fourth as G. G. in his judgment. Shipping has virtually become a Reserved subject as you cannot now introduce a Coastal Shipping Bill without the G. G.'s assent as Haji could do eight or nine years ago. Currency is not under our control as we cannot determine exchange or the silver in the rupee, the gold in the sovereign or the silver and gold behind paper. We cannot alter the structure or the functions of the Reserve Bank; under the White Paper, we could at least do the former. The I. C. S. and the I. P. S. and two-thirds of the I. M. S. will continue indefinitely to be recruited in England. The White Paper had contemplated these only for five years in the first instance. Finally, the G. G. has powers of ordinance and veto and can draw money for nine or ten specified purposes without approaching the Legislature. There remains the one safeguard—Commercial—which alone should repel the thought of acceptance of office. British Rule in India is in the first and last analysis commercial. The British officers, satraps and dignitaries in India are business men first and last and officials in the interval. It is thus that New Company law in India relating to Capital and management for purposes of bounties and subventions has been reduced to a farce as British Companies past, present and future are to be deemed to have fulfilled it. No tariff can be imposed without allowing the British first the right to appear to lead evidence, and then to challenge the legislation before the Supreme Court on the ground that the duties levied would raise the prices of British goods over those of the Indian. The Reciprocity clause lays down that if any disabilities are imposed on Indian businessmen in the U. K., from which British traders are exempt in India, the exemption enjoyed would cease *pro tanto*—a most inconceivable contingency. Thus Company law is a nullity, Tariffs are a fraud and Reciprocity is a farce. Our ministers cannot annul these safeguards or reservations. Our Central Legislature, which includes 125 nominees of States who can

cover British officials in State service, would have virtually an official majority.

In the Provinces, the Governor has all the powers of the G. G. including Ordinances making power. He will have over and above the eight Secretaries, who can carry any matter to him over the head of the ministers, a Super Secretary who carries information from the Cabinet discussion to him. Law and order are apt to be taken back in times of emergency, of which the Governor is the sole judge. Thus our ministers cannot reduce taxes, much less find money for the nation-building activities. Their pay once fixed cannot be reduced during their term. All ministers—Central or Provincial—are to be appointed as far as possible from the various groups by the Governor or the G. G. in consultation with that person who, in his opinion, is most likely to command a stable majority from among those who, in his opinion, collectively command a majority. Thus the majority party will not be called upon to undertake ministry formation. There will be no chance of a vote of censure by token cuts or substantively, as groups will be played one against another. The country is divided territorially into States and Provinces, communally into Hindus, Moslems, Christians and Harijans, and professionally into labourers and peasants. The Reforms move the Provinces but keep the States paralysed. Even this paralysed body politic is a truncated being, the head being in London with a promise of restoration in the fulness of time. We consider that this is a corpse to be buried six fathoms deep, though others may hug it and search its pockets for any hidden favours to the country.

SHRI SRI PRAKASA

I take it that the editor simply asks me to say as to whether I would or not recommend Congressmen to accept ministerships in such Provincial Legislatures where they find themselves in a majority. My simple and categorical answer is 'No'. My reason is just this. We are out to win "Freedom". Nothing short than that can satisfy us, because nothing short of that can solve our problems which are getting more and more complicated as the days go by. The

odds are heavy against us. It will serve no useful purpose to enumerate them. We must not, therefore, lose any opportunity to get what we want; and that opportunity certainly presents itself in however meagre a manner by Congressmen having a majority in an Assembly. They can either accept ministerships and go the way ministers must go when they have to uphold a constitution and work on the principle that "the King's Government must be carried on"; or help to create a dead-lock by not accepting ministerships themselves and not allowing any one else to accept them either. That means that the constitution shall have to be suspended. Such suspension wrecks the constitution at once, and I believe that is what we want.

I am not going to be side-tracked by the plea—obvious as it is—that the constitution provides sufficient safeguard for self-preservation in the form of Governors' extraordinary and autocratic powers. I know all that; but if the framers of the constitution were serious on the subject, they would not have framed the constitution at all. They would have got on with the help of the inherent powers of all men in authority, who have no need to consult others. Why should Governors and the like deliberately cripple their own powers if they have, at the back of their minds, the idea of exercising them in case of need? Why should they give any occasion for the need to arise at all? Why should they not carry on without any pretension or hypocrisy? That is the question; and there is the rub. They do not want to carry on at all by themselves and they want the support of the people; and it is just this support that I do not want to be given to them when we are in a position to refuse it. That position arises when Congressmen are in a majority in an Assembly; and full advantage must be taken of it. If the constitution is wrecked, well, another must take its place. Nothing can function in a vacuum; and for a people to attempt to be without a State constitution is to attempt the impossible task of functioning in a vacuum. Thus the right atmosphere is created for an earnest and immediate attempt to find a proper constitution; and that constitution must mean Swaraj.

MR. C. R. REDDY

Office is not an end in itself but a means to an end. At any rate that is how it ought to be. Therefore the answer to the question depends on the objective of a political party.

It is worthy of note that the Congress which has adopted wrecking the Constitution as its immediate and insistent policy, has not yet decided on the subject of office acceptance, which is an admission that logically office acceptance is not a necessary contradiction of wrecking. For, were it a contradiction, the Congress would have tabooed office acceptance at the same time that it issued its mandate to wreck. Whether office acceptance will intensify the spirit of wrecking and prove to be fuel to the fire instead of cold water, is another question on which opinions differ.

If, however, wrecking through or by the Councils is an impossible proposition, then it comes to this that the wrecker should either give up Council entry as useless for his purpose, or if he enters the Councils, he must give up wrecking as an incompatible idea and use the Councils for promoting reformist measures by which the people could be strengthened and consolidated so as to be able to resume later on, if need be, the fight for Swaraj on a larger scale and with greater vigour. It may be that the Governor will veto even these measures and otherwise bar the road. For the Reformatory potentialities of the new constitution do not appear to be large. And so long as there are other organised parties clamouring for office, he will find it easy to divide and rule and get sufficient support for the powers he may deem necessary to bring into operation as his last constitutional resource. It is here that the value of a coalition in the absence of an absolute or overwhelming unity becomes evident. It deprives him of the hope of an alternative ministry and of moral support for governing under his residuary autocracy. It will impress him more than the strength for the time being of any single party which could be worn down by repeated dissolutions, and confronted with the organised opposition of its own compatriots. Even a majority party, if it takes a long view of the prospective problems, will not

disdain alliances and coalitions. In view of what has happened in our district boards, a coalition is perhaps the only way of securing a strong and straight administration free from corruption and all the loathsome incidents of an unscrupulous competition for numbers and converts and places and positions.

Some people desire office acceptance chiefly for the purpose of ousting the other parties from office on the ground that they are reactionaries or revolutionaries or socialists or communists, as the case or excuse may be. This is quite an intelligible and legitimate policy, but it is not wrecking the constitution. And there is this further danger: if a Party acts on such a motive, it will be reluctant to resign office even when thwarted by the Governor for fear that the other fellows would get in if they vacated. And if one's object is not to assert oneself but to keep the other out, the door is open for competitive begging at the Government House and the rush to be first and cling longest. A Party should go into the Councils with positive policies and schemes of reform, to be persevered in at the cost of dismissal and dissolution, and never with the sole or chief motive of merely keeping some other parties out.

My conclusion is that revolutions cannot be effected by means of Councils, whether with or without office acceptance, and that evolutions of a nation-strengthening character may be effected to a certain limited extent, and that this involves office acceptance and even coalitions, honest and reliable if they could be arranged on a nationalistic basis. Coalitions are one of the introductory means for making the future straight, strong and united; and in the conditions in which the country finds itself to-day, not an altogether negligible means. In the way of Reformist measures, much more can be achieved by a coalition of Leading Parties than by the strength of a single party, however big, unless it is able to eliminate the opponent altogether both from Council and from country—not a likely feat on account of the representation provided for so many special and communal interests.

SWAMI GOVINDANAND

It is admitted by all forward politicians that the New Constitution has not conferred any real political power on the people. In some respects it is even retrograde. Protection is guaranteed to all vested and aristocratic interests. It has aimed at realising the hegemony of vested interests with the sole object of perpetuating India's thralldom.

Nay more. It does not contain in it any germs by which the Nation's representatives, however selflessly patriotic and ingenious, may be able to seize through it real power for working the Commonwealth and attaining a new social order in which poverty and unemployment shall be dreams of the past, and every Indian, high and low, urban and rural, shall have full opportunities and facilities to enjoy the real bliss of life, which to-day is denied to him; for ours is a life of one continuous misery.

Such being the contents and aim of the new constitution, such being the whole Nation's verdict on it, the nation rightly resolved to reject it. For bringing about its real rejection, the Nation has determined to capture the reformed legislatures with a view to wreck the new constitution, the object being to use them as privileged platform for infusing fresh enthusiasm and vigour into our depressed and despondent army of liberation, to strengthen the outside agitation for *Poorna Swaraj* and to rouse up the forces of fight for freedom to make a supreme effort and sacrifice to win Swaraj and, lastly, to enforce the Nation's will of summoning the Constituent Assembly to draw up a Socialist Swaraj Constitution in place of the Fascist slavery making one foisted on us by the British Bureaucracy under the India Act.

Wrecking is wrecking. By no stretch of imagination can wrecking be accompanied by working. We are going to the Legislatures to wreck the New Constitution. Can this objective be accomplished by acceptance of office? No, never, emphatically no.

We accept office to work the Constitution under its limitations and with all its

implications. It is a vain chimera to believe that we want to carry the spirit of non-co-operation inside the citadel of administration and create dead-locks within the Cabinet. They that want to enter the spider's net to tear it to pieces from within, will find themselves securely and safely caught in its meshes only to serve as delicious dish to the spider.

Some small boons like the making of Khadi Government servants' uniform, the hoisting of national flags on Government offices, the opening of a few more schools or dispensaries, may be obtained from acceptance of office. But at what cost and sacrifice! And will this lead us to the haven of Swaraj? Will it alleviate the misery of the semi-starving, ill-clad millions of this unhappy land? Will the forcing out of such small boons abolish poverty and unemployment—the two great woes in which our masses and classes are groaning. Will it bring the joy of life within the reach of our sorrowing and suffering people? If not, the game is not worth the chase. And cannot some of these very boons—tempting and fascinating—be attained by Congress majorities without entering the Eden's Garden, to taste the forbidden fruit of offices?

Once we resolve to form ministries, we are sure to be tempted to give a trial to the new constitution, to work it, may be, to deceive ourselves to carry out the Constructive Programme. This self-deception to enforce our Constructive Programme through the Government machinery is hard to resist, once we enter the sanctuary of offices. And lo! and behold! we shall wake one fine morning to find that they who had gone to wreck sat down to work and become limbs of the very Government they had given the electorate solemn pledges to destroy. In the pursuit of a Constructive Programme, we shall forget and forsake our sacred mission of working and suffering to win *Poorna Swaraj*, where poverty and unemployment and social, political and economic inequalities shall cease. The passionate patriots shall find themselves reborn as practical statesmen. Congressmen shall become the replicas of Liberals.

Acceptance of office will convert us into practical politicians. India's need today is not the practical politician. Her urgent need is the passionate and audacious patriot.

No enslaved nation ever attained Swaraj by drudging at the wheel of ministerial offices. Swaraj is to be attained by Service, Suffering, and Sacrifice. It is to be attained by creating a revolutionary spirit among the people, and organising the masses. The will to enforce the demand for a Constituent Assembly cannot be evolved and developed in the Nation by a Satyamurti or Govind Vallabh Pant, persuading the Governors to concede them the great boons of Khadi uniforms for Government servants and National flags on Government offices. It is all a vain dream. Let us content ourselves with using the Legislatures as privileged platforms to enthuse the people to make a bold bid for *Poorna Swaraj* and enforce our demand for Constituent Assembly. The task of acceptance of office for wrecking the Constitution and enforcing the National Demand is pure bunkum and wilful self-deception.

MR. S. SATYAMURTI, M.L.A.

The new constitution consists of two parts: Federal and Provincial. So far as the Federal part is concerned, it is Diarchy of the Montagu-Chelmsford type, in a much worse form. So far as the Provinces are concerned, there is an attempt to create what is called full Responsible Government, hedged in, however, by safeguards, the wording of which is so vague and ambiguous, that in the hands of unscrupulous Governors, these safeguards may become engines of obstruction against popular ministers, anxious to enforce their programme. I quite concede, however, that the initiative must and will rest with the ministers. I also concede that with sensible Governors, it is possible that points of conflict may be postponed. Ultimately, there will be a conflict, because, on the bed-rock of finance, any popular ministry is bound to come into conflict, not only with the Governors, but with the entire structure of the Government of India Act.

After a careful study of the Act, I am convinced that we cannot introduce in the Provinces the just and equitable system of taxation which we must have, and at

the same time the minimum expenditure for having an efficient service in all nation-building departments, unless the Government of India Act is replaced by a constitution, which, apart from all other political catch-phrases, vests the real power of the purse in the elected representatives of the people, elected more or less on adult suffrage, on a non-communal territorial basis. To that end, we must use every weapon. I believe in Congressmen, wherever they get disciplined majorities, accepting office, as it is called, in order that we may achieve the following three purposes:

(1) to keep the communal and reactionary elements, who have misgoverned this Province for the last 15 years, and are certain to do so again, if, unfortunately, they get a chance;

(2) to initiate administrative, legislative and financial measures within the four corners of the Act, ignoring, however, the safeguards, and to try to do the maximum good to the people in all these spheres; and

(3) to carry on agitation, both inside and outside the Legislature, to prepare the nation to develop the requisite strength for compelling a revision of this constitution at the earliest possible moment, and its replacement by a constitution, based on the free will of the people of this country.

I believe that, to achieve all these ends, Congressmen must accept office. I have not heard any argument against it, except those based on a new creed of political untouchability, or on an absence of faith in ourselves, or from people, who are so academic in their own Provinces, that they have no chance of getting any majorities, and, therefore, any office. I have answered the arguments again and again.

In this short statement, I propose to conclude my views in this form: This constitution must go. It contains seeds of mischief. Unless Congressmen accept ministries, reactionaries and communalists will abuse this constitution against the highest interests of the people. We must capture office for the purposes mentioned above. I trust the voters will give a mandate to us to do so. When we do so, we shall prove ourselves as good as our word.

Philosophy of Life in Islam

BY DR. S. N. A. JAFRI, BAR-AT-LAW

—:O:—

PHILOSOPHY is the intellectual view of things. Any attempt to rationalise life is conclusive to that end. Conscience is a great guide; and Islam exhorts its followers to respond to its call; the Quran repeatedly says: "Why do you not think? Why do you not use your brains and why do you not respond to the call of conscience?"

When we talk of the philosophy of life in Islam, we mean that we are to put in high relief those points in Muslim religion which will appeal to our intellect and at the same time help us in every walk of life. For instance, what are the dictates of Islam about our relation with God and the material world; about the freedom of conscience; about faith and practice; about Nature and God; about the Ego and the absolute Ego? These are the problems which have vexed the philosophers and scientists of all ages and even the science of physics which was expected to lay bare all the hidden secrets of this physical world, still seems to be far away from its objective. The best solution of all these problems was given by the Prophet of Arabia who decreed that the exploration of the material world was inevitable to understand the All-pervading God. It is for this reason that the Quran repeatedly asserts that Nature is God's behaviour. The distinctive feature of Islam is that it takes the empirical view of life and its problems. Its commands and tenets help in keeping an equilibrium between the body and the soul. It teaches us to face facts, and not to shrink before adverse currents. This survey of the universe and the analysis of the problem made in the Quran creates in us a feeling of intellectual pleasure, such as a scientist enjoys in his laboratory by solving the problems of physics and chemistry in the scientific crucible. The Prophet of Arabia was helped in his mission of creating this empirical attitude by the fact that it is the characteristic of the people of Arabia to hold to the positive, so much so that even in poetry, which is an inspired art, they care more for the concrete than the abstract.

The physical, political and social factors have moulded the spirit of Islam, as they have done in the case of almost all other religions.

The Quran which is the fountain-head of Islam and Muslim culture, emphasises more upon deed than idea; and thus inculcates the habit of concrete thought. In that age, which cared more for the invisible than for the visible, Mohammed caused an intellectual revolution by stressing more on the visible than the invisible. It will not be an exaggeration if I claim to say that by bringing this tendency into prominence in the development of thought, Islam laid the foundations of scientific thinking and rationalism, which ushered in the modern age. By teaching the people that Nature is God's behaviour, it brought their Self in union with the ultimate reality. It was this faith or "Iman" which enriched mankind with enthusiasm to explore the concrete facts of the Universe.

This spirit of understanding the character of Nature, and acquiring knowledge, became instrumental in indirectly bringing us closer to Him. Seeing this intellectual change in the people of that time, the great German savant, Goethe, said: "You see this teaching never fails; with all our systems, we cannot go, and generally speaking, no man can go further than that."

Before the advent of Islam, it was the basic foundation of many religions that this material world was a myth; a place to be renounced. But it was Islam which wiped off this dualism and established the idea of the Unity or Oneness of God. It showed that both the Ideal and the Real were two co-ordinating factors and not opposing ones. It brought home to the people that the Ideal and the Real are the two sides of the same shield; and that the Real is there to appreciate the Ideal. The Quran clearly says: "We have not created the Heaven and the Earth and whatever is between them in sport, we have not created them but for a serious end."

Mohammed pointed out to the element of change, order of day and night, stars, humming bees, etc., as the visible signs of

that Invisible Power. People were convinced that these ideas of Maya and Illusion were not conducive to the intellectual development of society, for it would deter them from exploring the hidden treasure of Nature and harnessing them in the service of mankind. This psychological change led them to have a new sense of appreciation and evaluation; they began to love deeds more than ideas; and gave up the idea that ethics was making them invertebrates who were turning big castles into monasteries. The theory of "resist not evil" was changed by the orientation of another theory: "Undo evil by action, if necessary," as the Quran says.

The ancient religions and cultures failed to bring happiness to the world; for they kept their followers always closed in the vacuum of metaphysics and never allowed them to come out and feel the solidity of the earth, with the result that they were neither certain of Nirvana nor had the pleasures of Jiwan-Mukti. Mohammed saw the harm which this type of philosophy was inflicting upon mankind; and therefore he advised his followers that this active temporal world is nothing but the manifestation of the Ultimate Reality; or in the language of another great philosopher, it is our reflective contact with the temporal flux of things which prepares us for an intellectual vision of the non-temporal. This attitude allowed us to have sense-perception which in turn was supplemented by the perception of Fuad (heart).

When the Quran says that Nature is the habit of Allah, it commands us that by studying Nature, our Self will be establishing relation with the Ultimate Self. It will be a kind of adjustment between the Self and the Non-Self. To help us in understanding the Ultimate Reality, the Prophet advises us to develop the empirical attitude towards this material world; and designed the timing and methods of prayer to be in touch with the spiritual Being.

From the Quranic view of the Universe and its purpose, when we come to the individual, we find that the Quran lays down three things: (a) that man is the chosen of God; (b) that man with all his faults is meant to be the representative of God on earth; and (c) that man is a free personality. In the light

of these three factors, no one can blame Islam for inoculating fatalist tendencies among its followers. It rather gives them that moral courage of freedom which is necessary to fight the struggle of life; and ensures success to those who take life seriously and believe in personal efforts. Fate in Islam is a combination of effort and faith (Tadbir and Taqdir). The Prophet's clear saying is: "Ours is to try, and God's to accomplish."

Islam entrusts to the Ego a directive function. It has been empowered to be refined and enlightened as the result of experience. The timing of the prayers has been so arranged in Islam as to allow the Ego to escape from the mechanism of daily worldly routines to spiritual freedom. The words 'Amr' and 'Khalq', which occur in the Quran, indicate how the creative activity of God reveals itself and observes the rule or inter-action. Those of us who have observed the role of the big personalities in the directions of dynamic movements, and of the historic events in affecting the character of these people, will see how the rule of inter-action is prominent both in the spiritual as well as the temporal world. It proves that the streams of causality flow into the Ego from outside; and from the Ego to Ultimate Ego. Thus we can say that both soul and body act and react on each other. The element of Destiny and Taqdir in Islam is also a partial manifestation of the principle of Amr. This has been defined by the eminent philosophers of Islam, partly of ethical and partly of biological origin. It shows to the Ego the glimpses of Reality, keeps up the courage to fight against all odds.

Then there is the crowning principle of Tauhid in Islam which demands all loyalty to God; and thus ensures the unity of mankind under one banner. This can serve as the foundation of world-unity; for it alone can help in bringing down the artificial barriers which are an impediment in developing the sense of Human Brotherhood. Since God is the real fountain-head of all knowledge and the spiritual basis of life, faith in him means the faith in Humanity. The idea of the Universe and Humanity is linked with the idea of the unity of the

Godhead; and thus the purpose of Life in Islam has been regarded only to serve Humanity. It is for this service that the exploration and the conquest of the material world has been advised. Islam in its attitude towards Humanity has even gone so far as to prefer the duty of man towards man to that of his duty towards God. Any narrowing down of this circle of humanity is foreign to the true spirit of Islam. Those who indulge in such things, should remember the following saying of the Prophet: "All mankind are children of God. The best-liked of them in the eyes of God is one who does service to his children. Your service for even one minute to your brother in Humanity is better than remaining in prayer for even one year."

He always deprecated the idea of dividing humanity in watertight compartments

based on colour, blood or race. One piece of advice to his followers, even to troops, was that they should not belittle the religion of any one, or molest any non-believer. To him the whole universe was a mosque. Indeed, the whole philosophy of Islam is put in a nutshell in the following words of the Prophet. It is this that God will say on the Day of Judgment: "Man, I was poor, but you did not help me. I was weak, but you did not defend me. I was sick, but you did not nurse me." Man will say: "How could thou be poor, weak or sick, and how could I help Thee?" Then God will say: "Was not so and so, your kith and kin, an embodiment of my creation in need of such help, which you refused him. If you had only helped him, you would have found Me in him." The words "Found Me in him" shows the sublimity of life in Islam.

Devaluation of the Rupee

[This is the second instalment of views in the Symposium on the question of the Devaluation of the Rupee. The first instalment appeared in the January Number.—EDITOR, *Indian Review*.]

MR. M. P. GANDHI

SINCE the devaluation of the Currencies by France, Holland, Switzerland and Italy recently, the question of the devaluation of Indian currency, which is at present appreciated, has been engaging the serious attention of the commercial community and the public all over the country. The various commercial bodies have been insistently demanding that India should now take the opportunity of devaluating her currency with a view, mainly, to improve the purchasing power of the Indian Agriculturists. The devaluation of the Indian Rupee in September 1981 when Great Britain went off the Gold Standard to the extent of about 40 per cent. was by no means adequate; neither did it meet with the needs of the situation inasmuch as the over-valuation of the rupee in relation to the Sterling before 21st September 1981 has been continued uncorrected. There is hardly any doubt in the minds of any unbiassed student of Indian Currency and Exchange that the maintenance of the rupee exchange at 18d. since September 1981 has been made possible only by the free

exports of gold which have mounted up to nearly Rs. 800 crores during this period of five years. There is no doubt also that the devaluation of the rupee would have become inevitable owing to the depleted export activity and the low level of prices, had it not been for the gold exports. It appears to be sheer cussedness on the part of the Government of India to refuse to examine the persistent demand for devaluation, and it appears that they have made the question of the ratio a question of their prestige. Were it not for this, it is difficult to understand the refusal of His Excellency the Viceroy to receive a Deputation of the Madras Currency League and his statement to the Indian Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta that "there is no cause for re-opening the question of the rupee ratio and furthermore it is my duty to tell you with the utmost plainness that there is not the least likelihood of that view being modified". Various countries of the world are resorting to currency depreciation as a means of restoring their international trading position, but the action or inaction of the Government of India stand out in bold contrast to the action of the

various countries of the world in not considering the question of any devaluation at this stage.

At the time of the discussion on the Reserve Bank Bill in the Assembly, there was a very strong opposition to the clause which prescribed the value of the rupee in terms of sterling, and it was only as a matter of compromise that the Assembly agreed to allow the valuation of the rupee at 18d. sterling to be embodied in these clauses. The preamble of the Reserve Bank Act, in which such a compromise is reflected, is as follows:

And whereas in the present disorganisation of the monetary systems of the world, it is not possible to determine what will be suitable as a permanent basis for the Indian monetary system; but whereas it is expedient to make temporary provision on the basis of the existing monetary system, and to leave the question of the monetary standard best suited to India to be considered when the international monetary position has become sufficiently clear and stable to make it possible to frame permanent measures. . . .

It is also well known that this compromise was expressly agreed to in view of the then disorganised state of the monetary system of the world, and it was hoped that when the international monetary position had become sufficiently clear and stable, the question of monetary standards suited to India's requirements would be considered afresh. The time has now come when the Government should implement the assurance given at the time of the enactment of the Reserve Bank Act.

One effect of the devaluation of our currency would be to raise the rupee prices of agricultural commodities and thus to bring relief to the agricultural classes. An improvement in the economic condition of the people would render unnecessary in a large measure the export of gold, which is necessitated at present due to economic pressure, and what is more the stimulus to the export trade of India would place the balance of trade on a more stable basis than has been found in recent years. Let us yet hope that the Government of India would take a reasonable view of the matter and out of regard for the volume of public opinion in favour of devaluation of currency, they would make an impartial scrutiny of the present position and take such action as is calculated to be of

economic benefit to a large number of poor agriculturists of this country. There is no doubt whatsoever that an impartial and unprejudiced study of the position would lead one to the conclusion that the value of the rupee should be lowered for effecting an improvement in the economic conditions of the people of the country. The question, however, is, with the known views of the present Finance Member about maintaining the value of the rupee at its present level, will the Government of India ever muster courage to make an impartial survey of the situation and take suitable action, bearing in mind the interests of the millions of this country?

SIR EDWARD BENTHALL

I am really at a loss to understand what useful purpose can possibly be served by opening at this time "the case for and against devaluation of the rupee". Devaluation, as I understand it, can only mean to "unpeg" the rupee which is now fixed by the Reserve Bank Act between the upper and lower limits of 1/6, 3/16 and 1/5, 49/64.

During the last 3 years exchange has been consistently strong at or over eighteen pence. The unpegging of the exchange during recent years would have had the effect, if anything, of pushing the rate of exchange higher than eighteen pence—in the opinion of expert judges it might easily have gone to twenty pence. Surely no sensible man can possibly want that result? It is, of course, argued that exchange has only remained strong on account of heavy gold exports. That is true; but had gold exports been forbidden, who would have bought the gold? and what would India have gained by the loss of the enormous profits her merchants made by selling to foreigners at a high price gold they had bought from these very foreigners at a much lower one?

The discussion of the case for and against the devaluation of the rupee seems to me in existing circumstances to be purely academic and of little practical interest except to students who naturally must debate and study both sides of so important a subject if they are to be able thoroughly to understand it.

MR. R. G. SARAIYA

The case for devaluation of the Rupee is quite clear. It does not rest upon any abstruse economic theories but upon plain practical considerations.

In the first place, it is necessary to clarify the issue. In supporting devaluation of the Rupee, one does not support unlimited or uncontrolled devaluation. One merely asks for devaluation by a certain fixed percentage. In fact, the Rupee is over-valued for international commerce, and all that is required is correction of this over-valuation. The case for *devaluation* of the Rupee, as I make it, is the case for *revaluation* of the Rupee. . . .

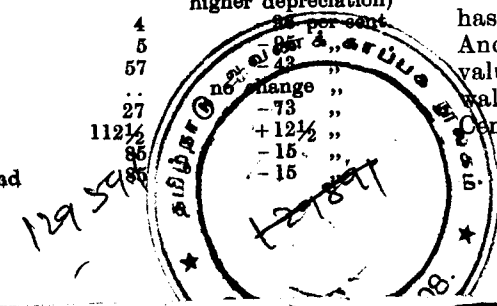
The Indian cultivator has to sell his produce in the international market, and Indian industries have to meet the competition of other countries, where the currency has depreciated to a greater extent than in India. The most important currency in both these aspects is sterling, and the Rupee has been actually appreciated in relation to Sterling. As Sterling happens to be the most important currency in international trade, the result is that the Rupee price of the growers' produce is reduced, and Indian industries have to face competition from countries where wages have been automatically reduced (in equivalent Rupees) by the decline in their currencies. Ignoring, therefore, the devaluation of the currencies in terms of gold, let us consider some of the world's currencies in terms of their pre-War parity with the Pound-Sterling.

Country.	Present value of currency as a percentage of its pre-war parity with the £-Sterling	Depreciation (-) or Appreciation (+)
Belgium	17	-83 per cent.
France	24	-76 "
Italy	27	-73 "
Spain	62	-38 "
		(nominal; actually higher depreciation)
Portugal	4	-96 per cent.
Greece	5	-95 "
Japan	57	-43 "
U. S. A.	112½	+12½ "
Brazil	27	-73 "
India	85	-15 "
Australia	85	-15 "
New Zealand	85	-15 "

Countries like Germany and Russia have created practically new currencies, after writing off all their old pre-War debts. Even these countries give special encouragement to exports of their manufactures by quoting specially low rates for their currencies. In fact, in both these countries, all exchange transactions are controlled by the State.

Why then should India alone—poor, backward India—be singled out for raising the value of her currency in terms of Sterling? The facts referred to above demand that the Rupee be at least brought back to its original parity with the £, if not devalued a further 15 to 25 per cent. on the same lines as the Australian £. Such a step will automatically raise the farmer's standard of living and foster Indian industries and help them to stand on their own feet, without the precarious support of discriminating protection.

It may finally be contended by supporters of the present value of the Rupee that Indian economy has adjusted itself to the 1 sh. 6d. ratio, so that the question need not be opened even if the appreciation of the Rupee was originally a mistake! One has only to look round to the state of things in India, to realise the fallacy of this contention. Does the farmer get an adequate return for his produce? If he does, how is it that he is unable even to pay the interest on his debts? Why do the arrears in recoveries of Co-operative Societies continue to pile up? Advances to farmers under the Co-operative Movement have been given under careful Government supervision; so they can hardly be said to have been given extravagantly or recklessly. But, with the best will in the world, the farmer can barely make two ends meet. Rarely is he in a position to pay interest on his debts, and far more rarely can he think of repaying the capital. Indian industries continue to clamour for protection, and still more protection. These two facts clearly prove that Indian economy has not adjusted itself to the new ratio. And it is better to correct the over-valuation of the Rupee than to erect tariff walls around India and grant subsidies from Central Revenues for rural uplift!



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MR. S. K. SARMA, B.A., B.L.

Every country has to maintain a certain level of internal prices having regard to its cost of production and the profits it seeks to maintain. It is open to the currency authority to increase the price level or decrease it by suitable operations. If after all the producing factors are fully employed, prices are sought to be increased, inflationary tendencies will be set on foot. On the other hand if prices are reduced, then there will be unemployment and poverty. A stable system means the maintenance of the price level in internal currency just a little above the cost of production.

India is now suffering from the malady of selling prices being below the cost of production of the commodities. Land, which is the chief source of income, is heavily mortgaged; and the few industries at work are struggling for existence. The selling prices of the commodities being below the cost of producing them, there is wide-spread unemployment and poverty among the people. Unless steps are taken to increase internal prices, the producing groups must suffer from inevitable collapse. The rupee prices must, therefore, be raised and that is the principal problem of the hour.

Some Indian economists fed on the half-baked knowledge of European theories declare that the rupee is not over-valued and rely for that upon the low bank rate and the easy money available for new joint-stock enterprises. The argument is fallacious in the extreme. There is no connection in India between the bank rate and the internal price for money. There is a certain amount of floating capital always available to finance trade, which has been found superfluous during the slack season and inadequate during the busy season. Money may be available at 2 per cent. at one time and may not be available at 8 per cent. at another. But the internal price has never been less than 12 per cent. evidencing the perennial scarcity of money. The machinery of credit and currency has to be attuned to the requirements of the people on the country-side.

The only method of increasing prices is to remove the starvation for money.

Our currency policy is on a Procrustean bed of a fixed ratio. The high ratio means a certain price level beyond which any rise will stimulate imports and reduce exports thereby bringing down the exchanges. Stability of exchanges and stability of prices are incompatible. If the objective should be to keep a stable exchange, our internal prices must ever remain low. Some thoughtless critics say that by means of public works and other enterprises prices can be raised. But they mean all the same additional money; you can not embark upon any scheme of public works without addition to the currency, and when the unemployed are absorbed in new works and undertakings and money begins to circulate among them, prices will naturally rise. But, as I said, there is always a limit to it. Once the prices rise high enough to stimulate imports and reduce exports, the exchanges will fall.

The path of wisdom, therefore, lies in adopting a policy which will ensure an adequate price level. We have not a currency authority capable of doing it; in fact the machinery for securing it is not fully worked out even in the West. The only solution is to have an automatic currency. By devaluing the rupee at its silver contents, we shall have not only supplied the country with adequate money by a self-adjusting system, but shall also have raised the capital value of our silver hoards. The exchanges may be affected; but there is more than compensating advantage in adequate internal prices, of comparative work and wages for all.

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The Problem of Marriage in Bengal

By MR. J. M. GANGULI, M.Sc., LL.B.

ANOTHER of those sad tragedies has recently taken place in a Bengali family in Calcutta. Four grown-up unmarried girls (they were all sisters) have committed suicide. The increasing frequency of such tragic occurrences in Bengal provokes thinking. What is wrong with the society that miseries and disappointments should increase, which lead to such tragedies? Why cannot grown-up girls get married? Had these girls been married and living a happy and contented life, surely they would not have thought of ending their existence.

There are several causes for which boys and girls cannot be easily married in Bengal now-a-days, particularly among the educated middle classes. So far as the boys are concerned, the reason is generally economic. Most of the educated young men of the middle class are unable to support themselves, not to say a family. In former days when the joint family system was in vogue, the ability or non-ability of a young man to support a wife hardly mattered; for the wife did not become a burden on the husband, but became merely another unit in the joint family, making little extra and perceptible difference in the family expenditure or in the family responsibility. But under the influence of the present-day individualistic ideas and due to the more and more adoption of urban life which is more expensive, though there is no joint income from family property but only individual earnings from service or profession, the joint family system is breaking up. Whether that be good or bad, there is no doubt that the disappearance of the joint family responsibility has a significant bearing on the present-day marriage problem in the province. The marriage responsibility having to be borne wholly by the husband alone, he has to think once, twice, and thrice before putting his shoulders under it.

It is not merely the financial aspect of the responsibility which scares a young man from marriage, though not many of them are able to face it. He thinks also of the entire household problem, which includes sickness, the bringing-up of children, the

running of the establishment and the like. Having been brought up under the care of his parents, when he had little opportunity of doing things by himself and on his own initiative, he naturally feels nervous to meet the entire domestic problem single-handed. In Western countries, boys grow up outside the direct care of their parents and so they acquire more self-confidence. But though matters are, as stated above, in this country to-day, the boys being brought up under the roof and under the close guardianship of their elders, it is a pity that the goodwill and harmony with which people lived together formerly in a joint family are disappearing under the influence of modern tendencies. Not many years ago, a man did not mind in the least if his brother was not earning as much as himself, or even anything at all, and if for that reason he had to support his brother's family with his own. He even took care to see that his wife or anybody else made no discrimination between his children and his brother's children in the matter of meals or anything else. Unfortunately that spirit is going, and now if his brother earns less than himself, he readily listens to his wife's murmur, who considers money spent on nephews as waste and wants to stop that waste by either separating from the family or by introducing unpleasant discriminations in it according to one's income. With the progress of civilisation, man is tending more and more towards effeminacy and the increasing hen-peckedness of husbands in India is apparently an evidence of that truth.

A young man, therefore, now knows that as soon as he marries, he will have to arrange for and run a separate establishment; for his wife will not be able to get on with his family members. If he has not to separate from his family immediately on marriage, he will no doubt have to do so not long after the marriage. That is becoming the usual thing in the case of an educated man of the town with an independent income and having a literate and a modern wife. So the poor fellow has to bring into his calculations before the marriage the expenses of a separate establishment and not merely of some

contribution to the family funds as formerly. But how many middle class young men can hope to be able to run a separate establishment till after several years of start in life, particularly when that establishment was to be such as to provide all comforts to a modern wife, who would not like to do the domestic works herself as wives did with pleasure in the Bengali family not very long ago?

While such considerations deter many a young man from thinking of marriage, there are more reasons which are making the question of girl's marriage a serious problem to-day. Many who do not go deep into the matter, would say that it is the dowry system which is the cause of the trouble. But that is not so. It is, on the other hand, the training and education which the girls are getting now in the schools as well as in their own family, which give rise to ideas that come in the way of their marriage. Their education does not teach them practical domestic economy, and their family training does not encourage them to do household work themselves. Very few school-going girls can be found now to do any household work. They can't even light up an oven, much less do any cooking. They do not even serve food to their brothers and sisters. If, under the force of circumstance, they have to do such things, not only they themselves but their parents also consider themselves unfortunate. The dignity of labour, the virtue of self-help, the duty of doing at least one's own things oneself—such things are, now-a-days, not taught them by precept or by example. On the contrary, the craze for luxury and fashion they are directly or indirectly encouraged to indulge in. Naturally, their ideas regarding marriage get perverted. They can only think of a husband who must be beautiful in appearance, one possessing some degrees and having a good income, which will make a decent establishment with servants and maid-servants, and of course, an *Oriya* cook if possible. The owning of a motor-car will be an additional and a very desirable qualification of the husband. Another thing of importance is that he should have no relatives living with or depending on him, so that the wife's free will may not in any way be resisted.

A combination of so many qualifications is difficult to find. And yet, it is a fact that almost every father of a girl looks for such a bridegroom. When he complains that the boy's father is very exacting, he does not state the fact, or does not appreciate the real position. The prospective husband or his father wants either physical beauty in the girl, or education and accomplishments. Some would care for good and old family connections. Otherwise he will want a dowry, the proposal for which is generally made by the girl's father, who wants to purchase with his money a higher and a better connection for his daughter than she probably deserves. Thus, while the husband's party is generally content to have beauty or accomplishments or good family connections, or failing them all, a dowry to console with, the bride's side would seek good appearance, good education, independent and sufficient means and the like from the other side, not pausing to think what the commodity it may have to offer in return may be like. What the girl looks like, what her education and accomplishments are, what her family's social status or financial means are, her father would not like to take into account. And if he is disappointed, he would blame the other party for being too exacting. If he were to be more considerate in seeking a marriage connection for his daughter, for which she is really worth, the difficulties would go, and happiness and contentment would return to society. The dowry question would also not arise, at least in its present form. The position to-day is that every girl's father aims at a very high spot, but finds himself generally unable to pay for success. The boy's father receives so many proposals, few of which he finds to his purpose, and gets so many tempting offers thrust on him by parties below his standard that he tends to yield to the best offer.

The girl's father continues his search for the ideal boy, waiting for a lucky bargain and keeping his daughter unmarried till then. But he would hardly take care to keep his grown-up unmarried daughters well and pleasantly engaged. The evil influences of town life work more on the girls in their idleness. Their father will

not even mind taking them to cinemas, where most of the scenes are such as to make one turn the eyes away from the screen. One need not wonder that under such circumstances their lives become bored and miserable. The idea of ending their uninspiring, fruitless and miserable existence by suicide cannot, thus, be unnatural to them. According to the Hindu Shastras, suicide is a great sin, and instead of terminating miseries it all the more increases them. But under the influence of the present-day irreligious education, faith in those great teachings has generally gone. Even a very moderately educated man considers himself superior in knowledge to the great sages, who have left those teachings, and in his ignorance condemns them as mere superstitions. Brought up under the guardianship and in association with such a man, a girl can only develop irreverence for her own ancient religious teachings and traditions. She is not taught to think deeply on the problems of life here and hereafter, or to look beyond the mere present. When the present conditions become unhappy to her, why should she not, therefore, think of extricating herself therefrom by suicide in the vain hope for the better through death?

If such be the condition of grown-up unmarried girls, the position of the married girl is also becoming bad. For, if the father of a girl failed to get a combination of all the desired qualifications in the boy, to whom he has ultimately to get the girl married, he not only feels miserable himself, but propagates his sense of unhappiness to his daughter also. He won't say anything good to her about her husband or her husband's family, though that would very much help the girl to be attracted to her husband's family, which would mean happiness to all. But he would find fault with the husband and his relatives, even pointing out to his daughter how those relatives were cruel and unjust to her. No wonder that the girls feel unhappy after marriage, and some of them feel impelled to go to the length of taking their own lives.

All these things have to be remembered when we think of the causes of the tragedies like the one that has recently

occurred in Calcutta. If matters are to be improved, it is for the guardians of the girls to think seriously of the kind of education and family training which they are giving them. They should remember that what may be good in other countries and in other societies may not be suitable or even possible in their own society. They should also bear in mind that mere aspiring for the Moon does not lead to happiness, and that developing irreverence for whatever is ancient and has a religious aspect is not necessarily symbolical with high culture. Let them rather teach their daughters to develop their own all-round merit and qualifications in order that they may be in every way useful, not only to their husband's family and to their own children, but to the human society in general. For, therein lies true happiness and therein also lies a solution to the knotty problem of marriage of to-day.

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Dust of his Desire: A Play in one Act

BY MR. ADI K. SETT

Characters: Ramah, a young Social Reformer.
Tara, a devadassi.

Time: The Present.

(SCENE: The outskirts of a village in South India, bordering a jungle. It is night. An atmosphere of peace and quiet, except for the howling of the dogs in the distance. The music and song of a bhajana floats faintly in the air. Far away from the heart of the village rises the silhouette of a magnificent gopuram of a temple, flooded in the light of rain-washed moon enhancing its grandeur.)

A young man, dressed in a simple white robe, is sitting in the shadows of the jungle. His fair and intellectual face is delicately formed, adorned by long black hair, well groomed and reaching down to his neck, covering both his ears. Footsteps are heard. The young man rises and comes forward from the shadows expectantly. A small figure approaches him, swathed in shawls. A pale and beautiful face of a woman is visible.)

Tara: I begged you not to see me any more.

Ramah: Can a man live without sunshine? Can he live without love and beauty?

Tara: Ah! Speak not so! With difficulty and stealth have I come here to see you. Suspicion stirs in the heart of the Archuk. Jealous and greedy glances does he cast on me. Silently he follows me. My lord, I am afraid of him and of the fiery talk which might fall from the lips of men.

(The young couple move away to the shadows of the thick trees and sit down side by side.)

Ramah: Calm your fears, little one. No one will harm you (*taking Tara's hands in his*). Listen. As a child I often used to play with the champak blooms and with showers of jasmines. When I hold your hands in mine, I think of the little white blossoms. Shall I tell you once more of my love for you, Tara? Shall I tell you again of my desire to take you away from here? Weary of men and sickened by the evil which hangs on life,

*Poojari or priest.

I left my home and wealth, wandering through the land, helping the sick and the needy. I thought the heart within me was dead to the longing of love. When I saw you dance before the idol in the temple, when I heard you sing there, I knew I loved you. From the moment I saw you in the village temple, I am a new man. You have stirred a new life within me—fused it with colour. Your songs are an echo of my past. Secretly have I watched you dance before the god. Tara, you are then like a dream come to life, a poem in plastic poses, a flower swaying in the winds. Little spirit of delight, tell me will you marry me?

Tara (agitated): That cannot be. I am married to the sword of the temple. To me he is my lord and master. And my world is the temple. Dear lord and friend, the chains which bind me cannot be broken and such laws cannot be violated. Your life is not mine. I am not for such as you. I am a child of shame. Let your remembrance of me wane, let it wither like a rose, dropping all its perfumed petals.

Ramah: How can one forget the image which is always in front of one?—shedding a scintillating halo. Can beauty be so easily forgotten? Oh, dream of my desire, must ancient laws be ever respected? Cannot your temple be left for me? I offer you a new life. Why cannot you live in the present for me?

Tara: Do you know that I am the delight of the Archuk? I am the dust of your desire, the mark you tread on. I was born in the temple, of sin and shame. My mother, a devadassi, too, taught me the songs and dances which have touched your heart and as a child I became the bride of the temple god. Can life, such as mine, be changed now, even with the fire of your imagination and the poetry of your dreams? Can the reforms of philosophers change a fate that was sealed and doomed back through the shadowless space of time (*with agitation*)? I will bare my heart before you. I love only you. Only you do I look upon as my lord. Like the Lord Surya, you have brought warmth into my awful life. Will this make you happy?

FEBRUARY 1937] DUST OF HIS DESIRE: A PLAY IN ONE ACT

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Ramah: Are you making a fool of me? You say you love me; yet you will not come away with me. Yet will you not change your life for me, bound as you are with old superstitions and existing customs.

Tara: Do you not see that I am a woman of shame? Cannot you realise that you are not for me? I am unholy and branded; married to an image of brass and tinsel and the plaything of his servant. Oh, I long to go away from the village and the temple, the priest and the daily rituals with songs and dances! Oh, to be with you! to see the world with you, the life that throbs outside the little domain which holds me tight in its grip! But it cannot be. These are wishes which will turn to ashes. I cannot change my present life. I am afraid; fear grips my heart. I am afraid of what people will say and think of me—the glances which will be cast on me, wherever I may go, the jokes that will be cracked at my expense, the bawdy stories that will be told of me. I love you, my lord, I love you, but still I would not change my life.

Ramah: O, that your beauty should perish thus! that your sweet life should know naught of happiness. I entreat you, Tara, come away with me. Let a new morning dawn over us together. To me you will come purged of your awful past. Your birth gave you a life you did not need; I will give you a new one. You are a slave to customs and old laws. Nothing moves in this land. There is no animation. We are still living centuries behind the present. Time goes on in her invisible, mad flight, but we, the soul of Hindustan, remain the same—dead to progress, deaf to reforms, blind to new customs and modes of life, slaves of our own selves. Tara, why do you care so much for what the world will think of you? Is it not enough that to me you will come away washed of all your sins?—sins with which you have been fed and taught for years! Why must you insist upon gripping to the evil present?

Tara: Alas! it cannot be! The past to me must always be the present. A future does not exist for me.

Ramah (with anger): Wilful woman What madness seizes you? What demon

sways you from your loved one? You are selfish. You cannot shake off this evil which surrounds you. Though loving me, you cannot give me your love.

Tara: How does one feel in renouncing a pure and true love? In casting away a supreme joy? And yet I do it. Dear lord, would that you could gauge my sorrow!—my thoughts of you! Is it easy for a devadassi to throw away the love of a noble? Go forth into the world, my friend, once more take the high road, with your dreams and your poetry. Leave me to see visions through the clouds and to muse on things that will not be!

Ramah: I will stay here. From afar will I guard you and watch Age trace her fingers over your flower-like face. You have but to look for me and I will be by your side. Still ponder and change your mind.

Tara: You will journey forth from here. I say farewell to you. Look upon me as this moon in the sky or a rolling cloud or a bird in flight—unapproachable, unattainable. No remembrance. No memory. You have a whole lifetime before you. Many things to attract your attention. Does one poor devadassi matter so much? You must not stay here. Evil tongues will wag. I entreat you, my friend, leave the village and forget the dream which has been ours.

(The young man draws the girl towards him. She resists him and tries to draw back from his embrace. He kisses her on the forehead.)

Ramah: The kiss of a brother. The kiss of a friend.

(Tara bows before the youth and with a lingering look at him, she runs towards the village, towards the temple. She does not turn back. Soon she is lost in the night.)

Ramah (with anguish): Tara! . . . Tara! . . .

An echo (from the jungle): Tara! . . . Tara! . . .

Hobbies for Girls

By KAMALA SATTHIANADHAN

THERE is an important portion of a girl's time, which requires to be most carefully disposed of. This is her leisure period, of which she may often have a good deal hanging on her hands. This may occur, while she is a student, or after she has finished her academical studies. In the latter case, of course, she can be her own guide; in the former case, she may require direction, especially if she has been taught to concentrate on her studies and finish them quickly. Thus while her study hours are usually carefully supervised, her leisure hours are left to her own good sense, and it needs a steady temperament, indeed, as well as a useful hobby, to fill up that time profitably.

My dictionary defines a hobby as "any favourite object, plan, or pursuit". Among the many stereotyped occupations scheduled for leisure hours, physical exercise, chiefly games and sports, make a good part. The other activities to be considered are more mental and intellectual. In an article I read some time ago, hobbies are divided into four heads: devotional, cultural, social and physical, which seems a good division. An important point, however, has to be kept in mind. Since leisure time means an interval for relaxation and recreation, it must allow for a certain amount of "lazing", which yet prepares brains and energies for the next period of work. Is there much use, then, of undertaking difficult labours during leisure time, which make their doers more weary than ever? In the case of students, the hobby then will be worse than unemployed leisure. Of course, if such activities are of so much interest to the individual that they mean absolute bliss for her, and provide a different sort of work for her than that of office hours, the situation changes. Yet, I would bar, during leisure hours, these hobbies, "which are meant for thinking and making lives useful and serviceable, such as "the study of antiquities, prehistoric and mediæval remains and later architecture, customs and folklore, etc." The very nomenclature of such hobbies may well appal some homely natures!

Hobbies then should mean recreation and relaxation, giving rest to mind, body and soul. They should mean "lazing" but not "laziness", between the two of which there is a world of difference. They should really be undertaken, not merely as a means of earning a livelihood; not just with the desire for showing off a special talent; not merely for the fulfilment of a necessary duty; not only to obviate waste of time; but chiefly to give special personal happiness and pleasure, being, perhaps, the satisfaction of some hunger for achievement and the fulfilment of some great longing for a certain sort of action.

There are numbers of such hobbies, some of which cannot also be attempted, unless there is comfortable access to much money. Gardening is a good and fairly easy hobby. Weaving, pottery, painting and drawing, photography, fret-work, leather-work, needlework, etc., help "in the cultivation of a sense of beauty and design, and to display originality and individuality". Painting, drawing and photography bring in their train another hobby, viz., travelling. Journalism and authorship can be allied to the hobby of reading. Music can be another great hobby, though it entails arduous training in technique. Housekeeping and cooking can be called hobbies, quite apart from domestic routine, because they may be extended to the provision of extra dainties and extra luxury and delicacy, which may not ordinarily be taken up by a housewife. The keeping of pets, and chiefly dogs, those wonderful friends of men; the study of birds' life; philately, collections of coins and picture post-cards, etc., can be also hobbies. The fever of taking part in paper competitions can also be called a hobby, I suppose, though it entails a good deal of brain and nerve fag.

I think that each individual can be safely left to find a hobby, some special thing which appeals to him or her more than to others. Indeed, a hobby somehow seems a necessity, and even when not readily to hand some effort should be made for its acquirement.

Origin of the Names of Days

By Mr. I. V. L. NARASIMHACHARI, M.A., L.T.

OUR Hindu names for the days of the week are obviously derived from the names of the planets. Thus Sunday is adi or Aditya-Vara the day of the Sun. Monday is Soma-Vara or the day of the Moon. Tuesday is Mangala-Vara or Bhauma-Vara the day of Mars. Wednesday is Budha-Vara or the day of Mercury. Thursday is Guru-Vara or the day of Jupiter. Friday is Sukra-Vara or the day of Venus, and Saturday is Sani-Vara or the day of Saturn.

But the order of the planets as per the week days is not a natural order. Beginning with the planet furthest from the Earth, the natural order of the planets is—Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury and the Moon. The week day order of the planets is derived from the natural order as follows. Let us suppose that a day consists of 24 hours. The lord of the first hour of Saturday is Saturn, the lord of the second hour is Jupiter, of the third hour is Mars and so on. The lord of the 25th hour or the first hour of the second day is the (25=7×3+4) fourth planet from Saturn which is the Sun. The lord of the 25th hour of the second day or of the first hour of the third day is the fourth planet for the Sun which is the Moon. Proceeding this way, the week day order of the planets is accounted for.

Now, we have not got a 24 hour day but a sixty ghatika day. The previous explanation of the week day order of the planets is based on a 24 hour day. The Western scholars say, on this account, that we have borrowed the week day order from the West.

But a 24 hour day is not essential to account for the week day order. It can be as naturally accounted for from a sixty ghatika day.

The Western scholars take the planets in the order beginning from the planet farthest from the Sun. It is more natural to count the planets beginning with the one nearest to the Earth. The order then is—the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the

Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn. Taking the 60 ghatika day, if the lord of the first ghatika a Monday be the moon, the lord of the second ghatika is Mercury, of the third ghatika Venus and so on. The lord of the 61st ghatika or the 1st ghatika of the second day is the (61=7×8+5) fifth planet for the Moon which is Mars. The lord of the 61st ghatika of the second day on the 1st ghatika of the 3rd day is the fifth planet for Mars which is mercury. Proceeding this way, the lords of the several week days are obtained in the week day order of the planets.

This explanation is based on a 60 ghatika day and has the advantage of counting the planets in the order beginning with the one nearest the Earth. I believe this is the first time that this explanation of the week day order of the planets based on a 60 ghatika is offered to the Public.

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A SAVIOUR OF MEN

BY DEWAN BAHADUR K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI

THIS* is a new biographical and interpretative study of a great and heroic man. Biography has been lifted in the last century and in the present century into the position of a great and significant art. If we study the lives of great men aright we can make our lives also sublime. In India, the art of biography is still in its infancy. It had been so dominated by legendary lore that it had lost its value. It is only now that we are having the biographical sense quickened within us.

Marcus Aurelius was born at Rome on 26th April 121 A.D. When he was eleven years old, he became an assiduous student and donned the plain and coarse dress of the stoic philosophers. He then studied law and underwent also the discipline of arms. He was thus a stoic by faith and yet withal an active servant of the people though clad in Imperial purple. Plato's ideal of a philosopher-king was realised in him. No doubt Marcus Aurelius' reign was marked by the persecution of the Christians. But such persecution was due to the time-spirit and to the limitations of the age and to provocation. The genuine gold of the Emperor's nature was in no way tarnished by such persecution.

His "Meditations" is a really remarkable work. He noted down his thoughts from time to time. From the dawn of civilisation the leaders of mankind have given moral guidance to humanity. Matthew Arnold says well in his essay on Marcus Aurelius: "The object of systems of morality is to take possession of human life, to save it from being abandoned to passion or allowed to drift at hazard, to give it happiness by establishing it in the practice of virtue; and this object they seek to attain by prescribing to human life fixed principles of action, fixed rules of conduct." Stoicism upheld the banner of morality and the "Meditations" of Marcus Aurelius is among the great universal books of morality. But, after all, how great it falls of the heights attained in the great scriptures of the world! In

these, morality is not only touched and sweetened by emotion but is also lighted up and sublimated. Though Marcus Aurelius persecuted Christianity, yet his "Meditations" were sub-consciously influenced by it. Matthew Arnold says with insight and appositeness: "That which gives to the moral writings of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius their peculiar character and charm is their being suffused and softened by something of this very sentiment whence Christian morality draws its best power." He says also: "What an affinity for Christianity has this persecutor of the Christians!" Hayward has given us a readable biography of the great Emperor and a critical estimate of his "Meditations." He points out how in many instances the persecution of the Christians was due to their eccentric ways and to "a strong tendency to be conscientious objectors and pacifists on principle". He says: "Indeed, by deliberately seeking martyrdom as many of them did, they not only shirked their civic duties but created friction, ill-feeling, and schism."

The Emperor's "Meditations" is, indeed, the work of an elderly man who had said "Adieu to happiness" and had almost "totally conquered death" and "could now smile at it; for it had really no more meaning for him". He was, indeed, the "unconquered lord of pleasure and of pain". Mr. Hayward says that the face of Marcus Aurelius was like the face of Christ. The Emperor had the equipoise of Christ, but not his Godward passion.

Capitolinus said: "He (Marcus Aurelius) made bad men good and good men very good." Greater and nobler praise cannot fall to the lot of any man. Marcus Aurelius had also a just and true conception of politics. He speaks of "the idea of a polity in which there is the same law for all, a polity administered with regard to equal rights and equal freedom of speech, and the idea of a kingly government which respects most of all the freedom of the governed". But his highest note is heard in his famous saying: "Save men. Life is short. This only is the harvest of earthly existence: a righteous disposition and social acts."

MARCUS AURELIUS: A saviour of men. By Hayward. Published by George Allen and Unwin, 100, Strand, London.

Machinery and Over-Production

BY MR. A. L. NARASIAH

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IT is a common belief with economists that a thing like general over-production is impossible, and that what is wrong is only a temporary break-down in exchange which can be set right with a little caution. In a state of over-production, the producer has to wait a while longer than he used to do under normal conditions before he could realise his reward. Waiting is not always easy. So he has to let go his profit and something more. When the output is large, the loss is enormous. If the supply can be regulated, the loss can be minimised. Over-production is the result of the difficulty of adjusting production to the fluctuations of demand. A stimulation of supply, the demand remaining constant or a fall in demand, the supply remaining the same may bring it about. A mistake in investment in industries, where there are too many already in the field, adds to unwanted production. Competition between old and new firms to secure efficiency in production and control of the markets often leads to additional cheapness of production.

More than any of these, improvements and inventions are the cause of over-production. They greatly aid to increase the output with less cost and in lesser time. Again, a change of taste, or a change of fashion due to the vagaries of the consumer, curtails the demand for a thing, and the factories are either to close or go on short work, throwing larger numbers out of employment. The vastness of production, and the uncertainty of demand, involve risks never known before, and the businessman with all his shrewdness and experience is not able to anticipate demand with any degree of certainty so as to adjust the one to the other.

Free trade and competition have rendered markets co-extensive with the world, leading to greater economic dependency of one country on another. Economic depression, whenever it occurs, is now no longer confined to this or that country, but extends to the whole world

in all its varied and terrible forms. The economic balance has grown more subtle than ever. A slight disturbance in any part of a country disturbs all those that have trading connections and economically form one. The failure of the cotton crop in America affects the labourers working thousands of miles away in Lancashire and Manchester. The demand for raw cotton in the rapidly-growing English mills made the American producers assume a harder attitude towards the slaves for enhancing the output. To compete with the English industry, the Dutch and the German capitalists have to effect economies, and the worker pays for it with a lower wage and a lower working-day. In India, again, it has whitened the plains with the bones of cottage weavers. In England, it has led to the growth of a population thoughtless and extravagant, often drunk, with poor physique and poor morale.

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Nov. '37.

The Rotary Conference

IN these days of aggressive nationalism it is something to keep alive the ideals of the Rotary International. And the Rotarians, who met in conference at Madras during the third week of last month, gave a refreshing reminder of the paramount need to-day of the blessing of fellowship and mutual understanding and service which are the cardinal features of the Rotary movement.

H. E. Lord Erskine, Governor of Madras, opening the Conference, stressed the importance of "getting to know men of every stamp and every point of view".

And mutual understanding is what India needs more than anything else to-day, nor India alone, but the world, too, as a whole. Not that mutual understanding need by any means necessarily lead to mutual agreement. Experience teaches us that complete mutual agreement is seldom forthcoming amongst even the smallest section of the earth's inhabitants, far less amongst nations of the world at large. Indeed, it would be a dull world if it were so, but amongst reasonable human beings, and we most of us are reasonable, at heart mutual understanding should at the least mean mutual tolerance, a will to settle differences, and a real desire to sink individual prejudices in working for the common good. This is the spirit which seems to be so sadly lacking to-day. Whether it is amongst conflicting interests of race, religion and caste in India, or amongst the warring nationalities abroad, any movement that tends to foster such a spirit is, therefore, of vital importance to us all, and in Rotary we find that spirit personified.

His Excellency concluded with a reference to the "one eminent piece of service" in the cause of international fellowship, which the Rotary in India rendered during the past year, namely, its reception to the delegates which visited India from South Africa.

Mr. Birley, Chairman of the District Conference, welcoming the Governor as a representative of His Majesty the King and also as a fellow-Rotarian, said that this was the first time a conference of the 9th District Rotary International was being held in Madras.

Mr. F. E. James, district governor, read messages of greetings from some Rotary Clubs. In his address, Mr. James referred to the aims and ideals of the Rotary

movement and observed that the Bombay Rotary Club was one of the strongest in the East. Mr. James traced the genesis of the Rotary movement to Chicago 81 years ago. Originally, he said,

the movement was based on the idea of mutual service. As time went on, however, an entirely new conception was born out of fellowship—the ideal of community service. Out of this ideal the movement had developed in many lands.

Politics and economics, race prejudice and all sorts of misunderstandings kept people apart. Friendship and service, the two main pillars of the Rotary movement, united people.

Replying to the toast at the Dinner that followed the Conference, Mr. Hadji Mohammed Eusoff, of Malaya, emphasised the need for greater mutual understanding between India and his country. In a humorous speech, Mr. Eusoff pointed out the ignorance in either country about the other. Mr. Birley proposed the toast of the guests to which Sir Pheroz Sethna, who has been unanimously nominated as Mr. James' successor in office, made a suitable reply.

Dr. A. C. Ukil (Calcutta) proposed the toast of the Madras Rotary Club, and Mr. Chatterjee (Rangoon) presented a token of goodwill to the Baroda Rotary Club.

Among the more important resolutions passed at the Conference were one reaffirming the principle that "no discrimination based on race, creed or religion shall be made in admitting a member into Rotary", and requesting the Rotary International to circulate the resolution to all Rotary Clubs in the world.

The Conference recommended the holding of a Rotary Goodwill Day in order to achieve Rotary ideals, with special reference to inter-communal and international harmony and goodwill.

The Session concluded with a delightful Garden Party at the Government House, when H. E. Lord Erskine entertained the Rotarians assembled in Madras for the annual Conference.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Bengal and the Communal Award

EVERY genuine attempt at easing the Hindu-Muslim tension in Bengal must be welcome. For, it is common knowledge that Bengal has definitely declined to reconcile itself to the Award. It must, therefore, be some relief to find that the Burdwan-Ghuznavi agreement has met with some measure of support. The agreement closely follows the proposal discussed at the Round Table Conference. The principal terms of this settlement are that the Cabinet is to contain an equal number of Hindu and Muslim members, that recruitment to the Services will be in equal proportion and that it will be subject to revision in ten years. The agreement is reported to be welcomed by leaders like Sir Rabindranath Tagore, Messrs. B. C. Roy and Sarat Chandra Bose, Sir N. N. Sircar and Sir B. L. Mitter on the one hand, and H. H. the Aga Khan and Sir Sikander Hyat Khan on the other. But there are other leaders like Sir P. C. Ray, who donounce it as "selfish and undemocratic." While we welcome the spirit of rapprochement that underlies this effort, it remains to be seen what support it is likely to command among the bulk of the people of both communities. The defects of the agreement are quite apparent. It perpetuates the communal note, which it is the desire of all nationalists to eliminate. As has been aptly observed:

The agreement not only leaves communal representation in the Legislature—the most objectionable feature of the arrangement—untouched for ten years by acquiescing in the principle as regards the division of loaves and fishes, it must considerably weaken the agitation for joint electorates.

Though we cannot always hanker after ideal solutions, anything that paves the way for mutual peace and amity must be welcome. It is, therefore, earnestly to be hoped that some scheme acceptable to either party and inspired by solely nationalist outlook will yet be evolved.

Indians Abroad

On the eve of his return from his mission in Malaya, the Rt. Hon. Sastri made a great speech at Singapore under the presidency of the Colonial Secretary, the Hon. Mr. A. S. Small. Reviewing the position of Indians abroad, and the treatment meted out to our nationals in the Dominions, Mr. Sastri recalled a conversation with Lord Haldane on General Smuts' interpretation of equality. The basis of equality, according to the South African statesman, was rooted in inequality. It was the time of the Imperial Conference in London in 1921 when Mr. Sastri put the case of the much suffering Indian settlers with some warmth. General Smuts, the Union Premier, defined South Africa's attitude to them as follows:

In South Africa we cannot afford to give coloured peoples the same footing as the white. Our equality is based fundamentally upon the doctrine that in Church or State between white and coloured persons there can be no equality. When, therefore, people settle here and ask for political rights, it is open to us to say 'Yes' when it suits us and to say 'No' when it does not suit us. This must be clearly understood by Indians, or they are bound to experience opposition wherever they are.

Sastri had grave fears of such doctrines spreading to other parts of the Empire, and he asked Lord Haldane: "Where do we stand in the Commonwealth" if such doctrines hold good? Lord Haldane replied:

General Smuts has enunciated to you the law as it stands. In this matter what counts is not South Africa's opinion; what counts is international opinion, the opinion of the Commonwealth.

You must stand up for your political rights no matter what your legal rights may be. You must assert what you consider to be your rights. Fight for them in the political world and then the law will follow as a matter of course. An enactment will be put in the Statute-book.

That is to say, there is no court of law before which we can bring a suit against the Dominion of South Africa for denying us this principle of equality. But that does not mean that we shall be prevented from demanding it!

Indians in Zanzibar

The clove industry in Zanzibar is once again the subject of a strong representation to the Government of India by the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association. The Association denounces the Binder report whose recommendations, it says, "are directed solely to developing the clove industry in Zanzibar with the Indians eliminated from it". One wonders what possibly can be the interests of the country apart from the interests of the people constituting it? The clove industry in Zanzibar is practically the creation of Indians, and its interests are the interests of the Indians as well.

The Zanzibar policy is to try to save the industry at the expense of Indians. The trade has been taken out of their hands. The debts due to them are being withheld under the name of 'moratorium'. They are denied the rights to own lands. Short of expulsion, everything has been done to make them quit the land, in which they have lived and worked for centuries.

In forwarding this Memorandum, Sir Purushotamdas Thakurdas, Chairman of the Association, has voiced Public feeling in the country when he appealed to the Government to take

"prompt and effective" measures to safeguard the interests of the Indian community in Zanzibar before His Majesty's Government pass final orders on the report.

Pandit Malaviya's 76th Birthday

It is not often that one comes across a person so completely dedicated to public work as Pandit Malaviya. Only the other day at the Faizpur Congress, he reiterated his faith in his countrymen and made an impassioned plea for unity and courage in the winning of Swaraj. There was something of the ring and fervour of youth in his appeal to Congressmen to realise the shame of bondage, and not to rest content until liberty was attained. An orthodox Hindu, he has yet championed the cause of the Untouchables with a fervour of enthusiasm rarely equalled and never excelled. But

the Pandit's life has by no means been confined to politics. The Benares Hindu University, again, will ever be an enduring memorial of his great interest in education and the youth of India. It is, therefore, fitting that the Pandit's seventy-sixth birthday should have been celebrated by the University with such eclat. Replying to the various addresses presented to him on the occasion, Pandit Malaviya declared :

It is not time for me to die. I want to live ten years more to fulfil the pressing programme before me.

Who would not pray for the fulfilment of his heart's desire!

First World Y. M. C. A. Conference

What must be described as a unique gathering of representatives of 34 nations met at Mysore, the first World Y. M. C. A. Conference to be held in Asia. H. H. The Maharajah of Mysore, who opened the Session with a characteristic speech, urged the need for what he called "religious idealism". The Y. M. C. A. at large have set themselves to be ministers of happiness to the youth of the World, he said, and "they have among their principal objects the creation of new opportunities for what Plato called the purer pleasures". Sir Mirza Ismail, who welcomed the delegates, aptly described the Conference as an "offensive against the warring powers of evil, whose threat is now more deliberate, more concerted, and more dangerous than ever before". Dr. John R. Mott, President of the World's alliances of the Y. M. C. A., discussed the future policy of the Association, and said

that the time they were now passing through would be regarded ten years hence as one of the most creative the world had ever seen. Therefore, they must bestir themselves to concentrate on youth the most plastic and the most helpful of all elements.

The Indian Science Congress

Over 300 delegates from different parts of India attended the twenty-fourth session of the Indian Science Congress, which met at Hyderabad at the invitation of the Osmania University. In the absence of the Prince of Berar, the proceedings were opened by Sir Akbar Hyderi, the Nizam's Finance Minister, who read a message from His Exalted Highness, eulogising the work of the Congress.

Rao Bahadur T. S. Venkataraman, in his presidential address, dealt with the village problem of India in some detail.

Our duty is clear, namely, to improve the village, the nucleus of our country-life and infect it chief agent, the villager with a chosen culture of the virus of modern age through education and industrialisation.

The Congress divided itself into various groups, each with a President of its own, and a number of important Papers on different aspects of scientific research were read and discussed.

Sir B. L. Mitter

Sir B. L. Mitter's appointment as Advocate-General of the Federation to be constituted from April 1, has been welcomed as a fitting recognition of his great legal talents. Sir Brojendra was first Advocate-General of Bengal for a time and was subsequently appointed Law Member of the Government of India. During his term of office, he had the distinction of leading the Indian Delegation to the Assembly of the League of Nations once in 1931 and again in 1933. In 1934, on completion of his term of office in the Government of India, he was appointed Member of the Bengal Executive Council. Sir Brojendra is now offered wider opportunities of service, to which he will doubtless bring his vast legal attainments and varied experience.

Indian Economics

The Indian Economic Conference, which met last month at Agra under the presidency of Dr. John Matthai, Director-General of Commercial Intelligence, tackled many problems of practical concern to the country. Dr. Matthai deplored the absence of any distinctive contribution by Indians to the intellectual framework of economic thought.

In his paper on "Tariff Policy in India", Prof. C. N. Vakil, of the Bombay University, put in a powerful plea for a vigorous industrial policy. Speaking on Coastal Shipping, Dr. B. V. Narayanaswami Naidu stressed the need for a vigorous and efficient shipping industry.

Among other important papers read at the Session was one by Dr. J. P. Niyogi, Minto Professor of Economics, Calcutta University, on "Some aspects of recent Income-tax legislation in India". We have no doubt that a volume of these collected papers will afford fruitful study to the students of Economics in the country.

The Late Sir Alexander Cardew

It is with deep regret that we record the death of Sir Alexander Cardew, who was a Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Madras, from 1912 to 1917. One of the ablest officers of the Indian Civil Service, his work was "characterised by thoroughness and efficiency" as has been observed by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, who was his colleague in the Executive Council. Sir Alexander showed all the strong points of the old time Civilian, who liked to play the paterfamilias to the ryot and had little sympathy with the aspirations of post-War politicians in India. But that did not deter him from retaining the friendship of many Indians, who could not share his political opinions. Sir Alexander, indeed, continued to be on intimate terms with many of his old friends in Madras. Readers of the *Indian Review* will be familiar with his racy, trenchant style of writing; for, Sir Alexander was a vigorous penman to the last.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BY "CHRONICLER"

The War in Spain

THERE has been no improvement in the situation in Spain. The Civil War is dragging on with its gruesome tale of destruction and cruelty. Both sides seem to have received help from foreign volunteers, while the Non-Intervention Committee is unable to fix the blame on any party in the face of denials by the respective governments.

More than 1,000 persons were killed in the battle of Estepona which the insurgents have captured. Madrid has suffered another fierce artillery bombardment, the working-class quarters being strewn with wreckage.

Anglo-Italian Rapprochement

A big step in the direction of Anglo-Italian rapprochement was the signing of a Pact between the two countries last month. Its object is declared to be the maintenance of the *status quo* and the giving of reciprocal assurances regarding freedom of transit and communication in the Mediterranean. Italy has made it clear that she has no designs on the Balearic Islands, and Britain in her turn, while not recognising Italy's Ethiopian Empire, is apparently not unwilling to aid and abet, in Signor Gayda's words, "a voluntary liquidation of the recent stormy past".

Mass Trial in Russia

Another mass trial has been staged in Russia. Sixteen of the most prominent men in the Soviet Union, including M. Karl Radek, faced grave charges of conspiring against the regime. As in previous trials, the astounding thing is that all the accused pleaded guilty. It remains to be seen if the Soviet Government will enforce the death penalty as they did in the notorious Zinovieff trial.

Cabinet Crisis in Japan

Japan is still in the throes of a political crisis. The Cabinet submitted its resignation to the Emperor, as the majority of its members could not see eye to eye with the War Minister, General Terauchi, who has given no signs of willingness to compromise on the Army's demands for a Fascist regime. The Emperor has commanded General Ugaki, ex-Governor-General of Korea, to form a new Cabinet. But the military leaders at a conference marked their disapproval of General Ugaki's Premiership by deciding that no General should accept the portfolio of war.

Civil War in China

Hostilities have begun between the Government and the rebels under Gen. Yang-Hu-Chen, following the termination of the Armistice in the third week of January.

The fighting occurred in a severe snow-storm at Huahsien, 50 miles to the east of Sianfu. The Government Forces claim that many rebels have deserted. The Communists have not hitherto participated in the fighting, but large detachments are reported to be astride the railway between Huahsien and Sianfu.

United Ireland

In reply to a question in the House of Commons, Mr. MacDonald, the Dominion Secretary, referred to his recent conversations with Mr. De Valera, President of the Irish Free State. It would appear that in the course of their talks, Mr. De Valera urged that steps should be taken towards the establishment of a United Ireland. His assurance that in the event of War, Ireland will not help the enemies of Britain, must make the settlement all the easier. A United Ireland will doubtless be a source of infinite strength to Great Britain.

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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Mr. Roosevelt's Declaration

Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt was re-inaugurated as President of the United States on January 20. In his inaugural address he pledged himself to remove the "cancers of injustice" which were the cause of want in the midst of plenty.

Referring to the challenge to American Democracy, President Roosevelt said: "The challenge is the tens of millions of citizens, who at this moment are denied the greater part of what the very lowest standards of to-day call the necessities of life."

Before taking the Oath of Office, Mr. Roosevelt declared: "The test of our progress is not whether we can add more to the abundance of those who have much. It is whether we can provide enough for those who have too little."

The Kiel Canal

Another blow at the Versailles Treaty has been aimed by Germany which, in an official *communiqué*, has declared that in future foreign warships will not be allowed on the Kiel Canal without permits from the German Government. This decision of Germany has not surprised other Powers, since it is considered as the logical sequence to Germany's decision regarding her water-ways.

France-Turkish Agreement

The French and Turkish delegates, who met in Geneva, have reached an agreement in principle in regard to the Alexandretta dispute. The agreement, which was accepted *ad referendum* by the Turkish delegation, provides that the territory of Sanjak should be guaranteed by the League to enjoy complete administrative independence within the framework of the Syrian States and should be defended under an agreement to be concluded between France and Turkey.

Provision for Regency

A permanent Regency Institution was forecast by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons. Mr. Stanley Baldwin read a message from the King, declaring that his father and his predecessor, since the former's illness in 1928, had intended requesting Parliament to deal with the inconvenience likely to result from the absence of statutory provision to deal with the possible incapacity of the Sovereign, the accession of the Sovereign during infancy or the absence of the Sovereign abroad. The King, therefore, recommends consideration of the question of making permanent provision to secure that purpose.

Mr. Baldwin moved an address in reply, which was carried unanimously, proclaiming Parliament's intention of implementing the Royal recommendation.

Germany and Europe

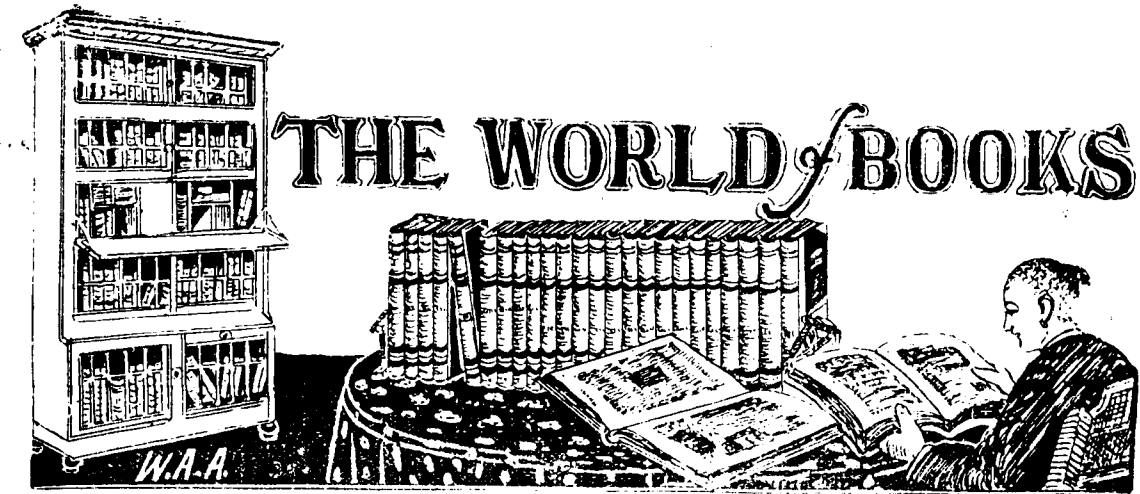
In the course of a statement in the debate on Foreign Affairs in the House of Commons, Mr. Anthony Eden Foreign Secretary, said:

"The part Germany is to play is the main preoccupation of all Europe to-day. The world is asking whither her exalted doctrines of race nationalism are to lead her and all of us.

"Europe is seriously seeking an answer to this question; for Europe cannot go on drifting to a more uncertain future. Germany has the power to decide, not only her own fate but that of Europe. If she chooses full and equal co-operation, there is nobody in Britain who will not assist whole-heartedly to remove misunderstanding and smooth the way for peace and prosperity."

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Dec. 27. Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Malaviya address the Congress at Faizpur.
- Dec. 28. The 18th Session of the Liberal Federation meets at Lucknow under the presidency of Sir Cowasji Jehangir.
- Dec. 29. All-India Medical Conference meets at Karachi under the presidency of Dr. B. N. Vyas.
- Dec. 30. Mr. Stanley Baldwin says that Rearmament is a necessity to Britain.
- Dec. 31. Dr. John Mathai presides over the Indian Economic Conference at Agra.
- Jan. 1. Mr. M. A. Jinnah makes a strong plea for Hindu-Moslim unity at Nagpur.
- Jan. 2. Sir Akbar Hydari opens the Indian Science Congress at Hyderabad.
- Jan. 3. H. H. The Maharajah of Mysore opens the World Y. M. C. A. Convention at Mysore.
- Jan. 4. The Imperial Indian Citizenship Association condemn the Binder report on the Zanzibar clove trade.
- Jan. 5. The Chinese rebel leader General Chang Hsueh-Liang is pardoned.
- Jan. 6. The personnel of the Indian Central Jute Committee is announced.
- Jan. 7. The Burdwan-Ghuznavi Agreement is released.
- Jan. 8. The Government of India decide not to interfere in B. N. Railway Strike.
- Jan. 9. Mr. A. D. Shroff is expelled from Bombay Chamber of Commerce.
- Jan. 10. The Chinese Communists create an anxious situation for the Government.
- Jan. 11. The Cricket Control Board releases the Beaumont Committee's report *re*: Indian Team to England.
- Jan. 12. Sir Alexander Cardew is dead.
- Jan. 13. The Secretary of State sanctions improved rates of pay for officers of Indian Navy.
- Jan. 14. The States Ministers' Conference concludes its labours at Bombay.
- Jan. 15. Sir Maurice Gwyer, Federal Chief Justice-designate arrives at Bombay.
- Jan. 16. Germany begins to enrol overseas Germans for Military and Labour Corps Service.
- Jan. 17. Rt. Hon. V. S. Sastri arrives at Colombo after his tour in Malaya and addresses a big gathering.
- Jan. 18. Sir Andrew Caldecott is appointed Governor of Ceylon.
- Jan. 19. Mr. De Valera confers with Mr. Malcolm MacDonald *re*: Irish relationship with Great Britain.
- Jan. 20. Mr. Franklin Roosevelt is reinaugurated President of the U. S. A.
- Jan. 21. Sir Sultan Ahmed is appointed Commerce Member during the absence of Sir M. Zafrullah from India.
- Jan. 22. Mr. Shirlal Motilal is elected President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay.
- Jan. 23. Sir Atul and Lady Chatterjee arrive in Bombay.
- Jan. 24. The French and Turkish delegates reach an agreement on the Alexandretta dispute.
- Jan. 25. The Budget Session of the Assembly begins.
- Jan. 26. Congress offices in Allahabad, Calcutta, and other places are raided by the Police in connection with the ban on the Independence Pledge.
- Jan. 27. Italy and Germany agree to a ban on Volunteers for Spain.



CONTEMPORARY INDIAN PHILOSOPHY.
Edited by Sir Radha Krishnan and
Dr. J. H. Muirhead. George Allen and
Unwin Ltd., London.

This is a welcome addition to the well known library of Philosophy published under the general editorship of Dr. Muirhead. India's contribution to the philosophical literature of the world is no less distinctive to-day than it was in ancient times. For, the Vedanta tradition coupled with the stimulus to philosophic thought coming from contact with Western systems has roused a new interest in speculative philosophy, and much that is produced in the Indian Universities of to-day comes with the stamp of an individuality and intrinsic importance all its own. Within the last few years, comprehensive and scholarly histories of Indian philosophy in all its many schools have appeared from the pen of Prof. Das Gupta and Sir S. Radhakrishnan and a host of others from the different University centres of India. The critical and analytical methods employed by those scholars may, in the words of Dr. Muirhead, be said "to stand to the Vedanta in somewhat the same relation as Kant and his followers stand to the great neo-Platonic tradition of the West". Thus, Indian thought in the present

as in the past represents a chapter in the history of the human mind that is full of vital meaning. But the most momentous result of the impact of Western ideas is the sure social purpose with which the thoughts of philosophers and reformers are charged. Some evidence of the direction in which Indian thought is working, is manifest in the writings of Mahatma Gandhi and Sir Rabindranath Tagore, Sir Radhakrishnan, Dr. Andanda Coomaraswamy, Prof. Das Gupta and Babu Bhagavan Das and a host of other philosophers, whose views on the problems of life and their interpretation thereof form the subject-matter of this symposium. "As in politics, so in philosophy," says Dr. Muirhead, "India stands at the opening of a new era in her history which requires above all things, along with an abiding admiration of her past achievements, a forward-looking faith in the power of the soul of her people to rise as high as, and perhaps even to excel, the greatest of them." It is thus in the fitness of things that India's distinctive contribution to modern philosophical literature should complement and complete a library of modern philosophy recounting the achievements of European and American philosophers.

HINDU CIVILISATION. By Radhakumud Mookerji. Longmans, Green & Co.

Prof. Mookerji explains in the Preface that he has sought to meet the needs of study and teaching at the universities of a subject somewhat nebulous, indefinite and sometimes speculative and highly controversial. He has drawn freely on modern works of a more or less authoritative character like the Cambridge History of India and the Census Reports, but at the same time writes with ample knowledge of the original sources. He claims two features for his work: an emphasis on the Indian point of view and an attempt to build up history, as far as possible, in terms of original sources or text on the basis of what may be called the key-words in which are locked up its essence, its vital elements, its characteristic features. The claim is fully borne out by the contents of the volume. The critical reader will find points of difference with the author, but he will recognise also that Prof. Mookerji's work is, on the whole, marked by sobriety, restraint, and sound judgment, and a commendable readiness to pass by the wild theories that have often been put forward by scholars, who pursue originality at any cost. He will also feel that there was no justification for the contradictory statements on the Vratyastoma or for interpreting bhuta-vidya as biology, or for reproducing the antiquated classification of the Indian population contained in Risley's Census Report of 1901, and so on. The book is replete with many interesting facts very well arranged and neatly presented, and the full index makes reference to them easy. Prof. Mookerji deserves to be congratulated on his achievement.

THE HOW, WHAT AND WHY OF ASTROLOGY.

By Wm. J. Tucker, Editor of Science and Astrology. Published by Science and Humanity Ltd., 27 High Street, Islington, London, N. 1. Price 7s. 6d. net.

Astrology has been severely condemned as a pseudo-science by some people, while others have extolled it equally enthusiastically as the most exact of sciences. But few laymen have really bothered to know about the scientific basis of astrology or its characteristic methods, and the above book written by an eminent authority on the subject is extremely useful for any one who wants to know something reliable on the subject.

The work forms a complete course of Astrology for a beginner with many charts and diagrams, and after a study of this book, one could easily cast the birth-chart and interpret its meaning to a remarkable extent.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF FILMS. By G. R. Doyle. Published by the Mitre Press, London, E.C. 3.

Alexander Korda in his Foreword to the book describes it as "a somewhat unusual book—half serious, half-satirical but wholly observant",—and he may have added justly, entirely entertaining. Film fans all over will welcome this frank, this intimate, pen-sketch of the life-story of one of the world's most insistent forces with its almost universal appeal. The Film has come, has been seen, and has unquestionably conquered. What was but a scientific novelty in 1896 became a popular diversion in 1908. The book aims at presenting the main characteristics, good and bad, of films and film-making, together with a running commentary on all events and personalities in the film industry, which are responsible for the present state of things.

ANCIENT VERSUS MODERN SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM OR THEOSOPHY AND CAPITALISM, FASCISM AND COMMUNISM. By Bhagavan Das. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar. Re. 1-8.

A profound thinker like Babu Bhagavan Das may be relied on to be very informative and decidedly stimulating in his book. As the somewhat long but fully explanatory title indicates, the learned author takes a wide survey of industrial civilisation, both ancient and modern, and puts forth his reconstructive scheme for the world's moral, mental and superphysical welfare. He takes the three concisely expressed objects of the Theosophical Society and deals exhaustively with their applications and implications in all the welter and confusion of present-day post-War life. The three fundamental appetites of all humanity—food, property, and sex—are to be sublimated into Dharma, Artha and Kama as lawful religion, lawful property, and lawful family life and enjoyment, and thus moksha, material and spiritual is to be attained. He deals illuminatingly with the many burning problems of the time and indicates the golden mean in life's activities.

MY TRAVELS IN THE EAST. By K. C. Banerjee. Copies to be had of G. D. Chatterjee & Sons, 203/1/1, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.

An enterprising young man travels in India, Burma, Straits Settlements, China, Japan, and Philippine Island, on foot and cycle mainly and has here set down his impressions of the tour. His descriptions of men and manners in places he visited form interesting reading and should stimulate readers to travel abroad and obtain first-hand impressions.

THE TRAMP and other Stories. By Dal Stevens. Published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin Street, London. Price 6s. net.

The volume contains 27 short stories, depicting familiar scenes and characters in Australia. The Tramp, from whom the book gets its title, is referred to by the unthinking people as one of those who would not work if you offered it to him, "no guts"! But who knows the great story of his fight for championship in the Ring without any pretensions to previous training—and all that for a decent feed! Three quid for three rounds! The stories touch the seamy side of town life, dwell thoughtfully on the greatness and goodness inherent in some people and display on the whole much keen observation and insight.

BOOKS RECEIVED

THOUGHT AND IMAGINATION IN ART AND LIFE. By Katherine M. Wilson. George Allen and Unwin, London.

LIFE HERE AND NOW. By Arthur Ponsonby. George Allen and Unwin, London.

Co-UP. By Upton Sinclair. T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London.

SURE WAYS FOR SUCCESS IN LIFE OF GOD-REALISATION. By Sri Swami Sivananda Saraswati. Published by Em. Aisi, Editor, Ideal Home Magazine, Amritsar.

MARTHANDA VARMA. By B. K. Menon, Kamalaya Book Depot, Trivandrum.

NOTES IN A NUTSHELL. By Tangurturi Sri Ramalu, Rajahmundry.

SONGS OF A WANDERER. By P. R. Kaikini. New Book Company, Bombay.

SINHA'S JAPAN DIRECTORY. Published by Sinha and Sons, Indore City.

ALTAR STAIRS. By Rao Sahib V. Ramakrishna Rao. Liberty Press, Madras.

PANCAJATI GITA. By Jatindra Mohan. M. A. Chatterjee, 49-9, Hindusthan Park, Ballyganj P. O. Calcutta.

Hyderabad

COMPULSORY EDUCATION

At the People's Educational Conference recently held at Hyderabad, Mr. K. R. Vaidya, M.L.C., put in a vigorous plea for the introduction of compulsory education in the State. He deplored that the Premier State is yet most backward in literacy. But he is aware of the difficulties—particularly in the matter of finance. Hence the proposal is a modest one—to make a beginning in certain wards in the capital city—and then go on extending it as finances become available.

"The city of Hyderabad enjoys an enviable position of being the fourth largest city in India, having a total population of 466,894. There does not seem to be any cogent reason why a beginning should not be made in this great city. Nobody wants that compulsory primary education should be introduced all at once in the whole of the State. The advocates of compulsory education have definitely said that it should be introduced gradually. It is really high time for introducing it in this city where we are holding our conference to-day. If we take the age for compulsory education from 5 to 9 or 6 to 10, the approximate number of boys and girls of this age is about 57,880 and 55,540 respectively, making a total of about 113,370. It is just possible that even in the city of Hyderabad, provision for all these students cannot be made in the first year. I would, therefore, suggest that some of the important wards of the city may be selected for trial and that in a period of about three years, it should be spread throughout the whole city."

This is altogether a modest proposal, and Sir Akbar Hydari, the wizard of the Hyderabad finances, may be trusted to find the wherewithal for a small beginning in the direction of free and compulsory education.

Mysore

EMPORIUM AT BOMBAY

His Highness the Yuvarajah of Mysore declared open the premises of the Mysore Emporium (show-room for Mysore products) at Bombay recently in the presence of a large gathering.

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Mysore Government's trade agent in Bombay, in requesting the Yuvarajah to declare open the Emporium, paid a tribute to the Mysore Ruler and his Government on the remarkable progress the State had made regarding large scale and small scale industries, and hoped that other parts of India would copy the example set up by Mysore, and thus help to solve the burning problem of the day, namely, unemployment.

The Yuvarajah, in the course of a brief speech, reviewed the various industrial activities of Mysore State, and expressed the hope that the opening in Bombay of the first show-room of Mysore products would result in increasing patronage of Mysore products by the people of the country.

MYSORE IRRIGATION SCHEME

The Government of Mysore have sanctioned the construction of an irrigation reservoir on the river Shimsa, 12 miles from Kunigal, at a cost of 22 lakhs. The reservoir, we are told, will be capable of irrigating 10,000 acres of land now under dry crops in the Tumkur district.

The site of the dam is about 2 miles above the Yediyur bridge. The dam wall will be a composite one, with a masonry centre and earthen-work flanks. At the centre of the river-bed, the height of the dam of the masonry section will be 80 feet above the bed-level and the total length of the dam 400 feet.

Travancore

TRIBUTE TO THE MAHARAJAH

Under the auspices of 15 representative organisations, a public meeting was held at Madras, with Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar, Advocate-General, in the Chair. Mr. G. A. Natesan, explaining the object of the meeting, observed that to perpetuate an event of such great importance as the Travancore Temple-Entry Proclamation, any number of meetings would not be too many. It was the duty of all Hindus to express their gratitude to the Maharajah of Travancore. They should also congratulate His Highness's mother and Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Ayyar, Dewan of Travancore, who had a great share in bringing about the reform.

Sir Alladi said that the Maharajah had rendered a great service to Hinduism by his action. Among the speakers were a number of Harijan leaders. The meeting passed a resolution according support to a Memorial Committee recently formed to erect in Madras a statue of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore, to mark his temple-entry proclamation.

GANDHIJI ON TEMPLE ENTRY

I look upon the Temple-entry Proclamation as a purely religious revival, and I have undertaken this visit in the spirit of a pilgrim A true spiritual regeneration must include dispelling of ignorance among the lowest and also their upliftment in all directions." This was the exhortation which Mahatma Gandhi addressed to the Public at a great demonstration in Trivandrum last month.

The huge gathering was addressed by Gandhiji and Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, the Dewan, who, in their speeches, stressed that the Proclamation must be followed up by economic action, educational progress and practical methods of all-round levelling up.

Indore

PROGRESSIVE INDORE

Indore, with an annual income of about 121 lakhs of rupees, constitutes an important State in Northern India. His Highness the Maharajah of Indore limits his Civil List to 11 lakhs of rupees and spends 10½ lakhs on the military, which is not much when compared with what is spent in other States of equal importance. An up-to-date aerodrome is to be constructed for the city of Indore with all the necessary equipment, so that it might be linked up with the principal air routes of the world. The water-works and the drainage schemes, which are progressing, have cost so far 63 lakhs. Reforms have been introduced in the army organisation and a pioneer platoon has been formed, consisting of skilled artificers, masons, carpenters and others, and the army officers were sent to British army centres for training.

About 1½ lakhs of rupees of land revenue arrears were remitted and another 80,000 were written off. Greater irrigation facilities are being afforded and model villages are established. The agricultural and co-operative departments are doing useful work. A vocational bias is being tried to be given to the primary school curriculum.

INDORE PLANT INSTITUTE

The Governing Body of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has appointed Rao Bahadur Visvanath, Director of the Imperial Agricultural Research Institute at New Delhi, and Dr. J. N. Mukherji of the Calcutta University, to examine the working of the Indore Plant Institute. This Institute, it may be noted, is a research institution maintained by the Indian Central Cotton Committee and some of the States of Central India.

Cochin**COCHIN THIYAS' CONFERENCE**

Resolutions expressing gratitude to the Maharajah and the Dewan of Travancore for issuing the Temple-Entry Proclamation, and praying the Maharajah of Cochin to issue a similar Proclamation in Cochin were passed at a Conference of the Thiyyas of Puzhakal, Peramangalam and Adat under the auspices of the Peramangalam Sri Narayana Vijaya Samaj. Mr. K. R. Viswambharan, District Court Vakil, Trichur, presided.

Mr. M. S. Govindan, Secretary of the Samaj, spoke of the many disabilities of the Thiyya Community, political, social and economic. Mr. Viswambharan recalled many measures of uplift work done by organisations of their community. Mr. T. S. Bandhu, Organising Secretary of the Cochin Thiyya Mahajana Sabha, spoke on the importance of organisation and joint action.

Bikanir

MR. V. N. MEHTA, I.C.S.

Mr. V. N. Mehta, I.C.S., Commissioner of Allahabad, is appointed Prime Minister of Bikanir State. Mr. Mehta is the son of Rai Bahadur Nandshankar Mehta, Dewan of Cutch, and was born in June 1883. He has had a brilliant University career and headed the list of Indian candidates in the I. C. S. Examination.

In the United Provinces, he held the post of the Director of Industries, being the first Indian to be appointed to the post. He was for three years Educational Secretary. His services were lent to the Kashmir Durbar for four years, where he was appointed Revenue Minister.

On his return from Kashmir a few months ago, Mr. Mehta was appointed Commissioner of Allahabad.

Rampur**RAMPUR NAWAB'S GIFT**

His Highness the Nawab of Rampur has granted Rs. 7,000 this year as against Rs. 6,190 last year for the scholarship of Rampur boys who prosecute their studies outside. Out of this sum, scholarships worth Rs. 5,900 have already been sanctioned by the Education Minister to 36 Rampuri students, who have proceeded to receive education and vocational training in various educational centres outside, and a few applications are still under consideration. It may be mentioned in this connection that in Rampur, besides education being free, school students also get help for books, etc. In the award of this year's scholarships, special attention has been paid by the Government to give preference to the students who go for technical education.

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INDIANS OVERSEAS**South Africa****INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA**

Dr. Edgar Brookes, Principal, Adams College, Natal, delivered an address on "South Africa" at the Y. M. C. A. Auditorium, Madras, on January 12, Rao Bahadur G. A. Natesan presiding. The Chairman introduced Dr. Brookes as a distinguished educationist who had the courage to plead sincerely and effectively for the obliteration of race prejudices in South Africa.

Dr. Brookes, in the course of his speech, said that the complexity of the situation in South Africa was increased by the coming of the Indians in 1860. Indian immigration to South Africa had in the main been of two kinds. The first was of the men of the merchant class mostly from Western India. The second stream of immigration was of the labourers recruited to the sugar plantations mostly from South India. The first Indians to arrive in South Africa came as indentured labourers. They were badly housed and badly paid. They were not called slaves, but it was significant that when their indenture ceased, they were referred to as "free" Indians. To-day, there was still a good number of Indian labourers, but they had been partly replaced by the Bantus. It was only fair to say, said Dr. Brookes, that the development of the country, and particularly that of the province of Natal, was due almost wholly to the labour of the Indians.

The Chairman, in his concluding remarks, recalled with pride the moral support of many Christians like Bishop Whitehead and Lord Hardinge in the agitation for the removal of the grievances of Indians in South Africa. It was because Bishop

Whitehead felt that the treatment of Indians in South Africa was un-Christian that he felt it his duty to enter a protest. Dr. Brookes had referred to the young South Africans, who were imbued with a new spirit, who stood for the revival or the true Christian spirit and were in favour of the removal of prejudices and disabilities of Indians there. The speaker wished only to say that while the South African whites should try to do everything to better their own lot, the Indians who were domiciled there, who had been born there and to whom India was a mere geographical expression, had a moral claim for equal treatment which could not be resisted.

MIXED MARRIAGES BILL

Attempted legislation of great interest to Indians in South Africa is contained in the Mixed Marriages Bill, which prohibits marriages between Europeans and Natives, and Europeans and Asiatics. This is a private measure by General Pernnar in the Union Parliament.

The Hon. J. H. Hofmeyr, Minister of the Interior, who did not claim to speak for the Government, opposed it in an eloquent speech. Mr. P. G. W. Grobler, Minister of Native Affairs, speaking for himself, supported it. Among other speakers were two members of the recent Goodwill Deputation to India, Lord Derbyshire who opposed the Bill, and Lord Vandermerwe who supported it.

A motion for an adjournment was carried by 66 votes to 43, the minority including Mr. Grobler and General J. C. G. Kemp, the Minister of Lands. All other Ministers present, and also Colonel Stallard, the Leader of the Dominion Party, voted for the adjournment.

Malaya**SASTRI'S ADVICE TO INDIANS**

The pith of the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri's advice to Indians in Malaya is, that they cannot afford to antagonise the Government of India who are doing everything possible to advance their interests. The struggle in India may evoke their sympathy, but it would be unwise of them to identify themselves too much with the national struggle.

You are here in a different land under a different Government, the members of which may in some cases understand and sympathise with you fully, but in some other cases may fail to come up to the requisite standard of understanding and knowledge. The help of the Government of India is something, therefore, that you may not at any time dispense with.

That is not to say, however, that they should cut away from the Motherland. It is for them to show themselves in every way 'the representatives' and inheritors of a great ancient civilisation. While their civilisation, religion and culture should remain affiliated to the Motherland, they should

as quickly as possible identify themselves with the fortunes of this land (Malaya) in the completest sense of that word, giving their daily labour, and the aspiration of their hearts to the fullest, to the honour and the fortunes of this country.

THE INDIAN MEMORANDUM

An important representation on behalf of Indians in Malaya was presented at Penang early last month to the deputation from India led by the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri. It deals succinctly with the various problems affecting our countrymen in Malaya, and suggests methods by which the present position could be improved, and the conditions under which the Government of India should allow further emigration. The case for the Indians, workers and others is put with considerable restraint. It is stated that conditions to-day are more favourable for a calm consideration of the issues involved than ever before.

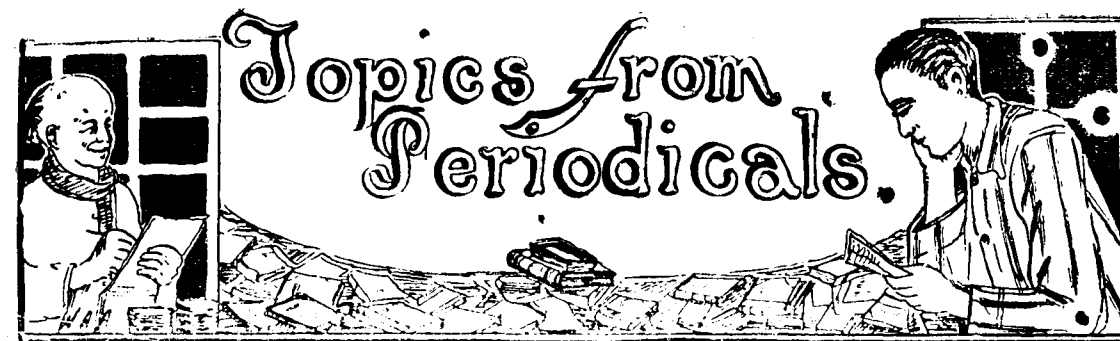
Zanzibar**THE BINDER REPORT**

"The Government of India have no option but to express their complete dissent from the recommendations of Mr. Binder, which are directed solely to developing the clove industry in Zanzibar with the Indians eliminated from it. Prompt and effective measures should be taken by them to safeguard the interests of the Indian community in Zanzibar before His Majesty's Government pass final orders on the report." This is the appeal contained in a representation addressed to the Government of India by Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas as Chairman of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association in forwarding a memorandum prepared by the Council of the Association, which deals exhaustively with the several points arising from Mr. Binder's report.

Ceylon**INDIAN LABOUR IN CEYLON**

Mr. G. L. H. Doudney, General Manager of Liptons, giving evidence before the Immigration Commissioner, declared that if immigration of labour from South India is prohibited, it will end the tea industry.

Mr. Doudney said that one quarter of employees were non-Ceylonese, and they were mostly employed in handling tea chests and other heavy work, wherein Ceylonese labour was inefficient. If he got rid of Malayalee workers and employed local labour, their export trade would come to a standstill. He emphasised that there was no question of employing Malayalees for the sake of cheap labour as, in his opinion, he found no real difference in the standard of living between the Malayalee worker and his opposite number, who may be a Sinhalese,

**THE COMING ELECTIONS**

There is a constant yapping about the acceptance of office, says a writer in the current issue of the *Round Table*, but the Congress goes steadily ahead with its electoral preparations.

Once again it is the South that leads in political acumen and preparation; in both the Southern Presidencies, the Congress electoral organisation has reached a high standard. A forecast of this was given in the last Assembly elections in Madras, when the Justice Party were not only defeated but routed. Bombay has taken a leaf out of the Madras book, and local committees cover every electoral area. They follow the practice in England where parties take steps to put new-comers or others on the rolls and few will escape the Congress net if the present pressure continues.

The whole point about the acceptance of office is that it will fall, when the time comes, like a ripe fruit.

Some of the unceasing controversy is in the nature of a smoke screen to conceal a timely withdrawal from a former position. It may even be that the chief protagonists have actually been put up for the purpose. It is impossible to believe that after all the intensive electoral work to capture the legislatures, the logical corollary of office acceptance will not ensue. Men who can refuse power are indeed rare, and although the Congress may, and indeed does, contain one or two, it does not contain any more than an average body of men—certainly not enough to prevent the constitution's being taken and worked.

It is important to realise, however, that working the constitution does not necessarily or, indeed, at all imply working it on British lines or on accepted lines.

It is practically certain that the constitution will be worked, but it is equally certain that a determined attempt will be made to work it on purely Indian lines, which may be as displeasing as they are surprising to its British originators.

MIDDLE CLASS UNEMPLOYMENT

'Any real effort towards a successful solution of the unemployment problem has to be directed towards the industrial development of the country,' says "Economicus" writing in the latest number of the *Landholders' Journal*. Advocating a change in the curricula of education, the writer says:

A weightier criticism is that our educational system is one-sided. It is too liberal and does not lay adequate stress on vocational education. It should concentrate less on manufacturing clerks, and devote more to the manufacture of mechanics and foremen. This, if true, would have been a most important criticism, but actually men with vocational education are almost as much unemployed as the men with a liberal one. And the reason is very simple. A foreman or a mechanic can only be employed in some industrial establishment. He cannot create an employment for himself, but must depend on others for jobs like any clerk. Under such circumstances, vocational education equally depends on industrial development for the absorption of its output. Of course if vocational education could have produced employers instead of employees, it would have been another matter. But to become an employee, one requires capital and initiative and other advantages for which vocational training is not as such of any use. And when all is said for vocational training, it should not be forgotten that a liberal education makes for an intellectual and cultural development, to which vocational training can offer no parallel.

... There should be an improvement of our agriculture, there should be a development of our trade and commerce, and new industries should be established. By such steps alone can we really hope to relieve the ranks of the unemployed. Anything else will be either ineffective or mischievous. Of course such development to be adequate will take a long time, but with proper help from the Government and proper co-operation from the people, the period can be shortened.

THE DOCTRINE OF REBIRTH

It is a sign of the times that a scientist of the standing of Prof. J. B. S. Haldane should seriously put forward "the possibility and, indeed, the probability of the conception of repeated existences" in a recent publication of his, under the title "Fact and Faith". Commenting on this observation, Sir Alexander Cardew (since deceased) points out in the course of an article in the *Aryan Path* for December:

I well remember an Indian friend, now deceased, one of the ablest and more distinguished of his generation in India, dwelling most impressively on the far-reaching effect of this Indian doctrine (of rebirth). To it he was inclined to ascribe the comparative calm of the Indian mind as contrasted with the restless anxiety of Europe. To the Indian, he said, an event of to-day is not merely a transient incident in an ephemeral life, but this life itself is but one in a series of lives. The European moralist may warn us of the petty nature of the present world, as Bacon wrote—

"The World's a bubble, and the Life of Man Less than a span,"

but the perspective becomes infinitely more impressive if we realise that life itself is but an episode in a series. My friend even suggested that the belief in Rebirth might colour men's view of domestic relations. The European looks on his wife as his partner in this world and the next, but to the Indian who believes that he has been born often before and may be born innumerable times again, the said companion of his present pilgrimage, dear as she may be to him, must rather be likened to a fellow passenger who joins him in a train and travels beside him for a while until the station is reached where it falls to her lot to alight.

Indeed, the doctrine of rebirth, whose effect might be traced in many directions, has influenced and coloured Indian thought for thousands of years. It probably arose very soon after the establishment of the Hindus in India. Sir Alexander quotes Prof. Hiriyanna, who tells us that in the Upanishads

the doctrine is well developed, and in the system of Buddha, heretical though it was, there is no attempt to question the truth of the Brahmanical theory of transmigration which, by this time, must have been firmly rooted in the Hindu mind.

The date of the death of Buddha B.C. 487 is the first settled date in Indian history, and Sir Alexander goes on to observe:

We may safely regard the doctrine of Rebirth as having governed Indian thought for some 25 centuries, offering, as it does, an explanation of the apparently essential similarity of the vital element in all animate beings and a rational explanation of the inequalities in human life, thus affording solace under apparently undeserved suffering and removing bitterness against God and one's neighbours. In this way it has furnished Indian thought on life with a philosophic background very different from the crude anthropomorphic mythology and beliefs of Christianity, and with an element of hope and comfort well suited to sustain thoughtful minds.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF CITIZENSHIP

Writing in the January issue of the *Twentieth Century*, Mr. K. R. R. Sastry stresses the responsibilities of citizenship.

"Citizenship has appended to it certain duties which are increasing at a geometrical proportion, while rights seem to have been affected by the law of diminishing returns! A citizen is under a duty to obey law and order in a State. However long be the arm of law, *Sanction* behind the State may fail to reach the offender. The loyalty of the citizen should have to be invoked by the State in order to realise the greatest possible good under the body politic.

Owing to the increasing shrinkage of the world, thanks to science and philosophy, the citizen of a State owes a loyalty to the international community. The League may not be the last word in international organisation; but world opinion can become effective only if the citizen extends his loyalty to an unit wider than his nation."

And the strength of a State in final analysis, concludes the writer, rests on the calibre of its citizens.

UNIVERSITIES AND LANGUAGES

By the casting vote of the Vice-Chancellor, the Senate of the Andhra University threw out a resolution for adopting Telugu as the medium of instruction in the College classes. Commenting on this, Mr. K. Ramakotiswara Rau, Editor of the *Triveni*, says that this is an instance of the proverbial nervousness of academic bodies to take a new step. He points out that the employment of Telugu, Hindi or Bengali in the universities at Waltair, Allahabad or Calcutta does not imply the abandonment of English.

While the lecturing and discussion in the classes, the writing of essays and answering of examination papers are all done in an Indian language, Professors and students will continue to consult standard works on their subjects in English, French, or German. The Andhra University has a salutary rule that the Honours students in Politics and Economics should pass an examination in French, and the Science students similarly in German. In these days of well-equipped libraries and first-rate research journals, the latest thought is available to every student through any one of the great European languages. Technical terms become the property of the entire world, and Indian Universities will use them when necessary and also adopt certain common expressions for the whole of India. It is fallacious to urge that the use of Indian languages will lead to a narrowing of our outlook. On the other hand, if the student is freed from the incubus of a foreign medium, a great deal of energy is available for an advanced study of the subject of his choice. It is well known that most Indian students fail in an examination, not from inadequate knowledge of the subject but from inability to give adequate expression to that knowledge. English is thus a dead weight.

The question then arises, what will happen to students who migrate from one Indian University to another? Just what happens to an Oxford graduate when he goes to France or Germany for post-graduate study.

In a few months, he picks up enough German or French to follow the lectures. If he is wise, he will learn it in advance at Oxford or London. The young man who pilgrimages from Mysore to Calcutta will do likewise. There ought to be provision at every Indian University for the study of all the principal Indian languages. Every Indian University must also evolve a method by which its

language can be learnt by students from other Provinces during the first year of their residence.

Nor will this vernacularisation tend, in the opinion of the writer, to lower the standard of attainment in English. In support of his contention, he instances the recent experiment in the Model High School attached to the Government Training College at Rajahmundry, where

although the students were taught all non-language subjects through the medium of Telugu, their average in English was higher than that of others. I am clear in my mind that English should be taught as a language optionally in all high schools and compulsorily in every college. But I fail to see why we should burden a nation for all time, by making English the sole medium for the acquisition of knowledge. Even if it is proved, after the experience of some years, that Indians write and speak worse English than they do now, I shall not break my heart over it. I shall be quite content if our English is as good as that of the Japanese, the Russians, or the Italians. There is no need to be unduly nervous or ashamed about the English we use. The shame would be tenfold if we wrote bad Marathi or bad Bengali.

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A CONSTITUTION FOR CHINA

The history of Constitution-making in China is as varied and chequered as that of the progress towards the present *denouement*, says Mr. O. M. Green in an article on the above subject in the *Asiatic Review*. It began with the creation of the Senate in 1907 by the late Empress Dowager. The next stage is reached in December 1911, when the revolutionaries met at Nanking and adopted a temporary Republican Constitution which was adopted as a Provisional Constitution in March next. This was the Constitution that Yuan Shi Kai swore to uphold when Dr. Sun Yat-Sen resigned to him the Presidency of China.

But Yuan never had any belief in Westernised democracy and he soon quarrelled with the Parliament and dismissed them, tried to make himself Emperor, failed and died of a broken heart.

Two other attempts at Constitution-drafting were made in 1923 and 1925, but China was by now breaking up in an imitation of the era of warring States of over 2,000 years before, and the last figments of republican government were swept away like cobwebs in the Communist explosion of 1926. From this chaos emerged the Kuomintang dictatorship and the new regime, which has since flourished in Nanking and, in all fairness, it must be said, after many initial mistakes, has proved itself the best, most authoritative Government that China has had for many years.

Torn and shattered as China was by years of civil war and utter disarray of her finances and all semblance of central authority, the dictatorship of Kuomintang (the Central Party of Nationalism) enshrined the instrument of Government adopted in October 1928. It was controlled by the Party created by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen to carry out his political testament. Meanwhile, civil war broke again in 1929 and continued with little interruption virtually down to the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931.

Out of evil, comes good. It cannot be denied that the humiliation of the loss of Manchuria has had one good result, in bringing the politicians to their senses and forcing all factions to realise that, if China was ever to resist foreign aggression, she must first make an end of internal discord.

As Nanking's authority has widened, its wisdom has increased. The Kuomintang acquired more discretion in exercising their authority. The cumbrous system adopted in 1928 has been modified in various practical ways. Under the better atmosphere thus created, the work of drafting a Constitution has gone ahead in real earnest. A Committee for this purpose was appointed in January 1933:

The basis of the Constitution is that sovereignty is vested no longer in the Kuomintang but in the whole body of citizens who will elect by universal, equal, and direct suffrage a People's congress. This body in which membership will be for six years, will meet for one month in any three years though it can be summoned by the President or summon itself for other meetings. Its duties will be to elect, or if it pleases, dismiss the President and other chief officers of the State, initiate laws, hold referendums on laws and, if desirable, amend the Constitution. . . .

The Government is framed on the Five-Power principle laid down by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, but the Central Executive Committee and the Central Political Council, those terrible circumlocution offices by which the Kuomintang sought to buttress themselves, disappear. There are to be five Yuan or Councils: The Executive, already named, corresponding to a Cabinet; the Legislative and the Judicial—names which sufficiently explain themselves; the Examination Yuan, which will be in effect a Civil Service Commission to obtain recruits for the Government services; and a Censor Yuan, certainly the most interesting and potentially the most useful of all.

Looking to the future, one may venture to think that the Constitution's best chance of succeeding consists in its assimilation of Chinese traditions.

The powers of the President are not so far removed from those of the Emperor, with this exception that he is removable by process of law. Here, in fact, is that Constitutional monarchy which was all the ambition of the earliest revolutionaries. The powers of the people of *hsien* and city are, with the added advantage of their being able to elect their own magistrates, what they have been from time immemorial, though the names for them have been changed.

It is a good augury for the future; another proof that, after periods of disorder and disillusionment, China always finds renewal of strength by returning to her best traditions.

THE STUDY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Prof. Venkatarangiah, M.A., of the Andhra University, writing in the November Number of the *Indian Journal of Education*, pleads for the study of the social sciences in our universities from a new point of view. Most universities have, indeed, made provision for such study; but the study is abstract and unreal, bearing little connection with the actualities of Indian conditions.

In many of our universities, the subject is approached from the standpoint of the history of political thought and ideas from the earliest times to the present day. But it is entirely a history of political thought in the West from Plato to Laski. It has no reference whatever to the evolution of political ideas in India. No one will deny the supreme value of the ideas of Plato, Aristotle, Aquinas, Machiavelli or Spinoza. But two points have to be noted in this section. The ideas of even the greatest of thinkers are limited by his environment. It is the experience and observation of the working of the institutions of the Greek city-state that form the basis of the thought of Plato and Aristotle. It is the ruin wrought by struggles between rival states in Italy that inspired the thought of Machiavelli. The same is the case with every writer. His views merely reflect the conditions amidst which he lived. In this way it is the social facts faced by the thinker that give life to his thought. Similarly the course of political events is influenced by the ideas of great men. To the student of Politics in the West, the study of the political thought of Plato or Rousseau is of the greatest value.

It is a necessity, as otherwise he will not be in a position to understand the evolution of Western society. But it is not of the same value to a student in India. What he requires is a knowledge of those ideas and those facts which will explain to him the peculiarities of the society in which he lives—the grouping of the people into varnas and jatis, the nature of Dharma, the relation between the *sasana* of kings and the *acharas* of the people, etc. All this knowledge he will gain not by the study of Political thought in the West which alone most of our under-graduates and graduates are made to study but by a careful perusal of the writings of Manu, Yagnavalkya and other Smriti-writers and their commentators.

The great reform that is required in respect of social studies in our universities is that these studies should centre themselves round conditions Indian. Indian universities can thus add to the stock of

knowledge on these subjects by providing scholars with first-hand information on subjects Indian.

This does not mean that we should not make a thorough study of the social conditions of other countries. We have to do it but not in ignorance of our own social, economic and political structure. The whole world is anxious to get authoritative account of things Indian, and a change in the method of approach to the study of social sciences, as indicated above will enable the Indian universities to place authoritative account before the world.

GANDHIJI ON SEX EDUCATION

A correspondent has charged Mahatma Gandhi of failure to express his views on sex education. Gandhiji pleads guilty and has stated his views in full. A translation from Gujarati appeared in the *Harijan*. Some of his statements are these: "I am strongly in favour of teaching young boys and girls the significance and right use of their generative organs." He continues:

But the sex education that I stand for must have for its object the conquest and sublimation of the sex passion. Such education should automatically serve to bring home to children the essential distinction between man and brute, to make them realise that it is man's special privilege and pride to be gifted with the faculties of head and heart both; that he is a thinking no less than a feeling animal as the very derivation of the word shows, and to renounce the sovereignty of reason over the blind instincts is therefore to renounce a man's estate. In man reason quickens and guides the feeling, in brute the soul lies ever dormant. To awaken the heart is to awaken the dormant soul, to awaken reason, and to inculcate discrimination between good and evil.

As to who are competent to teach, he says: "Clearly, he who has attained mastery over his passions."

To-day our entire environment—our reading, our thinking, our social behaviour—is generally calculated to subserve and cater for the sex urge. To break through its coils is no easy task. But it is a task worthy of our highest endeavour. Even if there are a handful of teachers endowed with practical experience, who accept the ideal of attaining self-control as the highest duty of man, and are fired by a genuine and undying faith in their mission and are sleeplessly vigilant and active, their labour will light the path of the children of Gujarat, save the unwary from falling into the mire of sexuality and rescue those who might be already engulfed in it.

VOLUNTARY ABDICATION

There is no precedent for the voluntary abdication of the Crown, says Prof. A. B. Keith in an article in the *Manchester Guardian*:

For the removal of Edward II, Richard II, and James II, from the throne was compelled by Parliament. It is possible to argue from the analogy of the fact that a peerage cannot be surrendered, that the abdication of the King could have no legal effect either as regards himself or his issue and would merely be analogous to the incapacity of the Sovereign to execute royal functions through physical or mental infirmity. To remove doubts an Act of Parliament would clearly be essential, and such a measure would bar any issue from the succession and adjust the Civil List and other property rights, while making due provision for the ex-King.

Such an Act would be both legally and constitutionally valid for every part of the Empire, except the Dominions.

In their case the Statute of Westminster, 1931, expressly provided that for any alteration touching the succession here is requisite the assent of the Parliaments of all the Dominions. But the requirement is only placed in the preamble to the Act, and it was deliberately decided not to give it the force of law. Under the terms of the existing Constitution of the Dominions, any alteration in the succession to the throne enacted by the Imperial Parliament would, as a matter of strict law, have automatic effect in these Dominions without the necessity of any assent by their Parliaments. It is clear, therefore, that in law the British Parliament could alter the succession for the whole of the Empire without the assent of the Dominion Parliaments, but constitutionally it would clearly be bound to ask for such assent and, if so desired by any Dominion, to insert in its legislation an express declaration that the change would not apply to that Dominion unless and until it adopted it.

Legally, the position of the Dominions, continues Prof. Keith, is not uniform.

The Federal Parliaments of Canada and Australia have no power to regulate the succession though unquestionably they have the right under the preamble to the Statute of Westminster to express assent in any change. The Union of South Africa probably has under the status of the Union Act, 1934, full power to legislate and would unquestionably take such action as a matter of constitutional right. It would doubtless follow the British decision and so avoid disruption of the Commonwealth, New Zealand, whose legal powers are doubtful, would certainly express assent in any British action. For, Newfoundland whose Constitution is suspended, the British Parliament has full power to legislate.

But the position of the Irish Free State raises great difficulties.

If it refused to assent to the British legislation it could unquestionably claim that Britain was

acting unconstitutionally in legislating without the assent of the Free State, and on that score it might assert the right to create a new head of the State ignoring the British Crown and thus in effect terminating the British connection. It would be difficult to deny the validity of such legislation even from the point of view of British law, apart from the fact that the Courts of the Free State alone have the right under the decision of the Privy Council in *Moore v. Attorney-General for Irish Free State* in 1935, to interpret the constitutional powers of the Parliament for the Privy Council to hold that there are no limits to these powers.

MORAL INSTRUCTION

The late Sir Walter Raleigh used to say that a University consists not of pupils and teachers, but of junior and senior students. If Professors took such a view of themselves, observes Mr. T. N. Sequeira in the *New Review* for November,

their company would be much pleasanter and immensely more educative to their pupils; it would tune them up to greater interest in their work and greater progress in it; it would make them less suspicious of Gunpowder plots against their dignity; it would give them a much more beneficial hold on the moral careers of those who will in a few years be the leaders of their country. The students, in their turn, meeting their betters on equal terms in the playground and the common room, at excursion and debate, will unconsciously feel prodded on to imitate them and rise to their stature in politeness, in sociableness, in service of others, in unflinching devotion to whatever is true and noble and reasonable. Such a silent and yet irresistibly practical moral training is necessary if the theoretical course of moral instruction is to be profitable or even possible.

For in this as in the other aspects of education, the most important factor is the teacher. If morality is to be caught rather than taught, from whom, asks the writer, can it be caught but from the teacher? Mr. Sequeira then quotes Sir Michael Sadler who wrote in his report on moral instruction.

"Our evidence shows how wide-spread among those best qualified to form a judgment is the conviction that the most potent factor in moral education, more potent even than the corporate influence of an honourable community, is the personality of the teacher. . . . And, difficult though it be to analyse this power of personality, its transmission may be traced, first and above all, to some kindling ray of sympathy and insight, but also to the influence of example, to the moral force of a clearly apprehended ideal and to the wise, though often instinctive, choice of the method of approach."

SANSKRIT AND ITS INFLUENCE

In an article to the *Prabudha Bharata* on the study of Sanskrit, Swami Maithilyananda writes:

Apart from the humanising influence, the study of Sanskrit affords a striking combination of art and religion in the poetical literature of the ancient Indians. That fine sentiments of unworldliness can combine the loftiest production of literary art can be profusely found in Sanskrit poetry—a fact which is very rarely found in the modern literatures of the world. Human love portrayed in the epics of India transcends the last vestige of worldliness and sensuous attachment which forms the constant theme of European poetry. In this connection we may quote Sir Monier-Williams: "It must be admitted, however, that in exhibiting pictures of domestic life and manners, the Sanskrit epics are even more true and real than the Greek and Roman. In the delineation of women, the Hindu poet throws aside all exaggerated colouring and draws from Nature—Kaikeyi, Kausalya, Mandodari (the favourite wife of Ravana) and even the hump-backed Manthara are all drawn to the very life. Sita, Draupadi and Damayanti engage our affections and our interest far more than Helen or even Penelope. Indeed, Hindu wives are generally perfect patterns of conjugal fidelity. Can it be doubted that in these delightful portraits of the *Pativrata* or devoted wife, we have true representations of the purity and simplicity of Hindu domestic manners in early times?"

To a question put to him during his return from the West for the first time, Swami Vivekananda replied: "Many times have I been told that looking into the past only degenerates and leads to nothing, and that we should look to the future. That is true. But out of the past is built the future. Look back, therefore, as far as you can, drink deep of the eternal fountains that are behind, and after that, look forward, march forward and make India brighter, greater, much higher than she ever was. Our ancestors were great. We must first recall that. We must learn the elements of our being, the blood that courses in our veins; we must have faith in that blood, and what it did in the past, and out of that faith and consciousness of past greatness, we must build an India yet greater than she has been. There have been periods of decay and degradation. I do not attach much importance to them; we all know that. Such periods have been necessary. A mighty tree produces a beautiful ripe fruit. That fruit falls on the ground, it decays and rots, and out of that decay springs the root and the future tree, perhaps mightier than the first one. This period of decay through which we have passed was all the more necessary. Out of this decay is coming the India of the future; it is sprouting, its first leaves are already out, and a mighty gigantic tree, the *Urdhwamulam* is here, already beginning to appear."

The cultural revival of the Hindus is no source of danger to other cultures. The cultural history of India can justify such a

unique claim of the Hindus, and it can be best expressed in the words of late Dr. Sylvain Levi.

"The multiplicity of the manifestations of the Indian genius as well as their fundamental unity gives India the right to figure on the first rank in the history of civilisation, spontaneous and original, unrolls itself in a continuous time across at least thirty centuries without interruption, without deviation. Cesslessly in contact with foreign elements which threatened to strangle her, she persevered victoriously in absorbing them, assimilating them and enriching herself with them. Thus she has seen the Greeks, the Scythians, the Afghans, the Mongols to pass before her eyes in succession and is regarding with indifference the Englishmen, confident to pursue under the accident of the surface the normal course of her high destiny."

In fine, the writer points out:

The vastness, variety, and richness of Sanskrit literature justify its greatness for all time to come. Referring to its vastness, Sir William Jones remarked: "Wherever we direct our attention to Hindu literature, the notion of infinity presents itself." The richness of Sanskrit literature can hardly be over-estimated. No scholar can afford to pass by the inestimable materials which the *Upanishads*, the epics, the systems of philosophy and theological treatises supply with their wealth of beauty, art, imagination and inspiration.

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ART AND EDUCATION

The Annual Number of the *Scholar* contains a number of interesting articles. Writing on "Art as an Instrument of Education", Mr. O. C. Ganguly complains that devotees of Letters in this country are somewhat sceptic of the value and function of the Graphic Arts as a medium of education." But in Europe and America, the educational authorities impartially employ both forms of medium as instruments of education, not only for the masses and the people in the lower status of society, but also for the literate population of the schools and colleges. The writer continues:

The enormous growth of the Museum and the arrangement of Special Exhibitions of all phases of the Graphic and the Plastic Arts in the Western countries, is the result of the great value attached by educationists to the appeal of pictures, statues and works of Art as a vital factor in education. In India, the Museums are mostly born dwarfs which never grow and receive a step-motherly treatment from the Education Department, and no opportunity is given to them to establish organic contacts with centres of education and learning or to take any active part in educating the inmates of our schools and colleges.

The writer says that the universities in India look upon Painting, Sculpture and Architecture as forbidden fruits, as idle luxuries, and as barriers to our achievements in intellectual wisdom. Mr. Ganguly concludes:

Somewhat snugly armoured by a cultivated prejudice and ignorance, the Gods of Literature have refused to subscribe to the principle that the Arts of Forms stand for a mode of human expression of equal values with the Arts of Letters; they fail to realise that the graphic arts represent the highest expression of a race or an individual, because they embody their highest ideals, their noblest aspirations in a manner in which the Arts of Letters are incapable of expressing. Indeed, it is the fundamental basis of differentiation between two rival forms of human expression that the truths that are accessible through the medium of the Graphic Arts are not accessible through the medium of the Literary Arts and vice versa.

Thus, Art is more a valuable ally to literature than a rival in the field of education.

KASHMIR AS A HOLIDAY RESORT

From time immemorial, Kashmir has been described as "the valley of happiness". Indeed, nowhere else could the natural elements, which make and mould life, be found more inspiring, more kindly, and more helpful to human happiness. Throughout the Ages, says a writer in the *Hindustan Review* for November,

it has continued to maintain its renown as one of the most beautiful regions in the world—always the world's sweet-heart, a land of promise to those seeking beauty and romance as an undying quest. Generation after generation of visitors has sought Kashmir as a land of allurements, and it has figured in history, literature and art since the very ancient times. It was close to its alluring routes and adown its river that one of the world-conquerors—the Macedonian, Alexander the Great—passed into the Punjab over two thousand years ago; and long after when the lordly Moghuls came to India, it was in Kashmir that they sought happiness and seclusion from their many cares and worries and their ceaseless wars.

To-day, Kashmir is just as powerful a magnet to those who seek the solace of beauty and the joy of beholding the most glorious natural scenery in the world. Whether by summer or winter, it is a vale of everlasting attractions and "no holiday-maker should consider his days in India to have been well spent without a sojourn to this the world's most wonderful of natural gardens."

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

INDIA MAKES UP ITS MIND. [The Round Table, December 1936.]

THE INDIAN MILITARY ACADEMY. By Brig. L. P. Collins. [The Asiatic Review, January 1937.]

SOUTH INDIAN SCULPTURE. By Dr. A. J. Pandian. [The Modern Review, January 1937.]

FIVE MINUTES WITH INDIA'S CONSCIENCE. By M. M. Gupta. [The Twentieth Century, January 1937.]

THE FUTURE OF INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE. By Sir James Crerar. [The Asiatic Review, January 1937.]

INDIA'S MESSAGE IN STONE. By Rev. Bhikku Nyanapriya. [The Prabuddha Bharata, January 1937.]

WOMEN AS ADMINISTRATORS AND RULERS IN ANCIENT INDIA. By Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D. [The Hindustan Review, January 1937.]

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS + DEPARTMENTAL + NOTES

Questions of Importance

BURDWAN-GHUZNAVI AGREEMENT

A scheme designed to put an end to the communal dispute in Bengal has been accepted by a number of leaders of the two communities.

The scheme, which is on the basis of an equal division of executive power between the Hindus and Mohammedans, closely follows the lines advocated by Mr. B. C. Chatterji in England during the meeting of the Joint Parliamentary Committee and later in India. The following are the terms of the agreement reached between Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi and the Maharajadhiraja of Burdwan:

1. The Communal Award to remain subject to revision at the end of 10 years, or unless and until it is modified by mutual agreement by the communities affected by it.

2. The Cabinet to contain an equal number of Hindu and Moslem Ministers.

3. All the Services under the Provincial Government to be recruited from now in equal numbers in the proportion of 50-50 from the Hindu and Moslem communities in Bengal subject to the reservation of an agreed percentage thereof for members of the European, Anglo-Indian and Christian communities of the Province and subject to the candidates of all the communities satisfying a test of minimum efficiency to be formulated by a Provincial Services Commission.

His Highness the Aga Khan, Sir N. N. Sircar, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Sir B. L. Mitter, Sir Rabindranath Tagore a large number of All-India and Bengal Mohammedan leaders, the members of the British Indian Association and the Bengal Hindu Sabha have approved of the scheme.

THE STATES AND FEDERATION

Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, Dewan of Baroda, speaking of Federation at Bombay, said that he regarded the conception of an All-India Federation as an inevitable development and as a step—a necessary



SIR V. T. KRISHNAMACHARI

step—in the evolution of India towards Dominion Status. Two great tasks confront the autonomous provinces and the Indian states in the near future.

The first is the raising of the standard of living of the large masses of agricultural population of this country. You cannot have an up-to-date political constitution on an economic basis, which is so inadequate that it reminds you of the Middle Ages. If the superstructure that we are going to build is to endure, steady efforts will have to be made by all the governments concerned to remove this serious evil. The second task is that of evolving a conception of common citizenship, the welding together of a population in which there are so many cleavages and to see that these cleavages are not reflected in the federal legislatures services, etc. This calls for the highest statesmanship in the leaders and the co-operation of all the communities and interests.

MR. SASTRI'S PLEA FOR R. T. C.

The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, addressing a big meeting at the Town Hall, Colombo, on January 16, pleaded for forbearance in the examination of Indo-Ceylonese problems and unfolded a plan for a Round Table Conference.

India and Ceylon bear such intimate and indissoluble relation to each other that we must be patient in the methods we take and have recourse to more efficacious ways of solving our internal problems.

Supposing no solution is in sight which may be satisfactory all round, may I respectfully propose that this remedy of a Round Table Conference, tried in more adverse circumstances with happy result, be tried between India and Ceylon as well?

Upon our side, it should not be difficult for us to send a panchayat of five good men and true, who will try to understand the problem and offer a just solution. Do you think that upon your side it would be difficult to supply five good men and true to meet our men? You could find ten times that number if you allow yourselves to do so.

VICEROY AT CHELMSFORD CLUB

Successive Viceroys have made the Chelmsford Club Dinner an event of some political importance. Both Lord Irwin and Lord Willingdon made striking pronouncements at it. True to that custom, Lord Linlithgow made a speech of some significance at New Delhi. In explaining his desire not to touch current public affairs, His Excellency observed:

No such caution as I mean to exercise to-night springs from any private timidity, but rather from my profound conviction that the political evolution of India has reached a point where, in their respective spheres, the Governor-General and Governors of Provinces should more and more seek to observe those conventions which regulate the attitude towards matters of contemporary public controversy of the Crown in Great Britain and of the representatives of the Crown in, for example, Canada and Australia; for democratic institutions require for their successful working that all parties in the State which, whether in office or in opposition work within the Constitution, should be able to feel that at the head of the State there is some one above party and above the heat and dust of party warfare to whom they can at all times, and whatever their political fortunes for the time being, look with confidence for all proper countenance and support,

THE WORLD OUTLOOK

In his inaugural address as Chairman of the International and Peace Section of the 12th All-India Educational Conference at Gwalior, Col. Sir Kailas Haksar dealt at length with the political situation of the world and said:

Just at present the immediate outlook is very menacing. There is enmity between Germany and France, between Russia and Germany, between Japan and Russia; between Italy and any Powers that crosses her path. The Kellogg Pact, Locarno, the Nine Powers Scheme have all gone by the board. Instead, we have little Ententes formed. But we in India, who since the close of the tenth century have held a kaleidoscope to our eyes, can still be interested in watching the patterns take shape without losing our distant vision.

THE CALL OF THE CONGRESS

Delivering his Presidential address at the Dindigul Taluk Political Conference, Mr. Satyamurthi appealed to the voters of Tamil Nadu to solidly support Congress candidates in the ensuing elections.

Ministers can and will do something; promote khaddar, swadeshi, village industries, prohibition, village improvement, etc. They will also try to reduce land revenue and adjust the whole system of taxation. They will give a new hope and a new faith and courage to our people. Either the Governors agree and yield to the Ministers, or they, with resignations in their pockets, go to the Legislature and get their mandate. If the Governors fight them again, they go to the electorate. If the Governors still want to fight the (new) Ministers and the new Legislatures, then the Constitution is automatically suspended.

INDIA'S DESTINY

Dr. G. S. Arundale, President of the Theosophical Society, in closing the 61st International Theosophical Convention at Benares, said:

I most earnestly trust that members of the Indian section will ever increasingly realise that it is they more than most others who can give a true lead to the Indian people, so that there may be bestowed upon the world a nation rich in differences, but deeply understanding their harmonious resolution, and therefore a nation powerful to release for urgent needs of the world those forces which shall bring about in due course that great apotheosis of modern civilisation of which India is destined to be the heart.

INDIAN CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE

Presiding over the 12th Session of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians at New Delhi on December 22, Dr. B. P. Hivala declared that "our way of thinking as a community is in line with those who desire to work the Constitution rather than destroy it." He asked those elected to the Legislatures to throw themselves whole-heartedly in the work of the New Constitution. While giving this advice, he said that he would urge communal harmony in the country and wide dissemination of education. As regards the depressed classes, he said that any attempts to enter into barter or bargain with the depressed classes for political purposes or with the hope of increasing their numbers was against the very spirit of their religion and they must set their face against that.

The Conference, as a whole, expressed the opinion that the provisions of the India Act fell short of the legitimate demands of the people for Self-Government. Notwithstanding this, the Conference opined

that India's best interest would not be served by a policy of obstruction or non-co-operation. It, therefore, suggested to the various Parties that full advantage should be taken of the powers conferred to Legislatures in order to promote the social, economic and political welfare of India. It called on the Christian representatives of the Legislative Assemblies to co-operate in every way possible with such parties and persons as would undertake to do constructive work in and through the Legislatures.

The Conference appealed to the leaders of the various communities to find the most practical and equitable solution to contentious problems concerning the various communal groups in the best interests of the country.

Mr. B. L. Rallia Ram of Lahore was appointed General Secretary of the Association for 1937. The next session of the Conference has been fixed for December 28 and 29, 1937.

IMPERIALISM vs. NATIONALISM

"To encourage communal consideration of a political and economic problem is to encourage reaction and to go back to the Middle Ages. The realities of to-day are poverty, hunger, unemployment and the conflict between British Imperialism and Indian Nationalism. Historically speaking, the present contest lies between Imperialism and Nationalism. The Congress represents Indian Nationalism and is thus charged with historic destiny," says Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Indian National Congress in the course of a long statement in reply to Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who took objection to Panditji's assertion that there were only two parties in the country, namely, the Government and the Congress, and reminded him that there was a third party also, namely, the Muslims.

Pandit Jawaharlal says that the Muslim League represents only the upper strata of Muslims and not the masses whom the Congress represents along with other sections of the Indian masses.

The Muslim League represents a group of Muslim functioning in the higher region of the upper middle classes. I come into greater touch with the Muslim masses than most members of the Muslim League. I know more about their hunger, poverty, and misery than those who talk in terms of percentages and seats in the Councils and places in the State's services. As President of the Congress, I represent the hunger and poverty of the masses of the Muslims as well as Hindus. The Congress welcomes all co-operation. It will co-operate with pleasure with the Muslim League as with other organisations, but the basis of this co-operation must be anti-Imperialism and the good of the masses.

THE SOCIALIST CONFERENCE

The third annual session of the Conference of the All-India Congress Socialist Party met at Faizpur on December 23, under the presidentship of Mr. Jai Prakash Narain, M.L.A. About hundred delegates and a thousand visitors were present. The pivotal resolution of the Session was the one reaffirming unequivocal opposition to the New Constitution and determination to work for the wrecking of it.

THE LATE DR. MACPHAIL

We regret to announce the death in London, at the age of 75, of the Rev. Dr. Earle Monteith Macphail, a former Principal of the Madras Christian College and ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Madras



DR. MACPHAIL, C.I.E.

University. Dr. Macphail was a valued contributor to the *Indian Review*. His War articles in particular were greatly valued at the time as brilliant expositions of the historical and military aspects of the grave crisis of 1914.

It is ten years since Dr. Macphail left Madras, where he had served for 40 years and acquired many lasting friendships.

SPIRITUAL VALUE OF EDUCATION

Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu, Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, presiding over the 12th Session of the Indian Educational Conference at Gwalior, observed that the spiritual values of education have at present unfortunately very much fallen into the background. Our future hope, however, lies in the new ideals about the child and its education.

EDUCATIONAL REORGANISATION

H. H. the Maharajah of Gwalior, opening the All-India Educational Conference at Gwalior, put in a powerful plea for revising the educational system to meet the needs of the present day for the removal of mass illiteracy and for providing sound, religious and moral background to pupils' education. Principal P. Seshadri, in his presidential address, referred to the present trend of Indian education, the waste at several stages and the futility of educational effort in the case of thousands of our young men and said: "The menace of unemployment had already reared its ugly head and we ventured to suggest remedies of an entire reorganisation of the educational system, particularly in its earlier stages. We recommended self-sufficient stages of instruction and the periodical diversion of material into other suitable channels to relieve unemployment, if not immediately, at least in the near future and to make higher education more effective, adjusting it to the changing conditions of to-day."

Continuing, Principal Seshadri asserted that there was nothing of which we should feel ashamed in our educational work of the last hundred years, and said that we had, on the other hand, every reason to feel thankful to the famous decision of Lord William Bentinck responsible for the present circumstances in Indian education. "It is no exaggeration to say," said he, "that almost all impulses to national progress in this country during the last hundred years, including the present discontent with the educational system and the demand for its reconstruction, have come from those who have received the benefits of English education."

WHAT IS SEDITION?

"There is a sharp distinction between the Government and the form of government. To fight against a principle or doctrine is not the same thing as to fight against a government established by law. To suggest a change in the form of government is not tantamount to causing disaffection towards a government established by law. To suggest some other form of government is not necessarily to bring the present Government into hatred or contempt." With these remarks Mr. Justice Ganga Nath allowed the appeal of a College student of Cawnpore, Arjun Arora, and quashed his conviction for an offence of sedition and set aside the sentence of six months' rigorous imprisonment passed upon him by the additional District Magistrate under Section 124-A, I. P. C.

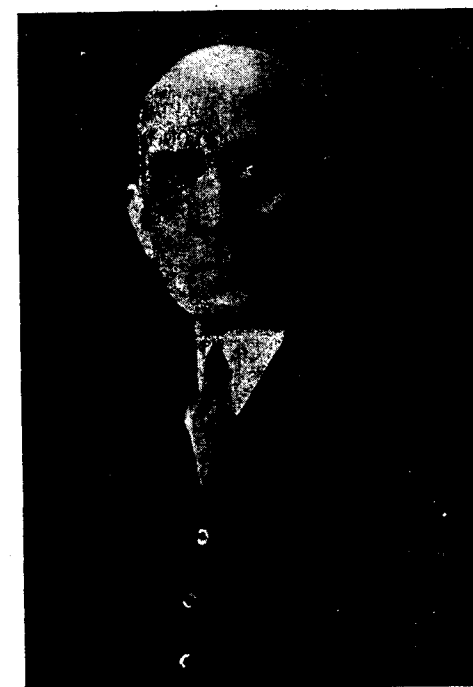
MADRAS CHIEF JUSTICESHIP

Sir Owen Beasley, Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, retires in July next. There is speculation regarding his successor. Regarding this the Council of the Madras Advocates' Association, which met recently, has passed the following resolution:

"Having regard to the changes introduced by the Constitution and to the spirit of and to the admitted high level of efficiency of the Advocate Bar long ago attained, the Council urges upon the Secretary of State and the Government of India and the Local Government the necessity of appointing either an Indian Advocate Judge of this Court or an Indian Advocate of this Court to the forthcoming vacancy in the office of the Chief Justiceship of the High Court of Madras."

SIR B. L. MITTER

The Governor-General in Council has approved the appointment of the Hon'ble Sir Brojendra Mitter, BAR.-AT-LAW, K.C.S.I.,



THE HON. SIR BROJENDRA MITTER

at present Member of the Bengal Executive Council, to be the first Advocate-General for Federation with effect from 1st April 1937.

SIR FREDERICK POLLOCK

The late Sir Frederick Pollock was for many years one of the most distinguished of English jurists. Sir Frederick wrote many standard legal works, and for 40 years from 1895 edited the "Law Reports". In 1911, he was made a Privy Councillor, in 1914 was appointed Judge of the Admiralty Court of the Cinque Ports, and in 1920 became a K.C. In an interview, he said the world was passing through a phase of temporary insanity. "I cannot say," he added, "what I think of the world's statesmen. It would be much too unparliamentary."

BRITISH INSURANCE ASSETS

An increase of approximately 95 million pounds in the total assets of British insurance companies occurred in 1935, according to an estimate given in the annual insurance section accompanying the *Statist*.

Total assets at the end of 1935 are calculated at £1,560,000,000 as compared with £1,465,000,000 in 1934, and £1,242,000,000 in 1929, the last pre-depression year.

In the employment of these vast assets, investments in debentures, stocks and shares to a total of £496,157,000 occupy first place, being followed by investments in British government and municipal securities to the extent of £424,140,000, colonial and foreign government and municipal securities £199,590,000, mortgages £140,169,000, loans £118,235,000, land and ground rents £82,129,000, life interests and reversions £6,682,000, and miscellaneous £93,814,000.

UNITED INDIA'S CALCUTTA BUILDING

We are glad to learn that the United India has removed to their own building at Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta. It is believed that the United India Building is the tallest building in Calcutta. The premises will, we understand, yield a very good income to the Company as the available rooms have all been occupied by firms of established reputation, such as Siemens, Agfa, Haverro Trading Co., etc. We offer our warm good wishes to the United India on its achievements.

INSURANCE IN GERMANY

The total amount insured in Germany during the first nine months of last year was nearly £20,000,000 compared with £18,250,000 in 1935 and £14,658,000 in the nine months of 1934.

THE GUARDIAN OF INDIA

The Guardian of India is an infant organisation only in respect of time; for within a couple of years it has shown remarkable progress. The new business secured by the Company during the first year of its work is a creditable record. According to the latest Government Report, 179 Indian Companies have been registered to do Life Assurance business in India. This Company's first year's business is believed to be more substantial than the business secured during the first year by 177 Companies out of the said 179 Companies.

COMPULSORY MOTOR INSURANCE

One of the recommendations of the Transport Advisory Council at its last meeting in Simla was "that the Government of India, in consultation with Local Governments, appoint a Committee to inquire into and report on the desirability of enforcing compulsory insurance against third party and passenger risks, the class of motor vehicles which should be compulsorily insured, the nature of the policies which would be required, and cognate matters. According to this recommendation, the Government of India have appointed a Committee which is now touring the country. The Committee will shortly submit a report.

THE ORIENTAL

The report of the Oriental Life Assurance Company of Bombay for the year 1935 shows a record increase in the Company's new business, a reduced expense ratio, a low lapse ratio, and a low claim ratio.

ASSOCIATED CHAMBERS

The Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry met in conference at Calcutta on December 21. The proceedings were opened by H. E. the Viceroy.

Sir Edward Benthall, President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, in welcoming the Viceroy characterised the passage of the Indian Companies (Amendment) Act, 1936, as a landmark from their point of view and said that he could not pay too high a tribute to the Law Member for piloting this measure through the Legislature.

He also welcomed the appointment of the Railway Inquiry Committee which, the Chambers were aware, was dealing with a very difficult problem, as well as the visit of the agricultural experts.

In his opening address, H. E. the Viceroy made a fervent appeal to employers to co-operate with the authorities in solving the unemployment problem as one of the gravest and the most depressing problems which confront us to-day.

It is in collaboration between educational authorities and institutions and prospective employers that, in my view, lies the best hope of working out effective schemes to deal with questions of critical importance and urgency.

The Viceroy appealed to the business community to select the best possible men to represent them in the new Legislatures.

The Associated Chambers passed a number of important resolutions of which one, while welcoming the New Indian Companies (Amendment) Act, recommended to Government further to amend the Act so as to rectify certain defects that have come to light since the passing of the Amending Act. Another resolution expressed regret at the delay in the Government of India's fulfilling their pledge to remove the remaining surcharge upon income-tax and super-tax.

Mr. F. Birley, Madras, moved the following resolution, which was seconded by Mr. W. J. Younde, Bengal, and supported by Mr. Halsall, and was carried:

This Association is of the opinion that the procedure at present adopted in granting relief from taxation borne on the same income in both British India and Mysore or other Indian States should be reviewed with a view to ensuring that no income can, under any circumstances, bear tax twice in the hands of the same assessee and, further, that machinery be introduced to relieve assessee in British India of the necessity of making separate returns in each Indian State to which they export goods.

When the Conference resumed its sitting the next day, Mr. A. O. Brown, Bengal, moved a resolution regarding communications:

That the creation of a Department of Communications in the Central Government be expedited, such department to include Railways, Roads, Civil Aviation and Posts and Telegraphs, but to exclude Inland Water Transport and Coastal Shipping which should be included in the portfolio of the Commerce Member.

Supported by Mr. U. N. Sen, Punjab, and Mr. R. D. Fraser, Burma, the resolution was carried.

The Conference concluded after adopting Mr. A. K. G. Hogg's (Bombay) resolution on Trade statistics. The resolution urged the Government of India to undertake without delay the establishment of a Central Statistical Department on up-to-date lines.

ECONOMIC RECOVERY

"If the economic conditions during the year had to be summarised in one or two words 'Recovery continued' would be the most suitable caption," observes Dr. D. B. Meek, the Indian Trade Commissioner, in his Report for the year 1935-36. "Indeed, the year could be said to have ended on a more confident note than its predecessor, at any rate so far as Great Britain and British Empire are concerned."

THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN

An appeal to the Women of India to drop prejudices, to study more and be ready for changed valuations was made by Mrs. Margaret Cousins in her presidential address to the All-India Women's Conference, at Ahmedabad, on December 24. After reviewing the achievements of the All-India Women's Associations, Mrs. Cousins complained that women were not getting a fair deal as regards education.

In 20 years the percentage of literacy of Indian women had not risen from two to three per cent. An enquiry by a Committee of the Government of Madras this year reported that there was no money available for this desirable reform, and in the Central Provinces we saw the opposition of the Government to Mrs. Tambe's gallant attempt to introduce a Bill to give compulsory primary education to girls only. Gokhale claimed that two-thirds of the national revenues should be spent on education. Under the present system of government, only 8 per cent. of these Indian revenues is allotted to education. While India spent only Rs. 8 crores for 350 million people on elementary education, Britain spent Rs. 86 crores for only 40 million, and the United States spends Rs. 347 crores for 130 million. Even within the meagre amount available for education here, we women are not getting a fair deal, she said. Fourteen times more money is spent on boys' education than on girls. It is appalling that only one out of every 100 girls gets elementary education, and only one out of every 1,000 girls secondary education. At the rate we are moving, it will be a thousand years before India catches up in education with other nations. Yet Russia has shown the world that she could become literate in 20 years. We women can legitimately ask in the interest of our children, however, that two-thirds of the large amount that is being given to each Province as a birthday gift to the New Constitution shall be immediately allocated for spreading elementary education as the safest and most valuable investment for the future.

The Conference adopted resolutions concerning labour as far as it concerns women. Educational resolutions laying special stress on illiteracy and separating University Matriculation and School Final Examination were also passed. In Social resolutions, an appeal was made to Legislatures to prepare a comprehensive Act in which women's disabilities could be remedied in place of patch-work legislation.

WOMEN AND INDIAN FILMS

A refreshing view-point is adopted in an article on "Women and Film Industry" contributed by Mrs. Lilavati Munshi to a Special Women's Number of the *New Outlook*. She holds up the film industry in India as one deserving consideration of mothers and fathers, who are wondering what career their daughters might follow. She is fully aware of the mountain of prejudice and of the hostile criticism which her advice will evoke. Mrs. Munshi thinks that the protests which the Parsi community made on the appearance of two Parsi girls on the screen in Bombay was perhaps the last futile gesture of dying conservatism.

But this is by any means the last gesture and she makes an excellent suggestion. That is, that a service bureau should be run by competent women if respectable Indian women have to be attracted to this industry in large numbers. She also observes that the industry needs educated and cultured folk, and the belief that a girl from a big family loses her respectability if she joined the profession is fast disappearing.

That the industry is lucrative every one knows, and Mrs. Munshi says that the highest salary drawn by one of the Bombay stars is much over Rs. 5,000 a month.

MRS. MRINAL SEN

Mrs. Mrinal Sen stood first class first in M. A. from the Dacca University. She is the first Bengali woman student to secure the Griffith Memorial Prize of the Calcutta University for her erudite essay on "Bardik O Sanskrit Sahitye Bhaktir Dharma".

THE ASHRAM REVIEW

After an interval of several months, the *Ashram Review*, the organ of the Christa Prema Seva Sangh, has appeared again in the form of a quarterly.

The aims of the *Ashram Review*, as set forth in a short note, are the explanation of Christian thought and of the application of that thought in social practice. "Truth has nothing to fear," the Editors truly say. They propose to treat other faiths with the respect which all opinions and convictions, sincerely held, deserve. Attempt will be made, we are further assured, to discern where Christian truth finds in the views of others what is alien to itself, that differences may be explained and expressed.

SHORTHAND WRITERS' ASSOCIATION

The fifth session of the South Indian Shorthand Writers' Conference concluded at Trivandrum after adopting 37 resolutions.

One of the resolutions of the Conference requested the Government of India and the Secretary of State to appoint only Indian stenographers for all future Royal Commissions and Committees. It requested shorthand associations and institutes to popularise vernacular shorthand and requested the Government to encourage it by suitable grants. It was also decided that the South Indian Shorthand Writers' Association should be requested to celebrate the centenary of the invention of Pitman's Shorthand in a fitting manner.

PEOPLE'S VOICE

We welcome the *People's Voice* a new Madras Daily. It is the organ of the new People's Party of Madras founded by the Maharajah of Pithapuram. The Paper is edited by Mr. Iswar Dutt of the *Twentieth Century*, Allahabad. We wish the Paper all success.

A NEW WEEKLY

A new addition to the weeklies of Madras is the *Fire Works*, a non-Party journal published by Mr. M. K. Rangachari. The first three issues that have been received contain news and notes of varied interest interspersed with illustrations.

DR. JAMES COUSINS

On the 14th of January, Dr. Cousins the Principal of the Theosophical College, Madanapalle, entered Sri Padmanabhaswami Temple at Trivandrum as a demonstration of the fact that under the recent temple entry proclamation of the Maharajah, Hindu worship in Travancore was now open to persons of non-Indian birth as well as to Indians born outside castes.

Before entering the temple, Dr. Cousins made a formal recognition of Hinduism as one of the paths to spiritual realisation and liberation at a short Vedic ceremonial and took the Sanskrit name of Jayaram. After the ceremony, he was conducted to the temple as he had accepted the Hindu religion and fulfilled the condition laid down in the temple proclamation as to his being Hindu by religion.

SIR SULTAN AHMED

Sardar Sahibzada Sir Sultan Ahmed Khan has been appointed Commerce Member with the Government of India, in the place of Sir Mahomed Zafrullah Khan, who is going on leave.

Born on May 30, 1864, at Kunjpura, Karnal District, Sir Sultan Ahmed was educated at the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, and at the Christ's College, Cambridge. He was called to the Bar, Inner Temple, in 1894.

He was appointed Chief Justice of Gwalior State in 1905 and served as Law Member and Finance Member before he was appointed Army Member in 1917. Sir Sultan served as a member of the Hunter Commission, which inquired into the Jallianwala Bagh incident and represented Gwalior State at the Round Table Conference in London. He was created a Knight in 1932.

SJT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's re-entry into politics is welcomed by Sardar Patel, Chairman of the Congress Parliamentary Committee. In a statement he says "the Madras province is sure to gather all Congress forces under the guidance of an outstanding personality".

THE ALL-INDIA MEDICAL CONFERENCE

The 18th Session of the All-India Medical Conference was held at Khalikdina Hall, Karachi, on the 28th December under the presidency of Rai Bahadur Dr. B. N. Vyas of Lucknow. Prominent medical practitioners from all over India attended.

Dr. Said, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates, urged the need to set up active malarial and other research workers to grapple with the problem of malaria, sanitation and health. It would pay medical men, he added, to move to the villages and minister to the needs of the rural population.

The President in his address said that the Indian Medical Service had done a lot in initiating a scientific system of medicine in India, but it had long outlived its usefulness. He hoped that the new legislatures would devote more time to medical relief and public health, which at present was starved for lack of funds.

The Conference adopted several resolutions relating to the medical profession and the promotion of public welfare.

THE LATE DR. A. S. PAI

We regret the death of Dr. A. S. Pai, L.M. & S., a prominent physician of Bombay. Dr. Pai, who was 61 at the time of his death, graduated from the Madras Christian College. Hailing from a respectable Saraswat family in South Kanara, he migrated early to Bombay. He was Vice-President of the All-India Saraswat Brahmin Sabha for many years and contributed generously to scholarship funds in Bombay, Madras, and Mangalore.

DR. RATILAL P. PATEL

After undergoing training for two years and doing excellent research work in the University College, London, Dr. Ratilal P. Patel has returned to India as the first Ph.D. in Pharmacology of the London University.

Dr. Patel has been Alembic's scholar, who, after taking the M. Sc. degree of the Bombay University, was sent by the Alembic Chemical Works Company Ltd. for training and research in the United Kingdom.

PUBLIC HEALTH OF INDIA

The Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India has issued his report for 1934:

The total expenditure of the Central Government on Public Health Services during the year was nearly Rs. 14½ lakhs, of which a little over Rs. 4 lakhs was spent on public health establishment, nearly Rs. 4½ lakhs in grants for public health purposes, Rs. 2,90,000 on epidemic diseases, nearly Rs. 2 lakhs on bacteriological laboratories, Rs. 1,15,000 on public health works and nearly Rs. 2,000 on Pasteur Institutes.

Provincial expenditure on public health activities during the year was nearly Rs. 1½ crores of which nearly Rs. 60 lakhs were spent on public health establishment, Rs. 45½ lakhs in grants for public health purposes, Rs. 17½ lakhs on epidemic diseases, and a little over Rs. 8 lakhs on bacteriological laboratories, Rs. 8½ lakhs on pasteur institutes, and more than Rs. 10½ lakhs on public health works.

ALL-INDIA MEDICAL EXHIBITION

In the presence of a large gathering of distinguished members of the medical profession from all over India, a Medical Exhibition was opened under the auspices of the Indian Medical Conference at Karachi on 28th December. Dr. J. M. Talati, Chairman of the Exhibition Committee, requesting the Mayor to open the exhibition, dwelt at length on the importance of the exhibition, both educational and economic, the Chopra Committee Report, the need for central and provincial laboratories, Food and Drug Pharmacy Acts and the control of proprietary preparations.

Khan Bahadur Mama, Mayor, declaring the exhibition open, pointed out how Karachi Corporation was taking adequate measures to combat adulteration of food-stuffs, such as butter, ghee, milk, and flour and was now concentrating attention on the adulteration of drugs. The Mayor paid a tribute to the pioneers of the Indian Chemical industry.

The Mayor and the gathering then went round the 21 stalls arranged by well known drug manufacturers and dealers.

EAST INDIA LOANS BILL

A White Paper embodying the text of the East India Loans Bill and the Memorandum of Financial Resolution has been laid before Parliament.

The purpose of the Bill is to authorise the Secretary of State to borrow in sterling on behalf of the Government of India during the period from April 1, 1937, and the establishment of the Federation, to make provision for the Administration Fund so created and make similar provision for the future administration of Indian Sterling Debt outstanding on April 1.

The Bill authorises the borrowing of £320 millions which include £276 millions of outstanding debt and the unused borrowing power to the extent of £44 millions conferred on the Secretary of State by previous Acts.

The Bill is designed to effect substantial consolidation of the existing law regarding Indian Sterling Debt and to make adaptations in the law as required by the introduction of the new reforms.

CHINA AND FOREIGN CURRENCY

In order to achieve stabilisation, it is necessary to peg Chinese currency to a foreign currency, says the *Information Bulletin* issued by the Council of International Affairs, Nanking, China. Such a foreign currency is not easy to find in view of the unstable and singularly perturbed conditions of the world. Such a currency must possess certain qualities. 1. It must be reasonably stable itself. 2. Commodity prices in that country must be reasonably stable. 3. It must have commercial relations with a large number of countries. 4. It must have close economic relations with China. On the basis of these four qualities, the currency of Great Britain has been found to be the most suitable. Consequently, in carrying out the currency reform of November 8, 1935, the three leading Government Banks have been authorised to buy and sell foreign exchange in unlimited quantity, so that the value of the Chinese dollar would remain at the level of 1s. 2½d. This figure represents the average exchange value of the English monetary unit from 1880 to 1935.

B. N. RAILWAY STRIKE

With a view to bringing about a settlement with the men concerned and the staff, who have taken their cause, Mr. V. E. D. Jarrad, Agent, B. N. Railway, having reviewed the strike situation, has issued a notification to the staff intimating his decisions in the matter.

The Agent is agreeable to permit 27 cooly mechanics, the discharge of whom from service was the original cause of the strike, to resume duty in the posts they held on the denoted pay, take back the dismissed members of the Carriage and Wagon branch and other departments on certain conditions as also those who absented themselves from duty.

The Agent advises the staff to offer themselves for duty within 7 days from January 19, 1937. Otherwise he will be reluctantly compelled to take steps to fill the vacancies permanently.

Government having declined to interfere, it is hoped the negotiations between the strike leaders and the Railway authorities will end the strike and bring about a compromise.

INDIAN RAILWAY EARNINGS

A spurt in trade during the last Christmas Week is reflected in the railway earnings, which, reports indicate, have gone up by about Rs. 40 lakhs in that week alone.

The Congress session and the Lucknow Exhibition, coupled with the usual Christmas traffic, have been responsible for an increase of about Rs. 8 lakhs in passenger earnings and about Rs. 37 lakhs in goods earnings.

The larger exports of cotton and wheat to European countries, which are busy collecting stocks of commodities owing to nervousness over the international situation, appear to have stimulated the export trade, especially, of Karachi with the beneficial effects on railway earnings noted.

LOAN FOR RAILWAY ELECTRIFICATION

The prospectus is published of the second and last issue of loan capital by the Company with a nominal capital and unpaid directorate which was formed in July, 1935, under the Treasury's auspices to provide cheap finance for electrification projects in the areas served by the London Passenger Transport Board, the Great Western Railway, and the London and North-Eastern Railway.

S. I. MUSIC CONFERENCES

Two important South Indian Music Conferences met at Madras in December last. One was organised by the Madras Music Academy and the other by the Indian Fine Arts Society. The former was opened by Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, while the latter was opened by Lady Venkatasubba Rao. Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer said that the taste for music is very wide-spread in India and our people have a great capacity for enjoying it even under the most unfavourable conditions. He pleaded for reform in music such as facial contortions, limitation in the number of accompaniments, curtailment of musical gymnastics, etc.

Prof. Sambamurti, who presided over the musical conference organised by the Fine Arts Society, said that it is the birthright of every citizen to receive education in music. He was of opinion that the requisite atmosphere and the facilities for the development of the cultural side of music exist only in the University Institutions.

FINE ARTS EXHIBITION

H. E. H. the Nizam opened the fourth annual exhibition of the Academy of Fine Arts at the Calcutta Museum on December 22. About a thousand pictures and works of art were on view. A special feature is Dr. Tagore's pictures lent to the exhibition for the first time.

The Academy's gold medal for best work in any medium was awarded to Mrs. M. L. Dauban.

Opening the exhibition, the Nizam observed that art is capable of becoming the highest form of culture and refinement. "Owing to this cultural aspect of it, the starting of an Art colony is being contemplated in my own Osmania University at Hyderabad. This, I hope, will in time develop into a full-blown Academy of Arts."

RECONSTRUCTION OF INDIAN DRAMA

A plea for making the drama the live instrument of popular uplift was made by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan of Travancore, in a speech at the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall in Trivandrum, when the S. M. R. V. Association put on board a Tamil and an English drama. Sir Ramaswami Aiyar pleaded for the introduction of the Shavian technique in vernacular plays.

THE BEAUMONT COMMITTEE REPORT

The Board of Control for Cricket in India decided on January 10 at its meeting at New Delhi by 10 votes to 7, contrary to the expressed wish of the President, the Nawab of Bhopal, to publish the report of the Beaumont Committee, appointed to examine the causes of the failure of the 1936 Indian cricket tour of England, with special reference to the Amarnath incident.

Below we give the Committee's summary of the conclusions of the report:—

1. We attribute the lack of co-operation and co-ordination to the following causes placed in the order of importance:

(a) the conduct of Major Nayudu in holding himself aloof from the team and his failure to offer any support to the Captain;

(b) the policy of the Captain in forming his own party and not treating all members of the team with strict impartiality; this policy destroyed any chance there might have been of healing the existing dissensions;

(c) the feeling, whether justified or not, but shared by practically the whole team that the Captaincy in the field was very faulty;

(d) the presence in England of too many idle players.

2. No blame for any failure of the team attaches to the Manager except that the Manager should have formulated written directions as to the conduct to be pursued by members engaged in the Match when off the field, for example, the hour at which players should return to their hotel. Nothing of the sort seems to have been done.

3. There were no breaches of discipline on the field.

4. Amarnath was guilty of ill-mannered and rude conduct in the presence of the Captain but only in a private place. Having regard to the warning previously given to him, the Captain and the Manager were right in taking disciplinary action against him, but they committed an error of judgment in the severity of punishment inflicted.

INDIAN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE

The storm over the affairs of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, has at last blown over. The report itself has been released to the public, and the proposals of the Committee as amended by the Council of the Institute has been approved almost *in toto* by the Visitor of the Institute, the Viceroy. For many months past there has been a lively controversy in the Press, partly on account of intrinsic defects in the Institute and partly through opposition to the administration of Sir C. V. Raman, its Director. Summaries of unpublished report had appeared in the Press and unauthorised conclusions drawn from these reports. On the whole, we should think the intelligent anticipations of the Press have been confirmed by the recommendations now approved by the Viceroy.

The most important of these is the one defining the object of the Institute. The uncertainty on this matter, which has been the cause of considerable confusion and controversy, has at last been set at rest. Pure research is now relegated to secondary status, and the application of scientific research to industry is given pride of place.

It is ordained that while research in pure science should continue to be an approved purpose, the major part of the resources of the Institute should be applied to those investigations which are likely to be of direct benefit to industry in India. When a competent Committee, which has examined all relevant documents, has come to a definite conclusion, it would be rash for laymen to lay down the law and draw a different inference. The Committee claims that this recommendation is based on a correct interpretation of the wishes of the Founder. But then it must be remembered that the Pope Committee of 1921, which upheld a directly contrary view, made exactly the same claim.

With regard to another recommendation, there is a belief that the general routine of administration would be better managed by a whole-time Registrar than by a Director, who must be principally concerned with teaching and research.

ALL-INDIA MOTION PICTURE CONVENTION

The Second All-India Motion Picture Convention met at Madras on December 26 under the presidency of Mr. Chimanlal B. Desai. Rao Bahadur P. Sambandam, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates. In his welcome address, Mr. Sambandam pleaded for Government support for the film industry. Mr. Desai, in his presidential address, equally stressed the necessity for Government help. He said:

"Almost every Government in the world has realised the national importance of the film industry except ours."

The Foreign Government have given protection to their film industry in numerous ways.

Nothing of this nature has been done by our Government to help our struggling industry to survive, though we have been shouting ourselves hoarse, asking for some sort of protective legislation."

The Convention passed a number of resolutions. Film as a career was sought in the following resolution which was passed unanimously:

"This Convention earnestly requests the Central and Provincial Governments, Indian States and Universities, to give due recognition to the film as a supplementary means of education by making the exhibition of educational and cultural films in educational institutions obligatory. It further requests the Governments, central and provincial and the universities, to institute studentship and scholarships to enable students to go abroad for studying various branches of cine technique."

The venue of the next Motion Picture Convention would be Calcutta.

ADOLPH ZUKOR

The main outstanding feature of the Adolph Zukor anniversary celebrations will be the simultaneous release in over 800 cities throughout the world, including Bombay and Calcutta, of Paramount's road-show attraction "The Champagne Waltz." Never before in the history of motion pictures has one film been accorded such a simultaneous world-wide release. This musical production is Mr. Zukor's personal selection for such a world-wide event.

VALVES IN AUTOMOBILES

"The majority of present-day automobile engines are operated on the four-stroke cycle principle having valves for admission and exhaust," says Mr. V. Venuswami Iyengar writing in the *Sunday Hindu*, dated 17th January. He continues:

"Each valve comprises a disc of metal having a conical face centrally mounted on the valve stem and fits over a circular opening having a corresponding seat in the cylinder-block which makes the passage gas-tight. These valves are kept in position by means of valve-springs and the valves are called mushroom or poppet-valves. The surface of the valve-face, which comes into contact with the seat, is generally in the form of a truncated cone with an angle of usually 45 deg. and this conical valve is of a self-centering nature so that it seats centrally when it is closed. These valves give silent operation. High explosive temperature, combined with hammering effect as the valves closes on the seat (which occurs 1,000 times per unit in normal speed of the engine), causes bevelled edges in the valves and also produces uneven surface in the faces and seatings resulting in loss of power, as certain amount of explosive mixture escape during the compression stroke."

NEW CAR DESIGN

The patent issued to Mr. Henry Ford, says the New York Correspondent of the *Times*, foreshadows radical changes in the design of motor cars. The patent covers a car whose engine is mounted almost directly above the rear wheels and is placed sideways with the radiator above the right wheel. The engine, clutch, transmission and gears are built in one unit and mounted on rubber. The new design will allow the manufacturer to indulge in the tear-drop stream-lining which has been much discussed recently. The bonnet would disappear, the driver sitting behind a rounded glass panel.

ELECTRIC PILOT LIGHT

A recent invention for the motorist is a device for showing at a glance whether the batteries have enough water in them. Fixed on the dash-board, it is close at hand, and all one does to take a reading is to turn a knob.

THE ROYAL AIR FORCE

"Long distance inter-command flights between overseas units of the Royal Air Force are becoming increasingly common," says the *Statesman*.

"Flights from the North-West Frontier of India or Iraq to Singapore have been routine episodes for some years; the R. A. F. have also undertaken flights from Singapore to Australia and the Far East. But at the present time activity is exceptional. A bomber squadron from Egypt is about to pay India a brief visit escorted by a bomber transport squadron from Iraq for most of the way. The flying boat squadron based on Malta is visiting the British colonies in West Africa, while No. 201 squadron (flying boats) stationed at Calshot in Southampton Water is about to embark on a flight to Malta, Gibraltar, and Lishon. These two latter flights involve making use of a number of French bases—an evidence of the greater co-operation between the British and French Services since German activity in Spain and M. Delbos' historic declaration in the French Chamber. On the other hand, despite the inevitably close connection between British and French policy, security for Imperial communication may not be attained until British aircraft have a range enabling them to dispense with foreign stations altogether."

'VARSITY OF THE AIR

Proposals are being discussed in Australian aviation circles for the establishment of a 'university of the air' to provide a systematic means of training a regular supply of pilots for internal air lines and as reserves for the air defence forces. The cost of establishing the college is estimated at between £80,000 and £40,000. A resident cadet system would be a basic part of the plan, which aims at giving young and newly qualified pilots proper training in heavy air-craft piloting, after they have obtained their first certificate with light machines. With Australia's development in the air, especially in the last 18 months, all the experienced available commercial pilots have been absorbed in the numerous services.

WOOLLEN DEALERS' CONVENTION

About 70 representatives interested in the wholesale distributive side of the Woollen, Worsted and Hosiery Industries met last month in Cawnpore, to consider and discuss the many problems which affect the prosperity of the industry.

The Convention was opened by the Chairman, Mr. G. V. Lewis, Managing Director of the British India Corporation, who, in addressing the visitors, said there was a pressing need for the formation of a properly organised body to deal with all problems relating to and influencing the welfare of the manufacturing and distributive sides of the industry in India. He also dealt with the need for a greater measure of technical education which, he said, it was essential the youth of India should receive if manufacturers were to keep pace with and compete with those countries in which industries are staffed by young and energetic men who had received efficient and adequate technical education in their own country.

The members of the Convention listened to the following lectures:

1. Woollen Technology for Wholesale and Retail Dealers, by Mr. W. R. Watt, M.A., B.Sc., D.I.C., F.G.S., of the United Provinces.
2. Modern Methods of Publicity and Display, by Mr. J. J. Haslett, Publicity Expert of the Punjab.
3. Present-day selling difficulties and their solution, by Mr. Muni Lal of Lahore.
4. Development of the System of Retail Distribution, by Seth Mahadyal of Calcutta.

BOMBAY INDUSTRIES FAIR

"I do not say that measures other than protection are not required to build up a sound industry either of the big factory kind or of the small cottage variety. But in a country like India, where many industries are still in their infancy, protection is often an indispensable condition of their existence," declared Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya, at the opening of the Second Indian Industries Fair on the Back Bay Reclamation grounds, Bombay.

THE ALL-INDIA KISAN CONGRESS

Along with the Congress Session, the Kisan Congress met at Faizpur under the presidentship of Prof. N. G. Ranga, whose address had a distinctly socialistic if not communistic note and was based upon a deep appreciation of the difficulties of the peasantry in India.

"We are organising ourselves in order to prepare ourselves for the final inauguration of a socialist state of society. We understand by a socialist society that one in which one is assured of a minimum amount of food, clothing, housing, culture and pleasure, and all are made the beneficiaries of the fruits of all public utilities, property and mineral resources, and in which no set of individuals is remunerated more than others without any good or valid ground of contribution made to society. And such a society cannot be ushered in, until and unless all those institutions and interests which to-day are exploiting the masses in every possible manner are abolished."

The Conference passed several resolutions of far-reaching importance to the peasants of this country.

The Congress demanded radical over-hauling of the present famine relief code, endorsed all demands of the First Kisan Congress held at Lucknow, and demanded the abolition of agricultural debt and present land revenue system; the radical reconstruction of the present system of ownership and cultivation, involving the zamindari system.

AN INDIAN SERICULTURIST

Mr. S. Bagchi, who proceeded to Japan in 1934, as the scholar of the Calcutta University for special studies of sericulture and silk industries, has completed his studies in the Imperial Sericulture College, the Tokyo Imperial University, Imperial Central Research Institute of Japan and other experimental stations.

He has been awarded a special scholarship by the Government of Japan to study Cultural Relationship between India and Japan, Commerce and Industries, and for this he will be given special facilities by the Government of Japan. He is the first Indian scholar to receive this distinction from the Government of Japan.

THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS

The executive of the All-India Trade Union Congress met at Faizpur under the presidency of Mr. Sivnath Banerji. The Congress passed several resolutions.

The Committee decided to put up Mr. Joglekar as a candidate in opposition to the Congress nominee.

The Committee considered the unity question between the All-India Trade Union Congress and the National Trades Union Federation and decided that the scheme of confederation sponsored by Mr. Roy be circulated among Unions.

The Committee demanded Mr. Ruikar's release for election purposes and condemned the Government's action in rejecting the nomination of Dr. Charu Banerjee, a detenu.

The Committee congratulated the B. N. Railway strikers' heroic stand and called on the Unions to help the strikers.

LABOUR LEGISLATION IN TRAVANCORE

"The labour conditions in Native States are far behind even those in British India. No labour legislation worth the name exists in most of the Indian States. Unless labour legislation in the States is brought on a par with that of British India, the labour in the States will even be a drag on the progress of labour in British India," said Mr. P. N. Krishna Pillai, presiding over the Shertalai Labour Conference at Trivandrum on January 10. The Conference was held in a *shamiana* at the Sakhteeswar Temple *maidan*. A large number of factory workers of Alleppey and Shertalai attended the Conference.

SAFETY IN COAL MINES

That the colliery owners in India are quite alive to the necessity of taking adequate safety measures in mines owned by them, was revealed at a sitting of the Coal Mining Committee recently, when the oral evidence of MacNeil Company, Bird and Company, and Jardine, Skinner and Company was recorded. The Committee is composed of Mr. L. B. Burrows, Commissioner of Presidency Division, Chairman, Sir Jehangir Coyajee, Mr. J. N. Mackie, Mr. H. K. Nag, Mr. N. Barracough, Dr. M. S. Krishnan, Members, and Mr. M. Ikramullah, I.C.S., Secretary.

INTER-PROVINCIAL CRICKET TOURNEY

The final of the Southern Zone in the Inter-Provincial Cricket Tournament between Madras and Hyderabad ended in a big victory for Hyderabad. On a hard and fast wicket, Hyderabad scored 203 runs in the 1st innings. Ramsingh proved the most successful bowler, while Gopalan and G. Parthasarathi assisted him to a considerable extent. Despite early reverses, Hyderabad was able to pull the game, mainly through the efforts of Aibasa and Ibrahim Khan, who attacked the bowling with zeal and pertinacity. Madras finished up with a modest total of 110 runs and each batsman experienced difficulty in playing the opponents' bowling with confidence. G. Parthasarathy was the only batsman to score 28 runs, and he really played gallant cricket, driving and pooling powerfully. Hyder Ali and Asadulla for the visitors proved successful bowlers capturing 5 wickets for 85 and 81 runs respectively.

In their second venture, Hyderabad finished up with a total of 210 runs for Madras to make up for a victory. Even though the opening batsmen of Madras seemed set for a big score, on the third day they were all out for a paltry total of 97 runs. Thus the visitors won the Match with their little resources and won it creditably, too, by a convincing margin.



RAO BAHADUR K. N. DIKSHIT
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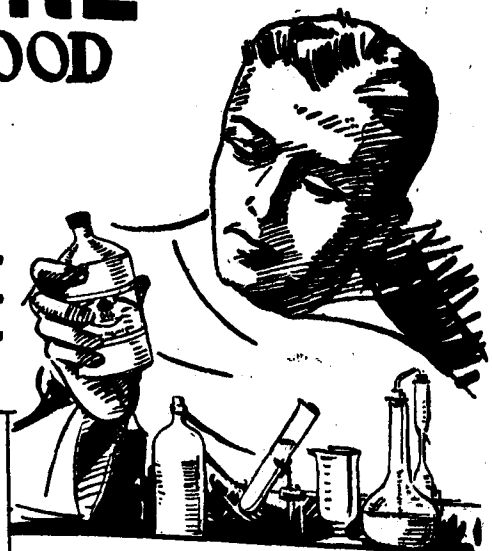
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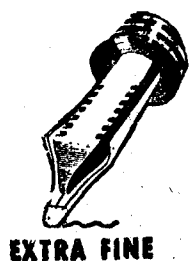
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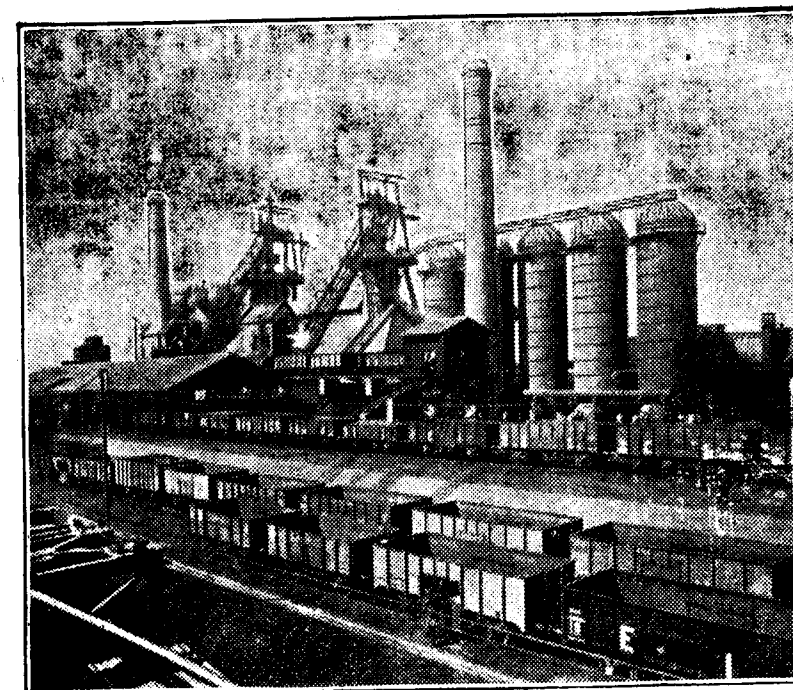
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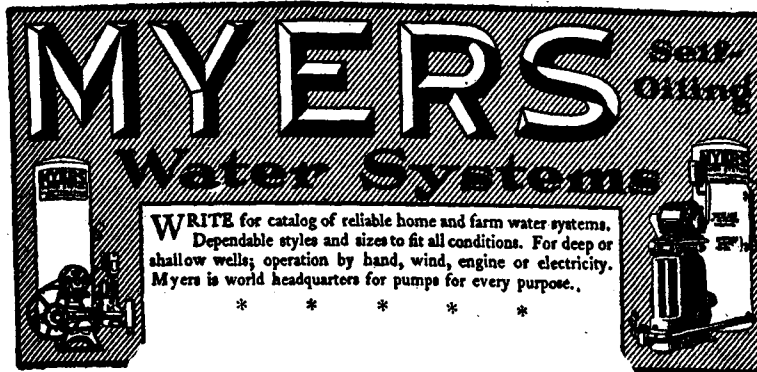
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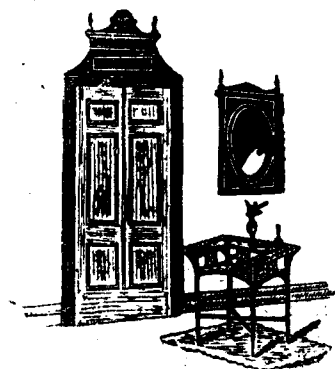
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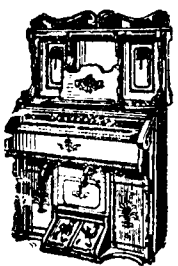
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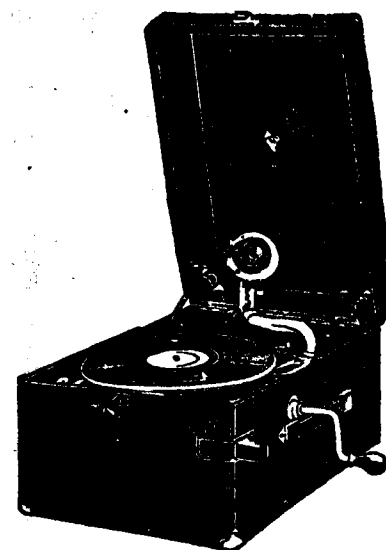
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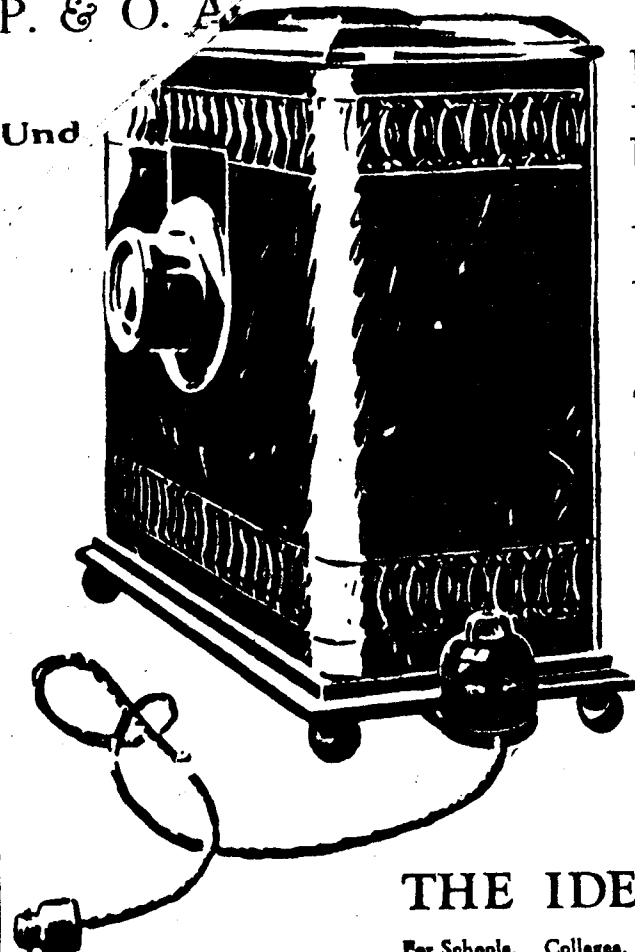
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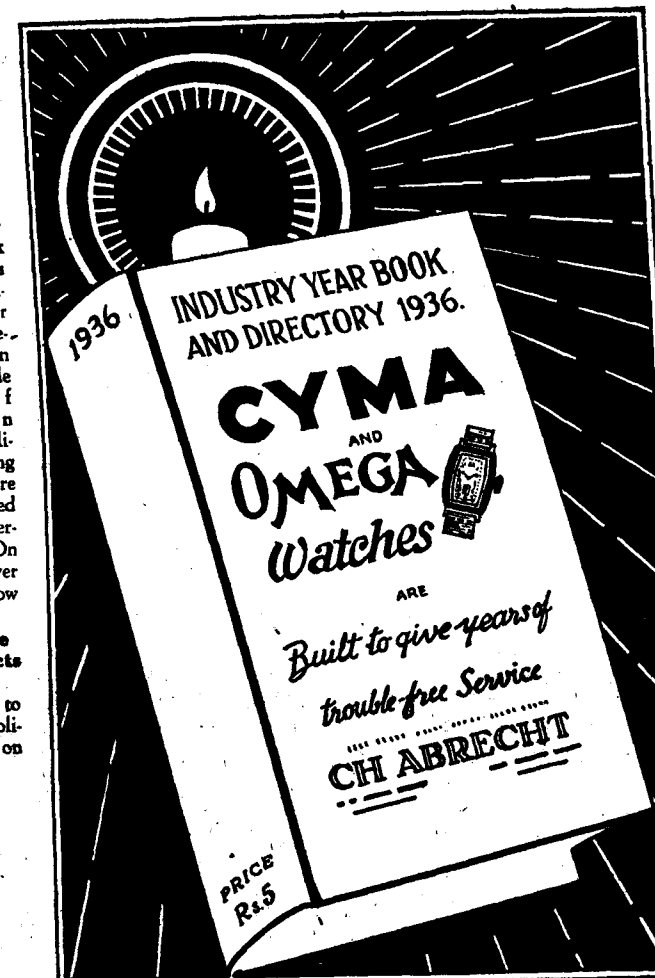
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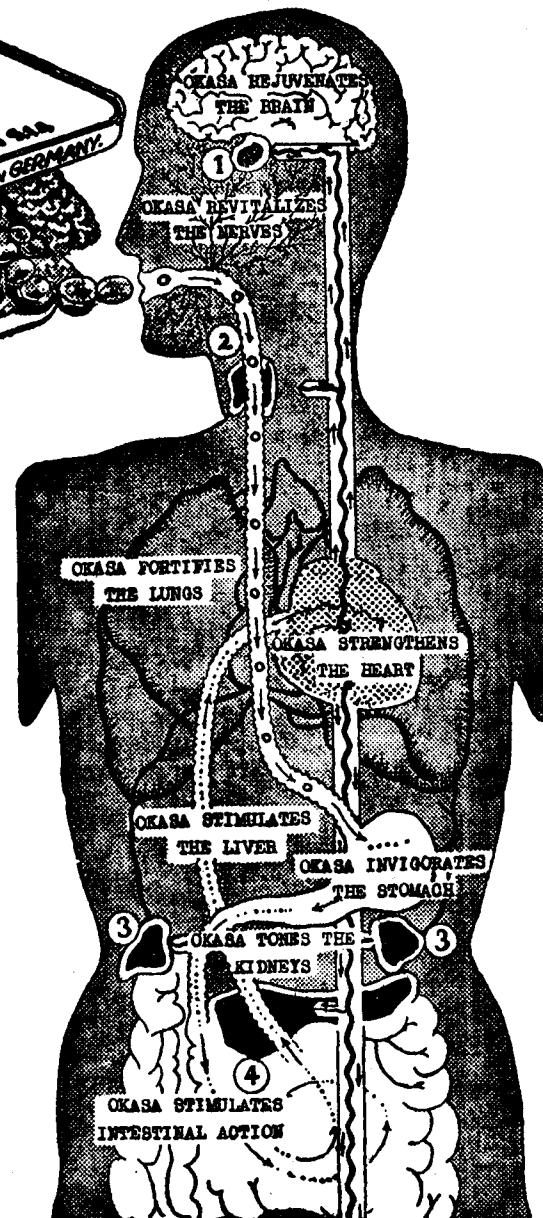
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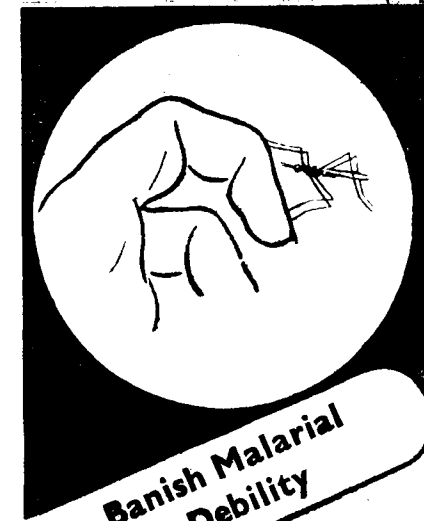
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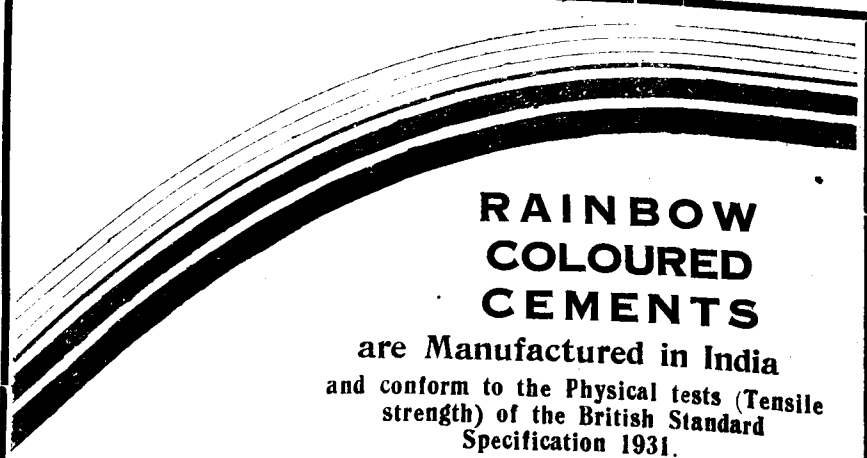


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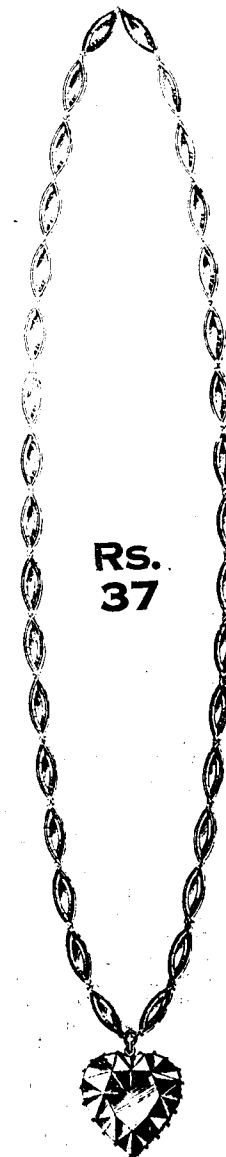
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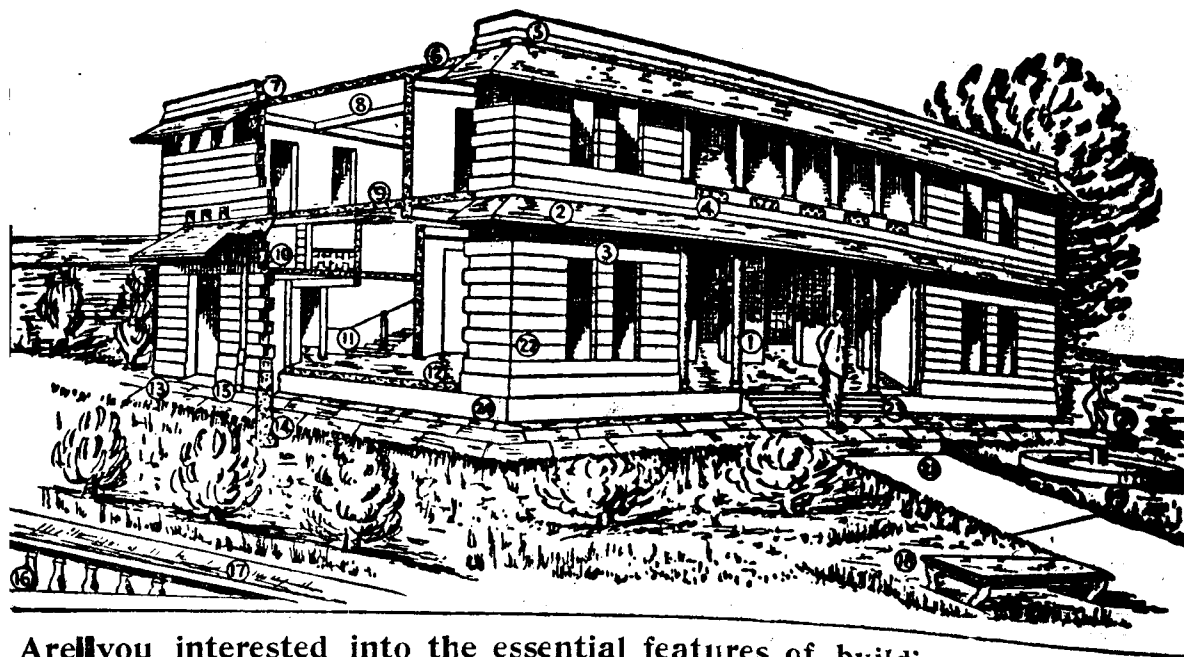
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EDITED BY MR. G. A. NATESAN

VOL. XXXVIII.]

MARCH 1937

[No. 3.]

CONFESSIONS OF AN OCTOGENARIAN

BY MR. GLYN BARLOW

“THE days of our years are three-score years and ten; and if by reason of strength they be fourscore years, yet is their strength, labour and sorrow.” That's what the Psalmist said; and what he said was certainly a general truth; but I'm glad to be able to encourage men younger than myself with the assurance that it's possible to arrive at an eightieth birthday without having found the extra ten years a period of either labour or sorrow. The fact that I passed my eightieth birthday a few months ago, and still feel fit and can still enjoy life, makes me feel qualified to give fellow-men the benefit of my own experience.

However fit a man may feel, it would of course be foolish to talk assertively about the future; for in these hustling and bustling times it's truer than ever that “in the midst of life we are in death”. For example, I don't know how many times of late I've been within an inch of being knocked down by a motor car; and only yesterday I was as near to death as ever I was in my life. Common sense, of course, tells us to look both ways before crossing a road, and I'm particularly careful to do so; but in an idle moment even the most

prudent man alive may be caught napping—and then perhaps be alive no longer; and in a side-street yesterday evening after dark I stepped off the kerb in a day-dream, and was awakened in the middle of the narrow street by a car tearing past me at fiendish speed. What has made me particularly careful is the fact that in Paris, two or three years ago, I was knocked violently down by a car, which, although it didn't run over me, caused me so many small injuries that I was escorted to a chemist's shop, where I was patched and plastered by a nurse. Instead of being dejected by my scratches and bruises, I was so delighted at not having been killed that I was peculiarly merry—so merry, in fact, that the chemist, who had imagined that every Englishman was always very sedate, expressed his surprise at seeing an Englishman making merry over an accident. So, with the ever-increasing hustle and bustle of life, I leave the future to itself; and as an octogenarian who has lived more than forty years of his life in India, I propose to offer a few remarks on old age in general and on the way to keep fit in the East; and I will tell the reader what I take to be the particular reason for my own fitness.

I have always disliked talking about myself, but, in order to prove my assertion that even at eighty a man's life is not necessarily "labour and sorrow", I'm going to tell a little story of one of my own octogenarian doings. Hayfield and Edale are two rural villages on opposite sides of Kinderscout, the highest ridge in the mountainous "Peak" district in Derbyshire; so a direct journey from one village to the other involves a climb over Kinderscout, which is more than 2,000 feet high. It's a seven-mile stretch, up-hill and down, over difficult ground, and is catalogued in walking-tour handbooks as a strenuous expedition. It's certainly a big walk, but in October last, although I had turned eighty in August, I climbed one afternoon from Hayfield to Edale; and two days later I climbed back from Edale to Hayfield, without feeling the least fatigue on either occasion. When I was at Madras, I used to enjoy sculling on the Adyar, and even then in my later years, more than ten years ago, I heard myself styled the 'Ancient Mariner'; but a few months ago, in a case of necessity, I found myself at no loss to scull a clumsy boat with several passengers against a running stream.

An octogenarian must be thankful to his parents for a great measure of his strength; for a born weakling, whatever care he might take for his well-being, could hardly hope for strenuous old age; but apart from accidents, any man with average health and strength can regulate his life for the prolongation of a happy existence. One man's meat is another man's poison, and it would be impossible to draw up a set of hard-and-fast rules of life that would be good for all; but every man can at least determine not to

live what is known as an 'unhealthy life'—the kind of life that saps vitality and makes a man old before his time and old age such as his a misery.

In the matter of strong drink, it is still a matter of discussion whether a moderate allowance is really beneficial or not. For my own part, I have never been a teetotaler, but on the other hand I have been very abstemious and have often gone months together without taking so much as a single drop; and I have never at any time had the slightest inclination to 'booze'; and I have an idea of my own that if I had made it my habit to drink spirits regularly, even in moderation, I shouldn't now be as well as I am. It's a certainty that in the East a great many men have shortened their lives by indulgence; and in the course of my own residence in India, I saw many men who had come out to good posts spoil their efficiency by gradually becoming hardened toppers; and I saw several fine young fellows from time to time sent back unhappily home because drink had made them worthless. In India, by the way, it isn't only white men that drink spirits; and I remember a day when I saved a drunken Rajah from falling downstairs.

In India, tobacco is particularly cheap, and a cigar that would cost at least a shilling in England can—or at any rate could—be bought in India for less than a penny, with the result that in India there's no financial limitation to a man's smokes. My own experiences of tobacco-smoking have been peculiar. Until I was forty-four I never smoked at all. At forty-four, in the companionship of inveterate smokers, I smoked a cigar one evening for the fun of the thing; and within a month I was an inveterate

smoker myself. Working, as I used to have do, several hours in the night as well as throughout the day, I used regularly for a number of years to get through fifteen big cheroots (Java Dawsons) within every twenty-four hours. Six years ago, when I was seventy-four and was still a hard-smoker—although I knew subconsciously that smoking was doing me harm, something happened for which I'm thankful; and the reader shall hear what it was. On the 26th of February 1930, I saw in a magazine an advertisement of a patent medicine for inveterate smokers in which it was impressively asserted that smoking injures the heart, injures the digestion, injures the sight; and I felt that the assertion was true. I didn't buy the patent medicine, but I threw away my tobacco on the spot; and, with a strenuous exertion of will-power, I restrained from buying any more the next day; and from that day to this I have never smoked again. I feel quite sure that smoking was really impairing my heart, my digestion, and my sight; and, although I'm certainly very much better than I was, I wish remorsefully now that I had never smoked at all.

I'm going to tell the reader what I regard as the factor that has undoubtedly been mainly responsible for my octogenarian good health. Every morning for the last thirty and odd years, with unfailing regularity, I've done morning exercises before my daily bath—Muller's exercises for elderly men, to loosen the joints and to vitalise every organ. And I do the exercises still. No matter whether I'm at home or elsewhere, my seven minutes' morning exercises are a non-negligible part of my toilet. For the last twenty years and odd, moreover, I have always

lain down on the floor on my back, motionless, for five minutes before getting into bed; and thereby I flatten out the 'hump' that an old man's back is liable to assume. The five minutes are otherwise not a waste of time: for the supine position is favourable for thought, and a few minutes' meditation on things in general may be a useful finale to a day's doings.

It's the regularity of morning exercises that tells. I've known men who have suddenly become keen on morning exercises and have eloquently advocated them to others—and after perhaps a month or six weeks have gradually let them drop. It's no use to do morning exercises now and then; it's persistent regularity that makes them worth doing at all. Mahatmas who designed Brahminical morning devotions, with the numerous prostrations, knew the great value of morning exercises, and like various law-givers, wisely combined piety with health. So too the Mohammedan's devotions are a combination of prayer with healthful exercises in "bending and stretching"; and a devout Mussulman who says his prayers seven times a day, as prescribed, ought surely to be physically as well as spiritually 'fit'.

What with tennis and cricket and other games, not forgetting the staid athleticism of golf, Europeans in India can get plenty of exercise; but in very many cases the exercise is too spasmodic to be of much real use. Vigorous tennis on convenient evenings in fine weather, with nothing more vigorous than Bridge on other evenings and throughout the monsoon, isn't good enough; and too many men are content to take no exercise at all. I remember a man who invariably spent his whole evening in the club billiard-room—either as a spectator with a tumbler in his

hand or as a player with a cue in his hand—and, on the subject of exercise, he told me one day that walking round a billiard-table in a game for a hundred up, and bending down for each stroke, gave him all the exercise that he required. It may be a fact that a game of billiards may give more exercise than even a billiard-player may imagine; but the billiard-player to whom I have referred was forty when he made his statement, and was much too stout for his age; and he got stouter and stouter, and was dead before he was forty-five.

To feel light-hearted when the years have mounted up, a man needs to keep himself mentally and physically alert from morning to night, and not to allow himself to be always on the alert to sink into a long-armchair. The man who doesn't want to grow old before his time should be keen at work and at play, and should have his hobbies and his varied interests in life. Too many men deprive themselves of the *joie de vivre*—the joy of existence—by cultivating the *nil admirari* spirit instead of training themselves to appreciate what's beautiful and what's good. To be really 'alive' is the reality of life; but too many men are dead long before they die.

While advising people to take plenty of exercise as a qualification for a healthy old age, it will be well at the same time to warn them not to overdo things. From my own experience I know how desirable such a warning may be, for I've certainly overdone things myself, and I wish now that I had been seriously warned against doing so. Until I was seventy-five years old I never walked upstairs—I always ran—ran full speed. And from the age of seventy to seventy-five I did a maximum of running up steps; for I was living at

Naples, on a high hill that overlooks the city; and, going out for a walk at least twice a day, I had to climb sixty-four steep stone steps up the hill-side each time; and I invariably took them at a run. It was a most foolish thing to do, but I had run upstairs all my life with no one to say me nay, and in my old age I continued to do what I had done in my youth. And, as a result of such unwisdom, my heart, which had for so many years been as sound as a bell, isn't so sound as it was. Any reader, therefore, who is over-energetic may take me as a warning.

Cicero wrote a well-known treatise on old age, but he didn't know so much about old age as I do; for he wrote his treatise when he was sixty—shortly before his assassins prevented him from getting really old; but it was certainly a suggestive work. In it he says that an old man finds it one of the joys of old age that people stand up to him at a feast or a public entertainment and give him a seat. That, we may suppose, was the way of things in ancient Rome; and in the world of the present day it is still an old man's delight to see how much kindness there is among men and women. Entering a full-up tram-car or tube-train, I have again and again seen a kind-faced man or woman or girl start up and insist upon giving me a seat instead of leaving me to hang on the strap. I have often felt that I should have been better able to do the strap-hanging than the kind stranger; but it would be churlish to decline such kindness; and I have sometimes tried to repay it by sinking into the seat with a pretence of extreme feebleness and grateful relief. Yes, every old man receives so many such kindnesses that he can testify that there is very much charity in a world that is often called cold.

INDIAN STATES AND THE FEDERATION

By MR. SARDAR RANBIR SINGH, B.A., LL.B.

(Publicity Officer, Dholpur)

THE extreme caution and restraint exhibited by the Indian States in scrutinising the Federal Legislative List is the natural and usual prelude to all Federal experiments in the constitutional history of the world. But this must be clearly understood that this attitude or the exhaustive reservation and limitations suggested by the Indian States are not due to any particularist or parochial spirit, nor to any selfish desire to protect narrowly conceived material interest, but is solely due to the fact that the Indian Princes believe that, as custodians of ancient dynastic traditions, they have the greatest duty of preserving their identity and their peculiar constitution with their particular fields of endeavour. They also hope that, uninterrupted by outside interference, they can make experiments in administration which may in some aspects be usefully followed by their neighbours.

The division of powers between the Centre and the Federating units has always been, as it now is in this country, a difficult question to decide. The amount of power surrendered to the Central Government, or retained by the component States generally, depends on the historical backgrounds of individual countries. Differences like these have to be traced ultimately to the influence exercised by political sentiments of a particular country as distinguished from mere logic. Thus the Federation of United States was founded of 13 States, which were in full enjoyment of sovereignty before the Federation. These States were naturally suspicious of another central authority on them and did not favour the idea of conferring many powers on the centre. Consequently in the original constitution of United States, the individual States retained a good deal of their sovereignty and the centre had a comparatively limited sphere of activity. The Canadian Provinces, like the Provinces in British India, were not sovereign any time. They were accustomed to the exercise over them of a large amount of control by England. Therefore, there was nothing to obstruct the formation of a strong Central Government in Canada. In German Empire, the States were

fully independent before 1871. They were in almost all cases ruled by autocratic Princes. Therefore, the part-States in the German Empire retained in certain respects even more powers than the States in the United States. A study of other Federal systems in Switzerland, Australia and others reveal similar influences being exercised by the peculiar circumstances of each country in the determination of actual division of power between central and local Governments. Thus it has been found in practice that in the framing of constitutions, wisdom consists more in discovering what is possible and practical in a particular country than in a blind and obstinate adherence to theoretical principles, however sound and logical they might appear to be.

Then, again, it is increasingly unrealistic to conceive of a Federal division of functions between the centre and the units in terms of the assignment of subjects as a whole. Each subject has diverse phases appropriate to central and local attention. The administration of a Federal subject may have repercussions on other subjects which are the exclusive concern of the units. The Federal Centre may try to amplify and enlarge the scope of its activities through implied and incidental powers. One should never lose sight of the difference between the powers as laid down in the constitution and those which come to be exercised in practice under the influence of changing usage and convention and of judicial decisions and precedence. To illustrate these points, we find in United States of America that the specific power to provide for defence has been utilised by the Central Government to fix prices of articles, to stop profiteering, and to take under its control matters regarding railways, telegraphs and telephones. The power to establish Post Office has been used to authorise expenditure on highways and to prohibit the grant of postal facilities for the conveyance and sale of lottery tickets. Similarly in Australia things closely parallel to United States have happened and the Federal Centre has usually encroached on

domain reserve for the States and has thus added enormously to its authority. An attempt was once made by the Centre through its power to levy Excise duties to compel the manufacturers. Of agricultural machinery, to pay fair and reasonable wages to their employees although the States alone had the power to regulate wages. In his famous judgment (*Moculloch vs. Marylana*), Chief Justice Marshall justifies these implied powers of the Central Government. He says: "A constitution to contain an accurate detail of all the sub-divisions of which its great powers will admit, and of all the means by which they may be carried into execution, could partake of the prolixity of a legal code and would scarcely be embraced by a human mind. . . . Its nature, therefore, required that its great outlines should be marked, its important objects designated, and the minor ingredients, which compose these objects, be deduced from the nature of the objects themselves."

The Federal Constitutions have also been to a great extent altered through the growth of that baffling and extra-legal device generally known as conventions and usages. This device is responsible for Central Governments in the United States of America, Australia and Canada entering the fields of education, agriculture, roads, forests, fisheries, and animal husbandry which always have been the concern of Provincial Governments. The Hon'ble Judges, while interpreting the Federal Constitution, have at one time gone to the extent of suggesting that the Federal lists of subjects are only illustrative and not exhaustive.

The justification put forward for all this extension of authority into fields, which were unknown or un-thought of at the time when the constitutions were framed, is that without it the specific powers conferred by enumeration cannot become effective and complete. There does not seem to be any limit to the extent to which such powers might be extended whenever it suits the Central Government.

Lastly, there is the important question of Administration; more so because we are told that agreements under Section 125 of

the New Government of India Act will not be made with many Indian States. In Switzerland and Germany, like the Indian States, the component States have been in enjoyment of sovereign powers for a long period. They had, therefore, cultivated an intense suspicion of any Central authority exercising administrative jurisdiction within the States. To solve this difficulty, they found a convenient formula in Legislative Centralisation and Administrative Decentralisation. Such an arrangement makes the States feel that they are not deprived of their traditional power and prestige. It also avoids the duplication of administrative machinery and is consequently more economical. It also makes possible the administration of most laws by public officers, who are familiar with the local needs and peculiarities and who may be trusted to show sympathy with local prejudices.

A glance over the aforesaid circumstances conclusively shows that the general tendency of the Federal Centres to invade the exclusive spheres of the Units has been found to be sufficiently notorious in other countries to put the Indian States on their guard. It is only right and just that the States should give very serious thought and in no hurried manner to the present matter, which is full of such knotty problems and grave implications in the face of Federal precedents, which do not always depend on written laws.

THE INDIAN BUDGET

Sir James Grigg, the Finance Member, presented the Indian Budget in the Legislative Assembly on Feb. 27, 1936-1937

1936-1937		1937-1938	
Excluding Railways, the figures are as follows:—		Revenue	Lakhs
(Rs. lakhs.)		Expenditure	79.99
Budget 1936-37		Gross deficit	83.41
Revenue	83.14		
Expenditure	33.08		
Surplus	6		
(Rs. lakhs)			
Revised 1936-37			
Revenue	81.26		
Expenditure	83.33		
Deficit	1.07		

Against this, there is a sum of Rs. 1.84 lakhs in the Revenue Reserve Fund, so that the Net Deficit is Rs. 1.58 lakhs.

NEW TAXATION

Silver duty raised from 2 annas to 3 annas.
Sugar duty fixed at Rs. 7-4.
Excise duty raised from Rs. 1-5 to Rs. 2.

Congress and the Elections

[The results of the Elections to the Provincial Legislatures are now practically complete. All the eleven Assemblies have been duly constituted and only three Councils or Upper Houses—those for Bengal, Bihar and Assam—remain to be completed. The following table shows at a glance the relative strength of the various Parties in the respective Chambers. It will be seen that Congress has secured absolute majorities in six out of the eleven provinces—Madras, Bombay, U. P., C. P., Bihar and Orissa. What is the Congress going to do with its huge majorities? Is it going to shirk responsibility and decline office? To be sure, this is a great opportunity for the Congress to justify the electors' confidence. Apart from the Liberals and other Parties which, while condemning the New Constitution as unsatisfactory, yet urge acceptance of office in the country's interest; there is a considerable body of opinion in Congress itself in favour of office acceptance. For, rejection of office and responsibility under such favourable circumstances will be nothing short of political *hara-kiri*. It is hoped Congress will not repeat the folly of ploughing barren sands but accept the responsibility thrust on it by the immense majority of voters in the country, work the reforms for what they are worth and pave the way for fuller freedom.—ED. I.R.]

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

Madras

Total Strength—54 to 56

Congress	27
Congress sympathisers	4
Justice	4
Hindu Independents	2
Muslim League	3
Muslim Independents	3
Christian Independents	2
Europeans	1
People's Party	Nil
Nominations	8 to 10

Bombay

Total strength—29 to 30

Congress	13
Independents	7
Muslim League	2
Democratic Swarajya Party	2
Europeans	1
Liberals	1
Nominations	4

Bengal

(Not complete)

United Provinces

Total strength—58 to 60

Congress	8
Independent Hindus	22
Independent Moslems	16
National Agriculturist Party	5
Europeans	1
Nominations	6 to 8

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Total strength—215

Congress	159	European General	3
Justice Party	17	Madras Planters	1
Independents	15	Nattukottai Nagarathars'	
People's Party	1	Association	1
Muslim League	11	Anglo-Indians	2
Muslim Progressive Party	1	Southern India Chamber	
European Commerce	3	of Commerce	1

Total strength—175

Congress	88	Independent Labour Party	12
Muslim League	20	Non-Brahmins	8
Independent Muslims	10	Democratic Swaraj Party	5
Independent General	22	Peasants' Party	2
Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians	8		

Total strength—250

Congress (including 1 Independent Congress and 2 women)	43	Moslem League (including 2 women)	40
Scheduled castes (C)	7	Proja Party	38
Independent caste Hindus	15	Independent Muslims	43
Independent Scheduled castes	24	Europeans	25
Hindu Nationalists	3	Anglo-Indians (including 1 woman)	4
Hindu Sabha	2	Nominations	6

Total strength 228

Congress	133	Landholders	6
Independents Muslims	29	Europeans	3
Muslim League	27	Indian Christians	2
National Agricultural Party	18	Anglo-Indians	1
Independent Hindus	9	Hindu Sabha	Nil

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

Punjab

No Upper House

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Total strength—175

Unionists	99	Ahrars	2
Congress	18	Muslim League	1
Akali Congress	11	Ithihad-i-Millat	2
Khalsa Nationalists	13	Congress Nationalists	1
Hindu Election Board	12	Independents	16

Bihar

(Not complete)

Total strength—152

Congress	95	Anglo-Indians	1
Moslem Independents	15	Indian Christians	1
Moslem United	6	Loyalists	1
Europeans	4	Ahrars	3
Constitutional	2	No Party	24

Central Provinces

No Upper House

Total strength—112

Congress	71	Nationalists	2
Muslims (Raufighah Group 8, Shariff Group 5, and 1 Independent)	14	Raja Party	1
Non-Brahmins	3	Europeans	1
Ambedkarites	4	Anglo-Indians	1
		Hindu Sabha	1
		Independents	14

Assam

(Not complete)

Total strength—108

Congress Hindus	35	Europeans	9
Independent Hindus	10	Indian Christian	1
United People's Party Hindus	3	Women's Independents	1
Assam Valley Moslem Party	5	Backward Tribal	4
Surma Valley Moslem Party	5	Backward Areas Hills	5
Moslem League	9	Indian Planting	2
Moslem Proja Party	1	Labour	4
Independent Moslems	14		

N. W. F. Province

No Upper House

Total strength—50

Congress	19	Muslim Democratic Party	6
Hindu-Sikh Nationalist Party	8	Muslim Independent Party	2
United Muslim Nationalist Party	9	No-Party Muslims	6

Orissa

No Upper House

Total strength—60

Congress	36	Scheduled castes	6
Nationalist Party	2	Indian Christians	2
United Party	4	Nominations	4
Independents	3		

Sind

No Upper House

Total strength—60

United Party	23	Hindu Sabha	4
Congress	7	Independents	17
Azad Party	3	Europeans	3
Muslim Party	3		

India and Ceylon in the Middle Ages

BY MR. D. T. DEVENDRA, B.A. (LOND.)

LANKA, the Beautiful, had always been a prize on which the kings of India, especially those of the South, had cast covetous eyes. In the third century before Christ, Elara, the Chola Tamil king, ruled in the royal city of Anuradhapura. He (seventh of us, and the Island's "Great by the Gr the "Mahavansa", speaks the Chola udatory terms not usually Siva templ own rulers.

(twelfth-fo, in battle against Gamani temple. Cid of Ceylon, the champion far missip who broke the might of the

In tland restored national pride and kingpect. But all did not go well with of successors; for time and again it is isrded that the Damilas, as the Dravidians are called, visited the land with hostile intent. Their efforts were most successful during the Middle Ages, and as time went on, it became forcefully evident that their permanent settlement could not be stayed. Thus to-day the northern province as well as the eastern seaboard is entirely in the hands of their descendants. Hardly a name persists to indicate that the north was once the royal province, Raja Rata, of the early Sinhalese kings and the scene of Lanka's first and great civilisation.

In the opening years of the seventh century, the king of Kalinga (the seaboard between the Mahanadi and the Godavari) "whose mind was disturbed when he saw the death of living beings in war, came hither to our Island with the resolve of world renunciation". It is surmised that Pulakesin II, the Chalukya king, had driven him out. The Ceylon king gladly offered the royal fugitive a welcome home, but his leanings being otherwise, he entered the priesthood. His chief queen and his minister followed suit. The royal recluses lived an exemplary life and were held in great affection and regard.

From this time onward, South India began to have a large say in Ceylon matters. One Sinhalese king fleeing from a rival sought the help of a Pallava conqueror of Pulakesin. In return for his services, the Indian ruler attempted, but not very successfully, to rehabilitate his friend on his native throne. He makes

claim to have subdued the Sinhalese king and brought the Island under his sway.

The eighth century saw an invasion of Pandyan king. (The Pandyans dwelt in the south of India. Korkai, and later Madura, were their capitals.) Their cause was immediately espoused by the Indians who were already settled. The invading hosts struck terror into the hearts of the islanders. They plundered valuable treasures and temples and devastated the country. The king retreated to the hill country taking his valuables with him. But peace was made between the enemies and the royal capital was restored, after which the Pandyans returned.

His successor eagerly availed himself of an opportunity to avenge the national insult. A son of the Pandyan king, who had not found favour with his father, arrived in the Island and solicited his help. The latter collected a large force and entrusted it to his General with this charge: "Arise, slay the Pandu king, bring hither all the jewels formerly carried away from here, transfer to him (the prince) the royal dignity and come hither again at once."

The General prospered exceedingly in his enterprise. He took the Pandyan capital and laid waste the neighbouring country. The king was completely routed and the General administrated the country for a time, and after which he set the prince on the throne. "Then he betook himself to the sea-coast, sojourned there so long as he chose, embarked with unruffled calm as if for amusement, came to Mahatittha (a port in Ceylon), greeted the Ruler respectfully, gave a report and showed him the treasures he had brought along." During a subsequent reign, however, a Sinhalese army sent to help Rajasinna the Pandyan king, against Parantaka I, his Chola invader, had to return home empty handed.

The Pandyan king fled to Ceylon to seek aid from the next ruler, but on account of internal commotions he obtained none. Thereupon "he left his diadem and other valuables behind and betook

himself to the Keralas (Malabar country)". Referring to the defeat of the Pandians by the neighbouring power, Mr. H. W. Codrington says thus: "We see here the rise of the great Chola Empire, which first overshadowed and finally engulfed the Island kingdom."

The Chola king was now having his own way with his neighbour. Soon Lanka, too, was to feel his might. A wastrel, Udaya, was on the throne and the Indian ruler demanded the return of the royal insignia which were necessary for his consecration as Pandyan king. Refusal by the latter brought the enemy into the Island. The attempt to punish Udaya was unsuccessful as he had retreated to the inaccessible south. But for no given cause the invaders themselves had to return home post-haste, and the tables were turned on them by the Sinhalese who invaded Chola, "laid waste the borderland of the Chola king and forced him with threats to restore all that he had carried away from here (as booty)". This king's successor married "a princess of the line of the ruler of Kalinga", a union which gave the Island one of her greatest monarchs. Another Chola invasion occurred but it was successfully stemmed.

Passing over an indiscretion of his successor which made his own General hand over the kingdom to the foreigners settled down in the Island, we come to the dawn of the eleventh century when Anuradhapura, so long the capital of the Sinhalese kings, could no longer be ruled peacefully on account of the alien population which predominated in it. The king Mahinda V. "wandered from the path of statecraft and was of very weak character". On one occasion he lacked the wherewithal to pay his foreign mercenaries. "All the Keralas who got no pay, planted themselves one with another at the door of the royal palace, determined on force, bow in hand, armed with swords (and) other weapons (with the cry): "So long as there is no pay he shall not eat." The king, however, made good his escape to the south, always a place of refuge. There was anarchy in the country. The king's own subjects, and foreign Keralas, and Kannatas, the last of whom came

from Mysore and its environs, ruled as they pleased.

Tidings of this reached the great Chola emperor, Rajaraja I. through a horse-dealer who had come to the coast for trade. He promptly embraced the easy opportunity thus offered and despatched a large force. They seized the queen, royal treasures and finally, by a ruse, the king whom they carried away. Chola after twelve years of

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Vikkama Pandu, an Indian ruler, fl 1
his country. He heard of the anar
arrived in the Island and carved out
kingdom for himself in the south with
the modern town of Kalutara as his
capital. The next was Jagatpal of Oudh,
and his successor was Parakrama, son of
the Pandyan king. But all of them were
defeated and killed in battle by the
Cholians.

Ceylon had become a province of the Chola empire. For half a century, foreign power reigned supreme in the important parts of the Island. William the Norman was fighting Harold the Saxon for the land of the English, when Kirti, a brave Sinhalese lad of fifteen summers, arose in Lanka to fight the usurper for the throne of his fathers. So complete was his rout of the enemy that no foreigner ventured into the Island for nearly two centuries.

Mention has been made of the fact that there had been very early occupation of the Island by Indian kings, but oddly enough no traces of definitely Hindu architecture in dwellings or places of worship have been found in the first capital, Anuradhapura. It may well have been that the earlier conquerors were absorbed into the faith and customs of the country, thus leaving behind no impress of their individuality. With the later capital, Polonnaruwa, however, the case is different. Here one finds a fair number of Hindu shrines, cheek by jowl with those of the kindred faith,

There are ruins of nearly a dozen Hindu Kovils. There is a temple of Kali or Durga, a few dedicated to the worship of Vishnu, and double this number of the Saiva cult. In this connexion, Mr. A. M. Hocart, lately Archaeological Commissioner, thus says: "The only monuments completely built of stone are Hindu temples. The early Pallava period (seventh-eighth century) is represented by the Gedi-ge at Nalanda near Matale, the Chola style (tenth-eleventh) by the Siva temple at Polonnaruwa, the Pandyan (twelfth-fourteenth) by another Siva temple. The Vijayanagara style is so far missing."

In this ruined capital of the mediæval kings, there is also an arresting example of the work of the Indian sculptor. It is a huge image popularly said to be that of Parakrama Bahu the Great, a national hero and the descendant of the Kalinga union referred to in a foregoing paragraph. But it is believed to be the likeness of an Indian sage, Kapila, or of Agasti, or of Pulasti. Mr. Hocart says that it "stands in a class by itself; its breadth and dignity cannot fail to impress; the face shows no attempt at idealisation so much so that one is tempted to suppose that it is a portrait; if so, it is almost unique in Indian art, which only tried to take an interest in portraiture under the influence of the Kushan kings". The figure is that of a subject of advanced age, dressed in a dhoti, with a sacred thread across the bare upper part of the body and holding a palm-leaf book in its hands.

Dravidian influence is evident even in a Buddhist temple of this time at Polonnaruwa, the Veluwanaramaya, so named after a favourite bamboo grove retreat of the Buddha at Patna. Mr. H. C. P. Bell, a former Archaeological Commissioner, makes the following remarks about this shrine in his Report of 1909: "This (namely, the ornamentation) at once proclaims the style to be unmistakably Pallava, adapted by judicious modification to non-Hindu treatment. Any one interested in comparative architectural styles, who visits the 'Demala-Maha-Seya' of Polonnaruwa, after seeing the temples of Kanchipuram in Southern India—the 'Vaikunth Perumal' in particular—will at once understand whence the Ceylon

architect got his inspiration. At 'Demala-Maha-Seya' Buddhist purity compromised with Hindu predilections; Siva and other alien gods were supplanted by miniature representations of Buddhist shrines, retaining a portion of the Dravidian arched niches but with figures suited to the former cult. . . . The Demala-Maha-Seya (the Great Stupa of the Tamils) was the name by which Veluwanaramaya had been mistakenly called. It contained some exquisite mural paintings.

A few observations on the Hindu fanes are not inapt by way of conclusion. One Sivan Kovil which Mr. Bell calls "this striking ruin of the Saivaitic cult, constructed entirely of gneiss" is thus described by Farrer in "Old Ceylon":

"A very beautiful and exquisite shrine is this, too, of a small temple, all of carved stone, delicately fitted and wrought. In almost every detail the thing is perfect, and perhaps it is more than fancy that finds Hellenic memories in the purity of its line and the perfection of its proportions. . . . Tradition calls this lovely jewel of stone-work the Dalada Maligawa of Polonnaruwa, asserting that this was the shrine of the Tooth Relic. Tradition here, as so often in hardly rediscovered Polonnaruwa, lies; for this temple is not Sinhalese but Tamil of the finest; it is not Buddhist, but Hindu; it is not a shrine of the Tooth Relic, but a small temple of Siva the Destroyer."

The best preserved, however, is another Sivan Kovil. In the course of excavations, Mr. Bell came across three shallow inscriptions cut in Grantha-Tamil characters on the walls. These were translated in 1909 for Mr. Bell by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, Assistant Archaeological Superintendent, Madras Presidency. One of them refers to a king by the name of Parakesarivarman or Adhirajendradeva, another to Rajendra Chola I. The Kovil itself is called Vanavanmadevi Iswaramudaiyyar. The inscriptions further supply definite proof of the change of the capital's name to Jananathamangalam or pura. Occasionally the old name prevailed, as when it was called "Pulanari", perhaps by the Dravidians not familiar with the altered title.

FOREIGN TRADE POLICY FOR INDIA

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

(Editor, "Indian Finance", Calcutta)

THE two most important factors in the formulation of a country's foreign trade policy are a properly realistic approach to the problems connected with it and the objective conditions of world trade in which any foreign trade policy will have to operate. In clarifying the approach to the problem, one should recognise the importance of social ends and their obtrusion into the sphere of the free market, national and international.

Every country has to define its economic policy in reference to the social ends for which there is a general consensus of opinion. And in India, too, an attempt must be made to classify the interests of each class and pursue a policy which will serve the common interests of all classes. The business magnates require expanding avenues of investment. The educated middle class requires salaried employment which can be provided only by a much larger expansion of truly productive activity; and the agricultural classes stand in need of larger markets for our agricultural staples. If we relate these ends to our foreign trade policy, the question is whether they can be served better by the traditional policy of free trade than by subordinating foreign trade to the development of the internal economy. We are often told that, even if all the present imports were manufactured within the country, the addition to employment, which it would bring about, would be quite inconsiderable, while at the same time the consequential reduction in exports would be serious. This is meant to be an argument against protection. But does it not rather point to the fact that the goods and services which are internally produced and consumed and those which are imported from abroad annually together constitute a very slender basis of support for the entire population? If the problem is to enlarge that basis and if indigenous production of present imports will not achieve that end, then the obvious conclusion is that the wealth which we can command for annual consumption is

woefully insufficient. The question will then be whether we should seek to expand that wealth by increasing the volume of goods produced and consumed locally or whether we should aim at increasing our imports by increasing our exports? In either case, it will be seen, the country has to organise an expansion of productive activity directed either to increase in exports and the consequent power to import or increased domestic consumption. Free traders generally assume that such increase would be more or less automatic in a regime of free trade. Surely a larger volume of goods is not the simple boon with which a merciful Providence rewards your devotion to free trade. It is only when you toil and increase production for direct internal consumption or for exchange with foreign countries that you can raise the standard of living.

You may thus realise the force of the question: what is the scope for the expansion of your export trade? You will admit that in the present stage of our productive efficiency, we have to put out of consideration the possibility of any considerable export trade in manufactured articles.

We are thus thrown back on our agricultural staples. At present there are somewhat hazy ideas about the fortunes of our export trade in agricultural commodities. The disastrous fall in prices has created the impression that we have made no progress, that on the other hand there has occurred a serious set back. A correct estimate is possible only when we consider the volume rather than the value of exports of each commodity; and for our present purpose, it is not fallacious to assume that for the fall in the value of exports there is a corresponding fall in the price of imports and that the terms of trade, which have always been against the agricultural countries, have not changed more in favour of the industrial countries. Leaving the minor items—I trust nobody is so optimistic as to believe that the minor items will be able to come to the rescue of our national economy—leaving the

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minor items, I say, there remain for consideration cotton, jute and jute manufactures, rice, wheat, tea, ground-nuts, linseed and oil-seeds, metals and metallic ores. Our exports of raw cotton in 1934-35 amounted to 623,000 tons as against 7 lakhs tons in the immediate post-War years. Exports of cotton waste in 1935-36 were 467,000 tons against 312,000 tons. the annual average of the post-War quinquennium. Exports of raw jute were at a higher level in 1935-36 than at any previous period. While gunny cloth is at about the same level as in the post-War years, exports of gunny bags were highest in 1935-36 barring, of course, the war years. Linseed has had a set back during the last two years; but the figure for 1933-34 was equal to the pre-War quinquennial average. Ground-nuts have fared badly during the years of the depression but the set back is often exaggerated. We exported more manganese ore in recent years than during the War or its proximate periods.

It is only in respect of wheat and rice that India has had a serious set back. Considering that Burma is the real exporter and that the mainland of India is a net importer of rice, we may leave rice out of consideration unless it be that we launch on the hopeless project of gaining an export trade in rice in competition with Burma and the countries of the Mediterranean seaboard. One thing I might say in this context that if we can manage to make the present cultivation of rice sufficiently remunerative and ensure an increase in production, we shall have done enough to feel satisfied about. As for wheat, it has well-nigh dropped out of the picture of our foreign trade. I must add that I do not consider that the present spurt in exports of wheat calls for a reconsideration of this view or affects the validity of the main trend of my argument.

Thus if we leave the grains out, cotton, jute and jute goods, tea, shellac and oil-seeds are the sole props of our export trade. I have pointed out that in none of these commodities have we really lost so much ground that merely to regain it would be a solution of our economic problems. If the national economy is to

improve to the level at which the social problems may be deemed to have been adequately tackled, it is not a question of regaining the lost markets, but of winning new ones. Do the conditions of world economy leave room for such an improvement in exports as will bring about an adequate improvement in the standard of living through the increase in imports and without an upset in the favourable balance of trade and payments? Out of the agricultural staples, which have so far figured in our export trade, rice has to be left out, because of the separation of Burma. Wheat has to make headway in a market which is at once the most protected and the most competitive. As for tea which is an agricultural product but is generally regarded as industrial, the volume of exports compares very favourably with the best period of India's foreign trade. If it is an increase that you are looking for, it will be some time before it outgrows the need for regulation of exports. Cotton, oil-seeds, shellac and jute are all that remain for us to pin our hopes to. The position of cotton in our foreign trade is easily the most perplexing. It is obvious that only a manufacturer of cotton goods can be a consumer of cotton. And unless the manufacture is only for the purpose of internal consumption, the manufacturing country is bound to seek outlets for the cotton goods which it produces. And what is more natural in these days of reciprocity than for the consumer of raw cotton to ask the cotton exporting country to import its cotton goods? This, in fact, is what has happened in the case of both the Indo-British and the Indo-Japanese trade pacts. Either we have to suffer the humiliation—to the free trader the loss seems to be very doubtful—implied in other countries being able to put our cotton to better use than we can ourselves or we have to accept the simple fact that any heady expansion in our cotton exports is impossible.

The commodities that still remain to be considered are oil-seeds, shellac and jute. They can by themselves do little to raise the standard of living in the country.

To those who might think that I have only made a consistent endeavour to belittle the prospects of our export trade

I would only say that an export trade, unlike production for a protected Home market, is essentially competitive. Even if in respect of our agricultural staples, the natural advantages of other countries do not compare very favourably with those of India, we would still be found lagging in the race for markets. One has only to compare the figures of yield per acre of these commodities in India and in other countries to realise how hopelessly handicapped we are as against our competitors. In cotton, while the average yield per acre in Egypt is about 400 lbs. and in the U. S. A. about 160, in India it is only about 80 lbs., which is slightly more than half the world average of 150 lbs.

The Indian economic problem, therefore, arises from the low productive efficiency of the people. And this problem cannot be shirked by turning from internal economy to foreign trade or from foreign trade to internal economy.

If you get a good grip on the fact that our problem is to improve our productive efficiency, the distinction between agriculture and industry, between the Home market and the export market will lose most of its importance. And you will realise that it is nearly as difficult for you to retain the export markets for your agriculture commodities as to wrest the Home market for manufactured products from the hands of the importer. To improve the efficiency of Indian agriculture does not seem to me to be any easier or any simpler than to develop the efficiency of our industries, old or new. If the distinction between agriculture and industry is, from the point of view of the individual's ability to grasp the technique of production, very little, then it follows that the progress, which will serve the cause of agriculture, will serve the cause of industry just as well. I have no doubt in my mind that only the change in outlook, which a wide-spread industrialisation is known to have brought about in other countries, will improve the low competitive efficiency of our working classes, whether in industry or in agriculture.

And as industrialisation is not accomplished all at once, a painful, though not

necessarily very prolonged, process of schooling is inevitable. The policy of discriminating protection, with which it has become the fashion for our academic economists to quarrel, was framed to make this process more prolonged and less painful. The various criticisms that have so far appeared of this policy are, no doubt, largely valid. But it is often forgotten that the authors of this policy intended it to be in no wise a departure from the system of free trade which they expected to prevail the world over for as long as they could foresee. For protection on the basis of equal selling prices for both imported and indigenous products, for industries, which have every reasonable chance of ultimately outgrowing the need for it, is accepted as legitimate by the most orthodox of free traders. If the rest of the world had continued on a system of free trade, it is by no means inconceivable that India could have industrialised herself slowly but surely without those serious mal-adjustments on which economists fasten so avidly. Another serious shortcoming of the policy of discriminating protection is that in its anxiety to keep as close as possible to free trade principles, it diminished the force of competition among the indigenous producers to a dangerously low level and thus enabled them to make the demand for the renewal of protection a question of clear-cut choice between foreign and indigenous producers. For with protection just equalising selling prices in a country in which capital is proverbially shy, there is no chance of a large number of producers springing into existence and sharpening the spur of competition among themselves. To the extent that the danger I have referred to was avoided in the sugar industry, the incentive to economy is greater and the proneness to neglect internal economics is reduced. The cement industry is an outstanding instance of internal competition as different from the competition of imports, being a vital creative force.

It may, therefore, be said that the policy of protection, as it has been followed so far, has erred on the side of costly conservatism rather than extravagant liberality. An attitude of unqualified hostility to our

protectionist policy, which is unfortunately becoming more common, betrays a woeful want of a sense of proportion. It fails to compare the so-called "cost of protection" with the immeasurably important task of schooling the nation in the technique of modern industry. It confuses the problem of increasing national production with the question of distribution among classes. It sets the errors of the past in an arresting isolation and says nothing of the goal to which they must pave the way. It overlooks the incalculable limitations of a subject country and assumes without a shade of honest doubt that the writ of free trade runs through all the realms of time and space.

I wonder how many of the critics of the protectionist policy in India try to visualise what the present position would have been if in respect of some of the necessities of life, we had continued till to-day in the same position of dependence on foreign sources of supply. Our imports of cotton manufactures would still have amounted to Rs. 40 crores. We would have had to import Rs. 10 crores worth of sugar, Rs. 10 crores worth of iron and steel goods, while at the same time our export trade would have been none the better for this gesture of commercial goodwill to the outside world. Let it not be forgotten that the bulk of our imports came from Great Britain and that the connection between our imports and exports, which is often glibly assumed in all attacks on our protectionism, was not direct but came through a circuitous system of multilateral transfers which would have broken down in any case in 1930-31, irrespective of what India might or might not do in respect of her tariffs. Thus the protectionist policy has served to mitigate the gravity of the problem of balance of payments in the present juncture; and I, for one, am surprised that there is so little recognition of this fact.

Having examined the policy of discriminating protection both in relation to the question of development and in relation to foreign trade and balance of payments, it is now possible to attempt to formulate in more precise terms the foreign trade policy of India. I have said that it must be determined predominantly by the requirements of the internal economy that, in respect of this

internal development the basic principles of the present policy of discriminatory protection and its *modus operandi* should be revised.

The change that I would ask for is that as soon as the Tariff Board satisfies itself that the conditions necessary for the development of a particular industry are present, a very liberal measure of protection should be granted for a fixed and reasonably long term and the Government should be entrusted with the responsibility of bringing about with appropriate interference in the internal affairs of the industry the progressive solution of technical problems which have a bearing on costs of production. For I am convinced that the attitude to protection, which looks at the same time for a continuance of external competition and the growth of the indigenous industry, for the increase in internal production and the maintenance of the revenue from import duties, is an attitude of anxiety to eat the cake and keep it, too. If we overcome this attitude and at the same time avoid the temptation to award protection to all and sundry, then the foreign trade policy would answer to all the requirements of rational free trade. If you remember that free trade always allows protection to infant industry, then you will agree that I make no fantastic claim that the foreign trade policy, which I envisage and advocate for this country is, despite all the modifications and criticisms I have made, essentially one of free trade.

Our foreign trade relations, I deduce from this principle. I must be content here to say that the present tendency to discriminate between our foreign customers is, from more than one view-point, highly deplorable. It is, in the first place, a serious departure from the one regulatory principle that we can think of in international economic relations, the principle of free trade. Secondly, it brings about an uneven distribution of our foreign trade and develops a dangerous dependence on one or two countries for the maintenance of our exports. Thirdly, it deprives India of the goodwill of foreign countries which is essential for progress. Fourthly, the countries which have been chosen for special treatment are precisely the

countries with which we have no special community of interest. But last but not least, the trade pacts which have been concluded are such as to disable us for entering into similar arrangements with other countries and thus giving a logical completeness to the policy which they signify.

Bilateral pacts, even like any other interference with natural forces, can be either defended on grounds of expediency or demanded as an end in themselves.

There is no warrant for the belief that, because Great Britain is the largest consumers' market, it is necessary to ensure India's position therein regardless of what the attempt may cost us in other directions. Nor is it valid to attribute the improvement in our trade relations with the United Kingdom solely to the Indo-British Trade Pact. The growth in our exports to the United Kingdom has by no means such a close relation to the Indo-British Trade Pact as is often sought to be attributed to it. It is largely an inevitable development.

The keystone of the multilateral system of transfers was the income of the United Kingdom from her overseas investments and its utilisation in purchases from the Continent and other countries. India's foreign trade relations, therefore, rested on the basis of an adverse balance of trade of 40 crores with the United Kingdom and a favourable balance with the rest of the world of such a magnitude as would leave us a balance with which we could meet our foreign obligations and satisfy our annual requirements of precious metals. After the abandonment of the gold standard the bilateral twist which Great Britain gave to her foreign trade hastened the end of the system of multilateral transfers. The result is that a country like India is no longer in a position to allow any import surplus to Britain; and inasmuch as Britain has no large import surplus in her relations with European countries, India is hard put to it to realise a favourable balance sufficient for the payment of her foreign obligations. Since bilateralism is impossible except on the basis of a rough equalisation of exports and imports, and since India has no other means of discharging her

obligations to Great Britain, Britain's invisible imports into India must necessarily be included in the basis of discussion of the terms of a bilateral pact. Whether this inclusion is officially made or not, the natural tendency must be for India's exports to the United Kingdom and her favourable balance with that country inevitably to go up. If there is sufficient realisation of this, there would be less anxiety to impart a dangerous artificiality to what is essentially a natural phenomenon. It is dangerous inasmuch as psychologically it is bound to have undesirable repercussion elsewhere. So far as the Indo-Japanese Trade Pact is concerned, there is so little recognition of the fact that in the events leading up to it, India was altogether passive and was manoeuvred into the position in which the Pact seemed to be necessary. There is no more effective argument against bilateral trade pacts than that, politically as well as economically, we have no bargaining power. Politically, because we are not free agents and economically, because we are not and cannot for some long time allow ourselves to be a large consumer's market for foreign products.

In considering the question of the best foreign trade policy for India, I have paradoxically come to deny the paramount importance of foreign trade to our national economic problem. This is not disconcerting to me; for I have been ready to follow the lines of my thought. And the conclusions, too, are by no means surprising. For a country, whose natural resources are so vast and varied, it is but common sense that their development takes precedence over every other objective. But I venture to think I have shown that, from whatever angle you may regard the question, internal development will be seen to be incomparably more important than the exchange of goods with foreign countries. For to seek to enrich the nation through an expansion of exports is to overlook alike our disabilities and the potentialities of others. And to look to cheaper imports is to neglect the vast possibilities of the internal economy.

Devaluation of the Rupee

[The following is the third instalment of views on the Devaluation of the Rupee. The first two instalments appeared in our January and February Numbers.—ED. I.R.]

PROF. D. G. KARVE, M.A.,

(Principal, Willingdon College, Sangli)

THERE are two distinct approaches to this controversial issue. The first is a purely factual one. Is the rupee at its present exchange rate of 1sh. 6d. sterling overvalued? If factual evidence supports an affirmative answer to this question, devaluation would follow as the most likely course. When the Hilton-Young Commission considered the ratio question, the method that they followed with a view to assess the relative exchange valuation of the rupee was the comparison of Indian with the British index numbers of prices. On the basis of this comparison they came to the conclusion that as Indian prices were moving in unison with British prices, the exchange rate then prevailing, viz. 1sh. 6d., may be considered to be the equilibrium rate.

In relying upon this evidence of index numbers, they were not ignorant of the defects either of the theory of purchasing power parity or of statistics generally and of Indian statistics in particular. But with all the defects of these instruments of scientific inquiry, the Hilton-Young Commission felt itself justified in using the comparison between Indian and British index numbers as the most plausible foundation for their crucial recommendation about the exchange rate. Protagonists of the existing ratio lay themselves open to the charge of wilful inconsistency if they now refuse to follow where the Hilton-Young Commission led.

Since the present ratio was fixed a decade ago, and particularly since the commencement of the depression, Indian prices have fallen much lower than the British, and while the latter have shown a welcome tendency to rise in recent years, the former have been characterised by extreme sluggishness. The conclusion that a higher than the equilibrium rate of exchange is, in a large measure, responsible for this state of things cannot

be justifiably brushed aside by a reference to the alleged defects of Indian statistics, which have not certainly grown worse during the last decade.

Even if the record of statistics were to be disregarded, the position is hardly altered for better. The relationship between the supply of money and the demand for it has often been described by reference to the notions of inflation and deflation. The stock of money and its movements have ceased to be considered as good criteria of this relationship in a world where credit substitutes are of far greater significance than actual money. Profits of businessmen and adjustment of costs to prices are now taken by responsible economic opinion to be more trustworthy criteria of the satisfactory supply of money. In India, business profits have definitely shrunk and the stage of normal profits is yet a long way off. Costs in industry, agriculture, commerce and transport are far from being adjusted to prices. If this does not prove a position of deflation and an artificial overvaluation of the Indian currency, one is at least justified in claiming that the official and non-official supporters of the present ratio should produce statistical and scientific tests in support of their position rather than indulge in sneers and paint imaginary pictures about the consequences of devaluation. Even apart from the question of fact, lies the justification or otherwise of a course of devaluation as an instrument of economic policy. Canons of financial orthodoxy have undergone a revolution during the last decade or two, and though it is still unwise to trust to currency manipulation to bring about recovery, there is no reason why an adjustment of the exchange rate should not be considered at least as respectable and effective as the cheap money policy by which the British and Indian Governments are at present swearing. A more elastic policy with regard to the exchange rate and, in the present circumstances, some lowering of the same are clearly indicated.

[MARCH 1937]

PROF. KRISHNA KUMAR SHARMA, M.A.
(Sanathana Dharma College, Cawnpore)

The devaluation of the Gold Block currencies in September, 1936, has again brought into prominence the necessity of currency manipulation as a method of improving the economic position of certain countries. Devaluation means the official reduction in the relationship between the domestic currency and gold or any other alternative standard as paper, silver, or some foreign currency that may be in force for the time being. It is customary to speak of devaluation with reference to the gold standard, but there is no reason why it should not equally apply in the case of currencies linked with sterling.

For a number of years from 1931 to 1935 France, Italy and Belgium tried to maintain their gold parities unchanged by intensifying their deflationary policy. Their policy of consistent deflation implied gave economic evils to them. Having realised this, the different on-gold countries yielded slowly, and Belgium, Holland, Switzerland and France—the important Gold Block countries—have at last given up their defence of gold parities under the inexorable economic pressure.

This policy of concerted devaluation of the Gold Block currencies has once again brought to the forefront the necessity of devaluating the rupee. Indian currency is overvalued in terms of sterling and some prominent Indian traders have voiced forth the demand for devaluation of the rupee. But the official verdict has already been given that the Government would under no circumstances allow any "monkeying" with the exchange rate at this time. The devaluation of the lira gave scope to a full dress debate in the Indian Legislative Assembly on this topic on October 8, 1936, and with his casting vote the President allowed the *status quo* to be maintained.

It may be said that devaluation automatically increases the country's stock of gold or of foreign currencies in value in terms of the newly depreciated currency. This gives a book profit either to the Government or to the central bank in respect of gold reserves and a real profit to the owners of gold or foreign exchanges. The profit accruing to the Government or

borrowed from the central bank can be used in remitting taxation, redeeming debt and increasing the base of the credit structure, which can pave the way for subsequent expansion of the currency.

Devaluation increases exports from the devaluing country, and therefore gives stimulus to production and to employment. A falling off in imports lessens foreign competition in the home market, which must improve the economic conditions of industries. In India, the rupee is overvalued at least to the extent of 12½ per cent. in terms of sterling, which is neutralising protection to that extent. This is inconsistent with the policy of discriminatory protection that India has been following. The sheltered industries are not getting the full advantage of protection, while the burden of protection on the consumer is being prolonged.

Devaluation will pave the way for enlarging the monetary base and for cheapening the credit in the country. Given favourable conditions, it should lead to an all-round increase in prices and production, profits and wages, exports and imports. The following table indicates the movement of wholesale prices in certain countries:—

	BASE: 1929=100			PERCENTAGE INCREASE OR DECREASE 1935-36
	1934	1935	1936	
Belgium	55.5	65.2	67.0	+ 2.8
France	60.4	52.6	60.3	+ 14.6
Switzerland	63.0	62.7	65.3	- 3.8
Italy	57.2	65.5	65.3	..
U. S. A.	78.3	83.7	82.5	- 1.4
Austria	81.1	81.3	84.4	+ 3.8
Czechoslovakia	76.5	79.1	76.5	- 3.3
India	62.8	64.5	63.8	- 1.1

This table indicates that generally the rise in wholesale prices has taken place with the devaluation of the currency. Belgium, for instance, adopted a 28 per cent devaluation in March 1935 and the wholesale price index went up from 55.5 in June 1934 to 65.2 in June 1935 and 67.0 in June 1936. Similarly, Czechoslovakia carried out a 16½ per cent devaluation early in 1934 and the wholesale price index moved to 79.1 in 1935 from 76.5 in 1934.

* World Economic Survey, 1935-36, page 77.

[MARCH 1937]

DEVALUATION OF THE RUPEE

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The following table gives indices of economic recovery in certain countries*—
(PERCENTAGE INCREASE OR DECREASE IN MARCH 1936 COMPARED WITH MARCH 1935)

COUNTRY	INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION	UNEMPLOY- MENT	WHOLE- SALE PRICE
Belgium	+ 21	- 33	+ 25
France	+ 9	- 3	+ 12

The former is the case of a country with devaluation, while the latter had not effected devaluation till September, 1936. In explaining the increased industrial activity in some countries, the authors of the World Economic Survey recognise devaluation as one of the important causes thereof. They write: "The impetus to increased production came from different sets of causes in the industrial countries. The stoppage of deflation and the beginnings of expansion in some was accompanied by external currency depreciation. In others it took place behind the shelters of exchange controls."

Thus in the interests of increasing industrial activity in India, devaluation is necessary in terms of sterling and other depreciated currencies. Indian trade has to meet keen competition in and from countries which have devalued their currencies and this is responsible for a falling off in our balance of trade in recent years below the usual level. The imports and the Home Charges have consequently led to huge exports of the yellow metal, which is not a healthy sign. When other countries are placing restrictions on gold exports, India has been allowing free exports of the metal. It is distress gold which has been exported, thus proving the bad economic plight of the masses. If any profit is made on gold sales, it is done by the shrewd middleman and not by the masses.

The low level of prices in the country is due to the deflationary policy of the Indian Government. It has increased the burden of the fixed obligations of the cultivating classes, who are indeed hit very hard thereby. A high level of taxation is being maintained to balance the budget of the Government.

It is said on behalf of Government that devaluation will mean more taxation,

because more rupees will go to satisfy the same amount of Home Charges and other external obligations at the lower rate. Arithmetically it is correct, but in fact it is not. Devaluation will give the necessary stimulus to industrial activity and thus bring additional income to Government as well as economic prosperity to the country, particularly to the agriculturists. Some people say that it will increase the cost of imported machinery necessary for industries. It may do so, but the increased industrial activity as well as the recurring profits therefrom will more than counterbalance this small loss on the imported materials entering into the cost of production of goods.

Thus on strict economic grounds the case for devaluation of the rupee deserves a serious consideration at the hands of the Government of India. Other countries which have pursued this policy in recent years have benefited thereby, and India, too, is likely to derive the benefit of a devaluation policy if the same is adopted here. Further, it will pave the way for a greater stability of international exchange and trade.

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* See. Ibid, page 15.

April '37.

DR. GYAN CHAND, M.A., Ph.D.,

(Patna University)

The devaluation of their currencies by the Gold block countries, viz., France, Holland, Switzerland and Italy has led to the revival in India of the demand for the devaluation of the Rupee. The Government of India have, however, through the Finance Member, reaffirmed emphatically their intention of maintaining the present exchange rate, the main reason given by them in support of their view being their refusal to join "the race for competitive depreciation". The validity of the argument is open to question, because the recent devaluation by the Gold block countries is anything but an act of competitive depreciation. Their action is, on the other hand, a step in the direction of necessary international readjustment and has, as is well known, been welcomed by all students of international affairs as a measure of co-operation—a little ray of hope in an atmosphere of deepening gloom. Though it is very unlikely that the devaluation of franc and other European currencies will to any extent relieve the dangerous economic tension prevailing in the world, it itself is a measure of readjustment against which nothing can be said. The forces which make another and more terrible world war imminent, cannot be counteracted by currency measures; but it is wrong to denounce the proposal for the devaluation of the Rupee as an act of what is called currency warfare.

There are, however, other reasons why it is unwise to change the exchange value of the Rupee under the existing circumstances. The most important reason given for the reduction of the exchange value of the Rupee from 1s. 6d. to 1s. 4d. is that the one currency is overvalued. This was the main argument for 1s. 4d. in 1926 and is now reiterated without, in my opinion, making due allowance for the stupendous changes that have taken place during the last ten years. Even if the Rupee was overvalued in 1926, in normal times in

ten years a new equilibrium would have been established between the Indian and world price levels and overvaluation eliminated.

But since 1926 times have not been normal. In the interval the world has passed through a period of great upheavals, and now owing to the wide divergence between the price levels of different countries caused by pursuit by them of militant economic policies, it is almost impossible to posit over, or undervaluation of, any national currency in relation to the international price level. International price level is an obstruction and the interpretation of the exchange relation of different countries a matter of great difficulty even in ordinary times. But it may be stated with a fair amount of assurance that at present there is no international price level, and though it is possible to stick to the opinion that the Rupee is even now an overvalued currency, it is not possible to give convincing facts in support of the opinion.

Linking of the Rupee to Sterling has been a source of many of our currency difficulties since 1898; but since 1930, India's adherence to sterling bloc has had advantages which are not to be despised. The relative stability of exchanges and prices which the sterling area has enjoyed and quicker, though limited, economic recovery that has taken place are benefits which India has shared with the other sterling currency countries, and though the existing position is far from satisfactory, it is very doubtful whether any material alleviation of it can be achieved by reducing the exchange value of the Rupee. In a world which is suffering acutely from instability, the relative currency stability which our belonging to the sterling area has given us is important and ought not to be disturbed.

It is true that the low level of agricultural prices, the reduced balance of payments and the slow recovery of our export trade are sources of great economic weakness and have set up almost an intolerable strain on our economic system; but the importance of monetary and exchange factors in creating this extremely difficult situation is exaggerated. The

experience of countries, which have already depreciated their currencies, shows that though it is easy to reduce the exchange value of currencies, it is not at all easy to bring about a corresponding rise in the internal price level of prices, and whatever rise of prices has taken place in those countries is more due to the regulative and restrictive measures adopted by their Governments than to currency and exchange manipulations. It is highly improbable that our experience in this respect will be different even if we could devalue our currency. The evils from which we are suffering call for comprehensive measures of economic readjustments and though currency measures must have a place in any scheme of economic reconstruction, it is wrong and misleading to argue that exchange manipulation in itself will give us any appreciable relief from the present distressing situation.

The most unfortunate feature of the exchange problem in India is that the Ratio question has become a question of party politics. The 1s. 6d. ratio was, as is well known, given a legislative sanction by a most unjustifiable act of political pressure, and some of the safeguards in the new constitution have been provided definitely with a view to make the revision of the exchange ratio impossible by the Indian legislature. This fact has given rise to suspicion which makes it very difficult for most people in India to discuss the question on its own merits. It is absolutely essential to do what is possible to dissipate the suspicion. Reconsideration of the matter is inevitable sooner or later. If it is true that it is impossible to prove that the Rupee is overvalued, it is also true that it cannot be proved that the present rate is what is called parity rate—the rate which makes the internal and external purchasing power of our currency identical. There is no sanctity about the 1s. 4d. ratio, but there is also none about 1s. 6d. The latter represents the established state of things and it is not advisable to disturb it for some time. But if and when the circumstances become more favourable, it will be necessary to re-examine the whole question with a view to ascertain what the right exchange ratio should be. When the time for the revision of the

Rupee ratio comes, we should consider the matter without any pro-1s. 4d. or 1s. 6d. bias. My own opinion is that India, like other countries of the world, will have to adopt a system of "varying parities", i.e., we will have to give our currency authority the power to fix the exchange ratio according to the changing circumstances within specified limits. That is, however, a controversial point about which I do not want to say anything in this short statement of my views. It is, however, obvious that the present exchange ratio can at best be regarded as a temporary expedient which should in due course be revised according to the needs of our economic life and in the light of the world situation at the time of its revision.

I have stated my views on Devaluation without making any attempt to develop them. That was ruled out by the limit of the space allotted to each contributor of the Symposium.

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E. Sept. '37.

PROF. E. H. SOLOMON, B.A. (Cantab.)

The protagonists of devaluation claim that it will (a) reduce imports, (b) increase exports, (c) increase India's favourable merchandise balance and thereby reduce, if not entirely abolish, gold exports, (d) raise internal prices and purchasing power, (e) increase production and consuming capacity in India.

As to (a) above, their claim may be admitted, but the desirability of further hampering imports, when already published trade figures together with the well-known preoccupation of industrial countries with rearmament show a marked tendency for imports to decline, is open to question.

Devaluation will only stimulate exports to the extent that export prices fail to rise in the same proportion as the devaluation. To that extent the terms of India's foreign trade will become more disadvantageous to her. Further, in regard to India's invisible imports, like Home Charges, the value of which is fixed in terms of foreign currency, their rupee cost will be increased and will necessitate increased taxation at least for the first two years, or balancing deficit budgets by borrowing. If the anticipated stimulus to internal prices and production matures, money will then become dearer and borrowing more costly and undesirable.

Besides, rearmament has already stimulated Indian exports, increased her favourable merchandise balance, reduced gold exports and still more net imports of treasure. This tendency is bound to continue with increasing emphasis until the international atmosphere is clearer. Further if, as seems highly probable, world prices and more particularly those of food-stuffs and raw materials will tend to reach much higher levels; it is profitable for India to sell as much gold now as she can spare and buy it back later when prices reach their peak; (d) above is already occurring fairly rapidly so that the wisdom of devaluation as an additional means of achieving it is doubtful. Furthermore, in view of the small proportion which India's export bears to her total exchanges, internal and external, devaluation would raise internal prices much less and much more slowly than is commonly supposed. A much more direct and effective

way of increasing internal prices is by currency expansion. This Government has apparently realised in view of their increased purchases of sterling since the New Year. Currency expansion and its effect on internal prices could be greater if money were universally used for exchanges in India, if there were more banks, if the chain of credit from central bank to primary producer were better oiled and interest margins not so excessive. Production both of raw materials and manufactured products is already increasing in India due to the upward trend of the trade cycle plus rearmament demand. Devaluation alone would only increase production if it increased appreciably the prices received by the primary producer. It would in the first instance raise export prices at the ports. Even if this rise were to the full extent of the devaluation, as India's exports are chiefly of raw materials and food-stuffs, and there is a long chain of middlemen between the exporter and the agriculturist, the latter is certain to be deprived for a long while of the greater part of the rise in his product.

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THE CRITICAL PHILOSOPHY

By PROF. S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI, M.A.

(Madras University)

IT is a little over a hundred and fifty years since a new philosophy was offered to the Western World by Immanuel Kant. Brought up on Leibniz and stimulated by Hume, Kant sought a *via media* between dogmatism and scepticism. He wanted to stick to universal and necessary truths; at the same time he could not but see the impossibility of distilling such truths as it were from experience. To examine the faculty of apprehension and establish through that the possibility of the universal and necessary, such was the method of approach of the critical philosophy. The conclusion he came to may be very roughly stated thus: Universal and necessary principles are possible because they are given independently of experiences, as of the constitution of our cognitive faculties. The spatial propositions of geometry can claim universal validity, since though individual figures are particular and given in experience, space itself is a condition of experience; it is a form of sensibility. The causal judgments of the sciences are similarly possible, since though individual sequences are given in experience, sequence and causality are conditions of experience; they are categories of the understanding. The world is orderly, since we ourselves prescribe the order; and by our very nature we cannot but prescribe order of one kind or another. In modern philosophy of which Descartes is the reputed founder, the stress had moved from the object to the subject; in the critical philosophy this process attained its culmination.

The thought of Kant exercised considerable influence directly and indirectly both in Germany and outside. But whatever the source of its inspiration, it was to be expected that such a subjective emphasis would not be popular in the West. Kant's language is so obscure as to be reputed a foreign tongue even in Germany. Add to this his numerous revision and his obvious lack of system in writing and the way is prepared for the charge that Kant is full of inconsistencies and contradictions. He is not the first philosopher against whom such a charge is made; nor will he be the last. Any work written or orally delivered (as the *Bhagavad Gita* is supposed to have been)

proceeds on a large number of assumptions in the minds of the author as well as of the reader envisaged. When we lose sight of these assumptions, the result seems to be a patchwork, an inconsistent hotch-potch of various doctrines. This alleged defect in Kant has been pointed out by more than one scholar, German and non-German, notably by Vaihinger, Adickes and Kemp Smith. One consequence of such a view is the failure to make any attempt to understand Kant systematically; once we assume there is no system, the effort to read a system seems obviously futile. A second consequence is the condescension with which even professed exponents of Kant treat him.

Kant himself was aware of the difficulty and obscurity of his doctrine. These are partly due to the defects of exposition, but largely due to the novelty of his theories. Those who do not realise this, but seek to read their own ideas into Kant, will find him apparently full of contradictions and talking in double Dutch. "Whatever Kant is doing he is certainly exploring new paths. We must expect that the account of his explorations will be strange to untravelled minds and even that it may contain gaps and deficiencies, which a longer residence in those parts might remedy. It is unreasonable to demand a new philosophy should come before us, armed at all points, like a mathematical treatise." Dr. Paton's exposition* is that of a sympathetic student who seeks patiently to understand Kant's doctrine as a whole. The worthiness of such a purpose (to say nothing of the high degree of success he has attained) coupled with his remarkable lucidity will lead to his treatment being valued very high. A popular review is not the place to go into technical details, but one or two instances may be given to indicate Dr. Paton's attitude. Many of the alleged contradictions, he says, are due to misunderstandings for which Kant should not be held responsible. He mentions, for instance, Kant's claim to have effected a Copernican Revolution—a

* KANT'S *METAPHYSIC OF EXPERIENCE*. By H. J. Paton. George Allen and Unwin, London. (Library of Philosophy, 2 vols., 30sh. net.)

claim which has come in for trenchant and merciless criticism in the past. Thus says Prichard: "He (Kant) speaks as though his aim is precisely to reverse the ordinary view of the relation of the mind to objects. Instead of the mind being conceived as having to conform to objects, objects are to be conceived as having to conform to the mind. But . . . the word 'object' refers to something different in each case. . . . 'object' . . . like 'knowledge' is within the mind. . . . We ought not to speak of conformity at all".—*Kant's Theory of Knowledge*. In a word, while Kant pretends that the object conforms to the mind, he is establishing all the time that what is in the mind conforms to the mind. What does Dr. Paton have to say to this? Kant, according to him, makes no such absurd claim. The precise point of the analogy to Copernicus is this: "Copernicus explained the apparent motions of the heavenly bodies as due to the motion of observer on the earth. Kant similarly explains the apparent characteristics of reality as due to the mind of the knower." "The critics," Dr. Paton concludes, "who condemn him on this point have simply failed to understand what he says." A point of greater importance relates to the doctrine of things-in-themselves. While holding that the forms of sensibility and the categories of understanding apply only to the phenomenal world, the world that appears to us, Kant was yet inconsistent enough to hold that back of this world, there were things-in-themselves, which caused the phenomena. Put thus, the whole theory seems affected by self-contradiction. The difficulty is not peculiar to Kant but applies to any system that will neither accept all presentations at their face-value nor dissolve reality into a series of presentations. Not all presentations are real; reality is above presentations; but it is also the real that is presented, since but for the real there would be no presentation. As Dr. Paton points out: "It would be truer to say that the thing-in-itself is the condition, than that it is the cause, of the appearance." And he adds in a foot-note: "Even this is not so true as to say that the thing-in-itself is the reality which appears, and that this reality is for us unknown and unknowable." The foot-note illustrates

the great difficulty in giving an adequate account in words of the problem of appearance and reality; for it is easy to retort that this unknown and unknowable reality is an irrelevant ghost, and that the critics of Kant have not been in error if this is all that his most sympathetic apologist can offer by way of explanation. The truth is that no explanation can be adequate, of that which is the basis and condition of all explanation. And when Dr. Paton uses the words "unknown and unknowable", he means not what is wholly alien to knowledge, but what is not and cannot ever be the object of a cognitive activity. Like the Upanishadic Brahman, it is unknown, because it is itself knowledge and the condition of all knowing. Such an account is intelligible even if one does not care to admit it as the only intelligible one; and to arrive at this requires a great deal of disciplined sympathy with the thought and the thinker. Dr. Paton possesses it in an eminent degree and the two volumes of this book will be prized by all serious students of philosophy.

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Population Trends in the East and West*

BY MR. P. K. WATTAL

(Accountant-General, Madras, and Author of "Population Problem in India")

SINCE the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the growth in the European population has been showing signs of slowing down. The rate of increase of Eastern races, on the other hand, shows no such trend. This has given rise to interpretations and forebodings of various kinds, which differ not only with temperament and outlook of the persons making them, but with their nationality and the policy of the Government under which they live. It is, therefore, necessary to look around objectively and dispassionately.

The population of England and Wales was about 9 millions in 1801. To-day it is nearly 41 millions. It has been increasing steadily from year to year. Even to-day the birth-rate is higher than the death-rate. There is, therefore, apparently no cause for apprehension. When we look at the figures closely, we find that throughout the nineteenth century the rate of increase of the population exceeded one per cent. per annum. From 1911 to 1931 the rate of increase was only half of what it was before; to-day it is only one-third. The age composition of the population has altered and is altering very considerably. The proportion in the total population of persons aged 65 and over is increasing and that of children under 16 is rapidly falling.

What is true of England is also true of the other countries of Northern and North-Western Europe, namely, France, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Sweden, Denmark as well as of European populations in the United States of America, Australia and New Zealand. In each of these countries the birth-rate has fallen considerably and the net reproduction rate is below the replacement rate. Countries of Eastern and Southern Europe such as Russia, Poland and Portugal do not exhibit this tendency to decline in population at present. Italy still has a net reproduction rate higher than the replacement rate but the figures show a downward tendency.

Why is it that Western populations have generally a falling birth-rate? Some people attribute the decline in the birth-rate to

genetic differences in fertility and others to conscious control of births. Biologists are unable to throw any light on the matter as they confess to abysmal ignorance of the physiology—the how, why and when—of human reproduction. Sociologists also are not all of one mind.

The balance of opinion, however, seems to be in favour of the view that conscious control is largely responsible for the present fall in the birth-rate.

But there is more to come. The practice of contraception is spreading but it is not yet universal. The perfect contraceptive has also not yet been invented, but may be any day. When both these things happen, the decline in births may be expected to be much greater than it is to-day.

That families are growing smaller is undoubted. Instead of three children to a family which is just necessary for replacement, there are only two. Why do men and women restrict the size of their families?

It is generally supposed that economic considerations are responsible, and people have smaller families, because the expense of bringing up children has increased tremendously in recent years. This is certainly the truth, but not the whole truth. There are other factors also at work. Unemployment, standardised housing in the suburbs of great cities, a new attitude towards the responsibilities of married life, fear of war, social ambitions, the widening interests of women and their growing reluctance to face the experience of motherhood, all play their part.

We have so far surveyed the situation as it exists in the countries of the West. It is now necessary to turn to the East. In regard to Eastern countries, statistics are unfortunately incomplete and not wholly reliable and are of a comparatively recent date. Japan and India have some census statistics; China had a census of sorts for the first time in 1910 and these three countries account for nearly three-fourths of the population of the East. What is the trend of the population in China, Japan and India?

* From an address to the Madras Rotary Club.

Regarding the population of China, no accurate figures are available and estimates made by different authorities differ very considerably, but it is generally believed to be about 450 millions. Marriage is early and universal and the size of the families unlimited. There is also no prohibition upon widow remarriage. The birth-rate is believed to be higher than in India. In spite of all these factors in favour of a rapid increase, the growth of population has been small. In the absence of any preventive checks, the positive checks to increase of population are numerous and the death-rate is very high. With the establishment of order and security in China, we may expect the growth of population to be more rapid than it is at present.

The population problem of Japan has received a great deal of attention in recent times. The population increased rapidly from 1880 to 1920. The birth-rate reached its peak in 1920 and has been falling since. The death-rate has also been falling and the natural increase of population is still very high. The population to-day is about 70 millions and is expected to go up to 78 millions by 1950. There is, however, now less marriage than before and there is also a rise in the age at marriage. By 1955, it is thought the reproductive groups will cease to increase relatively to other age groups and the population figures will show the same trend as is now discernible in the countries of Western Europe.

The population of India has been increasing steadily at each census. In 1931, it was 352 millions. To-day it must be about 382 millions. By 1941, when the next census will be due, it is expected to be 400 millions. The birth-rate has been fairly steady at about 34 per 1,000. The death-rate has also been steady with a downward tendency at about 25 per 1,000. Marriage is early and universal; there is no voluntary limitation of births and in the absence of natural calamities, the trend of the population is upward.

There is one special feature of the growth of population in India to which I wish to invite your attention. If you look at the map of India from the North-West to the East, you find a large Muslim

population in the North-West Frontier Province, a steadily diminishing proportion of Muslims in the Punjab, a still less proportion in the United Provinces, even less in Bihar, and then quite suddenly a large proportion of Muslims in Bengal. The high proportion of Muslims in the North-West Frontier and the Punjab is easily understandable; they are close to Muslim countries on the western boundaries of India, and were the first to receive the Muslims who came and settled in this country.

But what is the reason for the large proportion of Muslims in Bengal. It is certainly not the result of Muslim domination; for if that had been so, United Provinces and Delhi, which were subject to Muslim rule for centuries, would have had a much large proportion of Muslims instead of only a small minority. Muslim conquest and Muslim settlement have nothing to do with the preponderance of Muslims in Bengal; this is due to purely natural causes and has occurred within a comparatively short period of British rule. In 1931, the Muslim population in Bengal was 55 per cent. and the Hindu population 43 per cent. of the total. In 1881, when the first general census was taken, Muslims were 49.7 per cent. and Hindus 48.9 per cent., or only .8 per cent. less. The rate of increase of the Muslim population in Bengal for the last 50 years has been one per cent. per annum and that of the Hindus less than half of that. So you can see that Hindus must have been more than 50 per cent. of the population even as early as 1871. During the period of Muslim rule, they must have been in an overwhelming majority. The Provincial Census Superintendent thinks that the Hindus of Bengal are approaching their maximum and will soon show an actual decline in population, whilst the Muslim population will continue to grow.

It will thus be apparent that populations both in the West and the East show upward as well as downward trends. Whether an upward trend is a sign of virility and a downward trend one of decadence, I cannot say.

SANSKRIT LITERATURE

BY MR. K. BALASUBRAMANIA IYER, B.A., B.L.

BOOKS like these* are a necessity at the present day. Owing to the prevalent ignorance of the Sanskrit language and the difficulty of learning it in later life on account of its inflectional character and difficult grammar, its literature has perforce been studied only by a few experts and the appreciation limited to a narrow circle. Hence popular expositions, appreciations from the modern point of view, comparative criticism, translations and explanations are very helpful to the modern student of literature, who desires to make his acquaintance with the beauties of the classical works of Sanskrit literature. The three Satakas dealt with in this very interesting brochure are among the most widely read and highly admired master-pieces. The delicate suggestive touches of poetic fancy, the skilful word-painting and the almost scientific psycho-analysis of the sentiment of love, of Amaru, can be said to be hardly excelled in any literature of the world. Once the reader is able with his sympathetic insight to enter into the world pictured by the poet, he will then enjoy it so well that he can hardly get out of that world immediately. The cryptic trenchant sayings couched in powerful and suggestive language of Bhartrhari, reminding us of Marcus Aurelius, will stand the test for all time. Here and there, there may be exaggeration, but they have only been employed to enhance the effect on the reader. The naive poetry, true to Nature, revealing the life and ideas of country-folk embodied in the language of the common people of

ancient India, of the Gatha Saptasati is, indeed, comparable to that of Burns, but it is an anthology culled from unknown sources. The poems current among the people, literature floating in the air as it were, have been brought together by a skilled hand. In his essay on "A novel view of Rasa", Mr. Sastri discusses the various theories in Sanskrit rhetoric about Rasa. He criticises the view that has been adumbrated by one critic, Ramachandra in his 'Natyā-Darpana', making a distinction between 'painful' Rasas and 'pleasurable' Rasas. The consensus of opinion among the writers on Sanskrit rhetoric has been that the essence of Rasa is "Ananda" or æsthetic joy. Mr. Sastri concludes the essay by finding a parallel in Shelley's view in his 'Defence of Poetry'. One may say that in the following single line in his 'Ode to the Skylark', the poet clinches the matter—'Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought.' It will be recognised readily by all that Mr. Narasimha Sastri has done a distinct service to the cause of the spread of the beauties of Sanskrit literature among the modern educated Indians by his valuable work which is the result of a ripe critical study of Sanskrit literature and of his long experience as a teacher. One must respectfully agree with the view of Professor Lanman quoted in the beginning of the work, viz., that Indian studies would have exerted much larger influence upon the intellectual life of our day and would even have made more progress, if the masters of Indology had devoted more of their time to the work of translation and popular exposition.

* STUDIES IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE, 1ST SERIES. By Mr. C. R. Narasimha Sastri, M.A. Department of Sanskrit University of Mysore. (Krishna & Co., Mysore.)

INDIAN AFFAIRS

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The Nizam's Silver Jubilee

BY a happy coincidence, H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad completed the 25th year of his reign in the same year as the late King George V. The Jubilee festivities had to be postponed for various reasons, but the Nizam, with his innate love of simplicity, had from the outset resisted the ambitious proposals of the Jubilee Committee to carry out an elaborate programme of celebrations. By a series of *firman*s, H. E. Highness directed the spending of the bulk of the funds in founding public institutions of permanent benefit. This is as it should be. A comparatively modest programme was carried out in the third week of last month.

During the last quarter of a century, Hyderabad has made rapid strides in education, communication, irrigation, and other amenities of civilised life. All this she owes to the deep interest H. E. Highness has evinced in the fortunes of the State and to the foresight of a successive line of public-spirited statesmen, who have guided its fortunes. "Hyderabad truly seems destined," claims Sir Akbar Hyderi, "to play in the fortunes of that Greater India, which is in the process of evolution to-day." Sir Akbar, whose own efforts in handling the finances of the State have won for him the esteem alike of the British Government and the Government of His Exalted Highness, observes:

With our size, our potentialities and our accumulated experience of administration, with the form and substance of the State's sovereignty and our proud heritage of tradition and culture, the influence of Hyderabad will in many ways be unique. In the clash of ideals between the West and East, between the old and the new, and amid the conflicting claims of the diverse races and cultures that exist in India, the example above all of cultural unity which we have set in, the Deccan will, I feel sure, prove to be a most valuable asset of the future.

Independence and Dominion Status

Congress demand for *Poorna Swarajya* or "Complete Independence" has lent itself to a number of interpretations, and Mr. Polak has done well to elicit from Mahatma Gandhi a definite and authoritative pronouncement on the subject. Asked to define in precise language what exactly he means—that is to say also what the Congress means by this expression,—Gandhiji answered:

So far as I am concerned, if Dominion Status were offered in terms of the Statute of Westminster, i.e., the right to secede at will, I would unhesitatingly accept it.

Of course, in Gandhiji's speech at the Second Round Table Conference, there was no reference to Dominion Status or the Westminster Statute. But that Gandhiji—or the Congress—did contemplate a partnership with the British people as between two equals is borne out by his words, which we may well recall. He said:

If we are intent upon complete independence it is not from any sense of arrogance; it is not because we want to parade before the Universe that we have now severed all connection with the British people. Nothing of the kind. On the contrary, you find in this mandate itself that the Congress contemplates a partnership—the Congress contemplates a connection with the British people—but that connection to be such as can exist between two absolute equals. Time was when I prided myself on being, and being called, a British subject. I have ceased for many years to call myself a British subject; I would far rather be called a rebel than a subject. But I have aspired—I still aspire—to be a citizen, not in the Empire, but in a Commonwealth; in a partnership if possible—if God wills it an indissoluble partnership—but not a partnership superimposed upon one nation by another. Hence you find here that the Congress claims that either party should have the right to sever the connection, to dissolve the partnership. It has got to be necessarily, therefore, of mutual benefit.

This must clear the cloud of misconception that had gathered round the expression at any rate in the minds of some Congressmen; for Gandhiji asserts that he would

unhesitatingly accept Dominion Status if it were offered in the terms of the Statute of Westminster, that is with the right to secede at will.

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Princes and Federation

In his capacity as legal adviser to the Princes, Prof. J. H. Morgan has tendered advice, which has been the subject of considerable discussion in the Press. He was engaged by the Princes to examine the Constitution Act and the Draft Instrument of Accession with a view to discovering whether entry into Federation would involve them in commitments which they have not consciously agreed to. A perusal of the full text of his opinion leaves the impression that he is definitely against such a course, though he does not actually say so. And yet his warning is clear enough that "they should not find themselves after their accession to the Federation caught in a trap". His advice that the Princes should insist on the right of secession would, if accepted, "torpedo the Federal scheme effectively". Prof. Morgan's other suggestion that the States should have the right to recall their nominees from the Federal Legislature, in case of disapproval of their views, is a piece of advice which has been repeatedly challenged since the days of Burke.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru who had been consulted, has tended advice which is in vital disagreement with Prof. Morgan's. It would not be proper to be dogmatic, says he, and "create fears and confusion where none would probably at all exist". With regard to the question of secession in the event of a break-down of the constitutional machinery, Sir T. B. Sapru is of the opinion that no provision has been made in the Act as to what the next step would be. Secession is not contemplated in the Act, he says, but in the event of any dead-lock or extraordinary situation arising, the remedy would lie in the direction of extra legal or extra judicial negotiations with the Crown.

The Ramakrishna Centenary

The Ramakrishna Centenary was celebrated last month with befitting enthusiasm in different centres in India and in other parts of the world as well; for the saint of Dhakshineswar is a world figure—adored alike in the East and the West. Thanks to the eloquence and devotion of his great disciple Swami Vivekananda, Sri Ramakrishna's life and teachings are a common heritage of mankind all the world over.

It is but fitting and proper that on such an occasion we should be reminded of the message of Sri Ramakrishna, and at the Madras celebrations both Sir M. Venkatasubba Rao and Mr. M. R. Jayakar, who inaugurated the ceremonies, laid stress on the special features of the great Mission, which draws its inspiration from the life and teachings of the Master. Sir M. Venkatasubba Rao truly recalled Swami Vivekananda's exhortation to adopt spiritual methods of work and the universal creed of service preached by the Master.

India, said Sir M. Venkatasubba Rao, has another mission yet to fulfil, to hasten the coming of peace and goodwill upon earth, being peculiarly fitted by her culture to find methods of expressing the goal of all human endeavour, namely, the establishment of a world fellowship.

Mr. Jayakar, in his scholarly address, spoke of Sri Ramakrishna

as the one saint of modern times who had sensed all the three great religions together—Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity. He might be taken to be typical of what the future Indian religion might be.

And Mr. Jayakar paid a well-merited tribute to Madras where, with the Mission ever alert, they had conserved the spirit of India's ancient civilisation and culture.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

The Fuhrer's Reply

"THE time for surprises has come to an end," said Herr Hitler in his address to the Reichstag, and he supplied an interesting explanation of his motives for adopting the method of the *fait accompli*. "The reason why I effected some of these measures without consulting our former opponents was to make it easier for the other side to accept our decisions, which, however," he adds, "they would have had to do in any case." The Fuhrer has not spared himself in his work for "the restoration of the honour of the German people, expressed by conscription, the new Air Force and the Navy, and the re-occupation of the Rhineland", but there is little evidence in his eight-point policy of any concrete proposal for international co-operation as desired by Mr. Eden and Mr. Blum. Vague generalisations of general goodwill and wild talk about "Bolshevik infection" are no substitute for practical measures of co-operation.

Hitler's Eight Points

The eight point policy adumbrated by Herr Hitler for the pacification of Europe may thus be summarised:

1. The establishment internally of a stable, political and economic conditions.
2. Common respect for vital interests of different nations.
3. The League must be reformed and become the organ of evolutionary concept.
4. International relations must be regulated on the basis of absolute equality.
5. A realistic view of armaments limitation.
6. Put rein on international irresponsible cliques.
7. Recognition of limits wherein European peace is soluble.
8. National honour must be respected when dealing with the question of national minorities.

France's Preparedness

Herr Hitler's declaration that there could be no conceivable point of dispute hereafter between Germany and France has evidently had little weight with French opinion. It would take more than windy declamations to reassure France of his amiable intentions for the future. And the Chamber of Deputies has authorised an additional sum of £140,000,000 to be spent on defence in the next three years. Provision is to be made, as in Germany and some other countries, for the compulsory training of youth for industrial mobilisation in the event of war, for the speeding up of mechanisation, and for building a new main road to the frontier. The Maginot line—that collection of strong posts built largely underground—will be extended and increased in depth. Preparations for strengthening the Air Force which, M. Cot declared confidently, is second in Europe only to Soviet Russia's, will be continued and the armaments programme, interrupted by strikes, will be resumed.

There is, of course, nothing in all this out of the way or aggressive, but it is clear that France is nervous.

Europe To-day

Discussing Foreign Affairs in the *Contemporary Review*, Mr. George Glasgow writes:

Never in the world's history have armaments equalled their present strength. The fact that Germany could now immediately put a million and a quarter trained and equipped men in the field and Russia two million—both forces being merely subsidiary to fleets of aeroplanes numbered in their thousands—is the measure of Europe's demoralisation.

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British Protectorates

The following is the list of British Protectorates according to a statement in Parliament made by Mr. Eden, the Foreign Secretary:

Bechuanaland Protectorate.
Swaziland.
Northern Rhodesia.
Nyasaland Protectorate.
Somaliland Protectorate.
Uganda Protectorate.
Zanzibar.
Aden Protectorate.
British Solomon Islands Protectorate.
Kenya Protectorate.
Gambia Protectorate.
The northern territories of the Gold Coast.
Nigeria Protectorate.
Sierra Leone Protectorate.

The last five named are administered as integral parts of the Colonies bearing the same name.

The Mandates administered by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom are Palestine, Tanganyika, Togoland and the Cameroons.

New Cabinet in Japan

For the moment the Japanese political crisis has ended with the formation of a new Cabinet by Gen. Senjuro Hayashi, who has become Premier. Mr. Salto, Ambassador to Washington, has been appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Lt.-Gen. Nakamura, Inspector-General of the Army, becomes Minister of War.

Newspapers predict that steps will now be taken to form a new coalition party. A statement from the War Office denies that the Army seeks either Fascism or a dictatorship in Japan.

The Soviet Reaction

British and French weakness is blamed in the Soviet reaction to Herr Hitler's speech. *Izvestia* depicts England and France impotently stretching their hands towards Germany; the hands remain hanging in the air. The paper says that Herr Hitler will only abandon aggression if he sees it will meet an immediate, united and crushing rebuff.

President Roosevelt's Move

President Roosevelt has sprung a surprise on Congress by recommending sweeping reorganisation of the Supreme Court machinery. The practical effect of the proposed measure will be to enable the President forthwith to appoint five Judges to the Supreme Court, which will be sufficient to ensure the passage of any carefully drawn New Deal Bills.

The proposal is considered to be a prelude to the re-enactment of drastic New Deal measures and a renewed and bold drive towards planned economy and has, therefore, delighted New Dealers. But it is bound to arouse a storm of recrimination from Conservatives throughout America, who regard any tampering with the Supreme Court as verging on treason.

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DIARY OF THE MONTH

—: o :—

- Jan. 28. Lord Baden-Powell, Chief Scout, arrives in Bombay.
- Jan. 29. Bombay Women's Council adopts a resolution favouring birth control under medical supervision.
- Jan. 30. The Bengal Government releases 41 detenus after giving them agricultural training.
- Jan. 31. Thirteen of the accused in the Moscow Trial are sentenced to death.
- Feb. 1. Gen. Hayashi (Japan) forms the New Cabinet after the recent crisis.
- Feb. 2. Sir M. Dadhabhoy is reappointed President of the New Council of State.
- Feb. 3. Assembly refers Indian Insurance Bill and Ticketless Travel Bill to Select Committees.
- Feb. 4. The Viceroy opens the All-India Scout Jamboree at Delhi.
- Feb. 5. Assembly passes Dr. Deshmukh's Bill giving widows the right to inherit property.
- Feb. 6. Viceroy promulgates Regulations prohibiting employment of women underground in mines.



H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF TRAVANCORE

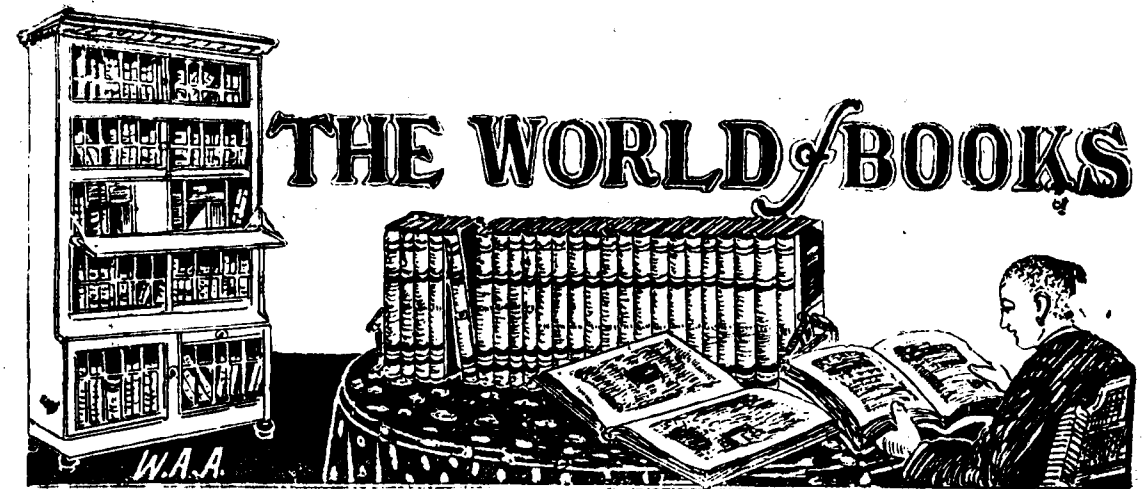
- Feb. 7. H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore arrives in Madras and is accorded a warm reception.
- Feb. 8. H. M. the King announces postponement of Coronation Durbar in India.

- Feb. 9. Assembly passes the Income-tax Bill.
- Feb. 10. The B. N. Ry. strike is called off.
- Feb. 11. Sir K. V. Reddy opens the Indian Overseas Bank at Madras.
- Feb. 12. H. M. the King knights Mr. M. G. Hallett, Governor-designate of Bihar.



H. E. H. THE NIZAM OF HYDERABAD

- Feb. 13. H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad celebrates the Silver Jubilee of his reign.
- Feb. 14. Lala Harkishen Lal is dead.
- Feb. 15. Their Majesties the King and Queen officially take up their residence at Buckingham Palace.
- Feb. 16. Sir Mahomed Zafrullah presents the Railway Budget in the Assembly.
- Feb. 17. The Punjab Governor summons Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan to form the first ministry under the Reforms.
- Feb. 18. Dr. Tagore delivers the Convocation address of the Calcutta University.
- Feb. 19. Mr. Wedgwood Benn, former Secretary of State for India, is returned to the House of Commons.
- Feb. 20. Ramakrishna Centenary celebrations begin in various parts of India.
- Feb. 21. Lucknow District Congress Committee votes for acceptance of office.
- Feb. 22. Sir Harry Haig opens the Indian Road Congress at Lucknow.



CO-OP: A NOVEL OF LIVING TOGETHER.

By Upton Sinclair. Werner Laurie.

Mr. Upton Sinclair, the famous American novelist, is known as much for his idealism as for his genius for story-telling. He was drawn towards the Co-operative Movement long ago. With his early earnings from writing, he started a Co-operative Home Colony at Helicon Hall, which was later destroyed by fire. He also promoted a Co-operative League in California and a consumers' co-operative in his home city. When, as a result of the depression, a large number of 'self-help co-operatives' came into existence in California, there were 175 in 1935; he visited most of them, talked to the members, heard their stories and formed impressions which are skilfully woven into this novel. 'Everything in this story did happen to some one,' he informs the reader. The novel is of absorbing interest with plenty of incident, pathos, humour, and political satire.

The 'Co-op' or co-operative society described here is not one of the usual types found in England, Denmark or any other European country but of a very idealistic special variety. A number of unemployed people, who were so hard up that they were living in unused big cement pipes intended for sewers, and who

were getting food from the relief authorities, started a co-operative 'self-help exchange' the object of which was that the members should work for each other and also for outsiders, not for money wages but in exchange for goods or services. For instance, one had a field of cabbages which he could not dig up for want of money to pay wages with. The Co-op undertook to dig up the cabbages for a share of the cabbages, which were distributed among the workers. Another had a piece of land which was kept idle, the Co-op cultivated it for a share of the produce. A third had a tool or a car which the Co-op took and paid for in services. These services were reckoned at so many points per hour and the work done by each member was credited to his account in points, and the food given and services rendered to him were also debited to his account in points. The idea caught on and the membership increased from about thirty families to a thousand and more in the course of two or three years.

The book has a very ennobling effect on the reader. It may leave him unconvinced of the suitability of the 'self-help exchange', but it certainly sets him thinking about the unsuitability of the capitalist economic system.

SENSE AND THOUGHT: A Study in Mysticism. By Greta Hort. Published by George Allen and Unwin Company.

The book under review is an able and profound study of the mystic's experience from the Absolutist's standpoint. The author interprets a fourteenth century mystic's experience as handed down to us in the two well known works of Mysticism, viz., "Cloud of Unknowing" and the "Epistle of Privy Council". Some eminent theists are of opinion that the "Cloud of Unknowing" is a profound theist's experience. Greta Hort with her phenomenally acute metaphysical bent of mind interprets the "Cloud of Unknowing" in the light of Bradley's Absolute. She has achieved her task in a remarkable manner and has succeeded in pointing out that the Absolute of philosophy is the God of Religion. To a student of Indian thought "Shakata-advaita" is the nearest comparison to the mystic experience referred to by the author.

A PRAYER FOR MY SON. By Hugh Walpole. Macmillan. 7s. 6d.

The scene of Mr. Walpole's novel centres round the lake districts of Keswick and Derwentwater in England. It is a story told at length with patience, observation and a great deal of circumstantial detail. John, the illegitimate grand-son of the imperious and blatantly egotistical Colonel Fawcus, escapes with his mother Rose and aunt Janet. In this venture they are assisted by John's tutor and a bishop. John realises his intense love for his mother and decides to stay with her, foiling the possessing instincts of the dominating colonel. The narrative is full of charm, sympathy and strength, and the characters live abundantly.

THE CHILD IN ANCIENT INDIA. By Kamalabai Deshpande, G.A., Ph.D. Published by Dr. Kamalabai Deshpande, Ph.D., at the S. N. D. T. Women's College, Yerandavana, Poona 4. Price Rs. 2.

Daughter of Mr. N. C. Kelkar and an alumnus of the Indian Women's University, Poona, and later pupil of Dr. M. Winternitz in the University of Prague, Mrs. Deshpande combines a number of excellent qualifications for performing the task that she has undertaken in this work, which earned for her the degree of Ph. D. in the University of Prague. Her endeavour is to give a succinct account of all the Samakaras, nine in number, to be performed on prescribed occasions before and during the childhood of the individual, and to discuss some allied questions particularly the significance of the rites, the mutual relations of the Grihyasutras, the Manuals laying down the details of those ceremonies, and, finally, the beginning of the custom of child-marriage in India. The work is based on a careful investigation of all the printed Grihyasutras now available. Her intimate knowledge of the rites as practised in our households has enabled the authoress to discuss the social and ethnical significance of the components of each rite in a very shrewd and suggestive manner. The appendix on the Mantras (used in the ceremonials) giving reference to their sources, the bibliography, and the Index are other valuable features of the work. Mrs. Deshpande deserves to be congratulated on this excellent piece of work, and the reader would join Dr. Winternitz in expressing the hope that in the coming years, in spite of the strain of her practical educational work, she may yet find time to continue her research work in the field of Indology which she has so ably begun.

ENGLISH RECORDS OF MARATHA HISTORY AND POONA RESIDENCY CORRESPONDENCE. Volume 2. 'Poona Affairs' 1786-1797. Edited by Rao Sabib G. S. Sardesia. Government Central Press, Bombay.

This volume brings together all the important topics pertaining to the Peshwa's Court during the eleven momentous years of Malet's embassy at Poona. Malet was not much interested in the trade activities of the English, and his papers are consequently of an entirely political significance, throwing a great deal of light on Maratha politics and administration. Malet planned and wrote partially an account of the history of the Marathas, which is, however, unfortunately lost. Malet and Nana Phadnavis are shown to be the moving figures in the elaborate chess-board of political intrigue of these years. The Military weakness of the Maratha power is glaringly seen in the correspondence.

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION. By N. G. Apte, B.A. (Dairy). (To be had of R. K. Rao, Pallipat, Chittoor Dt.)

This neat little booklet, which deals with rural problems in India, is not only descriptive but is analytical and suggestive. The Chapters themselves show a remarkable insight which Mr. Apte has evinced in portraying the rural conditions. The economics of the village; litigation, rural indebtedness, high rate of interest, costly habits, illiteracy, the semi-starved peasantry, agriculture and small-scale industries are some of the topics dealt with commendable brevity. The author's wide experience as a Secretary of the Rural Uplift Committee and his practical suggestions considerably enhance the value of the book. The eminent Indian Economist, Mr. V. G. Kale, has written a short and thoughtful introduction.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- MOSLEM WOMEN ENTER A NEW WORLD. By Ruth Frances Woodsmall. George Allen & Unwin Ltd.
- INDIAN STATES IN THE FEDERATION. By N. D. Varadachari. With a Foreword by Dr. A. B. Keith. Oxford University Press.
- THE INDIAN FEDERATION. By Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan. Macmillan & Co.
- INDIAN SPEECHES AND DOCUMENTS ON BRITISH RULE, 1821-1918. Edited by J. K. Muzumdar, M.A., Ph.D. Longmans, Green & Co.
- HITLER AND THE CHRISTIANS. By Wallemor Gurian. Shied & Ward, London.
- THRUST IN THE SICKLE. By Walter Clemon Lanyon. L. N. Fowler & Co., London.
- THE LAW OF TRADE AND MERCHANT MARKS IN INDIA. By S. Venkateswaran, D.Sc. With a Foreword by Hon. Justice Sir Courtney Tyrrell. The Madras Law Journal Office, Madras.
- THE STORY OF INDIAN CIVILISATION. By C. E. M. Joad. Macmillan & Co.
- INTERNATIONAL LAW. By K. R. R. Sastri. Kitabistan, Allahabad.
- INDIAN COMPANIES ACT. Law Printing House, Madras.
- PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY. By K. T. Shah Vora. Publishers, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay.
- LITERARY CIRCLE: RAM SUKHIDAS COLLEGE ANNUAL YEAR BOOK 1936, Ferozepore.
- SURDAS. By Prof. Dr. Janardan Misra. Behar National College, Patna.
- ROBERTSON COLLEGE, 1836-1936. Edited by J. N. W. Paul. Robertson College, Jubbulpore.
- THE STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES. By Rammanohar Lohia. Foreign Dept., All-India Congress Committee, Allahabad.
- DAMBARDU: The Cosmic Drum of Shiva. An anthology of poems. Published by the Futurist Publishing House, Calcutta.
- BOMBAY THE GATEWAY TO INDIA. Issued by the Rotary Club of Bombay.
- QUEST FOR EMPIRE. By Mahomed Hussain, Ph.D. The University, Dacca.
- KANDALUR SALAI. By S. Desikavinayagam Pillai. Putheri, Nagercoil. As. 8.
- DEWAN-I-BEDAR. By Md. Husayn Mahir Siddiqui. University of Madras.
- THE WORLD'S UNBORN SOUL. An Inaugural Lecture by Sir S. Radhakrishnan. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- HERBERT SPENCER'S THEORY OF SOCIAL JUSTICE. By E. Asirvatham. With a Foreword by H. Barker, M.A. Upper India Publishing House, Lucknow.
- ESSAYS AND OTHER PROSE FRAGMENTS: AGNI AND OTHER POEMS AND OTHER TRANSLATIONS. By C. Subramania Bharati. Bharati Prachuralayam, Triplicane.

INDIAN STATES

Hyderabad

THE NIZAM'S SILVER JUBILEE

Amid scenes of joy and enthusiasm, the thrice postponed Silver Jubilee of H. E. H. The Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar was celebrated at the Capital on February 18. The most brilliant gathering ever witnessed in Hyderabad was present at the Jubilee Durbar, when His Exalted Highness received an address from his 14 million subjects tendering sincere and loyal felicitations on the occasion. The address which was read by Maharaja Sir Kishen Pershad Bahadur, recognised gratefully that the golden principles of administration laid down by the founder of the Dynasty, namely, mercy, benevolence and affection to the subjects, and equality of all classes and creeds, had been unswervingly maintained.

H. E. H. the Nizam, replying, said that his life was dedicated to his subjects. "To be their servant," he said, "is a source of pride and distinction to me."

Turning to the difficulties of Agriculturists, H. E. H. the Nizam said his Government and he were specially interested in the economic and social progress of this class.

I have deep love for them. I have pleasure to announce on this occasion a remission of Rs. 40 lakhs arrears of land revenue and famine takkavi loan in accordance with the recommendations which have been submitted to me by my Government.

The Nizam expressed great satisfaction with the financial condition of the State. In this connection he paid a warm tribute to the Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari, Finance Member of the Nizam's Government "the greatest part of whose life," he said, "has been spent in devoted service to his sovereign and the State which I deeply appreciate."

Mysore

MYSORE ADMINISTRATION

The Administration Report of the Government of Mysore for the year ended June 30, 1936, has been published. It shows that in spite of universal depression, all departments of Government carried on successfully with their work of development.

The following are a few of the outstanding features of the Report:

His Highness the Maharaja undertook his first journey beyond India and returned greatly benefitted; the State liquidated a heavy Sterling Debenture Loan as a preliminary to taking over of the Railway lines now run by the M. and S. M. Railway; the various industrial enterprises of Government earned increased revenues, the Mysore Iron and Steel Works showing a profit for the first time since its inception; the benefits of electric power were extended to more rural areas; the cultivation of new crops such as tobacco was extended to many areas; and the financial surplus exceed the Budget forecasts.

THE MYSORE MEMORANDUM

The Government of Mysore have submitted their Memorandum to the Government of India, outlining the terms on which the State will enter the All-India Federation. The most prominent point made in the Memorandum, it is understood, refers to the desirability of a settlement of the questions which have been outstanding between the Government of India and Mysore—questions such as the Retrocession of the Bangalore Civil and Military Station to the Government of Mysore, and the annual subsidy of Rs. 25 lakhs which Mysore pays to the Government of India.

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Baroda

THE BARODA THAKORS

That the Baroda State fully recognised the important position the non-jurisdictionary tributary Thakors held as keepers of the happiness of the agriculturists, was observed by Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar, the Dewan of Baroda, at a recent 'At Home' held in his honour. It was in recognition of this important position held by the Thakors that the State had granted them representation in the Legislative Assembly and in the Local Boards. While the Dewan observed that Government would do their best to safeguard the position of the Thakors, he pointed out to them that it was not by law and regulations that the position of the privileged landholders could be safeguarded, but by the manner in which they acted and maintained their relations with the tenants.

RURAL INDUSTRIES

The possibilities of organising industries and educational colonies in villages as a means of combating unemployment, and spreading education in India, were explained by Capt. J. W. Petavel of the Rural Reconstruction Association at a meeting of educationists. Mr. B. K. Bhat, Commissioner of Education, Baroda, presided. The scheme would, Capt. Petavel said, provide an educational system, which would go a long way in solving the problem of unemployment among the educated young men.

AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT

An interesting experiment going on in the Baroda Prant at present is that of an agricultural propaganda party touring in a rubber-tired bullock cart.

Travancore

H. H. THE MAHARAJAH

An enthusiastic welcome was accorded to H. H. the Maharajah of Travancore on his arrival at Madras on February 7, from Trivandrum. His Highness was accompanied by Her Highness Maharani Sethu Parvathi Bai, the Elaya Raja, Princess Karthika Tirunal, Capt. Godavarma Raja, and Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, the Dewan.

A large and influential gathering of ladies and gentlemen of all denominations took part in the magnificent Garden Party held in honour of His Highness and the Maharani at the Willingdon on the 16th February, while a civic address was presented by the Corporation of Madras on the 17th. His Highness and Party were also entertained at a Reception at the Government House by H. E. the Governor of Madras.

AGRICULTURISTS' DEBT RELIEF

The Agriculturists' Debt Relief Bill has received royal assent and become law. It may be recalled that the Bill occupied the attention of both Houses of Legislature for a long time. Amendments of fundamental importance were carried in the Assembly during the second reading stage. The Government took the extraordinary procedure of introducing some amendments during the third reading stage.

THE CO-OPERATIVE CONFERENCE

Presiding over the All-Travancore Co-operative Conference, which met at Parur on February 8, Dewan Bahadur K. Daivasikhamani Mudaliyar referred to the problem of overdues. Credit, he said, should be better controlled and restricted, so as to make it difficult for the agriculturist to incur debt except for bona fide agricultural requirements.

Cochin**RETRENCHMENT IN COCHIN**

The Cochin Government, it is understood, will shortly appoint a Committee to report on the feasibility of effecting retrenchment in the various departments of administration.

A resolution on the subject was moved at the last session of the Legislative Council and was carried in an amended form omitting reference to the constitution of a committee, because of opposition from the Government. The amended resolution read: "This Council recommends to Government to effect retrenchment wherever possible in the various departments of administration in the State." The Committee will consist of the Joint Secretary to Government: Mr. K. P. Kannan Nayar, the Comptroller of Accounts: Mr. P. V. Subramania Ayyar, Dr. A. R. Menon, Mr. K. Ayyappan, Mr. P. G. Varkey, Mr. H. J. Walmesley, and Mr. Popatlal Goverdhan Lalan.

Gwalior**SIR KAILAS HAKSAR ON FEDERATION**

That Federation would be an unmixed blessing and that it would come into being sooner than many people thought, was the view expressed by Col. Sir K. N. Haksar addressing a joint meeting of Indian and European progressive groups at Bombay. He said:

"I feel that with Federation not only will the States have an opportunity which they never had before, but also India as a whole will have a better chance for unity, development and progress than she has ever had throughout her chequered and variegated history."

Mayurbhanj**THE MAYURBHANJ EXHIBITION**

The annual Mayurbhanj Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition will open on the 18th March, 1937, on the auspicious occasion of the Maharaja's birthday. The Exhibition will remain open for a week and the following will be the chief items of attraction to which a large number of entries is expected.

(1) Agriculture. (2) Industries. (3) Forest Industries (4) Ladies' Section. (5) Schools' section. (6) Veterinary. (7) Co-operative. (8) Fine Arts.

An important feature of the Exhibition will be the demonstration of processes for manufacturing various handicrafts and also propaganda by means of magic lantern lectures.

Patiala**PATIALA'S SUGGESTIONS**

The Maharaja of Patiala has, it is understood, given notice of the following resolutions for the coming meeting of the Chamber of Princes in Delhi: "This meeting recommends to His Excellency the Viceroy that the Rulers of the States enjoying a permanent dynastic salute of nine guns should be officially styled as 'Their Highnesses.'"

"This meeting recommends that no proposals for a revision of its constitution may be given effect to without its approval."

Navanagar**MATERNITY BENEFITS**

The first public function performed by Her Highness the Maharani of Navanagar was laying the foundation-stone of the Ba Shri Tejiba Maternity and Infant Welfare Hospital, which is estimated to cost Rs. 50,000.

INDIANS OVERSEAS**General****INDIANS ABROAD**

"Our countrymen abroad must realise that the key to their problems lies in India. They rise or they fall with the rise and fall of India. If India lives and is free, they live and we live. If India remains unfree, what then of us and our petty troubles and complaints?" says Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a message to the *Indian Opinion* of South Africa.

"The sufferings and disabilities of our countrymen overseas are always before us," he adds. "They are a continuing reminder of the humiliation meted out to a subject nation. What is the way out? Surely, the only way is to put an end to our subjection, to gain independence and the power to protect our people wherever they might be. All other attempts are trivial and petty and incapable of taking us far."

South Africa**INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA**

The position of Indians in South Africa and Kenya has become more acute, declares the *Manchester Guardian* in a leading article.

"The position of Indians in South Africa and Kenya has always been galling to their national pride. . . ."

"It was in the Transvaal before the War that Mr. Gandhi first showed the effectiveness of passive resistance, and after the War a series of crises and conferences led to the appointment, in 1927, of Mr. Sastri as Agent for India in South Africa.

"The Indian problem has by no means ceased to exist in South Africa; for there it is economic, but the South African problem in India which is psychological, has been considerably eased. . . ."

Malaya**INDIANS IN MALAYA**

Suggestions are being made for the settlement of Indian labour on agricultural land as a means of obviating the necessity of Malaya's dependence upon India for Labour supply. How far will they be of advantage to Indians if carried out?

"If Indians are to form part of the permanent population of Malaya, it is but fair," says the *Servant of India*, "that they should enjoy complete equality in political as well as in other matters. What are the prospects of this happening? These and similar problems will demand Mr. Sastri's close attention, and any recommendations made by him will have a far-reaching effect on the future of the Indian population in Malaya. Seeing that Mr. Sastri's report will form the basis of such action on India's part as may be deemed needful for the protection of the large Indian interests in Malaya, every one will wish God-speed to him in his none too easy undertaking."

Ceylon**INDIANS AND CEYLON**

Mr. Colvin D'Silva, President, Ceylon Socialist Party, and D. R. Gunawardena and N. M. Perera, Socialist Members of Ceylon State Council, who attended the All-India Socialists' Conference at Faizpur, in the course of a statement state that the impression appears to be gaining ground in certain parts of India that there is wide-spread virulent anti-Indian feeling in Ceylon.

This impression, they say, is not justified. They request the Indian Public not to be deceived and assure the continued goodwill of their countrymen.