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[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 negatived 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

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.

JANUARY 1937]

THE MIND OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

5

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

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

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.

INSPIRE 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 Russell 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 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 this 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 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. Krishnadevaraya 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 Vijayanagar" that have come down to us. Specimens of Vijayanagara painting still surviving in the temple at Hampi, Lepakshi, Sompalli, and Tiruparuttu, kundram 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 Krishnadevaraya 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 Vidyananya 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. 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 VASANJJI

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 incidentally 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 de-linked 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 1s. 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) 1s. 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

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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E. Sept. '37.

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. 3,000 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 1863 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 1683 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 1683 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 Sookmoy 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. Sebchander 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 Cawosjee and Seth Cawasjee Nanabbai. 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 Samker-seth, Seth Cajee Jehangir Hirjee, Seth Mangaldas Nathoobhai and Seth Cawasjee Nanabbai. 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 furore 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

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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 approved on any other basis is hardly possible, and if it is possible, it would lead to an immediate dead-lock and 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-Muslim 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 not 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 feasible 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, the Pandit said:

I have served this country for 50 years now.

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.

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

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 scaling 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

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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: SIR 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 is 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 Purshotamdas, 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

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.

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 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.

The 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

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.

JANUARY 1937]

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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The Soviet and Its Enemies

It is a very queer way—these European nations are striving for peace. Hitler talks of peace and points to the 15 million Nazis who will rise as one man at his bidding, at the mere snap of his fingers. Mussolini talks of the "forest of spears" that would vindicate the honour of Rome. And now the German-Japanese alliance is provoking the Soviet to declare that the Pacific and Baltic fleets "are ready to annihilate any enemy daring to approach our coast".

"The threatening attitude of Germany and Japan is compelling the Soviet Union to build the most powerful navy in the world." This startling declaration was made by Admiral Orloff, Chief of the U. S. S. R. (Russia) Naval Forces, when he addressed a meeting of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

Urging the necessity of constructing the world's biggest fleet, Admiral Orloff pointed out that Germany was completing the construction of 37 war-ships, 15 cruisers, and hundreds of aircraft-carriers, mine-layers and submarines.

"Since 1933," continued Admiral Orloff, "the Soviet Fleet has increased to the following extent: Submarines have been increased sevenfold, war-ships threefold, coastal artillery has been increased by 75 per cent., anti-aircraft defences have been doubled, and the naval air-force has been increased fivefold."

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

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

On the strength of these, M. Litvinov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, declares: "Soviets will continue to strive for 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 38th 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.

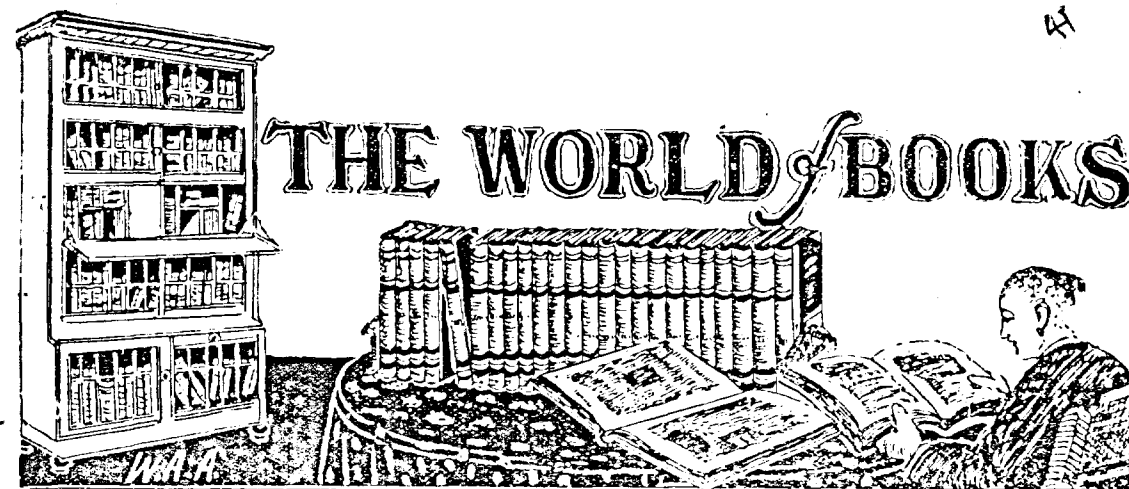
Dec. 24. Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek is released by the Chinese rebels.

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 *Dewan* 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 the comic best-selling 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., 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 Gujarat have Gujarathi, and Sindhi is the local language of Sind; 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 presidentship 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. Lothian 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 of 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 there, Mr. E. R. 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 30 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

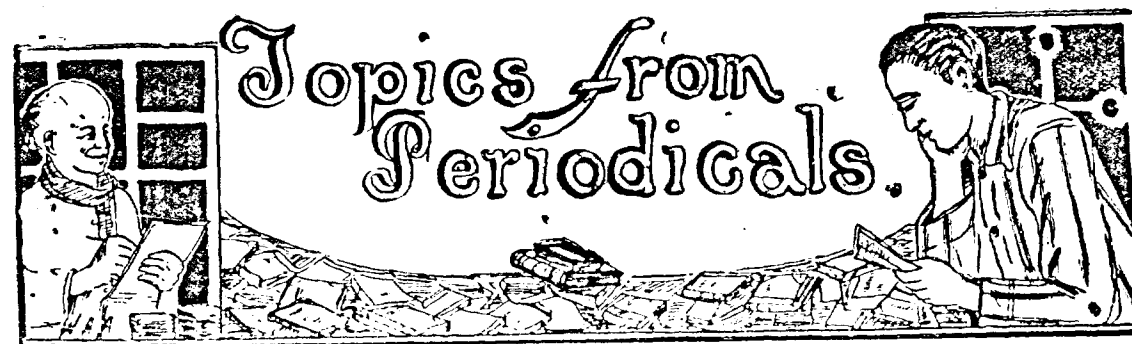
"The Agent of the Government of India in Ceylon has been instructed to give the local Indians every assistance in his power to state their case before the Commission of Inquiry into Immigration, and through him the Government of India are keeping in touch with the situation in Ceylon." In these words, 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. A. 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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Nov. '37.

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 it 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 belief 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.

Nor 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

electd 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 Minseitō Party, and I know 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

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DEPARTMENTAL

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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 for peace,' says the Psalmist, 'but when I speak 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 Zafarullah, 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 presidentship 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 33 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 presidentship 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 1sh. 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 presidency 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 presidency 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 131 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 chummeries. 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. 377 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 34,408 square miles and a population of 6½ 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."

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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, every one 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, is Ahlada 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 redu-

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 तितिधुः सर्वदेहिनाम् ।
सत्यसारोऽनवद्यात्मा समः सर्वोपकारकः ॥
कामैरहतधीर्दानो 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.

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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

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 Taubid 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 1931 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 1931 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 1931 has been made possible only by the free

exports of gold which have mounted up to nearly Rs. 300 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.	..	no change "
Brazil	27	-73 "
India	112½	+12½ "
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!

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

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 reverence 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 murk 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., 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 25 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 timespirit 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 short it falls of the heights attained in the great scriptures of the world! In

* MARCUS AURELIUS: A saviour of men. By F. H. Hayward. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London.

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."

Machinery and Over-Production

BY MR. A. L. NARASIAH

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 demand. Waiting is not always easy. So he has to 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 makes the American producers assume a harder attitude towards the slaves for enhancing the output. The slaves for the English industry, the Dutch with 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

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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, addressed the opening the Conference, "getting to know men of importance 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 denounce 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 banker 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 presidentship 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 31 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 its 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.

FEBRUARY 1937]

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.

Franco-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.

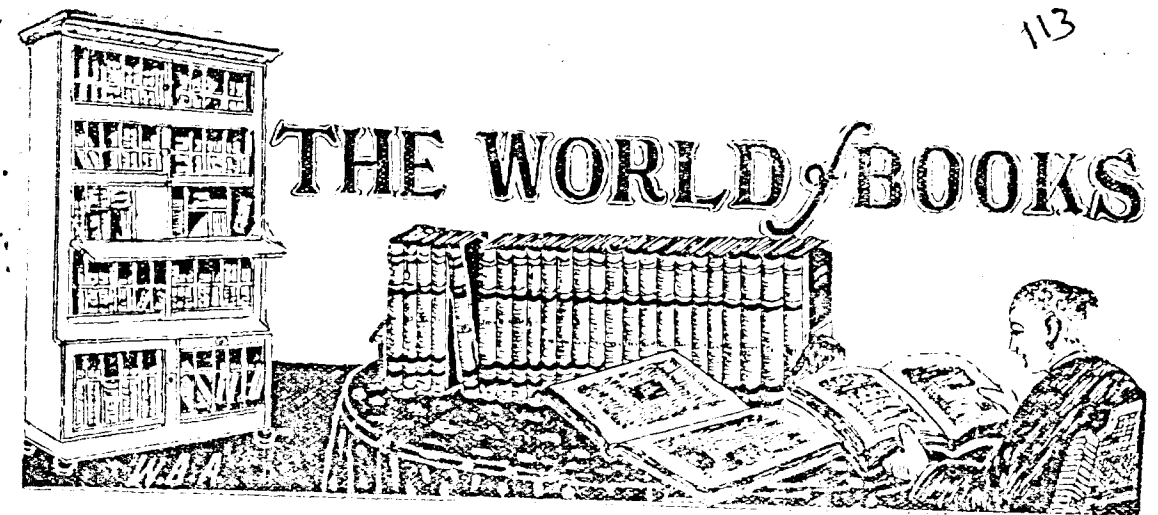
Jan. 23. Sir Atul and Lady Chatterjee arrive in Bombay.

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 OR 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.

PANCADASI 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 57,830 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 Yedyur 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 Nayab 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

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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

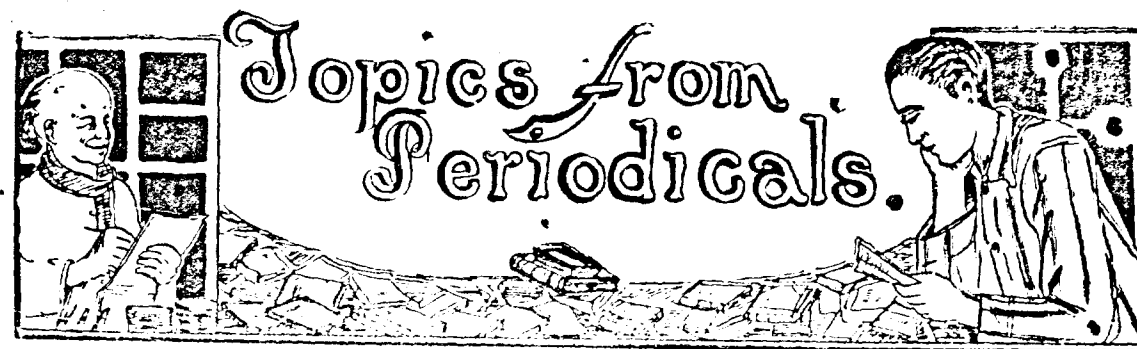
"The Government of India have no option but to express their complete dissent from the recommendations of Mr. Binder, which are directed solely to developing the clove industry in Zanzibar with the Indians eliminated from it. Prompt and effective measures should be taken by them to safeguard the interests 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. Ramakotishwara Rao, 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 *Harizon*. 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. Ceaselessly 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 accidence 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.

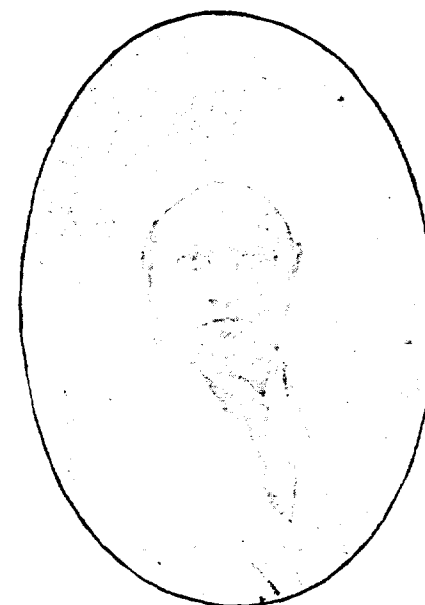
The scheme, which is on the basis of an equal division of executive power between the Hindus and Mohammedans, closely follows the lines advocated by Mr. B. C. Chatterji in England during the meeting of the Joint Parliamentary Committee and later in India. The following are the terms of the agreement 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 Asa 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 has to be made to endure, steady efforts will have to be made to remove this serious evil. The second task is the evolution of a conception of community in ship, 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, their successful democratic institutions in the State which, whether working 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.

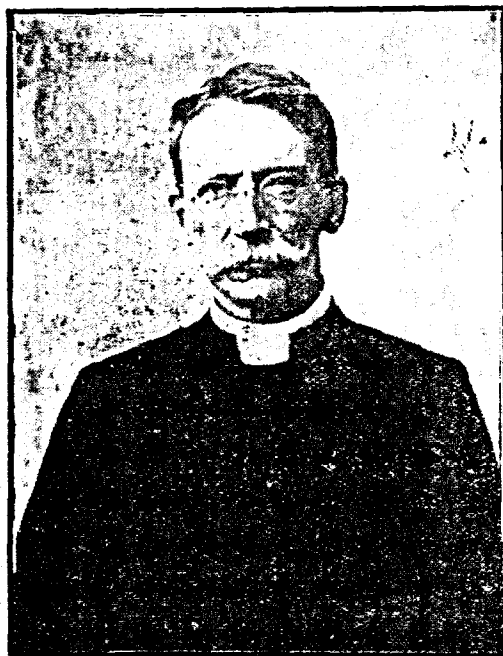
The Muslim League represents a group of Muslim functioning in the higher region of the upper middle classes. I come into greater touch with the Muslim masses than most members of the Muslim League. I know more about their hunger, poverty, and misery than those who talk in terms of percentages and seats 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 £6,632,000, 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 first 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

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 *Five 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 13th 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. 3½ 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 3, 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 1930 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. 3 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 300 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 Lisbon. 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."

UNIVERSITY 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 £30,000 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 detainee.

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 Sakhteswar 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. Barraclough, 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 35 and 31 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

who has been appointed Director-General of Archaeology in India.

THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST

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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 teetotaller, 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 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 (*McCulloch vs. Maryland*), 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 unthought 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		1937-1938	
Excluding Railways, the figures are as follows:—		Revenue	Lakhs
(Rs. lakhs).		Expenditure	79.99
Budget 1936-37		Gross deficit	3.42
Revenue	83.14	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.	
Expenditure	33.08		
Surplus	6		
(Rs. lakhs)		NEW TAXATION	
Revised 1936-37		Silver duty raised from 2 annas to 3 annas.	
Revenue	81.86	Sugar duty fixed at Rs. 7-4.	
Expenditure	83.33	Excise duty raised from Rs. 1-5 to Rs. 2.	
Deficit	1.97		

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 *hava-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	1
People's Party	1	Association	1
Muslim League	11	Anglo-Indians	2
Muslim Progressive Party	1	Southern India Chamber	1
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

Bihar

(Not complete)

Central Provinces

No Upper House

Assam

(Not complete)

N. W. F. Province

No Upper House

Orissa

No Upper House

Sind

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

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

Total strength—112

Congress	71	Nationalists	2
Muslims (Rauflshah 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

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		

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

Total strength—60

Congress - Nationalist Party	36	Scheduled castes	6
United Party	2	Indian Christians	2
Independents	4	Nominations	4
	3		

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 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 was beloved of us, and the Island's "Great Chronicle", or the "Mahavansa", speaks of him in laudatory terms not usually applied to its own rulers.

Elara fell in battle against Gamani Abhaya, the Cid of Ceylon, the champion incomparable who broke the might of the foreigner and restored national pride and self-respect. But all did not go well with his successors; for time and again it is recorded that the Damilas, as the Dravidians were 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

and brought the Sinhalese king 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 Rajasinha 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

... to the Keralas (Malabar country)". by the neighbourhood of the Pandians Codrington says thus: "We see the rise of the great Chola Empire, which first over-shadowed 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. This reached the great Chola king, 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 himself, whom they carried away. He died in Chola after twelve years of captivity.

The vexed regalia were removed to India. The capital Polonnaruwa was captured and renamed Jananathamangalam, the auspicious city of the Lord of Men.

Adventurers and mushroom kings held power from time to time. One was Vikkama Pandu, an Indian ruler, fleeing his country. He heard of the anarchy, arrived in the Island and carved out a 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 medieval 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 Saivaite 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.]

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(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.

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
	1924	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	..	..
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	63.8	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.

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 1893; 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 'Natya-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 exercised 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, i.e., 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 tendered 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

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. Dadhaboy 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.

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.

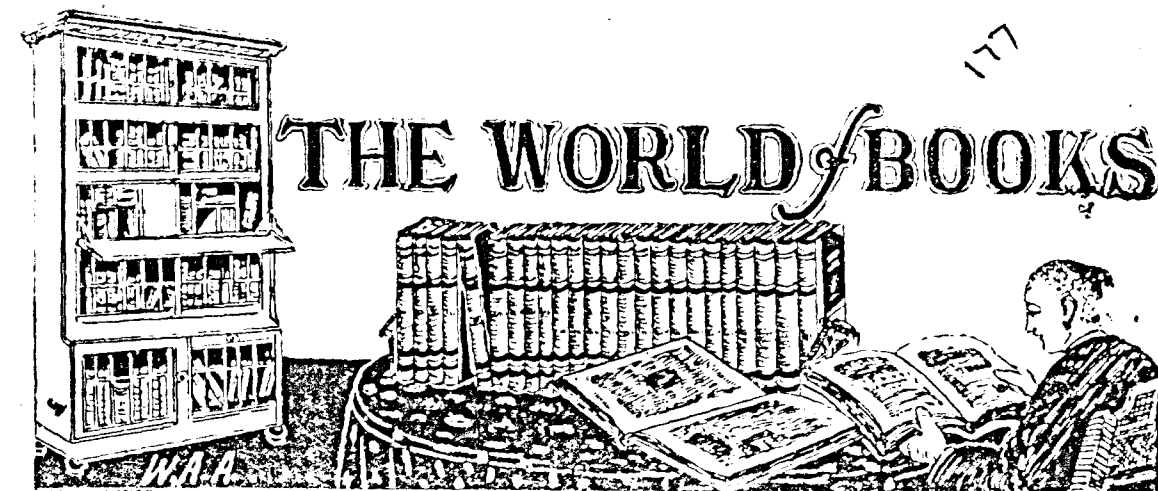
Feb. 22. Sir Harry Haig opens the Indian Road Congress at Lucknow.



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.



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 Samskaras, 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 Sahib 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 SUEHDAS 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 Husain, 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.

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 13. 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.

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. Bhate, 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,

Kenya

INDIANS IN KENYA

In his address to the Kenya Legislative Council, the Governor of the Colony referred to two Bills to be approved during the Session: the Kenya Regiment and the Auxiliary Forces Bills. These Bills, which are the outcome of the abolition of the Defence Force, are confined only to the European community. The King's African Rifles gives the African (Native) an opportunity to participate in the defence of the Colony. But the Indian is given no opportunity whatsoever in the matter. Though thus deprived of a civic right, the Indian will have to bear an additional burden of taxation, because of the increased expenditure on the defence of the Colony!

INCOME-TAX IN KENYA

Mr. J. Pandya, a Member of the Executive Council and the Legislative Council of Kenya, and President of the East African Indian National Congress, interviewed on arrival at Bombay early last month, said that the Kenya Council had just concluded its Budget session. Income-tax had been strongly opposed by the Europeans and equally strongly supported by the Indian community. A Special Committee had been appointed to go into details of the proposed Income-tax Bill. Mr. Pandya was a member of the Committee, and just before his departure he had seen the schedule prepared by the Committee. This schedule would exempt a bachelor from income-tax with an income up to £450 a year and, similarly, a married man with an income of £700 a year.

Continuing, Mr. Pandya said that the Indian community received quite a fair share in the reduction of taxation.

Afghanistan

INDIANS IN AFGHANISTAN

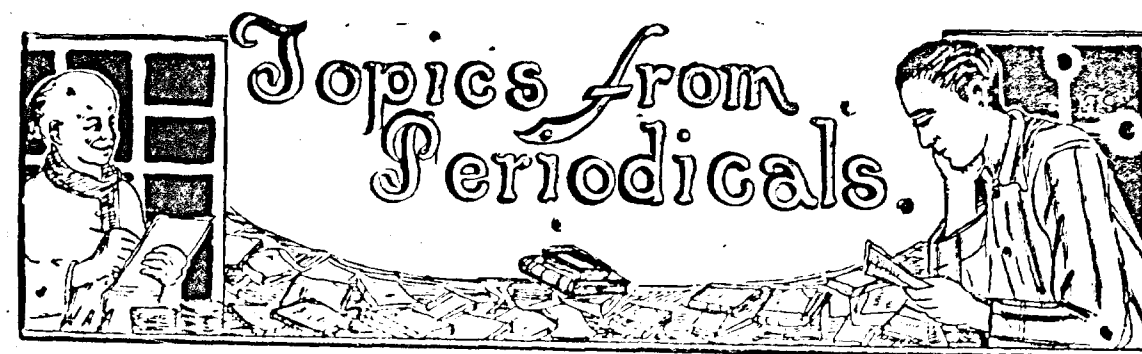
Sikh residents of Cawnpore have sent a Memorial to the Viceroy, requesting the Government of India to bring diplomatic pressure on the Afghan Government, with a view to safeguarding the rights of Hindus and Sikhs settled in Afghanistan.

In connection with this, the Consul-General for Afghanistan in India at Simla, in the course of a statement to the Press, states that the Afghan Government have ordered Sikhs and Hindus amongst their subjects not to reside and do any trade within the frontier zones of Afghanistan. But they can reside and conduct any and every business in the interior of Afghanistan in any city they like to choose. If these Hindus and Sikhs had been Indian subjects, the Afghan Government would have extradited them at once to India on their contravening the orders of the Government against their trading and residing within the frontier zones. But since these Hindus and Sikhs are Afghan subjects, neither India nor any other country have the right to interfere in the affairs between the Afghan Government and their subjects. Of course, so far as commercial relations between India and Afghanistan are concerned, Afghanistan is desirous, according to a commercial treaty, of continuing the best connections between the two countries.

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THE ARMY AND CONSTITUTIONS

We have witnessed in recent years constitutions being overturned or badly damaged by the army in more than one country. A writer, in the *New Review* for February discussing this dramatic spectacle, cites some recent instances:

Towards the end of 1935, the world was startled by the news of a revolutionary movement in Japan which had for its object the substitution of the army through its General Staff for the Cabinet as the adviser of the Emperor on matters concerning defence. Prime Ministers began to be killed by uniformed officers who openly declared that their feelings had been moved by the spectacle of politicians overruling the services in matters affecting national security. Last year in Iraq, a sudden incursion of a military force under a tribal leader overturned the Ministry in power and substituted a military leader as the Prime Minister. The Spanish civil war is the outcome of the dissatisfaction of the army with the administration of affairs by the Government in power.

This decisive interference of the army in three different quarters of the world, with the course of constitutional government, raises the question of the relations between the army and the executive government in the constitutional system.

The power and position of the army is peculiarly strong; for it is the embodiment of that physical force which is the sanction of the existence and power of the State. This physical force ought to be subordinate to, and at the disposal of, the representative of the State, that is the supreme executive. In most constitutionally governed States, the existence and the functioning of the army are dependent on the will of the legislature. In England, for instance, an annual Army Act legalises the existence of the army. But suppose that after the passing of an Army Act, the Army refuses to obey the orders of the civil power. It will be revolution, but it may happen. The strongest safeguard lies in the army being imbued with the spirit of constitutional government in its traditions being those of obedience to the civil authority in its recognition of its

proper place as being the power of force of the State and therefore to be used for the State by the duly constituted representative of the State. That is to say, the army must be of the people and for the people professing the same philosophy of government as the rest of the people, worshipping at the same political altar. In other words, the soldiers must be recruited from the people as a whole and not from any section of it. The officers should be taken from all classes of the people.

All this has a bearing on the position of the army in India—a lesson for the Congress as well as for the Government. The claim of independence for India, the writer warns, is not worth a moment's purchase, "because that independence, if it were granted, would be disputed by an army which is not recruited from the same classes as the governing civil power would be recruited from".

The army in India is recruited from a few classes and from races in one corner of India and a part of it from even outside India. Its officers are largely British. The army in India is not of the same people as would constitute the civil government under an autonomous regime. Such a regime would, therefore, be precarious with an army constituted as it is at present. It ought, therefore, to be the policy of the Congress, as of all other popular political organisations, to secure the proper composition of the army, i.e., its recruitment from all the classes from which the legislative and executive authorities of the future will be constituted. The interest and policy of the Government also ought to lie in that direction. If the political ideal for India is self-government within the British Commonwealth of Nations, it also must see to it that the army is composed of men and officers that belong to those classes that will constitute the governing authorities under such a system of self-government. No system of self-government will be stable where the civil authority is constituted of men belonging to all classes and parts of India and the military authority is constituted of men belonging to certain select classes and areas of the country. An army constituted on the racial class and mercenary basis, however militantly efficient, can never go with a civil government constituted on the national democratic basis.

PROGRESS OF HINDU THOUGHT

"No bigger revolution was ever achieved in the history of human thought than that which we see recorded in the Upanishads," says Mr. C. Rajagopalachari writing in the January Number of *Aryan Path*. In fact, very many revolutions have taken place in the Hindu thought. In spite of its undoubted conservatism, it has always displayed the boldest varieties of conception. "In no other religion," says the writer, "is there greater elasticity, freedom of thought or respect for the truth as it can be reached without emotional bias."

Great as these revolutions were, the progress of Hindu thought did not stop here. A further revolution is recorded in the *Bhagavad Gita*. The consolidation and merger of the Gods was over with the Upanishads and they also completely record the Vedantic conception of the Supreme. The life-giving rays of free thought were now directed to the idea of sacrifice and the concept of renunciation or Sanyas. Ceremonial gradually became Karma, work in the true and comprehensive sense; and Renunciation was released from the forms of Sanyasa and became selflessness of purpose in all activities. Detachment became the watchword of Hinduism. This at once transformed Vedanta from being a cult of isolation and asceticism into a living and social doctrine of duty and human co-operation. This revolution is recorded as an accomplished fact in the *Bhagavad Gita*. Here, too, it is true the germ was there in the old Upanishads themselves, but we should not ignore the vast difference between the seed and the full-grown tree. We see in the *Gita* the full-grown, wide-branching banyan, yielding protective shade to all pilgrims.

It bears repetition to the note that neither the *Gita* nor the Upanishads were instruments of revolution. The respective revolutions had already taken place and they are but recorded in these works. The interval of the transitional thought not being covered by the written document, some may even mistake the Upanishads and the *Gita* as having been conceived for the revolution.

Thus, Hinduism has unfolding power; it convinces us that it is a living tree and not dead timber.

SANYASIS AND POLITICS

Controverting Dr. Kurtkoti's plea that Sanyasis should take part in politics, the *Indian Social Reformer* writes:

"No one need become a sanyasi if he intends to continue to participate in the activities of the laity, men and women. Both the theory and the tradition of sanyas are against Dr. Kurtkoti's argument. According to theory, the sanyasin turns his back on all worldly affairs—politics is pre-eminently a worldly affair and not a very clean one at that—renounces his name, family, property, because these keep him tied to the world and goes forward in the great adventure of faith and philosophy. According to tradition, no previous holder of the position of Shankaracharya and Jagadguru concerned himself with mundane affairs which he regarded as a snare. How insidious is the influence of the least contact with the world to deflect a sanyasi from his true vocations is illustrated by a rather hackneyed story. A sadhu finding that rats would not spare his single garment, reared a cat to catch the rats and put an end to their depredation. The cat had to be fed and he was obliged to buy a cow—just a common cow, to provide it with the small quantity of milk it needed for its sustenance. The duty of milking the cow and looking after it proved a new and unforeseen distraction, and the sadhu had reluctantly to take a wife to help him out of it. Then there came children. Thus the sanyasi was step by step increasingly drawn back to the householder's life. Dr. Kurtkoti may be proof against the lures of worldliness, but we are concerned with the general principle and not with exceptional individuals."

INDIA AND THE U. S. A.

The Indian Constitution, as things stand to-day, does not give the Indian people any right of forming any decision regarding India's foreign affairs. But Indian authorities and Indian statesmen will be interested to know, says Mr. Taraknath Das in the February number of the *Modern Review*, that within a short time the Australian Government will establish its legislation in Washington where already Canadian and Irish Ministers function independently of the British Embassy's control or direction.

The time will come, says Mr. Taraknath, when India will enjoy at least the same rights as the Irish Free State and other British Dominions. In the meantime Indian politicians should consider what can be done to establish closer international contact with the U. S. A. which is one of the principal customers of India.

1. First of all, steps should be taken to improve trade relations between India and the United States. There is already an American Trade Commissioner in India, and India should appoint a Trade Commissioner for U. S. A., who must be an Indian business leader with breadth of vision and experience.

2. At the present time, trade balance between U. S. A. and India is in favour of the latter, and it is my opinion that Indo-American trade can be vastly improved through a reciprocal trade treaty between U. S. A. and India on the same lines as the existing reciprocal trade treaty between U. S. A. and Canada.

3. Indian merchants in U. S. A. are working under certain disadvantages. Indian residents in U. S. A. owing to anti-alien land laws of various States in U. S. A., and also because of the discriminatory immigration law, are deprived of certain rights which American businessmen and residents enjoy in India.

On the fundamental principle of reciprocity, the Indian Government should open negotiations with the United States

to remove the existing restrictions imposed upon Indians in U. S. A.

The writer urges that the Indian public, specially those who are interested in promoting Indo-American relations, should agitate for the following definite propositions:

1. Appointment of an Indian Trade Commissioner for U. S. A. who must be an Indian.

2. Negotiations for reciprocal trade treaty between U. S. A. and India.

3. Modification of U. S. Immigration Laws so that *bona fide* Indian business men will have the right to reside in U. S. A. without any time limit for the period of their residence.

The time has come, concludes the writer, when in every British Embassy and Legation there should be at least one competent Indian official who will gain practical experience in the field of diplomatic and international relations, so that in time there will be a large number of trained Indians available to take charge of India's foreign relations in all parts of the world.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

INDIAN ART STUDENTS AND THEIR TRAINING. By W. E. Gladstone Solomon. [Four Arts Annual, 1936-37.]

WHAT AILS OUR UNIVERSITIES. By T. N. Siqueira [The New Review, Feb. 1937.]

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE VEDAS. By Swami Prabhavananda [Prabuddha Bharata, February 1937.]

TAGORE AND TOLSTOY. By Nicholas de Roerich [The XXth Century, Feb. 1937.]

CULTURAL UNITY OF INDIA. By Atulananda Chakravarti. [The Hindustan Review, January 1937.]

INDIA'S CONNECTION WITH THE LEAGUE. By N. C. Roy [The Calcutta Review, January 1937.]

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The question of convening a Constituent Assembly in India—with authority to frame a popular and acceptable Constitution for the country—has been before the public ever since the New Constitution was proposed. The idea took a definite form in the election manifesto put forward on behalf of Congress candidates to the elections to the Indian Legislative Assembly held in 1934. It was therein stated that the Congress legislators, as soon as they are elected, would take steps to summon a Constituent Assembly to settle the Indian Constitution.

Mr. N. S. Srinivasa Iyer, discussing the prospects of such an Assembly in the pages of the *Triveni*, observes that Pandit Jawaharlal has by a resolution in the Faizpur Congress brought the proposal within the sphere of practical politics. The resolution, accepted by the Congress Session at Faizpur, urges a preliminary Convention composed of Congress legislators, A. I. C. C. members and others with a view to implement the idea of a Constituent Assembly.

The writer has hopes of a Constituent Assembly doing a good turn in this country just as it has done in France and America.

Students of politics have not forgotten that, not long ago there was a Statute of the British Parliament conferring Home Rule on Ireland; that the people of Ireland so effectively ignored this piece of legislation that there was a later Conference, a new Treaty, and a Constitution based thereon. Those who ask us to work India's coming Constitution in the remote hope that it will be productive of real benefit to the country, apparently do not realise the nature of the constitutional fabric they are dealing with. You do not grow grapes of thorns or figs of

thistles, and it is unwise to forget that the gravest menace to India's welfare is the Government of India Act, 1935.

In the writer's opinion, then, a Constituent Assembly is inevitable to avert the danger of the New Constitution.

While matters of detail must be left for the decision of the members of the Assembly, it is not difficult to visualise the broad outlines of the work to be done. The delegates will be authoritative spokesmen being elected on the widest possible franchise—adult suffrage. They will deal with the problems in a practical spirit and not lose themselves in academic abstractions. Once they think in terms of real India, difficulties inherent in questions of representation of communities, provinces, and languages are easy of adjustment. Meanwhile the feeling in the country expressed already at the elections of the delegates, will continue to reflect the general and spontaneous ratification of the labours of the Constituent Body, and in particular of the Constitution evolved by it.

Such an united and authoritative expression of popular will, as embodied in the work of accredited delegates, can scarcely be flouted with impunity.

The English people are reputed to be a sagacious, practical race, and one of their leading thinkers has advanced the claim that British Statesmanship has not failed in any part of the world. It is difficult to believe that considerations of prestige will operate as a barrier to the recognition of the carefully devised and effectively supported national demand embodied in the work of the Constituent Assembly.

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THE AMERICAN WOMAN

"American women are said to be more ambitious, more progressive and more competent than those of Europe," observes Dr. Sudhindra Bose of the Iowa University in the course of an article in the *Prabuddha Bharata*. Women in America have now all the rights and opportunities life can give.

It is significant that it was only yesterday that women in this country won a voice in the making of the laws under which they live, and the opportunity to choose their occupations as freely as men. To-day, women physicians, artists, artisans, lawyers, judges, legislators, presidents of colleges and universities, and even governors of states (provinces) are accepted as integral parts of the American population rather than as freaks or isolated geniuses. Women within the last few decades have widened their horizons amazingly. The range of their interests is as great as that of men.

The women of the United States need not, however, feel too uppish toward their less favoured sisters in India. Consider, for instance, the position of woman in this country only a hundred years ago. Everywhere she found herself discriminated against and circumscribed whether she laboured at home or attempted to earn a living in the world.

The American women of the early nineteenth century were all for domestic life.

They surrendered to men all occupations outside the home and confined themselves to marriage and the bearing and rearing of children. Wifewood and motherhood were the only careers approved of for women. The husband was the dictator of the family—a position frequently exercised harshly by domineering men.

Women were, as a class, disfranchised and their part in the church was limited to passive acceptance of rites and creeds.

At present most of the State universities are co-educational. But there are also several privately endowed women's colleges of note, such as Mt. Holyoke, Vassar,

Wellesley, Smith, Bryn Mawr, Barnard, and Radcliffe. Miss Grace Abbott, Professor at the University of Chicago and a distinguished social worker, remarks that the prophets of disaster were wrong: "College has helped to bring a new standard of health for women. And long hours of intellectual work are no more fatiguing to the girl than to her brother—seemingly less so—but he has felt freer to complain than she who has been regarded as more or less on trial in intellectual pursuits, down even to the present day."

After long and painful delay, it dawned on the American masculine leaders that vote for woman was in itself of great importance as well as useful in effecting other reforms in which they were interested. So it came about that women achieved their enfranchisement in 1920 "seventy-two years after the organised woman suffrage movement had begun in the United States and after twenty-six other countries had given their women the vote".

INDIA'S FUTURE

Writing in the *Hibbert Journal*, Sir S. Radhakrishnan observes: "It is not right to complain that India has failed because she has followed after things spiritual.

She has failed because she has not followed after them sufficiently. She has not learned how to make spirit entirely the master of life, but has created in recent times a gulf between spirit and life and has rested in a compromise. Some of our holy men are inclined to become creatures set apart, beings who take flight from the temporal in order to cling to the heart of the eternal. If in our eagerness to seek after God, we ignore the interests of humanity, we may produce a few giants but we will not elevate the race. We have shown how high individuals can rise by spiritual culture and how low a race can fall by its one-sidedness. To master life, to accept it and improve it is a difficult task for the individual and more difficult for the race. Harmony for the social order is an essential aim of the spiritual man."

FUTURE OF THE I. C. S.

Sir James Crerar's paper on "The Future of the Indian Civil Service" is printed in the January number of the *Asiatic Review*. "The Indian Civil Service has been almost exclusively, and still is predominantly, British in composition," says Sir James Crerar.

Its traditions are ultimately derived from the tradition of public service in the life of this country (England), though, like certain well-known vintages making the same voyage, they may even have gained something in the transit. The connection has been close and continuous, both in *morale* and men throughout its history and many families have sent their sons to India in successive generations. I make bold to say that any severance of this connection would be an injury to both countries.

The difficulties of the problem of Indian recruitment differ, says Sir James, in many respects from those of British recruitment.

The gravest defect of the system till recently in force was that it provided what was clearly a ridiculously small proportion of places for allotment in India. Again, one of India's major social and political problems is reflected in the necessity—which will be recognised by every one who has had any practical experience of or responsibility for a most intricate and troublesome business—of providing against the undue predominance in the public service of any particular caste or community.

Sir James Crerar is of opinion that the Competitive Examination will continue to be the main source of recruitment both in England and in India, where there is dovetailed into it special provision for minority communities.

The under-recruitment of Indian and British officers which, of late years, has resulted from the defective system hitherto in force, and any future deficiencies

in the recruitment of British officers by competition will be remedied by selection. This was probably the only means of replenishing a serious temporary shortage in the cadre, but it may prove to have intrinsic merits of its own. The results will require the most vigilant observation. The Indian side of the problem is too complex and goes too deep to be capable of any simple, definitive solution.

There are two responsibilities, says Sir James Crerar, which can only be discharged by Indians themselves:

The first is that the enlarged body of Indian officers should realise that the achievement of a legitimate ambition carries with it obligations to maintain the traditions of the Service, which I am confident its senior Indian members will be the first to inculcate. The second rests on public men of all communities in India, to whom the new order brings a great increment of political power. It is difficult for people in this country to realise how largely this question of posts in the public service looms in the Indian perspective, but it must be understood that it is a major issue and one of the bitterest apples of discord. If Indian public men are unable or unwilling to keep it within bounds, if they join in seeking to make the public services a bone of political contention and a spoil for the victor to exploit, they will incur the responsibility of inflicting a grave injury on the national life and political future of their country.

"THE COMRADE"

Mr. Mujibur Rahiman, Editor till recently of the *Mussalman*, the English weekly published in Calcutta, has started a new weekly with the name of *Comrade*, reviving the memory of the late Mr. Mahomed Ali's famous journal. In a note issued to the Press, Mr. Rahiman explains why he decided to sever his connection with the *Mussalman*, extending over thirty years. Mr. Rahiman in his new paper promises to maintain the principles on which he had conducted the *Mussalman* for a generation.

GERMANY AND RUSSIA

Lord Allen, writing in the *Contemporary Review*, says that notwithstanding all the battle of words, he is convinced that neither Germany nor Russia desires war with the other, and that neither country is even as yet competent to wage a war in that area.

If the four outstanding Powers of the League in Europe could be brought together, most of our League difficulties might begin to diminish. Germany would infinitely prefer to be associated with Britain, France and Russia than be driven into the ambit of Italian influence. The devaluation of the French franc has also strengthened the area of Franco-British influence and has linked America to us. The action of the Credentials Committee at the Geneva Assembly has done something to re-establish the prestige of the League. The position, therefore, is by no means without hope, and if now the League of Nations system could be finally released from the two fundamental impediments which have so far hindered it, we could gradually rebuild the Peace of Europe once more upon a League basis, which is the only way of preventing war. To decline to explore this new line of procedure, because of deep-rooted suspicion, is to deprive ourselves of a means of testing the *bona fides* of all nations, including our own.

ACCIDENTS AND THEIR PREVENTION

Dr. H. M. Vernon, writing on the neglect of the human factor in the prevention of industrial accidents, observes in the last issue of the *International Labour Review*:

There can be little doubt that the systematic training of children in road safety and in other forms of accident prevention persists to a considerable degree when school life is over, and the children proceed to industrial occupations. But the majority of the risks met with in these occupations are quite different from anything of which they have had previous experience; so it is

most desirable that systematic instruction in these risks should be continued for the first year or so of industrial life. It was stated above that in certain coal-fields the juveniles had during their first year 1½ hours' instruction per week in safety but, as far as I can ascertain, nothing similar to this has been instituted in factories, at any rate in Great Britain. Fresh entrants to industry may receive some brief instruction on the dangers of the particular machines to which they are assigned, but this is totally insufficient as there are numberless other dangers which they are bound to experience sooner or later. The safety instruction ought, therefore, to be a comprehensive one and be continued systematically for a considerable time. Subsequently the activities of the safety organisation ought to be able to keep the idea of accident prevention always in the minds of the workers, and promote the development of semi-automatic habits adapted to that end no less than of conscious efforts.

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THE HINDU VIEW OF LIFE

The Editor of *Vedanta Kesari*, writing on the above subject, says that the current world view of life, purely materialistic in outlook, can yield only one result when pushed to its logical conclusion, namely, misery at disappointments. It ends in a denial of all meaning for life and thus lands one in the absolute darkness of pessimism.

But man cannot admit himself to be a meaningless entity, nor can he be a thorough-going pessimist; for that makes an ethics of suicide inevitable. So the vulgar materialist makes his life meaningful by dedicating it to mere sense pleasures, and the man with a strain of idealism in him by invoking the high sounding names of disinterested quest of knowledge and service of humanity. The sensualist no doubt can find enough to do for a time and get over the conflict of the infinite *versus* the finite, the spirit *versus* the senses or altruism *versus* egoism by denying the former category altogether. But the consequences of his philosophy are sufficiently ominous to make any serious thinker wary of it. Humanitarianism and pursuit of knowledge without any commitment regarding the ultimate nature of things or even a frank denial of the ultimacy of values, have often been advocated by reputed thinkers in modern times. But such thinkers never have had any large body of responsible followers noted for their saintliness, purity and spirit of self-abnegation as we find in the case of founders of world religions. Their followers have come mainly from the vulgar rabble, whose attraction for their systems consists not so much in their ethical idealism as in the applicability of their intellectual outlook as a justification of their own degenerate hedonism.

A spiritual world-view is, therefore, absolutely necessary if the life of men is to be rationalised at a higher level of thought.

CULTURE AND POLITICS

"Politicians are usually talkative or are believed to be so," says Mr. S. Satyamurti, M.L.A., in an article in the *New Outlook* for February, and adds: "I want them to be cultured and learned."

The first lesson that politicians should learn before they expect to be listened to, is that they must cultivate the difficult task of being good listeners. Mahatma Gandhi and the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri are, in my experience, two of the best listeners. Before politicians can make themselves felt, they must learn the art of listening to the other point of view attentively and courteously.

Another point of culture, on which he insists on bringing to the notice of politicians, is that politics, like any other profession or calling, requires deep study and deeper thought.

We have too many politicians to whom the newspaper is the highest intellectual specimen, and who have never read any serious books and certainly have never bestowed deep thought on current questions. Increasingly as the days and nights grow on me, I feel the need for going back to books. I want my brothers and sisters who are entering politics, to develop their culture by deep study and deeper thought.

India is a huge country, he goes on to add, and there are provincial, communal and social differences among us. The Indian National Congress is trying to break through them.

But more than political ideals, we want the brightening and sweetening effects of culture, so that politicians may become increasingly cultured for this, if not for any other purpose. I can say much more about the need for culture in politics, but I trust I have said enough to make politicians to become cultured men, and cultured men to become politicians.

MULTUM IN PARVO

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INCOME-TAX COMMITTEE REPORT

Important recommendations are made in the report of the investigation ordered in October 1935, of the Indian Income-Tax system in all its aspects. The investigation was made by three Officers: Khan Bahadur J. B. Vacha, Commissioner of Income-Tax, Bombay, and Messrs. C. W. Ayers and S. P. Chambers, of the Inland Revenue Department, United Kingdom.

Among the recommendations made by the Committee are:

The withdrawal of the exemption allowed in respect of leave salaries from assessment to income-tax;

Assessment of tax in respect of wife's income under certain conditions; and

The appointment of special officers and an All-India Tribunal to hear appeals.

The report does not favour the relief claimed by companies in respect of super-tax.

POSTPONEMENT OF DELHI DURBAR

His Majesty the King-Emperor has informed the Secretary of State for India that he has reluctantly come to the conclusion that he will not be able to hold a Coronation Durbar in India next winter.

His Majesty finds that the duties and responsibilities which he has undertaken on his accession to the Throne in unexpected circumstances unfortunately make it impossible for him to contemplate a prolonged absence from Britain during the first year of his reign.

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THE CHURCH AND DEFENCE

The British Church Assembly, after a two-day debate, passed a resolution which affirms that War as a method of settling international disputes is incompatible with the teachings of Christ, deplores rearmament throughout the world, calls on Christians to redouble their efforts to promote international goodwill and assures the British Government of the Churches' moral support in all efforts to remove the political and economic causes of War.

It welcomes the declared policy of the Government of adhering to the Covenant of the League of Nations and using armed force only for the defence of the country and in the interests of international security and peace.

The resolution goes on to recognise the right of Government to maintain such forces as the Imperial Parliament deems necessary for the pursuance of this declared policy and states the belief that, so long as this policy is maintained, Christian citizens may bear arms in the service of the country.

THE CORONATION OATH

A new form of Coronation Oath will, it is understood, be taken by the King, which will recognise the changed position of the Dominions under the Statute of Westminster. The wording of the Oath has been a matter of consultation between the United Kingdom and Dominion Governments.

HINDU TRADITION OF TOLERATION

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, speaking on Indian Political Theories under the V. S. Srinivasa Sastri Endowment Scheme at the Madras University, drew attention to the greatest contribution of Hindu tradition, viz., toleration.

The greatest contribution to posterity made by the Hindu tradition was the broad-mindedness of sympathy and the toleration of different view-points exhibited almost alone in India amongst the civilised communities of the earlier days. When Egypt persecuted and hounded out the Jews, when racial and communal conflicts disfigured the history of Babylon and Nineveh, when, later on, we see that the slave States in Greece and Rome formed the basis of marvellous cultures and when, in the medieval ages, the baiting of Jews alternated with the baiting of Roman Catholics by Protestants and vice versa, we had the spectacle in India of unflinching hospitality to foreign religion and foreign cultures. It would be unfair and inaccurate not to mention that the Buddhists and Jains suffered many pains and penalties, especially in the south of India, but which country can show anything like the treatment of Parsis who, flying from oppression in their own country of Persia, asked for and obtained the succour of the wise West Coast king to whose protection and active encouragement of their faith and tradition, the Parsis ultimately owe their dominant position in India to-day? Which country can furnish a parallel to what happened in Travancore under the rule of an extremely conservative and religiously-minded monarch? From the days when Christian congregations were split into innumerable and warring factions, the Chera Kings of Travancore gave whole-hearted welcome to the followers of the Eastern Church, whose Patriarch of Antioch now boasts of larger following in Malabar than perhaps anywhere else in the world? Which king outside India has surpassed the monarchs of Travancore and Malabar who conferred sacerdotal honours, presents, lands and dignities on the monasteries, bishops and archbishops of the Christian Church, with the result that to-day the largest Christian population in India is found in the State of Travancore? Which Ruler in the world's chequered history has mentioned in more moving and powerful language than is found in the edicts of Asoka the Great, the principles of tolerance and comprehension of differing creeds and ideals co-existing with a spiritual urge towards the consolidation and regeneration of the Ruler's own faith? Such have been the marks and characteristics of Indian civilisation, not only at its peak points but through the centuries until recently. And it is not too much to say that the recent proclamation of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore has an authentic background and lineage.

POWER AND SOCIAL ORGANISM

Speaking at the Asiatic Society of Bengal on February 15th, Sir John Anderson, the Governor of Bengal, said:

My theme is the attitude of men towards power rather than power itself. The conception of a socially and politically unified India as a practical possibility, and the whole current of political thought that arises from that conception, are modern in the extreme and are directly attributed to the British connection. We already see—I state it merely as a fact and without any controversial implication—a conscious, intellectual movement to sever that connection. Supposing it were severed, the question is, is the tendency of unification so historically strong or so essential for further evolution of the Indian peoples that it must survive or is it a necessity so demonstrable to reason and is the power of reason so strong as to ensure easy predominance of such tendency? These reflections were suggested by recorded history, but if the tendencies arising from recorded history so strongly influenced the minds of successive generations, may it not follow that the influences of unrecorded history are still extant and in the strictest sense of the word incalculable?

THE FUTURE OF INDIA

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, inaugurating the Civil Liberties' Union at Trichur, said:

The world is crying for peace, for goodwill among men, each nation wants to be free to work out its destinies according to its genius. I may here declare that the world will have peace only when the greatest subject race of the world, the great and ancient land of ours is delivered from age-long bondage. Empires fall but humanity lives. I have sufficient imagination to see that this great land will soon see the fall of the Empire. For, we must remember that pride goeth before a fall. The suppression of man cannot be tolerated by man, much less by Providence, and those who attempt to suppress man will ultimately drag themselves down. This land is consecrated to live to great purpose. God is not unjust or unkind. He will preserve this land to that purpose.

SIR SHAH SULAIMAN'S ADVICE

Addressing the Osmania University Convocation, Sir Shah Sulaiman, Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court, observed:

My sincere and earnest appeal to you is that you should endeavour to acquire a right judgment to view the various problems facing your country with wisdom and foresight. If you take any rash and hasty steps, it may spell disaster to your career, perhaps to an extent not quite apprehended by you.

P.T. NEHRU AND THE SANATANISTS

Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, Congress President, inaugurated the Maharashtra election campaign at Bhusaval (Bombay) on the 8th February. Addressing a huge meeting, the Pundit said:

The country is fighting for its freedom. There are only two organisations in this fight of life and death, which represent slavery or liberty. The Congress set up candidates to contest the elections with a defined policy and programme. It is the duty of the voters, whoever they may be, to return Congress candidates if they love freedom and prefer self-rule to oppression. The battle for Swaraj will not end until the goal is attained.

The Congress proposes to capture the legislatures to fight from within. It attempts thereby to expose the betrayal of the masses. The Government attempt to crush the movement but to no purpose. The great enthusiasm of the people to fight Imperialism is in evidence beyond a shadow of doubt.

Referring to the spirit of communalism, Pundit Nehru said:

The masses have no communalism. They think in terms of bread and employment and have no time to think in terms of communalism. The spirit of communalism fostered by interested parties and self-seekers disunite and disrupt the nationalist forces.

The so-called Sanatanists of to-day are allies of the Government if they do not recognise how to preserve their religion. Swaraj means religion for all, liberty for all and bread and employment for all.

NEW PARTY IN COUNCIL OF STATE

A number of non-official elected members to the Council of State have decided to form themselves into a party.

The name and draft rules of the Progressive Party, which functioned in the last Council, were provisionally adopted subject to approval by a bigger meeting to be held shortly, which will give a final shape to the party. The strength of the party is expected to be 15; Rai Bahadur Lala Ramsaran Das and Mr. Hosain Imam, leader and deputy leader respectively of the old Progressive Party, will continue to work in the same capacity in the new party. Mr. P. Saprú has been appointed as Secretary.

NOMINATIONS

Under the Government of India Act, 1935, the Upper House in the six bicameral provinces will be constituted mainly by election from Constituencies and the Lower Houses. Governors have a number of seats to fill by nomination, 28 at a minimum, 40 at a maximum total out of the total of from 254 and 263 seats in the six Houses. That concession, says the *Statesman* of Calcutta, does not make Governors controllers of events on a large scale; Governor's instructions are reasonably definite; he is to use his power of nomination to correct inequalities, and special classes are not mentioned except by a reference to women and the scheduled castes. The latter can provide for their own representation, being strong enough in the Lower Houses to secure this, but no woman is likely to appear in an Upper House except through nomination.

THE BENGAL DETENUS

In the House of Commons, Mr. R. A. Butler, replying to a question of the Rev. R. W. Sorensen said that the whole question of the position and treatment of terrorist detenus was constantly engaging the attention of the Governor of Bengal, who, in addition, was kept informed by non-official visitors.

PENALTY FOR NOT VOTING

Because they did not vote in the last Municipal elections, more than 6,000 Government employees in the State of Minas Geraes, Brazil, are threatened with dismissal, says a *Reuter's* message, dated February 13.

The penalty for not voting is summary discharge from work and the imposition of a fine ranging from £1 to £10.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY SCHEME

The Senate of the Calcutta University has approved a comprehensive scheme initiated by Mr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee, Vice-Chancellor, with a view to solving the growing problem of unemployment among the middle class graduates of the University.

The scheme contemplates co-operation between the University of Calcutta and the business houses of the City for providing practical training to selected youths in the different branches of trade and industry. For this purpose a Committee called the Appointments Board will be constituted whose functions will be to select apprentices for practical training in technical and non-technical lines, to recommend to the firms suitable candidates for appointment when requested, to remain generally in touch with the employers and collect statistics and supply information, and to advise the students preparing for competitive examinations and, if necessary, to organise their training.

THE MADRAS CHRISTIAN COLLEGE

H. E. Lord Erskine, Governor of Madras, opened the new buildings of the Madras Christian College at Tambaram on January 30. In doing so, he said:

You have a great tradition behind you and great opportunities before you, and I would urge that while explaining each and every possibility of this new venture, you should hold fast to the spirit which has animated you in the past and which alone has led you to the threshold of this fine achievement. Of that spirit the essence seems to me to be the emphasis which the College has always laid upon the prime importance of character-building amongst the aims of education.

The Rev. Gordon Mathews gave a brief account of the new buildings at Tambaram.

The Rt. Rev. Bishop of Madras then addressed the large gathering recalling the great traditions of the College.

EDUCATION IN THE VERNACULARS

Dr. Tagore, delivering the Convocation Address to the Calcutta University, called attention to the importance of education in the mother tongue. He said:

This is the first time that the premier University of Bengal has given the seat of honour to the Bengali language in the ceremony of its bestowal of academic distinctions hitherto marred by the ill-omen of the vacancy left by its empty place.

We know of parasitic creatures in the animal world, which live and die in utter dependence on their hosts. They are able to eke out a bare living, but are for ever crippled in the development of their limbs and organs. Such has been the case with our modern University education. It has, from its inception, been parasitic on a foreign tongue, so that though nourishment has not been altogether lacking, it has been obtained at the cost of all-round development, so much so that it has ceased to be sensible of its own abortiveness. Accustomed to live by borrowing, it has come to measure attainment by the largeness of debt; it has signed a bond of servitude to the thinkers of other lands.

Those who receive such education cannot produce what they consume. Brought up to absorb the thoughts of others, their academic success depends on their ability to repeat by rote, and their own faculty of thought, their courage of conviction, and their creative inspiration have all been enfeebled. It goes without saying that the only way of revival from such chronic debility is by the assimilation and application of the subject-matter of education through one's own language just as, in order to incorporate food-stuffs into the body, they have to be chewed with one's own teeth and saturated with one's own digestive juices.

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN U. P.

The Secondary Education Reorganisation Committee, appointed by the United Provinces Government on Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's Unemployment Committee's report, met at Allahabad. The personnel of the Committee is representative of all shades of opinion. Five Sub-Committees were formed to report on different subjects. The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru will be Chairman of two of these Sub-Committees. Dr. Zia-ud-Din Ahmad, Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu and Dr. R. P. Paranjpye were appointed Chairmen of the remaining three. It was decided that these Sub-Committees should start work as early as possible.

INDIAN HIGH COURTS

One of the Orders in Council laid before Parliament on February 4, relates to the fixing of the maximum number of Judges in each of the several High Courts and their salaries, allowances and rights in respect of leave and pension. It comes into operation on April 1. Exclusive of the Chief Justice, Judges or Judicial Commissioner, but including any Additional Assistant Judicial Commissioners, the maximum number of Judges in the various High Courts and the Oudh Chief Court will be as follows:

Madras 15; Bombay 13; Calcutta 19; Allahabad 12; Lahore 15, Patna 11; Nagpur 7; Oudh Chief Court 5; Sind 5; and the Frontier Province 2.

The scales of salaries and pensions follow the existing scale, and also passages, where non-I. C. S. Judges of non-Asiatic domicile are placed more or less on the same footing as I. C. S. Judges.

The provisions of this Order other than that relating to the maximum strength of the Courts, do not apply to the existing Judges who continue to be governed by the present rules.

THE SWARAJ SABHA

Settlement has been reached in the suit of Mr. S. K. Bomanji against Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, President and Member of the Managing Council of Swaraj Sabha, claiming Rs. 2,65,000.

In 1918, the Plaintiff donated one lakh of rupees for the Home Rule League for carrying on political propaganda, which included attainment of Home Rule by constitutional means. After two years, the name of the League was changed to Swaraj Sabha and fundamental changes were also made in its Constitution.

The Plaintiff repudiated the gift on the ground that the original trust for which the donation was made became extinguished; hence the accumulated amount of donation should be returned to him.

According to the terms of settlement which was announced recently before Mr. Justice Engineer of Bombay High Court, it was provided that Rs. 90,000 should be utilised for the purpose of political propaganda of a constitutional character; the Plaintiff to receive Rs. 90,000 and the rest should be retained by the Swaraj Sabha.

THE LATE SIR CHARLES ALSTON

Glowing tributes were paid by the Bench and Bar of the Allahabad High Court to the late Sir Charles Alston, who was the seniormost lawyer and had joined the Bar more than half a century ago in 1885. The Chief Justice and all the Puisne Judges, practising lawyers and the ministerial establishment were present in very large numbers on the occasion. A gloomy atmosphere pervaded the Court when the most touching references were made to him by the Chief Justice on behalf of his brother Judges, and by Mr. B. E. O'Connor, the Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Khan Bahadur Mr. Muhammad Ismail, and Mr. A. Sanyal on behalf of various sections of the Bar. The High Court was afterwards closed for the rest of the day as a mark of respect to his memory.

INTER-CASTE MARRIAGES BILL

Dr. Bhagavan Das' Bill to validate Inter-Caste Marriages among Hindus was defeated in the Legislative Assembly, the Select Committee motion having been lost by 36 votes against and 14 for.

INSURANCE BILL

The Legislative Assembly has agreed to refer to a Select Committee the official Insurance Bill, whose object is to prevent the floatation of speculative companies and to exercise the maximum control over insurance concerns with the minimum interference.

Sir N. N. Sircar, Law Member, in his speech on the Bill, referred to the agitation about what was described as 'dumping and unfair competition' by foreign insurance companies. Mr. Susil Sen, who had studied the question, held that the agitation was unfounded. Sir N. N. Sircar disagreed with Mr. Sen and said that he viewed the matter from a broader outlook and was prepared to investigate the question.

Sir Leslie Hudson, Leader of the European Group, said that he and the group to which he belonged, were against any legislation of a discriminatory nature, and added:

"We believe that the insurance offices and the public will be better off if some form of statutory limitation could be devised, but while things may be made difficult for the dishonest man, attempting to legislate him out of business is equivalent almost to attempting the impossible and on that score we are apprehensive of the practicability of the proposals in these clauses."

INSURANCE LEGISLATION

With the enormous expansion of insurance business in recent years, and the growing fear that such development may lead to the appearance of unscrupulous or bogus concerns, the matter of insurance legislation is assuming increasing importance in all countries. The latest to act in the matter

is Roumania, which has introduced an Amending Act to the existing insurance law.

This New Act, says the *Calcutta Commercial Gazette*, requires that all insurance companies shall have a paid-up capital of at least four million lei for each branch of insurance transacted; a 25 per cent. reduction will be allowed if the company has more than three branches. In regard to foreign offices desirous of establishing agencies, only limited concerns which have been in existence for at least ten years will be permitted and they will be required to deposit six million lei as guarantee for each branch, and constitute for Roumanian business a capital equal to that required of the national companies. They will also have to invest in Roumania at least 40 per cent. of their premium. Further, only one domiciled in Roumania can be made a representative, such a representative being required to be invested with full powers. Lastly, the Roumanian courts are to have the final say in regard to all law suits concerning Roumanian properties of persons.

INSURANCE CONFERENCE

An Insurance Conference will meet in Calcutta during the second week of this month. Delegates from all the Indian Insurance Companies have been invited to take part in this Conference. Mr. Walchand Hirachand is expected to preside over the deliberations of this Conference. Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker is the Chairman of the Reception Committee, and Messrs. S. P. Bose, S. N. Banerjee and S. C. Ray are the Secretaries. The office of the Reception Committee is located at the office of the National Indian Life Office, 12, Mission Row, Calcutta.

LANCASHIRE AND INDIA

Presiding at the Annual Meeting of the Indian section of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, the Chairman, Mr. Angus D. Campbell, said that important as the question of Japanese competition had been, it was now abundantly clear that the decline in Lancashire's trade with India was due to excessive protection of the domestic industry rather than to Japanese competition, which had been strictly limited in volume for ten years.

Pointing out that the whole question of the commercial relations between India and Great Britain was now open for review, Mr. Campbell said he was sure all hoped that the negotiations would lead to a mutually satisfactory result at an early date. The British Government clearly had the opportunity, during these negotiations, of seeking a solution for the problem of the persistent decline in Lancashire's trade.

WAR SCARE AND TRADE

How the United Kingdom and other Continental countries are storing up raw materials for an evil day is indicated by India's trade returns for December which have just been issued.

India continues to export merchandise on an unprecedented scale. In the nine months ended December, the export of merchandise alone has increased by 20 crores. The commodities affected by the larger off-take by foreign countries suggest war scare and preparation for eventualities.

Larger consignments of wheat, rice, coffee, cotton, raw wool, raw pig lead, ground-nuts, linseed, jute gunny bags and jute gunny cloth have left Indian shores in December.

Our balance of trade in merchandise had reached 50 crores against 19 in December 1935, while the total visible balance amounts to 64 crores against the United Kingdom, recording an increase of 7 crores. This really does not matter, as there have always been crores of invisible exports to that country.

Imports continue to fall, adding to the Budget worries of the Finance Member by way of lesser customs returns. So far, imports have fallen by about 10 crores and customs returns by two crores indicating a deficit in the budget.

THE NEED FOR STOCK EXCHANGE

Mr. Kedarnath Khandelwal, President of the Calcutta Stock Exchange, interviewed by the *Madras Mail*, deplored the absence of a regularly constituted market and pointed out the disadvantages arising from the lack of a Stock Exchange in Madras.

Mr. Khandelwal warned that the absence of a Stock Exchange might foster an unhealthy crop of mushroom and fraudulent companies and "I am afraid," he added, "that this evil has already made its appearance. Without a Stock Exchange, the public will have no protection against unscrupulous, unwise, or impecunious brokers."

There is another consideration to be borne in mind. Brokers must never give the impression that they are interested in any particular securities and that they seek to influence investors unduly in the course of business. The impression certainly prevails that in the absence of a proper Exchange, their recommendations and reports may tend to be coloured by their own predilections or interests. It will be best if brokers remain just brokers.

HINDU WIDOWS' RIGHTS

The Assembly passed on February 4th, Dr. Deshmukh's Bill to amend the Hindu Law for conferring rights of inheritance of property to Hindu widows. In a spirited speech, Dr. Deshmukh declared the Bill represented the minimum that they could do for the Hindu widow. The Bill proposed no innovation but was merely a measure of restoration. Criticising some provisions of the present Hindu Law, which he characterised as hybrid mongrel, half-caste law, he asserted the principle of limited property for the widow and the other principle of reversioners whom he called 'freebooters' came to India as an importation along with British rule. These principles were so foreign to Hindu conceptions that there were no Sanskrit works conveying the idea. He also accused Sanskrit Pundits of deliberate mistranslation of Hindu literature with the result that several Privy Council Judgments based upon it were wrong.

WOMEN WORKERS IN MINES

The Government of India have promulgated regulations prohibiting with effect from July 1, 1937, the employment of women underground in mines. Women employed in health and welfare services are unaffected; but hereafter the entry of women workers in the mines shall be regulated by a system of passes and all details thereof will be recorded in a register maintained for this purpose. The delay in coming to this decision is due to the Government's desire to give the industry sufficient time to adjust itself to the change, as at the time the Mines Act was passed in 1923, female labour numbering 90,000 was more than a third of the total of the mines labour.

WOMEN'S PROGRESS IN HYDERABAD

In the course of an article in the Press, Lady Hyderi reviews the progress made by the women of Hyderabad during the past 25 years. Lady Hyderi, who was President of the first Hyderabad Women's Conference, has been taking an active part in women's activities in the State. She writes:

I am proud of identifying myself with the women of Hyderabad, whose record of achievements in the Osmania era brilliantly reflects those forces of progressive thought and activity that have ushered the dawn of a great renaissance in these Dominions.

The rapid multiplication of women's educational institutions in the last 25 years, and the broad-minded attitude of the Ruler to problems affecting the social and moral advancement of his subjects have enabled the growth of close co-operation between women of all classes and communities under a common banner.

To-day over 30 splendidly organised Associations, Clubs, and Societies are directing voluntary work through specialised channels—child welfare centres, hostels, asylums, relief work amongst the poor at times of epidemics and distress, the encouragement of home industries, the spread of mass education, moral vigilance, temperance, inspection of Zenana hospitals and other institutions and the collection of funds for any deserving cause.

Annually a public conference is held for the evaluation of work and consolidation of views. The participation of our delegates in the work and deliberations of the All-India Conference every year serves to link the aspirations and ideals of the women of Hyderabad to the united vision of India's womanhood.

BEGUM AMIRUDDIN

Begum Sultan Mir Amiruddin Sabiba has been invited to deliver an address at the next International Congress of the World Fellowship of Faiths, which will be held at the Balliol College, Oxford, in the last week of July.

SIR C. P. AS SASTRI LECTURER

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, Dewan of Travancore, delivered a series of two lectures under the V. S. Srinivasa Sastriar Foundation Endowments of Madras University on February 8, at the University Examination Hall, Madras, the subject being 'Indian Political Theories'.

Mr. R. Littlehales, Vice-Chancellor of Madras University who presided, said that the funds of the Endowments got together some years ago, with the assistance of the public of Madras, were for one or a series of lectures upon Indian political ideas. He did not think any one would question the judgment of the University in selecting Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer to deliver the lectures.

SHAKESPEARE SCHOLARSHIP AWARD

For the first time in the history of the award, an Indian student has won the Charles Oldham Scholarship at Oxford.

He is Mr. G. J. Padmanadh, of St. Catherine's Society, Oxford, who received the Scholarship for 1936.

The Scholarship, which is by open competition, is awarded each year for the study of some aspects of Shakespeare. In 1936, the subject was a special study of the Sonnets.

TWO INDIAN JOURNALISTS

Mr. Durga Das and Mr. A. S. Iyengar, whose contracts with the *Associated Press* of India expire on 31st March, have informed the Company that they do not wish to accept the terms offered by the Company for their re-engagement and have asked the Company to be released in order to undertake work of their own. The Company agrees to the request and regrets this severance of their long connection with the *Associated Press*.

BOOKS IN THE SOVIET

'Twenty-eight million copies of books are to be published in 1937 by the State Literary and Fiction Publishing House of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic,' says a Moscow message.

LALA HARIKISHEN LAL

Lala Harikishen Lal died of heart attack at his residence in Lahore at the ripe age of 71. Once an outstanding personality in the industrial life of the Punjab, he suffered a succession of reverses and was recently declared insolvent. He was involved in two cases of contempt of High Court, in one of which he was sentenced to imprisonment till he apologised. This sentence, however, was revised by the High Court a few months ago, and Lala Harikishen Lal was released after serving six months and one day.

THE LATE DR. C. NATESAN

We regret to record the death of Dewan Bahadur Dr. C. Natesa Mudaliar, Deputy President of the Madras Legislative Council, and one of the founders of the Justice Party, at the age of 62. He was a candidate for election to the Madras Legislative Assembly from the City (South) Constituency. Though connected so long with an organisation avowedly communal in origin and purpose, he was singularly free from communal animosity and counted among his friends many members of other communities.

SIR REGINALD CRADDOCK

Sir Reginald Craddock, who died on 11th February, was born on 11th March 1864. He entered the Indian Civil Service at the age of 20. He served in the Central Provinces in various capacities, district and secretarial. He was Chief Commissioner 1907-12, Home Member of the Viceroy's Council 1912-17, Lieutenant-Governor of Burma 1917-22, First Chancellor of the Rangoon University and late Member of the Royal Commission on the Civil Services in India.

MR. SUBASH BOSE

In the House of Commons, Mr. Jagger drew attention to the health of Mr. Subash Chandra Bose and urged his liberation.

Mr. R. A. Butler replied that in view of the state of his health, Mr. Bose had been transferred to the Medical College Hospital at Calcutta to receive medical treatment. The Under-Secretary of State for India added that he was confident that Mr. Bose would have every facility for obtaining proper attention.

MEDICAL COUNCIL DECISIONS

That Indian nationals, who have obtained medical qualifications of repute in foreign countries, should not be granted recognition in India unless such foreign countries recognise the medical qualifications of this country as a basis of complete reciprocity, was the opinion expressed by the Medical Council in India at its seventh session held in New Delhi, under the chairmanship of Major-General Sir Cuthbert Sprawson.

Sir Cuthbert Sprawson reviewed the activities of the Council and expressed his satisfaction on its achievements.

The Council accepted the regulations and rules of the Medical Council in India with some alterations.

The Council considered the draft recommendations on professional education together with the observations of University thereon. With a few modifications they were adopted and it was decided that they should come into operation from the commencement of the academic year 1939.

Col. K. B. Kunday was re-elected Vice-President of the Council and the following were elected members of the Executive Committee: Dr. B. C. Ray, Rai Bahadur Dr. B. N. Vyas, Dr. Abraham S. Erulkar, Lt.-Col. S. L. Bhatia and Rai Bahadur Dr. Maharaj Krishna Kapur.

TREATMENT OF SNAKE BITE

A writer in the *Oriental Watchman* gives the following treatment for snake bite:

1. Local treatment

(a) Tie a tourniquet above the wound if on an extremity.

This should be slightly loosened every fifteen minutes or so, to keep the circulation going.

(b) Make multiple incisions about the bitten area.

Let the wound bleed freely.

(c) Suck out all the venom possible.

(d) Do everything possible to promote the flow of blood from the wound.

2. Specific Treatment

Anti-venin for the particular type of snake.

3. General Treatment

Keep the patient awake if it is a cobra bite. Give stimulant like black coffee or tea, hot. Rest, if bitten by a viper.

FOOD PROBLEMS FOR THE TROPICS

A recent message from London states that the British and Colonial Governments are to co-operate with the health organisation of the League of Nations in an exhaustive investigation into the problems of mal-nutrition in the tropics. A Committee of the Economic Advisory Council has been appointed by the Prime Minister to keep in touch with the League's activities in the matter and to advise and make recommendations on Empire nutritional matters, while the subject of mal-nutrition is to figure prominently in the agenda of the Conference on Rural Hygiene in the Far East to be held in Java shortly.

There can be no doubt of the importance of the matter to all countries—tropical and non-tropical. Mal-nutrition lowers resistance to disease and, in these days of speedy travel, infection can be carried very easily from one country to another.

It is very likely that thorough investigation will show that the problem is largely the result, not of scarcity of food, but of unscientific methods of production and bad marketing.

PSEUDO SCIENCE

Lord Horder, presiding at a conference organised by the Central Council for Health Education at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical medicine, recently, said that care was needed to warn the public against pseudo-science masquerading as the real thing. "The shibboleths of pseudo-science, he declared, easily became ramps, science being prostituted to commercialism. The whole position of advertisements in relation to health questions is badly in need of overhauling," he added. The truth is that Nature taught man to be healthy long before science discovered the laws of physiology.

GERMAN DIET

German propaganda has now taken the question of diet, and details of diet instructions issued officially in Germany are becoming available. The people are advised to change over to a vegetable and plant rather than an animal diet and generally to feed themselves on products that can be found in the country.

QUILON BANK IN CALCUTTA

The Quilon Bank has opened a branch in Calcutta. Mr. C. P. Mathen, Managing-Director, in inviting the Hon. Mr. B. K. Basu to open the Bank, observed that it was started in response to the pressing request of the South Indian public in Calcutta. In opening the Bank, the Hon'ble Mr. B. K. Basu said the South Indian banks in general, and the Quilon Bank in particular, might claim with justifiable pride that compared with their resources they had been able to carry the amenities of banking service both to small towns and big villages. The business which they commanded was based on the primary producer and the agriculturist and derived its strength from direct contact with the mofussil. It seemed to him that there was much in this example of South India for others to ponder over. He congratulated the Management on appointing several qualified Bengalees, especially Mr. N. Bhattacharya, who had an extensive banking training in Europe and India.

CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA

A distinguished gathering was present at the Silver Jubilee celebration of the Central Bank of India at Sabai Palace, Galstaun Park, Calcutta, on January 12th. Among those present were the Governor of Bengal, who was the chief guest, several Judges of the High Court, Sir John and Lady Woodhead, and others.

His Excellency the Governor, addressing the gathering, said: "In wishing the Central Bank long and successful career in the new regime of Banking in India, I trust it may serve not only as a proof of what Indian banking can do, but also as a means of stimulating among those who come within its sphere of influence those qualities of confidence, enterprise and responsibility upon which alone the successful growth of banking institutions must depend."

THE RESERVE BANK OF INDIA

The annual general meeting of the Reserve Bank of India was held on February 8. Sir James Taylor, Officiating Governor of the Bank, presided.

THE END OF B. N. RY. STRIKE

The B. N. Railway strike was called off on the 10th of last month. The terms of settlement put forward by the Executive among others are:

1. All men on strike would be permitted to resume duty provided they offer themselves on or before February 15;

2. Their absence from duty would be treated as leave without pay as agreed to by Mr. V. V. Giri in his interview with the Agent, B. N. Railway, on the 22nd January, 1937; and

3. The fact that the men have been on strike would not in itself render them liable to any penalty affecting their previous service, provident fund, bonus or gratuity.

The workers accordingly resumed duty.

THE RAILWAY BUDGET

The Hon. Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, Railway Member, and Sir Guthrie Russell, Chief Commissioner for Railways, presented the Railway Budget on February 16, in the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, respectively.

They explained that for first time since 1929-30, Railway estimates forecast surpluses instead of deficits. In each of the years, 1936-37 and 1937-38, it is now expected that there will be a small surplus of 15 lakhs. As budget estimate of net financial result of railway working in 1936-37 was a deficit of 3'44 crores, the present estimate indicates improvement of 3'59 crores but, as Sir Zafrulla explained in introducing estimates in the Legislative Assembly recently, change in allocation agreed to by Public Accounts and Railway Standing Finance Committees and brought into effect from current year has reduced net revenues of railways by 36 lakhs and real improvement as compared with last year is nearly 4 crores.

RAILWAYMEN'S MEMORANDUM

That the commercial working of Indian railways cannot be achieved by the establishment of a Federal Railway Authority as set out in the Government of India Act, 1935, is the view expressed by the Committee of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation in a Memorandum submitted to the Railway Inquiry Committee.

THE TRUE FUNCTION OF ART

Dr. J. H. Cousins, the art critic, in a recent interview observed that the revival of Indian art began in Bengal nearly 40 years ago. It had now spread all over the country. Art, he felt, was not as well patronised by the well-to-do people of India as it should be.

One means for promoting art was the establishment of art galleries in large towns and big centres. Dr. Cousins had found two art galleries in Travancore and had other similar schemes in view.

Mogul art and Rajput art, he remarked, were very much the same in their general technical qualities but Mogul art was very human whereas Rajput art was rather religious.

The true function of art, said Dr. Cousins, was not to represent things seen or to make things for sale. These were mere casual aspects of artistic activity. True art is the expression of the inner nature of the artist and is at its highest when it expresses truth and beauty.

BENGAL MUSICIANS

Many well known Indian musicians attended the opening of the third session of the All-Bengal Music Conference at the Calcutta University Institute, College Square, last month.

Maharaja Sris Chandra Nandy of Cossimbazar, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates said that a conference like this was the best medium for a free interchange of thought and opinions by musicians and was the surest way of preserving the best classical compositions of India. The most important objective that a musical conference of this sort could hope to achieve was to promote the development of a living musical culture, having its roots in the soil of India and expressing itself in nobler and more beautiful forms so as to enrich the lives of both rich and poor.

Following the opening ceremony, Mian Bilatu's Party gave a demonstration of *Sanai* (Rute) playing.

THE RANJI TROPHY

Nawanagar (the State, of which Ranji was the head) won the Ranji Trophy beating Bengal in the final of the Inter-Provincial Cricket Championship by 256 runs.

Bengal were initially handicapped by the non-availability of Longfield, who did so splendidly against Hyderabad but worse was to follow when S. Banerji, the All-India bowler, who has been the mainstay for his province, was prevented from aiding his home-province by the Jamsaheb of Nawanagar, Banerji happening to be now employed in the State. Still Bengal fought gallantly and in a match in which the bat had mastery over the ball uniformly, her chances were naturally reduced due to depletion of bowling strength.

Set to make 492 for victory in the fourth innings on a none too reliable wicket, Bengal hit up 236 for 9, (Behrend being absent, and lost by 256 runs. Skinner played a delightful game to score 125.

BHOPAL'S POLO TEAM FOR ENGLAND

His Highness the Nawab Saheb of Bhopal is taking a polo team to England and hopes to participate in the following tournaments: Hurlingham Cup (second week of May), Empire Cup (third week of May), Roehampton Cup (fourth week of May), Ranelagh Cup (second week of June), Champion Cup (third week of June) Coronation Cup (first week of July) and the Indian Princes Challenge Shield.

BOARD OF CRICKET CONTROL

The rumour that H. H. the Nawab of Bhopal was resigning the presidentship of the Board of Control for Cricket in India has been contradicted by a Calcutta daily paper, which states that there is no basis for that report which emanated from Bombay.

INDIA AND HAMMOND

At an important meeting of the Board of Cricket Control in India, held in New Delhi, it was decided as regards the proposed English tour in India during 1937-38 to carry on correspondence, provided W. R. Hammond was included in the visiting side.

DR. K. S. KRISHNAN

Dr. K. S. Krishnan Mahendralal Sircar Professor of Physics, Indian Association for the cultivation of Science, Calcutta, left for Europe on 20th February to visit the various scientific laboratories.



Dr. K. S. KRISHNAN

We understand that Dr. Krishnan has been invited by Lord Rutherford, Director of the famous Cavendish Laboratory, Cambridge, to deliver a course of lectures on the Physics of Crystals. Dr. Krishnan will also be delivering lectures at other scientific centres both in England and on the Continent. Dr. Krishnan will be returning to India early in July.

INDIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

Inaugurating the second annual meeting of the Indian Academy of Sciences at Bangalore last month, Sir C. V. Raman, President of the Academy, referred to the large number of publications on Science subjects which the Academy had brought out. These publications, he said, had received the attention of Specialists all over the world.

He pointed out that the Academy provided facilities for an interpenetration of different branches of science and brought scientists together in a corporate effort towards the promotion of knowledge.

MADRAS FILM-GOERS' CHOICE

The following are the results of the annual ballot among picture-goers, conducted by the Madras Film League, to select the most popular artistes and films of 1936:

Foreign Pictures: 1. "Modern Times", 2. "A Tale of Two Cities", 3. "Mutiny on the Bounty".

Foreign Female stars: 1. Shirley Temple, 2. Greta Garbo, 3. Claudette Colbert.

Foreign Male stars: 1. Fredric March, 2. Ronald Colman, 3. Charlie Chaplin.

Tamil Pictures: 1. "Bhaktha Kuchela", 2. "Pattinathar", 3. "Two Brothers".

Tamil Female stars: 1. S. D. Subbulakshmi, 2. M. S. Vijayal, 3. Balasaraswathi.

Tamil Male stars: 1. K. P. Kesavan, 2. M. K. Thiagaraja Bbagavathar, 3. Dandapani Desigar.

Telugu Pictures: 1. "Sathi Tulasi", 2. "Droupadi Vasthrapaharan", 3. "Krishna Leela".

Telugu Female stars: 1. Ramathilakam, 2. Sriranjini, 3. Kannamba.

Telugu Male stars: 1. Vemuri Gaggiab, 2. Yedavalli Suryanarayana, 3. Dommeti Suryanarayana.

Hindi Pictures: 1. "Acchut Kanya", 2. "Amar Jyothi", 3. "Dhoop Chaoon".

Hindi Female stars: 1. Devika Rani, 2. Uma Devi, 3. Durgabai Khote.

Hindi Male stars: 1. Saigal, 2. Ashok Kumar, 3. Chandramohan.

FILM INDUSTRY IN MYSORE

The question of the establishment of cinematograph industry in Mysore has been engaging the attention of the Board of Industries and Commerce in Mysore. We understand that the Sub-Committee of the Board, which considered this question in detail, has recommended to the Board that the film industry should be developed by private enterprise on the basis of a joint-stock company with suitable Government assistance. The report of the Sub-Committee will be considered at the next meeting of the Industries Board.

THE ROAD FUND

The Legislative Assembly adopted, on February 11, a resolution (with two amendments sponsored by Mr. G. Morgan of the European Group) moved by Sir Frank Noyce, Member for Industries and Labour, providing for the continuance of the extra duty of two annas on motor spirit and the establishment of a Road Fund.

The amendments, it was explained, were intended to prevent the railways dominating the Standing Committee set up to manage the Fund.

Some of the members criticised the Government's policy of attaching conditions to grants made to the provinces which, they said, constituted an attack on Provincial Autonomy.

Replying, Sir Frank Noyce assured the House that there was no change of policy regarding the use of the Road Fund and emphatically denied that the resolution constituted an attack on Provincial Autonomy.

In the course of his speech, Sir James Grigg, Finance Member, stressed the need to solve the road-rail problem and said it was impossible for the Government, who invested Rs. 800 crores in railways, to subsidise without conditions a competing form of transport.

RECORD MOTOR OUTPUT

According to statistics issued by the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders covering the year ending 30th September, production in the past year totalled 461,947 units comprising 858,838 cars and cabs, and 108,109 commercial vehicles. This represents an increase of 14.4 per cent. over 1935, itself a record year.

The registration of new vehicles during the same 12 months totalled 449,339 against 397,448 in the previous year, an increase of 13 per cent. The proportion of foreign cars to domestic-made vehicles in new registrations has now fallen to approximately 3 per cent.

During the 10 months of 1936, exports have risen in number of units by 14.5 per cent.

CIVIL AVIATION IN INDIA

Mr. J. C. Hunter, of the Madras Flying Club, lecturing before the Mysore University last month on the progress of civil aviation in India, said that the factors which impeded its progress, apart from poverty, were the lack of public support, scarcity of ground facilities, and absence of facilities for night-flying.

In its initial stages, he said, it was necessary for economic reasons to use small air-craft, but the range of small air-craft was not very great and they must land frequently to refuel; when the distance between aerodromes was great, the organisation of an air transport concern on paying basis became impossible.

The speaker said that the Government of India had recognised these necessities, and the Director of Civil Aviation had already obtained a grant of 92 lakhs of rupees for ground organisation and development.

Referring to aviation career, he said that at present the number of trained men employed in air transport in India was 93 Europeans and 87 Indians. These figures did not include the personnel of the flying clubs and directorate of civil aviation.

He added: "Taking into account the development of immediate future, one can hazard a guess that in the next year or two the total number of employed will be increased by about one-third. Aviation, however, offers no definite prospects of employment to those young men who are not prepared to take the necessary pains to fit themselves for a job."

AERONAUTICAL RESEARCH

There will be general satisfaction, says the *Statesman*, that an Indian sent to England by means of an aeronautical research scholarship from the Government of India has won fame by inventing a new safety device for aeroplanes, which the British Press hails as of the utmost importance. Mr. Phiroze P. Nazir by this achievement has fully justified the scholarship scheme, and we trust that the Government will be encouraged to do still more to assist the training of Indian students of aeronautics.

IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY IN INDIA

Jamshedpur, the greatest industrial centre in India, has long been famous for the enlightened and progressive character of its administration. This place was a wild and tractless jungle 30 years ago. The Steel Co. reclaimed the land and built the town with clean roads lined with shady trees, picturesque bungalows and gardens. It gives employment to 18,000 men and women, who are comfortably housed in well-ventilated and sanitary quarters in the surrounding areas. The Iron and Steel Works were constructed at a cost of approximately 18 crores of rupees. Mr. J. N. Tata unfortunately did not live to see their completion, which was carried through by his son Sir Dorab Tata according to his father's plans. At a fairly advanced age, he planned out a scheme of founding an Iron and Steel Industry and personally performed all the spade work involved in putting it through. Mr. P. N. Bose's discovery of the rich iron ore deposits in Gurumaishini was responsible for the final decision to put up the Iron and Steel Works at Sakchi; hence the founding of the great industry was due to two men, Mr. J. N. Tata and Mr. P. N. Bose, who may be regarded as pioneers of the great industry. The Steel Works at present extend over hundreds of acres of levelled land and a week's time is hardly sufficient for their inspection. The material progress of the world to-day is based upon Steel, and if we can manufacture the goods that we need, our economical problem will be in a large measure solved. If we can build our own motor cars, our machineries, steam-ships, etc., we shall not only give employment to millions of men, but what is more we shall be able to build up the wealth of our country. It is difficult to imagine India acquiring Dominion Status if she has not the means of supplying her own needs and protecting herself against foreign aggression. The Iron & Steel Works in Jamshedpur have to-day acquired a world-wide reputation. The measure of its success, of late, is to a great extent due to the tact and untiring energy of Mr. A. R. Dalal, I.C.S., Agent to the Tata Iron & Steel Co., Ltd.

STATE HELP TO AGRICULTURE

A powerful plea for the amelioration of the condition of the agriculturists in India and for more active assistance from the State on the lines adopted by Western countries was made by Sir T. Vijayaraghavachariar recently at a meeting of the Indian Institute of Economics held under the presidency of Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker.

In the course of his address, Sir Vijayaraghavachariar urged the need for greater improvement in the marketing facilities now available to the villager, with a view to enabling him to realise a fairer price for the products of his labour. Of equal importance was the necessity for continued and intensive research directed to bringing about improved and more profitable methods of farming. The present prosperous position of the sugar industry and the consequent prosperity of the sugar-cane grower, he concluded, were the direct results of State research and the co-operation from the Government in pursuance of its policy of discriminating protection.

MARKETING AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE

The Bill to provide for grading and marketing of agricultural produce is published in a *Gazette Extraordinary* issued on February 13th.

The Statement of Object and Reasons explains that in connection with the marketing surveys initiated by the Government of India, experiments have been started for better grading of certain agricultural commodities, for example, hides and eggs. As the practice of using such marks is still only in the experimental stage, it is not proposed to make it obligatory on all persons who may be dealing in that commodity, but to limit it only to those who desire to participate in the experiment. No person, however, may make use of the mark without proper authority or except in conformity with the conditions that may be prescribed. Imitation or forgery of the prescribed mark must also be penalised if the experiment is to prove successful. The Bill is designed to achieve these objects,

WOMEN WORKING IN MINES

The Governor-General-in-Council has promulgated regulations prohibiting, with effect from July 1, 1937, employment of women underground in mines in India. Women employed in health and welfare services are not affected, but hereafter the entry of women workers in mines shall be regulated by a system of passes and all details thereof will be recorded in a register maintained therefor.

This question has been engaging the attention of Government since 1890 and the Indian Mines Acts of both 1901 and 1923 empowered the Governor-General-in-Council to frame rules prohibiting female labour below surface in mines. Delayed action, we are told, has been due to Government's desire to give the industry sufficient time to adjust itself to the change, as at the time the Mines Act was passed in 1923, female labour numbering 90,000 was more than one-third of the total mines labour.

CHILD LABOUR

According to a correspondent of the *Daily Herald*, the overworking of boys and girls in factories and mines in England remains a grave national scandal.

Juveniles leaving school at 14 years of age can legally work from eight in the morning until eight at night, with 1½ hours for meals and can go on till four o'clock on Saturday afternoon.

In factory districts, the long hours and the dreary monotony of repetitive processes are having deplorable effects on the health and nerves of many young persons.

"Speeding up" is also having disastrous results on juvenile employment and the accident rate has been steadily rising since 1929.

A number of progressive firms have provided amenities for their women and juvenile workers, but in many cases the conditions of labour are still far behind the times.

Factory reformers want to make compulsory the provision of mess-rooms, where employees can eat their food in decency and comfort.

THE SOUTH INDIAN

A tribute to the South Indian was paid by Sir Gilbert Jackson, formerly Puisne Judge of the Madras High Court, in the course of a debate which followed a paper read before the East India Association at Caxton Hall, London, by Dewan Bahadur A. R. Mudaliar, Member of the India Council, on "South India on the eve of Autonomy".

Sir Gilbert Jackson said he was glad to testify to his faith in the people of Southern India. Looking back on his career in India, what struck him as remarkable was that he could not remember having been badly let down by a subordinate in India either as an executive officer or as a judge of the High Court.

When he was put in charge of a Court, he could have written his knowledge of Hindu law on a two-anna piece, but no one took advantage of the fact. Members of the Bar and the staff were perfectly loyal. And he could testify to the devotion and high standard set by the Indian judges with whom he was associated on the Bench of the High Court.

INDIAN LABOUR IN CEYLON

A deputation from the Country Products Association, Ceylon, gave evidence last month before Sir Edward Jackson, who is inquiring into labour conditions in Ceylon.

Asked by Sir Edward Jackson if members of the Association employed Indian labour, Mr. D. E. Niese said that the Indian labourer was punctual and hard-working whereas Sinhalese labour was expensive and often dragged on the work. The Deputation was of the opinion that Indian labour was cheaper and more efficient.

Dr. H. M. Peries declared that it would be difficult, in his opinion, to carry on their chief agricultural pursuits without Indian labour.

Sir Edward Jackson: Do you all agree with this?

Mr. Niese: Yes, undoubtedly.

In trade and urban occupations, the Deputation was of the opinion that some steps should be taken to check increase in the number of immigrants,

THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST

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THE WAY OUT

It is profitless at this time of the day to ask if the Congress were wise in demanding, or the Governors correct in declining, the assurance in terms of the A. I. C. C. resolution. The fact remains that the political *impasse* in six out of the eleven Provinces is now complete and there is little prospect of the country settling itself to work the new Constitution. Meanwhile, a bitter controversy is abroad touching the legality and the constitutional propriety of Interim Ministries that have been set up in place of Cabinets responsible to the electorates. It is useless to argue that the sort of assurance asked for is already implicit in the Act; and that the Governors have power to dismiss as the ministers have the option to resign. Would the heavens have fallen if the Governors had repeated that assurance? A little tact would have averted the crisis. Some one at the top has blundered, and a cloud, at first no bigger than a man's hand, is growing into a fearful thunderstorm.

Every one recognises the danger of leaving things to drift for themselves. What then is the way out of the *impasse*? Various suggestions have been made, Lord Lothian

urges personal contact between the spokesmen of the Government and the Congress. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru suggests a constitutional conference. Mr. Gandhi would have the dispute settled by an arbitration tribunal; while a Madras manifesto would have the question referred to the Judges-designate of the Federal Court. As we write, there is a growing volume of opinion in favour of convoking the Assemblies and Councils and giving a final chance to the Congress to decide what they will do. But that will mean delay; and every day that passes will worsen the situation. "If I am a Congressman," said Lord Lothian,

I would not ask for assurances but take the powers which are ours under the Constitution, get on with our provincial programmes, challenge the Governor to interfere so long as we are prepared to take the consequences and demand a dissolution if he does.

To expect, as Lord Zetland seems to do, that the Congress would own its mistake—even it was one—is frankly beyond the pale of practical politics. Congress will do no such thing. There is in Churchill's phrase "a sterner temper in the air," in India also, as is evident from the Congress

Working Committee resolution on the deadlock. No amount of legal legerdemain will solve the issue. The problem is one for wise statesmanship. It is as Mr. Lloyd George, with the prescience of a practical statesman, truly described it "a case for negotiating a treaty and not for imposing the Constitution".

For the Act, as he says, "has conceded too little to win over the most powerful political organisation in India". In such a plight it is fortunate that Gandhiji keeps an open mind, and, in spite of all that he has said in defence of his formula, he avers, that he is anxious to bridge the gulf and bring about an honest settlement. Though he disclaims even primary membership of the Congress, his authority is still supreme in Congress ranks. And what does he say? He says that Congress will be satisfied if the Governors could give the same assurance that Sir Samuel Hoare gave. And this is what Sir Samuel Hoare said of the safeguards in his speech in the House of Commons on December 10th, 1934:

I do not wish any Hon. Member to think that the Committee or the Government contemplate that there will be constant need for their use. I believe that the very existence of these powers in reserve will make it unnecessary nine times out of ten to bring them into play at all. I believe that the Governors who will be in close contact with their Ministers, when they see the case arising in which one of these special responsibilities may be endangered, will persuade their Ministers to take the necessary action and in nine cases out of ten the Indian Ministers will be only too glad to take that advice and to take that action. It is only for the emergency cases that we contemplate there will be need for this intervention. If, however, the need does arise, there will be the powers and there will be the effective executive action behind them. So far from thinking that these safeguards will be an

obstacle in the way of the development of self-government in India, I believe that they are the necessary support without which self-government in India cannot succeed.

Now the *Statesman* rightly argues "that no Governor will or can refuse an assurance in substantially the same terms as Sir Samuel Hoare gave".

What is to prevent a Governor from telling the leader of the majority party in his province that while he cannot give him an assurance that he will never use the special powers conferred upon him by the Act, he can give him an assurance that these powers do not arise in regard to the social programme the Congress has put before the country, since the Congress itself disclaims any confiscatory intentions? We believe that this would satisfy Mr. Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi has replied to this that it would go a long way to satisfy him. Indeed, every subsequent pronouncement of Gandhiji's has, in a measure, so narrowed down the issues that nothing but a false sense of prestige stands in the way of the Government and the Congress getting to brass-tacks to square the deal. In an illuminating letter to *Reuter*, Dr. Keith has clarified the position beyond doubt. To him the apologia for Government is "intelligible only on the theory that the Government of India Act means that the Governor is, as under the Scheme of 1919, merely to use his Ministers as advisers" and "to bear the real responsibility himself". The New Act, if anything, is supposed to have reversed the position. It is expected to vest real responsibility in the Ministers. If so, argues Dr. Keith, Mr. Gandhi "is entitled to an immediate and emphatic assent". And

the Congress and the Governors alike owe it to the people to put their welfare above prestige.

INDIAN STATES IN THE FEDERATION

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

THIS book* embodies a course of three lectures delivered by the author under the auspices of the University of Madras. It is intended to examine the position of the Indian States in the scheme of federation adopted in the Government of India Act of 1935. Outside the Conservative Party in England, few people have been satisfied with the new constitution enacted for India. It is doubtful whether even the Conservative Party feels quite satisfied with it. In framing the new constitution, the Imperial Government tried to satisfy three important sections of opinion and reconcile three groups of divergent interests. The constitution was intended to satisfy the aspirations of British India, including the powerful minorities, to meet the wishes of the Indian Princes anxious to have a voice in legislation affecting their revenues and interests and in the administration of India as a whole, and, lastly, but not least, to safeguard British interests. It is no wonder then that the constitution has failed to give satisfaction and has been severely criticised by the Princes and People of India. The dominant motive in the minds of British Indian politicians was the achievement of full responsible government and the creation of a strong and united India. While the Princes are willing to subscribe to this ideal, their predominant motive has been the maintenance intact of their powers and position of sovereignty except to the minimum extent required as a price for obtaining a share in the administration of India as a whole. While it would be wrong to

suggest that the British Government were not interested in the growth of the prosperity and contentment of India, the criticism is not unfair that the Imperial Government was anxious that there should be no detriment in the position of British interests in India at the hands of impatient nationalism with a desire for rapid industrial development. As a counter-weight against the forces of democracy in British India, it was felt desirable to assign an influential position to the Princes to secure stability and orderly, if slow, progress. The revolutionary forces, which have appeared in the country, may lend some support to this aspect of the matter.

The author has an interesting chapter on the background of the federal constitution and refers to the forces and tendencies which have been at work in the shaping of the federal constitution enacted by the Statute of 1935. There can be no doubt that what the Princes favoured was not federalism as ordinarily understood, but rather a union from which it should be possible for them to secede if they were dissatisfied with the results of its working. Highly anomalous as the new constitution is and differing as it does so largely from the federal constitutions known to history, it is a matter for satisfaction that Sir Samuel Hoare decisively negated the idea of a confederacy and of any right to secession by a State which has once acceded to the federal scheme.

As regards the relations between the federal government and the constituent states, the author quarrels with the definition given by Lord Sankey and prefers to follow the guidance of

* INDIAN STATES IN THE FEDERATION. By N. D. Varadachariar. Oxford University Press. Rs. 3-8.

Prof. Willoughby. Much of this discussion relates to definition. Definitions are no doubt important, not merely for the purpose of clarifying our ideas, but also on account of the influence exercised upon men's minds with regard to the incidents deducible from the type of constitution believed to have been adopted. The author has treated Lord Sankey's view with very scant respect. (It may be pointed out that the position, as stated by Prof. Willoughby, involves certain assumptions as to the character of sovereignty which are not accepted by other jurists, and that the twofold classification by Prof. Willoughby of unions between States is unsound and contrary to fact.) If Prof. Willoughby is right in his conception that a federal State is in reality a single sovereign national State, legally omni-competent, with a number of subordinate political bodies which may or may not be termed States, but which, juristically viewed, act as agents of the sovereign national State, he ignores the fundamental distinction between a unitary and a composite State. The State that he describes is not a federation at all. Mr. Varadachariar has an enviable feeling of assurance about his views which is unassailed by any doubts.

There is another interesting chapter on paramountcy and sovereignty. The claim of the British Government to paramountcy, and the manner in which it has been asserted or exercised, have given rise to much dissatisfaction on the part of the Indian States. They have contended that the claim cannot be justified by the treaties and has no legal foundation. Paramountcy defies definition. It is a unique political growth peculiar to the

relations between the British Government and the Indian States, resting essentially on might and not on any legal basis. It may not be reconcilable with legal principles or juristic theories. It is none the less a stubborn fact in the relations between the States and the Crown, and it may be safely asserted that in spite of instances of arbitrary and injudicious exercise of the power, the position of paramountcy has been on the whole, as claimed by Lord Chelmsford, used for the benefit of all-India and has helped to promote the unification of India. It has also helped to set some limits to the oppressive exercise of autocracy in the Indian States and protect their subjects against misrule when it goes beyond a certain point. The true justification of paramountcy is to be found in considerations of general expediency and the welfare of India as a whole. The effect no doubt has been, as observed by Prof. Westlake, that the constitutional relations between the Indian States and the Government of India have been imperceptibly shifted from an international to an imperial basis. The author rightly refuses to follow the views of the two German jurists consulted by the Mysore Dewan that States whose external affairs are under the sole control and direction of the paramount power but are not incorporated in British India, may still be regarded as international persons. But we cannot possibly follow him in his views on the subject of the sovereignty of the Indian States. These views are based upon his notion that the powers, functions and attributes of sovereignty can never be divided and that a State must be either a complete sovereign in internal and external affairs or not a sovereign at all. This notion is

not merely opposed to the views of eminent jurists, but is contradicted by facts and the recognition accorded by the Government of India and the British Government to the internal sovereignty of the Indian States. The fact that their internal sovereignty is subject to qualifications on the ground of paramountcy cannot be regarded as destroying the partial sovereignty enjoyed by them.

While it may be wrong to say that there was no legislation in the ancient Hindu State, it cannot be maintained that all the rules of conduct, which were observed in the State, were ultimately enforceable only by the coercive powers of the sovereign. The strongest advocate of the rights of

the sovereign was Kautilya, who holds that all rules made by other authorities and even the rules of the Dharmasastra must give way to the laws made by the king. But it is questionable whether this view obtained universal acceptance. Definitions of sovereignty must be based upon historical facts rather than theoretical speculations. The Hindu Dharmasastra cannot be regarded as furnishing a consistent or unerring guide to history. The author's views on the subject of the sovereignty of the Princes betray a strong bias against them.

Mr. Varadachariar's discussion of certain aspects of the federal constitution is not the least interesting part of his book.

THE DEAD-LOCK IN THE PROVINCES

It will be recalled that the All-India Congress Committee, which met at Delhi on the 17th and 18th March, adopted the following resolution in regard to office acceptance:—

The All-India Congress Committee authorises and permits acceptance of Ministerial offices in provinces where the Congress commands a majority in the legislature, provided that ministerships shall not be accepted unless the Leader of the Congress Party in the legislature is satisfied and is able to state publicly that the Governor will not use his special powers of interference or set aside the advice of the Ministers in regard to their constitutional activities.

The leaders of the Congress Party in the Provincial legislatures with Congress majorities were invited by the Governors of the respective Provinces to assist them in the formation of Ministries. Congress Parliamentary Leaders in Bombay, Madras, U. P., Behar, C. P. and Orissa responded to the invitation. They showed the Governors the resolution passed by the A. I. C. C. laying down the policy of the Congress in regard to the new Constitution and the condition attached to the acceptance of office. The Governors in all the six provinces, presumably from instructions obtained from higher authorities, expressed their inability to give the necessary assurance that they would not use, in regard to the

constitutional activities of their Cabinets, their special powers of interference. The leaders thereupon declined to shoulder the responsibility of forming Ministries.

The break-down in the six provinces was complete by the end of March, while the new Constitution was scheduled to be brought into force on the 1st of April.

SIRDAR VALLABHAI PATEL

This was the prelude to a series of statements by prominent men of all sections of the public. The reaction was instantaneous; while all deplored the impasse, their arguments varied according to their politics and temperaments.

Interviewed by the *Associated Press* on the refusal of the Governors to give the requisite assurances, Sirdar Patel, President of the Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee, said:—

The repeated professions of the British statesmen have been put to test by the Congress once again and they have been as usual found to be false. The mockery of the newly-created democracy stands thoroughly exposed. Frenzied efforts will be made to form Ministries from the people who do not represent the bulk of the people. India is wide awake and I hope no man with any sense of self-respect will agree to play the role of a fool. Let the Governors carry on the administration without the help of any Indian acting as the agent of a foreign power determined to keep us down. Let them take out the chestnut they have put in the fire,

SIR SIVASWAMY AIYER

"Personally, I should have preferred the Congress Party to accept office and resign in the event of the Governor's refusal to support their policy upon a concrete issue, instead of forcing a fight upon the general and abstract issue," observed Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer in the course of a Press interview on the happenings in Madras. "In the very nature of things," Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer continued, "it was not possible for any Governor to announce beforehand that the discretion vested in him by the Statute would not be used under any circumstances."

LORD LOTHIAN

Lord Lothian, Chairman of the Indian Franchise Committee, 1932, in a broadcast speech on the situation, said:—

The correct constitutional course is for the Congress when it has a majority to assume office, formulate its programme of reform and advise Governors that it is prepared to assume the responsibility for the consequences of its policy.

Then it will be for the Governors to decide whether they will accept the responsibility for the consequences of the Congress policy. It would be most difficult for a Governor not to follow the advice of his Ministry, because to reject it might be a greater menace to peace and tranquillity than to accept it.

MAHATMA GANDHI

In a statement analysing the dead-lock, Gandhiji confessed himself as the sole author of the office acceptance clause in the Congress resolution.

My desire was not to lay down any impossible condition. On the contrary, I wanted to devise a condition that could be easily accepted by the Governors. There was no intention whatsoever to lay down a condition whose acceptance would mean even the slightest abrogation of the Constitution.

Have I not heard Sir Samuel Hoare and other Ministers saying in so many words that ordinarily the Governors would not use their admittedly large powers of interference? I claim that the Congress formula asked for nothing more.

It does, therefore, appear to me that once more the British Government has broken to the heart what it has promised to the ear. I doubt not that they can and will impose their will on the people till the latter develop enough strength from within to resist it, but that cannot be called working Provincial Autonomy.

By flouting the majority obtained through the machinery of their creation, they have, in plain

language, ended the Autonomy, which they claim the Constitution has given to the Provinces.

The rule, therefore, will now be the rule of the sword, not of the pen, nor of the indisputable majority. Anyway, that is the only interpretation, which, with all the goodwill in the world, I can put upon Government action.

For, I believe, in the cent. per cent. honesty of my formula the acceptance of which might have prevented a crisis and resulted in a natural, orderly and peaceful transference of power from the bureaucracy to the largest and fullest democracy known to the world.

THE RT. HON. SASTRI

The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, who had declined to form the Ministry on the break-down of the Governors' talk with the leader of the Congress Party in Madras, observed in the course of a statement that he was not convinced that the Congress demand for an assurance was either necessary or prudent. But, he went on to add

it is particularly lamentable that Whitehall and Delhi should be so blind in their conservatism as not to see what is so abundantly clear that the country has made up its mind not to submit quietly to the Government of India Act and its restrictions, and that, if the growth from the present position to a larger measure of democracy is to be easy and safe, the right course for the Government is to be generous in the interpretation and operation of the enactment which, both on its merits and by provoking the circumstances in which it was brought into being, has trampled on their pledges and on the wishes of the Indian people.

History proclaims that a large electorate, roused to a sense of its power, would expect its decisions to be treated with respect and consideration. To flout them and to try to carry on the King's Government in defiance of their clear mandate, is not merely to separate them, but greatly to increase their strength and their determination to fight the constitutional struggle to a finish.

SIR K. V. REDDI'S DEFENCE

Meanwhile, Interim Ministries in the six provinces had been set up by the 1st April. Sir K. V. Reddi, the Chief Minister for Madras, defended his action in accepting the responsibility for forming the government in these words:

I have not for one moment pretended that I have a majority in the newly constituted Legislative Assembly. In accepting office it was not so much a question of obtaining a majority in the legislature which had weighed with me as the immediate need for carrying on the King's Government when Mr. Rajagopalachari had refused to accept office in the hope that he could thereby paralyse the Government and that the work of the Government could be brought to a standstill. I felt it my duty to throw my little weight with those who wish to prevent it.

HON. MR. E. RAGHAVENDRA RAO

While Sir K. V. Reddi expressed his concern that the King's Government should be carried on, Mr. Raghavendra Rao, who had undertaken a similar responsibility in C. P., explained that he had to intervene merely with a view to rescue the Government from lapsing into departmentalism.

Had Government declared a break-down the moment Congress refused office, the whole business of Government would have passed into the hands of permanent officials. This would have been most deplorable. For at least six months Indian Ministers will be at the helm of affairs, it would have done no good to India to have left departmental chairs at Secretariats vacant. Even if they can do nothing more, they can bridge over a transition with competence and even with brilliance.

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

Two outspoken views on the Governors' refusal to give the required assurance to Congress leaders were those of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, each typical and authoritative in its way. "I have no doubt," said Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, that

the formula framed by Mahatma Gandhi was conceived by him in all honesty, but the question, to my mind, is not whether it was conceived honestly, but whether it was, or is, consistent with the Act. On that point, I confess that I have no doubt Governors could not follow any other course than what they have done. The fact that responsibility is great and power limited, even if true, cannot justify the refusal to assume responsibility which is the natural and logical sequence of winning the election.

In the best of circumstances, however, a minority Government is a Government on suffrage. It lacks cohesion, courage and dependable support. Perhaps it is not too late yet, he concluded, for the leaders of the Congress

coolly to think over the entire position and for those leaders and Governors and the Viceroy to come together to untie the knot.

MR. BHULABHAI DESAI

Any government by Ministries which are attempted to be formed and which can not be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Act, said Mr. Bhulabhai, must be a blind and clear subterfuge on the part of the Government of India or the Secretary of State; for they do not wish the truth to be known that the Constitution has already broken down and to face the situation. The only way to

maintain the subterfuge is to delay the calling of meetings of the Legislative Assemblies in those Provinces—a step which is constitutionally improper if not dishonest because these puppets cannot last beyond the first proper meeting of the Legislature.

MR. LANSBURY'S APPEAL TO VICEROY

The Rt. Hon. Mr. George Lansbury's move was characteristic. Being a confirmed pacifist, he straightway cabled to the Viceroy imploring him

to arrange a meeting with the Congress leaders to discuss a way out of the dead-lock concerning the Provincial Governments.

Interviewed by *Reuter*, Mr. Lansbury said he had much hope that the Congress leaders would respond if they were invited to confer with the Viceroy.

I have read the statements made by Mr. Gandhi and Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastriar and for the life of me I cannot understand why the men of both sides could not have reached an agreement, each pledging the other that he would make the best of the law as it stands.

I want to implore the Viceroy and the Governors, as well as the Congress leaders, to face the situation in a realistic manner.

MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

In a statement to the Press, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Leader of the Congress Party in Madras, explained the unconstitutionality of Ministers without responsibility.

The governance of India as analysed by British political science is run on the principle of responsibility in one part to the people of England through Parliament, and in another part to the Indian electorate through the legislatures in India. Every function of Government in India under the various reforms schemes should, according to them, be capable of being assigned either to one or the other responsibility and cannot possibly be left in the air.

The Ministers' share of government is done under responsibility to the Indian electorate. They must be persons responsible to the legislature under the Act. To whom then are the unelected Ministers responsible?

Whoever advised the calling in of Sir K. V. Reddi, the Nawab Sahib of Chhatari, Mr. Raghavendra Rao and others did so without understanding this basic principle of British Governance of India. These ministers stand responsible to none. They are obviously connected by no tie to the British Parliament nor do they stand on the foundation of confidence and responsibility in respect of the Indian legislature. They float in the air,

The Act stands torn to pieces by the Governors by this arrangement and the wonder is how British Constitutionalists could advise or permit this.

THE RAJA OF BOBBILI

"The Interim Ministers have not the support of the Justice Party and the Justice Party is not committed to extend support to the present Ministry," observed the Raja of Bobbili in a Press interview. He deplored the present impasse.

If all that the Congress wants is an assurance that they will not be interfered with in the carrying out of their programme as outlined in their manifesto, this should be made clear and I think His Majesty's Government should have no difficulty in having such an assurance given, especially as the Congress do not demand an abrogation of the Act.

SIR SYED WAZIR HASAN

The procedure adopted by the Governors was also called in question by Sir Syed Wazir Hasan, ex-Judge of the Chief Court of Lucknow and President of the last Session of the All-India Moslem League. Interviewed by the Press, he declared:—

The Governors of these six provinces know that they are not forming stable ministries in consultation with the person who "will be best in a position collectively to command the confidence of the legislature". Here one may ask whether there is any precedent in the constitutional history of any other part of the Empire to support the action of the Governors of these provinces in choosing their councils of ministers from the minority group or groups in the legislature. To my knowledge there is none.

LORD LOTHIAN

Realising that Gandhiji's statement regarding the reasons for Congress refusing office had not received the publicity it deserved in England, Lord Lothian followed up his broadcast speech on India with an appeal to Mr. Gandhi in the form of a letter to the *Times*. He wrote:

Responsible government has been the method by which the Canadian and Australian Federations and South Africa and New Zealand each attained full national self-government by constitutional means, often in the early days against the opposition both of Governors and the British Government.

In every case, the Governor or Governor-General was endowed with veto powers and other responsibilities of his own. I venture to assert that in no case has the Ministry possessed of a majority in the legislature asked, and that it certainly never received any assurance that the Governor would not use his special powers.

He asked Mr. Gandhi to adopt a similar course of steady advance to full Dominion Status.

DR. BERRIEDALE KEITH

It was at this time that Dr. Keith, the well known authority on constitutional law, threw in his weight on the side of the Congress. In a letter to the *Scotchman*, he declared that responsible Government "is wholly incompatible with executive safeguards". The India Act, he pointed out,

has suffered from the outset from the grave defect that it made Responsibility unreal by placing special responsibilities on Governors. To say, as Lord Erskine and Lord Brabourne have said, that they would give Ministers all help, sympathy and co-operation is meaningless; for the Act itself gives powers and imposes duties on Governors which reduce Ministerial Responsibility to a farce. It is regrettable that the Governors were not authorised to give much more definite pledges.

Responsible Government could no doubt have been introduced, says Dr. Keith, but only on the lines suggested by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri—the adoption of a constitutional understanding that the special responsibilities of the Governors would be restricted in operation to matters of the gravest character.

Dr. Keith declared that the formation of Minority Ministries is a negation of Responsible Government and said that the sooner the Governors took charge of the Government, the better. "For," he added, "the forms of Responsible Government should not be used to conceal a break-down."

THE MARQUESS OF ZETLAND

Amidst this tangle of endless controversy over the legal and constitutional issues involved in the Congress refusal to take office without a gentleman's understanding, all eyes were turned to the momentous debate in the House of Lords on April 8. The debate arose out of a question by Lord Lothian in regard to the political impasse in India.

Lord Zetland, the Secretary of State for India, welcomed the opportunity to make a statement on the question. He reviewed in brief the negotiations and the ultimate position in India and stated definitely that the Governors could not give, within the framework of the Constitution, the assurance that was asked for (by the Indian National Congress) and

Mr. Gandhi was in error in asserting that they could. But, even if the Constitution admitted a pledge of this kind being given, the giving of it would have involved a grave breach of faith with the minorities and others in India, who were promised the measure of protection against arbitrary rule of the majority afforded by the special responsibilities of the Governors and the powers conferred on them of making the safe-guards effective.

Referring to the Minority Ministries, Lord Zetland said "there was nothing in the Government of India Act which rendered their action, or that of the Governor, either unconstitutional or illegal". Regarding the suggestion that the Viceroy should send for Mr. Gandhi, Lord Zetland said that

he found it difficult to see what purpose would be served by such action. It was the Congressmen who had declined the offer and, unless they wished to modify the attitude which they had taken up, there was obviously for the present no more to be said.

The speech was unsympathetic, unhelpful and thoroughly disappointing, and Lord Snell (Labour) rightly said:

He was disappointed at the fact that Lord Zetland offered so little encouragement on the positive side of the question. . . . He did not ask the Viceroy publicly to invite Mr. Gandhi to come and see him—things were not done that way—but the Viceroy could remove misapprehension and clear unnecessary fears. He could, perhaps, give some kind of general assurance and that would all be helpful.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S REJOINDER

The reaction to Lord Zetland's speech was instantaneous. Gandhiji at once sent the following statement in reply to Lord Lothian's letter in the *Times* and Lord Zetland's speeches in Parliament:—

I have read Lord Lothian's appeal to me with the respect it deserves. I have a vivid recollection of the talks with him, among other friends. The Provincial Autonomy then pictured was the real stuff, unlike, what the present constitution is supposed to give.

Lord Zetland's elaborate statement confirms my view and hardens the universal suspicion of British statesmen's intentions. So long as they wish to bolster up Imperialistic designs, India, which the Congress represents, will never reconcile itself to them. I believe in friendship with Britain, not with Imperialistic exploitation.

Commenting further on the Secretary of State's speech, Gandhiji observed:—

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I regard the British statesmen's interpretation (of the Act) as non-judicial, arbitrary and interested. At the same time I recognise that other lawyers gave an interpretation favourable to the British Government.

And then he went on to make a constructive proposal, leaving the door open for further negotiations with a view to ultimate settlement.

Therefore, I invite them to appoint an arbitration tribunal of three Judges, of whom one will be appointed by the Congress, and another by the British Government, with power to the two to appoint a third, to decide whether it is competent for the Governors to give the assurance required by me.

And since the legality of the present Ministries has been questioned, I would refer that question also to the proposed tribunal. There is a precedent for such a course. If they would accept my proposal, I would advise the Congress to do likewise.

LORD LOTHIAN ON GANDHIJI'S PROPOSAL

Commenting on Gandhiji's suggestion for an arbitration tribunal, Lord Lothian made a statement in which he put his finger unerringly on the crux of the problem. He said:—

I am inclined to think the real key to the solution lies in recognition of the fact that under the system of responsible government, the ultimate decision against the abuse of power rests with the electorate The discretion which the Governor has to exercise is whether his special responsibility will be better discharged by accepting or rejecting the advice of his Ministry when attempts at reaching an agreement have failed.

Lord Lothian described Mr. Gandhi's proposal as a "helpful suggestion" but inquired "would the arbitrators also be asked to decide what constitutional activities of Ministers were?"

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Pandit Nehru's comment on the Secretary of State's statement was characteristic:—

We should be grateful to the Secretary of State for India for his statement clarifying the attitude of the Government. It is the old, patronising and hectoring attitude to which we have been long accustomed. We are told to take the Act or leave it.

It is time that the British Government realised that we don't take this Act, we reject it with all the strength that is in us. That is our consistent policy and that is the mandate which we have received from the millions of people of India. If there is any force in democracy, we must be true to our mandate from the electorate.

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

Interviewed on his impressions on the Lords' debate, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru regretted that "both sides should have banged the door". He added:—

In my opinion it is not too late yet to seek fresh avenues for the removal of misapprehensions. It may yet be that personal contacts may succeed where arguments from a distance have failed and may lead to the verdict of the electorate being vindicated by the formation of Cabinets by the majority party.

If all this is impossible, I think that Assemblies should be summoned at an early date and the constitutional position which may then emerge should be faced, instead of allowing the situation to deteriorate and political feeling being allowed to grow on the lines on which it is developing.

MAHATMA GANDHI

So far as he was concerned, said Gandhiji in a further statement to the *Times*, there was no question of prestige and added:—

The Calcutta *Statesman's* suggestion as to the Governors inviting the Congress to go ahead with the programme outlined in the Congress manifesto would go a long way to satisfy me, if the manifesto is regarded as merely illustrative.

Referring to Lord Lothian's suggestion to refer the disputes to the electorates, he said:—

It is sound if it can be proved to be workable and not prohibitively expensive.

The precedent I had in mind of arbitration was that of the reference by the Transvaal and the British Governments of the grievance of British Indians in terms of the Transvaal Law III of 1885 to the Chief Justice of the then Orange Free State as sole arbitrator.

MR. T. R. VENKATARAMA SASTRI

In a statement issued to the Press, Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, C.I.E., Liberal Leader, welcomed Dr. Sapru's suggestion of a Constitutional Conference, but he added:—

Neither the statement of the Secretary of State nor the reaction to it among Congressmen encourages one to hope that anything so wise or helpful is now feasible. . . . The only proper course is to convulse the Assembly and the Council without delay and give the Congress an opportunity of finally deciding what they will do.

GANDHIJI'S MESSAGE TO AMERICA

Gandhiji explained to the American Press that he was not even a primary member

of the Congress and that any influence he possessed was purely moral. And he went on to add:—

For me, the present issue is not political but moral. It is a fight between truth and untruth, non-violence and violence and right and might, for I hold that Lord Zetland could not have uttered the speech he did unless he was conscious of the might of the sword behind him. It seems as if British statesmen are repenting of even the limited electorate they have created in India. If they were not, they ought to have bowed to the will of the majority as represented by their elected leaders.

Surely, it is violence to impose nominated ministries on the electorate of their own creation.

The crisis is of their own making. It is presumption on their part to interpret acts of their Parliament. Their jurisprudence has taught us that no man can take the law into his own hands, not even the King. Evidently the maxim does not apply to the British Ministers.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. I have offered an honourable way out. Let a judicial tribunal of joint creation give the interpretation. It will be time for them to plead incompetence when the Tribunal finds in favour of their interpretation.

Till then the Congress demand for assurance must be held valid. I must repeat that the latest gesture is one of the sword, not of goodwill, certainly not democratic obedience to the will of a democratic majority.

PRESS SUPPORT

The *Times of India*, like the *Statesman*, put in a vigorous plea for a common sense view of the situation. In a leading article endorsing Lord Lothian's plea for the exercise of common sense and personal contact to clear up the difficulty, the Paper added that

Indians, and particularly the Congress, approach the new constitution with suspicion and mistrust engendered by past experience. Because of Lord Zetland's blunt tactless speech, there is no cause to apprehend that the door is banged. . . . Doors are still open; what sensible people have to do is to find a way through it. Mr. Gandhi's original qualification was that Governors should promise not to use their powers ordinarily. India will echo the Rt. Hon'ble Sastri's question: Is it possible to revive Mr. Gandhi's original qualification? If it is possible to revive the qualification, the problem is solved. Most of the Governors have already declared publicly that they will not use their special power except in cases of grave emergency. In other words, they will not ordinarily use those powers.

If that is all that Mr. Gandhi and the Congress demand the Paper asked "What on earth is all the hubbub about?"

The *Statesman*, in a leading article on the subject, went a step further and observed:—

If the Act is really such that there is the slightest difficulty in the Governors telling the Congress leaders that there is nothing to prevent their going ahead with the programme outlined in the Election Manifesto, then we have to admit that we, too, have been mistaken about the Act. We, too, would recognise that it should soon be replaced by another.

Dr. Berriedale Keith, in a second letter to the *Scotchman*, emphasised his conviction that Congressmen were correct in their understanding of responsible government. So well do they understand the position that they have framed the Delhi resolution with such adroitness as to induce Lord Zetland to give singularly unhelpful instructions to his Governors. The demand made by Congress was on the face of it not improper.

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

The President of the Congress, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, criticising the attitude of the Government, put the case for the Congress in the following statement to the *News Chronicle*:—

Without such an assurance, responsibility would be farcical and divorced from all power. Such an assurance could have been given if the British Government's professions are sincere. . . .

Lord Zetland's recent speech is an invitation to the Indian people to get rid of the incubus, that is, British Imperialism which, whatever its professions, acts in the old autocratic domineering way. Some people live in the hope of divisions in Congress ranks weakening Indian opposition to British Imperialism. They hope in vain. The Congress will face the future struggles as it has faced those of the past with confidence and unity, always remembering that its mission is to achieve the independence of the Indian people.

A MADRAS MANIFESTO

An influentially signed Madras manifesto of all Party men including Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, Sir Mohamed Usman, Mr. K. Srinivasan (Editor of the *Hindu*), Mr. Jamal Mahomed, Mr. Venkatarama Sastri, Mr. G. A. Natesan and Mr. A. A. Hayles (Editor of the *Madras Mail*), the Rt. Hon. Sastri and others appealed to the Government and the Indian National Congress to take steps to end the present impasse.

The signatories stated that by assenting to an assurance in the terms of Sir Samuel Hoare's statement, the Government would not sacrifice their powers in any real case of emergency.

We can see no reason why the Government should hesitate to give such an assurance. It may be unnecessary in view of the tremendous powers placed in the hands of the Congress Ministry by the overwhelming majorities in the electorate who have voted for them. But if they want in addition an assurance in the terms of Gandhiji's communication, nothing is lost by giving such an assurance.

WHAT GANDHIJI WANTS

"Under the assurance that I have contemplated, I have not envisaged reduction of those rights which are guaranteed by the Act itself whilst the Act remains in force. I want an absolutely honourable understanding which is incapable of double interpretation by honourable parties," said Gandhiji, replying to several questions of Foreign Press correspondents, clarifying the Congress standpoint. Gandhiji added:—

What I want before Congressmen accept office is an assurance which I still hold is within the power of the Governors. The assurance contemplates non-interference and not non-dismissal (of Cabinet). . . . But if Governors are responsible, Ministers who worth their salt are surely still more responsible for peace and tranquillity. There is one thing, however, if I were a Congress Minister I could not be willingly responsible for. . . . I mean the rights of the Services. By that one guarantee in my opinion the framers of the Act have reduced autonomy to a farce.

"If the assurance was given," concluded Gandhiji,

Ministers even acting within constitution can compel the repeal of the Act and hasten the day of the meeting of Constituent Assembly, whose Act will be accepted by the British people unless they want to govern India by the naked sword.

Commenting on this latest statement of Gandhiji's the *Times* rightly thought the gap between the Congress and the Government over the assurances had been considerably narrowed down and no considerations of prestige should be allowed to prevent either side from arriving at a settlement. The *Manchester Guardian* likewise stressed the need for satisfying the Congress.

Interviewed regarding the editorial comments of the *Times* and *Manchester Guardian* on his Poona statement, Gandhiji said:

So far as I am concerned, any bridging the gulf has to come from the Government side. I have made my position absolutely clear. It is for the Government to decide whether they have meant Provincial Autonomy by the

Constitution they have framed or they have meant something the reverse of autonomy. But to the man in the street who knows nothing of legal quibbles or even of the Constitution that is the only question.

"The aim of the Congress is not to create dead-locks, its aim undoubtedly is to make the Congress position so irresistible as to replace the present Act, which nobody likes, by an Act which will represent the will of the masses," said Gandhiji, in reply to a question put to him by the *Times of India's* Correspondent at Nagpur.

MR. BUTLER'S STATEMENT

The proposal for an arbitration tribunal has been considered by the Government. But, said Mr. R. A. Butler, Under-Secretary of State for India, in reply to a question in the Commons:—

They were unable to accept the suggestion that such a tribunal should decide whether the Governor could or could not, consistent with the Government of India Act and his Instrument of Instructions, divest himself of the duties imposed upon him in specific terms by Parliament through those documents.

Mr. Butler, however, went on to add—

Let me make it plain that the Government have no intention of countenancing the use of special powers for other than the purposes whereof Parliament intended them. It is certainly not the intention that the Governors by a narrow or legalistic interpretation of their own responsibilities should trench upon the wide powers, which it was the purpose of Parliament to place in the hands of the Ministers and which it is our desire that they should use in furtherance of the programmes they have advocated.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL

It is interesting to note that even Mr. Winston Churchill is not pleased with what he contemptuously calls Departmental Ministerships. In a signed article to the *Evening Standard*, Mr. Churchill states:—

As soon as the Assemblies meet, we shall see the beginning, in every province, of the same kind of constitutional conflict which scared the history of England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

On every side, Governors, armed with the prerogatives of ancient kings, will be confronted with the agitation of modern Parliaments.

The stop-gap Ministries will be humiliated, chased from power and reduced to impotence or servility.

VIOLATING THE CONSTITUTION

"If a Minister does not believe that his taking office is improper and if he delays meeting the Assembly, he is violating the Constitution deliberately and inexcusably," declared Dr. Berriedale Keith in the course of a letter to *Reuters*. Dr. Keith concludes "that the Congress and the Governors alike owe it to the people to put their welfare above prestige".

MR. LLOYD GEORGE

Writing in the *Sunday Express*, Mr. Lloyd George declared that the

success of the new regime from the imperial standpoint will largely depend on measures that will be taken to reconcile to the Empire the whole of India from Himalayas to Travancore. It can be done but not by half measures.

He rightly pointed out:

that the Indian Act has conceded too little to win over the most powerful political organisation in India. On the other hand, it has endowed the disaffected with too much power for mischief, while they remained hostile. It was a case for negotiating a treaty and not for imposing the Constitution.

CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE RESOLUTION

As we go to Press, the Working Committee of the Congress, which met at Allahabad, announces the adoption of the following resolution, which expresses Congress reaction to the official pronouncements on the Constitutional deadlock:—

The pronouncements on the policy of the British Government made by Lord Zetland and Mr. Butler are utterly inadequate to meet the requirements of the Congress, are misleading and misinterpret the Congress attitude.

Further, the manner and the setting in which such pronouncements have been made, are discourteous to the Congress.

The past record of the British Government as well as its present attitude show that, without the specific assurances as required by the Congress, popular Ministries will be unable to function properly and without irritating interference. The assurances demanded by the Congress do not contemplate the abrogation of the right of the Governor to dismiss the Ministry or dissolve the Provincial Assembly when serious differences of opinion arise between the Governor and his Ministers.

30th April, 1937.

THE SPIRIT OF INDIAN EDUCATION

BY

PRINCIPAL P. SESHADRI, M.A.

(Government College, Ajmer)

It is doubtful if efforts at educational reform in this country often get to the essence of the matter and aim at improving the spirit of it instead of merely touching the externals. Changes in superficial form, readjustments of school lengths and similar matters touch

of self-reliance in those who are being educated, as they are treated like children, subjected to abject dependence on the teacher, the consequences being pernicious even in spheres other than the intellectual. We do not seem to be ashamed of "spoon-feeding" and the consequent want of manliness on the part of our victims. Explanations are possible for this sad state of affairs, but the facts are there. Several universities still control the intermediate classes which constitute really schoolwork and have to concern themselves with the teaching of young minds who cannot be expected to find out ideas and facts for themselves. Again, the resources of Indian colleges are so poor that it is easier to adopt the system of mass-lectures and notes-dictation than to endeavour to make students work for themselves in libraries under tutorial guidance. Lord Haldane said in his famous Report on the London University that the student who enters the portals of a college is no longer a passive recipient of truths conveyed in lectures, but an active investigator himself, his professor only having had an earlier start on the long road of knowledge. Are we working up towards this ideal?

This leads to the perpetuation of a defect which has been a prominent feature of Indian education for centuries and to which attention was drawn in recent years by Lord Curzon in his famous resolution on Indian Educational Policy. It is the undue insistence on the faculty of memory. It would be futile to underrate the value of memory, but there are obviously numerous other intellectual qualities like understanding, selection, criticism, speculation and retrospect which deserve attention. Time there was when printing did not exist and books were not easily available and Pandits had, therefore, to carry "a load of learning lumbering in their heads". The need for it has now disappeared, but we all seem to proceed on the assumption that



PRINCIPAL P. SESHADRI, M.A.

only the fringe of the problem, while true educational reform should aim at deep insight into the spirit. Some attempt seems worth while at understanding the intellectual and emotional deficiencies of the Indian student, and planning far ahead towards their eradication.

Confining ourselves to university education for the present, one of the most serious limitations seems to be the want

it is the only quality to be tested in examinations.

This reminds one of the pathetic dependence of our universities on examinations and the way in which some authorities swear by them attaching undue importance to precedence in them. A high division and rank may justify a better start, but the place obtained in an examination is not the be-all and end-all of life and a guarantee of scholarship and intellectual achievement till the end. The number of books which even the cleverest of students can master during the years of his university course represents only an infinitesimal part of the total amount of literature available in the subject and it, therefore, seems absurd that undue importance should be attached to the precise place in examinations.

It is true that no better methods have yet been devised than examinations for testing knowledge and intellectual ability, but the results of the recent investigations conducted by Sir Michael Sadler and his colleagues into the value of examinations under the auspices of the Carnegie Foundation must make a difference regarding the way in which they should be conducted in our universities. Revelations have been made regarding the abnormal variations in the judgment of examiners and the injustice of a few hours' test with all its scope for luck and accident, assessing the intellectual work of years. But the Pandits of the university world in India seem to be callous to this report and not show any reaction to its findings. It is worth while investigating whether some method cannot be devised by means of which the daily work done in class may receive some recognition and the procedure of examinations cannot be revised so as to reduce to a minimum the prospects of error, though it is impossible to eliminate it altogether in view of the baffling variations of human personality.

Without professing to be a psychologist, I can, perhaps, be allowed to venture upon the proposition that the Indian mind is too devastatingly analytical and it cannot often see the wood for the

trees. It seems to be deficient in catching the essence of a problem, in tearing the core out of a matter and in taking a comprehensive view of things. It is a pleasure to see the keen forensic ability of the Indian, at least in some of the more advanced provinces, expressing itself in ruthless cross-examinations, but that is not the end of all intellectual greatness, nor does it always lead to a good grasp of the fundamental principles of right and wrong, or a robust outlook on the affairs of the world in a spirit of fair play and justice. It colours most of the intellectual activities of the Indian and is responsible for making him miss some of the great joys of culture.

When Dr. Arnold was appointed head master of Rugby and he entered upon his epoch-making period of office, the first aim he set before himself was to educate his pupils in the truest Christian atmosphere, but the utter absence of any spiritual aim in Indian education seems very distressing indeed. There is the sad spectacle of a large number of the products of our universities showing a thorough lack of character in any sense, men who do not seem to scruple at anything and showing a lamentable want of fair play and uprightness in many matters.

Formal religious instructions is, perhaps, no remedy in view of the fact that the foundation of religious faith is getting loosened all over the world, but hardly any attention seems to be paid to the need for even effective personal example to influence the younger generation. It is futile to expect any benefit from the teachings of an alien religion, as the necessary faith is conspicuous by its absence and there is not adequate advantage in the personal example of men of other nationalities who seem to be, at least to the young mind, the products of a different system of things altogether. But we are actually standing on the crater of a volcano whose eruption may lead to a tragic revolution. Educational reform is thus not much good, unless it shows deep insight into the mind and character and does not stop with mere attention to external form.

THE MALAYS OF CAPE TOWN

BY HELENA LIEBERMAN

THERE are about ten thousand Malays in the sub-Continent, and they form part of the mixed races in Cape Town. They came to the colony at the time of the first settlement under the Dutch East India Company. Many were introduced as slaves from the Malay Archipelago and Bengal, and others came as political prisoners and as private servants to Dutch officials.

There was a steady influx of these immigrants during the 17th century, and Malays from various parts of the East made their way to the Cape until 1749 when the Council of Policy prohibited the settlement of any more free Malays. But during the last two centuries, the link between East and West has not been broken. The Malay community of Cape Town maintains the traditions of the fathers very devotedly, and though they play their part in the life of the country where they have settled, they remain distinct as a peculiar people with their national characteristics and religious observances. In this respect they are not incomparable with the Jews.

Most of the Cape Malays belong to the Shafi division of the Mohammedans. Very few of them are children of Java-born parents, and many of them are of Malay Dutch descent, although Arabian Malays are also quite numerous. Foreign blood and Islam contact with white civilization have combined to produce the present Malays. They speak Afrikaans with their own peculiar accent and have introduced many Arabic words into the vernacular. For religious purposes most of them learn Arabic, and there are several schools where the reading of Al Koran in the original is taught.

After the emancipation of slaves, one section rapidly showed their worth. These Malays disappeared from domestic service and they became independent labourers and even hirers of labour. They began to earn their living as shop-keepers, tailors, masons, and carpenters, and they proved themselves most dexterous in the management of horses. A characteristic of the town still in vogue is the large number of hansom cabs in the streets. Most of

these are driven by Malays. The Malay fish-hawker with his high-pitched trumpet call from a small cart is also a familiar sight in Cape Town. The Malays have been largely responsible for the development of Cape Fisheries, and a good proportion of that trade is still in their hands. Compared with the coloured people of the Cape, the Malays are industrious, and there is scarcely a trade or calling with which they are not familiar.

An extensive area in the old section of the city has become known as the Malay quarters. Here are found narrow streets with dilapidated old Dutch houses that are mostly occupied by Malays. High stoeps, door-ways with arched fan-lights and windows with tiny frames are common. The outside appearance of a Malay home is drab-looking, but the interior is most colourful. The oriental love of colour and decoration is extravagantly displayed.

In the house of a priest or learned man, a special room is set aside as a form of sanctuary. Here the furnishings are extremely simple, and light carpets cover the floor. To enter this room one must observe the Eastern custom of leaving the shoes on the threshold.

There are some twenty mosques in the Cape Peninsula. Most of these are quite large and substantial, but plain and unminaretted edifices. The finest mosque is of Moorish architecture and is situated in one of the busiest thoroughfares of the city. It is of special interest; for it stands side by side with a factory, thus demonstrating to the town how closely East and West may stand together. On Thursday evening, after the aromatic joss-stick is lit in every Malay house, there is an assembly of men at the mosque, and a midday service is held on Friday.

According to the law of Ishmael, every man must go on a holy pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in his lifetime. If, however, he cannot manage to save the necessary money through honest work, he is exempted from this obligation. Most Malays do their utmost to collect the sum of £150 or £170, and with this accomplishment, they return to the East where they spend a few months and then

come back to South Africa to work for their daily bread again. The wealthier Malays take pride in sending their sons to Mecca to study for a number of years. Although a few of the priests have been trained locally, most have been to Eastern religious centres, and there are a few Cape Malays who have studied at the famous Azhar University in Cairo, which has the distinction of being the oldest university in Africa.

Polygamy is allowed among the Moham-medans. The marriages are celebrated by the Malays with great *eclat* and ceremony. A few days before the *Nikah* (wedding), the future bride drives out in a carriage with a relative and invites all her friends to the marriage ceremony. She engages her bridesmaids (*bedieners*, servants) and decorators. On the wedding day, the bridegroom goes to the mosque while the bride remains at home. There he offers the bride a *Maskawi*, a gift of not less than ten shillings for her hand. The groom's attendant takes this money to the bride and returns with words of acceptance. Thereafter a reception is held at the bride's home where the husband presides over a congregation of men, while the young wife, robed in satin and crowned with a *madora*, sits at the head of the table surrounded by the womenfolk. The segregations of the sexes is adhered to at all Malay gatherings.

Islam has taught the Moslems to accept death with stoic resignation. They sing: "Imma lillahi wa imma ilayhi rajioum." (We are of God and to God we return). Great respect is shown for the departed, and the funeral is generally numerously attended. There is no coffin. The body is washed, wrapped in a winding sheet and laid on a bier covered with beautiful shawls. The priests attired in their flowing robes, ornamented girdles and turbans, precede the cortege. The body is laid on its side with its face turned towards Mecca; it awaits the call of resurrection.

Faith in themselves and in Islam keeps the Malays strong and happy. They are a virile people of middle stature and light but sinewy frame. Their eyes are small and sparkling; their black hair silky and their features are slightly compressed but expressive. Their complexion varies from a light brown to a deep

olive. The women have neat petite figures and their features are not devoid of comeliness.

Their dress is a contradiction of super-modesty and a love of display. The priests and those who have achieved a pilgrimage to Mecca affect an oriental dress. They wear cashmere shawls, turbans, and long robes of wool or silk. The women have showy, brightly coloured silk skirts and wear plenty of jewellery but they wear their gowns very long, and in accordance with the religious injunctions of Islam, cover their heads with a *zydoek* (a stiff silk handkerchief) and even veil their faces. On festive occasions, they put aside their *Kaparangs* or wooden slippers and wear white satin shoes. The *Hadjies*, back from the pilgrimage and imbued with the spirit of the East, drape themselves from head to foot in voluminous *malaya*. The men wear with pride the *Stanboul Fez*, a small red cap which is the symbol of Islam. The Cape Malays are proud of their ancestral inheritance and cling devotedly to the teachings of the Koran.

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Nov. '37.

MID-WAY WITH ROOSEVELT

BY DR. PASUPULETI GOPALA KRISHNAYYA

(New York, U. S. A.)

IN a vote more representative of the whole people than has been cast in any election in recent years, the U. S. A. has given an unparalleled endorsement to



PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

President Roosevelt. Heretofore the New Deal has been improvised, imposed, reviewed by the Supreme Court and accepted or rejected by the citizens of the nation according to their condition and the temper of their minds. Now for the first time it has been voted on and elected. To this extent the overwhelming choice of the President to succeed himself marks a real turning-point in the evolution of America.

The one thing common to all, the Presidents of the United States who till now have held two terms, is that they had trouble with Congress in the second term. Either the Executive lost control of his own party, because the leaders knew he could not be the nominee again or the mid-term elections gave the Congressional majority to the opposing party. Mr. Roosevelt is likely to break this precedent as he has broken all others. The

size and sweep of this plebiscite gives him a personal leadership enjoyed by few men in our history. It will confirm his faith that he is the head not of a party but of a great popular movement. For the sense of emergency that in his first term impelled a frightened Legislature to abdicate in his favor, there is now substituted a national support so remarkable that it may easily have the same effect on the new Congress.

But that is only part of the answer to the universal question. Even more depends on events and forces over which the Chief Magistrate of the United States has little control. Strongly entrenched as Mr. Roosevelt is at home, influential as he is abroad, his course must be affected by what happens beyond his own jurisdiction. An international war would disturb and modify not only foreign policy but domestic plans.

It is, therefore, not inconceivable that a man with the President's dramatic sense, imagination and fundamental optimism may be tempted to take some spectacular initiative in world affairs.

Elected for the second time to lead a people whose progress toward recovery and whose internal and external security present an ever-sharpening contrast to other nations, Mr. Roosevelt looms today the most potential and most powerfully supported ruler on earth. Undoubtedly, he will be pressed on grounds of humanity and peace to "take a lead" in a distracted world.

He is acutely conscious of his key position. Given his temperament, he cannot but feel the goad of responsibility for international order. One remembers with what enthusiasm he worked up the World Economic Conference in the first days of his administration. Now he rejoices that the attempt failed and the London Conference was torpedoed. It was premature; to have stabilized currencies and prices under the conditions existing in 1933 would have obstructed American recovery in his view and rendered impossible the common effort toward stabilization being made today.

If there is any change in his course, it will not be a swing right. Except in the Chicago speech holding out the olive branch to business, nothing in Mr. Roosevelt's campaign indicated that he did not intend to go forward, and to him going forward doesn't mean going conservative. The premise that he had just begun to fight was not a rhetorical phrase. The trips through the country and, of course, the election itself vindicated his belief that the country moves with him. In his New York speech he gave notice that he means to press for all the reforms envisaged in his first term. Beyond that, he foresees problems ahead not yet thought of; foresees also, with fluent confidence, that he can work them out.

Of himself, the President says that his objectives remain the same, but that the methods of attaining them will be different, depending on circumstances. In general terms, the objectives as he describes them are, first, to simplify and humanize government and, second, to raise the level of life, at least in the lowest valleys.

If the first seems nullified by the number of new functions and agencies whereby the New Deal has complicated government, it must be remembered that Mr. Roosevelt's idea of simplification is to centralize responsibility. Unquestionably he believes that the Federal Government performs many services better than local authorities. There is scant prospect of a halt in the process of centralization.

Concretely, it is pretty certain that in his second term, Mr. Roosevelt intends to try to accomplish by other means and in another form the ends embodied in the NRA. He is the first to admit that the Blue Eagle had too much sweep and swoop. Too keen a reader of signs not to know the vulnerable spots in his administrations, he told a newspaper man at the end of the campaign that he could have made a much more effective case against himself than the Republicans made. But he has strong predilections, and when he speaks of simpler government and a higher living level, he means that the simplest, perhaps the only way of attaining what he wants—a fair norm for

wages, hours and working conditions—is through the enforcement of minimum standards by a central authority.

Does such control tend towards fascism? Mr. Roosevelt's answer to that question is No—a very emphatic NO. On the contrary, he is of the opinion that the danger lies in failing to integrate and vitalize the processes of democratic government by gearing it to contemporary speeds and strains. He doesn't admit that the New Deal makes the citizen more dependent on government, but only that the New Deal recognizes the conditions of modern life that increase individual dependence. Even yet he is not clear about it; his objectives are more definite than his program; nevertheless he senses what is vaguely sensed by all Americans that the survival of the democratic system depends on finding the synthesis between the force of the one-minded government and the freedom of the many-minded.

The second administration will be marked by changes: the balancing of the budget, which the President expects sooner than people anticipate; shifts in the Cabinet involving three or four departments; a transfer of emphasis from temporary operations to permanent functions of government—all minor mutations compared to the complete re-shuffle that takes place in Washington when one party supersedes another. There will be a change in the attitude of the country as it settles down to four more years of Roosevelt, first reflected, the President believes in the mentality of organized business.

In Mr. Roosevelt himself there will probably be little change. There is very small chance of "the new Roosevelt" both friends and enemies forecast. Though undoubtedly he renews his lease on the White House confirmed and exalted in the inner conviction that he is the chosen leader of the people, a man with a mandate and a mission, his exaltation is tempered by a political shrewdness amounting to genius. With the temper of the reformer, not of the revolutionist, he feels the tug of his tradition even when he gives himself a long rope. Even more he feels the tug of tradition in a nation which, through all vicissitudes, digressions and crazes, is still jealous of that tradition.

MRS. KOLISKO AND HER WORK:

THE RIFT BETWEEN RELIGION AND SCIENCE

By MARCIA DODWELL

"I long to be able to believe in Astrology and all these things," said an Indian Christian Professor to me the other day. "With all my heart I want to believe in the connection between the planets and the earth, between the moon and plants and animals, but my head tells me that it is all nonsense. So I cannot believe it. But what am I to say that students when they talk to me about these things? We have no reasonable basis for our belief. We have no real knowledge, only an instinctive feeling that it must be so. But because science has nothing to say about the whole subject, we have to dismiss it as superstition."

This dilemma is one in which many Hindus as well as Christians find themselves today. Natural science, with its wealth of new knowledge and exact technique, has crowded out the old wisdom that used to be found in both the East and the West and is still conserved in a few places by the Red Indians. But the materialist methods of natural science have led away from the spirit until today there is a complete rift between science and religion. But in the last twenty years, a woman investigator has done a number of interesting experiments investigating these problems by means of the technique of modern natural science. Her approach was rather unusual. In the opening of his book "The Outline of Occult Science", Rudolf Steiner shows how man himself can become the instrument of knowledge. He describes how any one, looking casually down a microscope would see only a blurred image or nothing at all. But after moving first the coarse adjustment and then the fine, he can get a clearer and clearer image and most accurate knowledge. In the same way, man himself by self-discipline, self-knowledge, meditation, concentration and contemplation can develop himself so that he has new and heightened qualities of spiritual perception. Elsewhere Rudolf Steiner says:

I denote a scientific investigation of the spiritual world which, while cognisant of the limitations of mere physical science and ordinary mysticism, and before attempting to penetrate

into the spiritual world, first develops in the soul faculties not yet evident in ordinary consciousness and science. The development of these faculties renders the advance possible.

This method is well known in Hinduism and such knowledge is gradually coming back to Christianity. It was never wholly lost and was very carefully conserved in the Celtic Mysteries and in the later forms of esoteric Christianity such as the Rosicrucian. The main path of Destiny in the West, however, and this includes practically all of the organised Western Churches, led people more and more to forget the old spiritual wisdom and to develop the technique of modern natural science. So perfect has the latter now become that it is capable of being the handmaid of spiritual knowledge.

This is what Mrs. Kolisko has accomplished in her work. She has been working steadily and quietly for nearly twenty years to establish some of the spiritual knowledge that is common to East and West on a purely scientific basis. Speaking of Rudolf Steiner in 1921 in her book "Jupiter and Tin", Mrs. Kolisko says:

At that time he drew the attention of certain scientists who sought his advice to the fact that so long as substances are in a solid state, so long are they subject to earthly laws, but as soon as a substance is dissolved and is in a fluid state, it comes under the influences of the planets. The whole world of the stars can work in the element of water. Thus, when gold is dissolved, the Sun can work in the gold solution; when we make a solution of silver, the Moon can work pre-eminently and Jupiter can work in the solution of tin. Obviously all the planets are effective, but especially so that planet to whose influences in long past ages of earthly evolution the origin of the particular metal is to be attributed.

From this start, Mrs. Kolisko devised several means of showing how the planets work in earthly substances. The most successful is as follows: a piece of filter paper (i.e., paper of a similar consistency to blotting paper) square in shape, is folded into a cylinder and held in place by small clips. It is stood in a solution of a certain salt or in a mixture of salts. The liquid is allowed to rise up the filter paper and dry. Mrs. Kolisko has studied the different types of paper available, the many different soluble salts of the metals

and all those conditions of day and night, weather, etc., which might affect the results. Time is sometimes a factor, and in these cases the experiments are watched with a stop-watch.

Mrs. Kolisko has discovered that silver nitrate, a salt in which one might expect the Moon forces to work strongly, rises up the paper more quickly by night than by day and that the increase is more than can be accounted for by a fall in temperature and increased humidity of the atmosphere. Then, each salt as it rises on the filter paper dries and leaves a pattern. It has been found that the patterns vary with the metals used and with the positions of Sun, Moon and Planets in the heavens. Mrs. Kolisko has done a vast number of experiments in this technique and finds that there are typical patterns for the various metals. For instance, there is a pattern that is typical for tin and silver. In August 1929, Jupiter and the Moon were in opposition. Mrs. Kolisko conducted the following experiments: Silver nitrate was first allowed to make its picture on the filter paper during the day. Then, during the night tin chloride solution was allowed to work on the picture of the silver nitrate. As the tin solution rises through the silver picture, it moulds and changes it both in form and colour. This experiment had been done every day for seven years. The pictures were never identical but they were so similar as to be easily recognisable by any one well acquainted with the work as typical of silver and tin. But during the opposition of the Moon and Jupiter, their forces were unable to work and a rather formless pattern was the result. The next day gave a quite typical Moon and Jupiter picture. Similar results were obtained with a number of conjunctions and oppositions and especially exciting were the experiments carried out at several recent eclipses of the Sun. They all show the silver, the metal specially activated by the Moon, rising higher and higher over the gold line on the successive papers as the Moon covers more and more of the face of the Sun, and then receding as the Moon recedes.

One cannot examine this work without feeling that here is incontrovertible

evidence of the fact that there is a connection between the planets and earthly substances. Mrs. Kolisko has investigated many other problems besides the one described here. Her work on the Moon and plant growth has opened up new possibilities in agriculture and horticulture by showing that there is far more certainty of crops if the planting is done with knowledge of the forces of the Moon working in plant growth. She has also investigated several medical problems and other workers have taken up her methods and furthered advances in medicine and agriculture as well as in pure science.

This research work points to the position which Christianity may well take among the other religions in the future. Equipped with the technique of modern, natural science and illumined by the researches of modern spiritual science, such workers as Mrs. Kolisko have the possibility of proving for the satisfaction of man's intellect what so many in their heart of hearts are yearning to believe, that the Earth is really one with the Cosmos. In other words, the task of the Christianity of the future is to heal the rift between religion and science by means of a true understanding of both, and of their relationship to each other.

In the Vedas and other spiritual writings, India has a rich heritage from the past and one that deserves to be investigated from this new point of view. Mere scientific investigation is not enough. The investigator must needs have a grounding in spiritual science as well as in natural science to be able to understand the real purport of the Vedas.

The East has conserved the knowledge, the West has developed the technique for proving its truth and using it in ways in which it has never been used before. Now, at the time when both outer conditions make it possible and the work of people like Mrs. Kolisko shows the way, when the gifts of both the East and the West are capable of uniting, we are on the threshold of great advances for the well-being of human kind.

INDIA'S AGRICULTURAL INCOMES

BY MR. V. G. RAMAKRISHNA AIYER, M.A.

THE world is still passing through the greatest economic catastrophe that has ever occurred and the rather roseate and optimistic statements on 'recovery' should not blind us to the real facts. The real facts are that we still have a vast amount of unemployment, destitution and misery, and that these evils exist in a greater degree over most of the agricultural countries.

In view of the recent discussions regarding the great fall in India's agricultural incomes and the consequent reduction in the purchasing capacity of the cultivator, it is of interest to consider the statistics compiled by the Department of Commercial Intelligence, India showing the precise extent of the fall in incomes and of the resulting depression measured in money prices. The value of the main crops in the different provinces of India have been taken for the agricultural years 1928-29, i.e., the year just before the depression began, and then in 1933-34, the latest agricultural year for which statistics are available.

The total value of all the crops for the whole of India amounted in 1928-29 to Rs. 1,034 lakhs but declined to Rs. 473 lakhs in 1933-34. In other words, the fall for the whole of India amounted to over 53 per cent. In this connection, it may be pointed out that the major crops in Madras are rice and ground-nut; in Bombay rice, cotton and jowari; in Bengal rice and jute; in the United Provinces wheat and cotton; in Bihar and Orissa rice and wheat; in Central Provinces rice and cotton. It is because of the difference in the major kinds of crops that the agricultural incomes in the different Provinces have been differently affected. The following Table shows how different Provinces were differently affected:

PROVINCE	1928-29 (VALUE IN LAKHS OF RUPEES)	1933-34	PERCENTAGE OF DECREASE
Madras	180	83	54 per cent.
Bombay	120	60	49 "
Bengal	232	95	59 "
U. P.	140	85	39 "
Punjab	76	40	47 "
Burma	63	23	63 "
Bihar and Orissa	135	55	60 "
Central Provinces	68	20	55 "

Taking these eight Provinces together, the fall in the agricultural incomes thus amounts to a little over 53 per cent., and even allowing for the fact that the cultivator may be able to obtain his own food requirements more cheaply, he has none the less to meet fixed payments from proceeds reduced by slightly more than one-half.

It must be remembered, of course, that the data in most cases are only of a very rough accuracy and that the calculations include only the value of the main crops. No allowance has been made for the effect of seasonal conditions on the production of individual years.

The Department of Commercial Intelligence points out that in interpreting these figures, one important point should not be forgotten. It is that so far as food crops are concerned, the cultivator consumes or exchanges in kind for services rendered a large portion of the crops he grows and to that extent the fall in the prices of food-stuffs has not affected him.

The statistics show that far from there being an improvement in agricultural prices in the year 1933-34, the depression actually aggravated them as compared with the situation in the previous year, as the fall increased from 47 per cent. to 53 per cent. for the whole of India.

It is clear that the prices of agricultural commodities have fallen in a much greater degree than those of manufactured goods, from which it is an easy deduction that the capacity of the cultivator in India to purchase manufactured goods has been very substantially curtailed.

According to the approximate estimates given in the Report of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee, taking the basis of the 1928 price levels, the average income of an agriculturist in British India does not work out at a higher figure than about Rs. 12 or a little over £3 a year. The total land revenue for British India is about Rs. 36 crores of rupees (or about £27,000,000).

The Progress of Religious Consciousness

BY PROF. BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE most astounding fact of the present day is to be found in the remarkable progress of mankind in the religious consciousness. Even half a century ago, say, about the time that the Parliament of Religions was convened at Chicago, 1893, the Christian was exclusively a Christian and hardly anything else. During those days, the Moslem was likewise merely Moslem and Moslem only. It was difficult, nay, impossible for him to be at the same time something other than Moslem. The psychological attitudes of the Hindu were similar. The Hindu was nothing but Hindu.

But in the course of the last fifty years, the religious ideologies and orientations of men and women in the East and the West have undergone a considerable transformation. Today the Christian Bible is quoted in season and out of season by the Buddhists, the Zoroastrians, the Moslems and the Hindus. The Chinese *Tao-te-ching* and the Indian *Gita*, on the other hand, constitute the daily food of hundreds of thousands of Germans, French, Italians, Englishmen and Americans. And the Hindus are likewise inclined to cite verses from the *Koran* in the interest of their day-to-day moral life. The appreciation of other people's faiths, sacred books and inspiring messages constitutes the most abiding fact in the psycho-social milieu of the last generation or so. Without formal conversion or even consciousness as to the fact of the change, the silent absorption of other faiths by men and women in the different corners of the globe is a stupendous reality of the modern religions.

The second great reality is to be observed in the methods by which this tremendous transformation—this mutual conversion on an international scale—has been consummated. The Christian has deliberately and self-consciously chosen to translate and assimilate the non-Christian texts for his own moral and spiritual expansion. The attempts of the Hindu to imbibe life-building forces from the non-Hindu world are no less deliberate and purposive,

The process seems to be confined formally to the literary, æsthetic, nay, archaeological, philological and anthropological fields. But the impact of these innocent intellectual and scientific interests on the religious and deeply spiritual foundations of the investigators, researchers and scientists and on large groups of their countrymen has been revolutionary. The Christian has been trying in a conscious manner to change his tradition, modify his society and transform his past and add something new to his inheritances. In the Hindu world also the efforts to improve upon the past, the society and the tradition and to recreate the moral and social surroundings are equally patent.

During all these years, mankind has been functioning both in the East and the West as the recreator of its heritage. It is the purposive, goalful and self-determined initiative of individual men and women endowed as they are with creative intelligence and will that has been prominent in the psycho-social remakings of recent years. Man has been rising to the full stature of his spiritual being by refusing to allow the society and the tradition, embodying as they do the past, to shape the destiny of the present generation. On the other hand, man has been trying to demolish the tradition, the society and the past and shatter them to pieces or rather enrich them with the new creations of his self-conscious personality. The region, the climate, the race, the historic legacy, the custom and the traditions have, therefore, been retiring more and more into the background of religious institutions and conduct and are being replaced by the experiments, assimilations, absorptions, discoveries and inventions of today. It is the enormous expansion of man's individuality and creativeness that is responsible for the transformation of the society and the tradition in Christendom as much in Hindustan, China, and the rest of the world. And in the interest of further progress in matters religious, we should have to build on these demonstrable realities of the expansion in liberalism and toleration consummated up till now.

Men's Minds and Women's Minds

BY MARGUERITE MODAK

ARTICLES are appearing now-a-days written by men about the shocking condition the world will be in when Indian women have emancipated themselves and flock to the legislatures and into money-earning situations. These men, and there are many who do not write for publication but express themselves vehemently in conversation, are picturing a world in which no fires burn in the kitchen in which there is a dwindling population, what children there are are running about with a mother's love substituted by a weary father's ministrations and many other dire results of the education and liberation of the women of India.

Women with experience of what has happened in the West, have no fears of this kind for the future of civilization. We do not believe that women will ever desert their homes for long; they may take short excursions but weary with travel they will return home gladly.

The war-generation of Western women twenty years ago brought an era's struggle for freedom from masculine domination to a climax. They cut their hair like men's, restricted their diet until they acquired boyish figures, wore straight garments devoid of ornamentation which terminated above the knees giving them manly freedom of locomotion. They smoked and didn't hesitate to swear mildly. They took men's places in mills, factories and offices as fast as the men went to the war. They received the same wages for the same jobs, and when the war was over they hesitated to relinquish their jobs to the previous incumbents. Their own money in their own pockets gave a delicious sense of independence and, perhaps, they liked to pay the bills. We have a saying in English: "He who pays the fiddler calls the tune." It is the money earner who is head of the Western house, contrary to the Indian custom wherein family relationships give the status.

But there were certain satisfactions which these women lost and coveted goals which they did not reach. They lost their former powers of attracting the male sex. The men came home from the war

wanting feminine women. They had been in men's company and looked upon plain uniforms for four years. Sick to death of it they wanted dainty lovely beauty. Their egos deflated by the mess of the world of the 1920's they wanted women who would cling to them, adore them, honour them, thus gradually reinflating their collapsed self-confidence. The women they found at home when they returned didn't do this—how could they—they were but sad transcripts of themselves.

And the women? Although they had acquired freedom and equality they still wanted men's admiration. They had said in their pride that they did not want it. Perhaps they misjudged themselves. Without either men's admiration or adoration they found themselves unhappy and unsatisfied. Women's essential nature is not sex unclothed as is men's but sex glorified, adorned with Beauty and Nobility. "Beauty" and "Nobility" sound sentimental and we still are shy of sentimentality—a left-over from the 1920's. But the craving for sentiment is an undeniable fact.

Forthwith, Western women changed their clothes and their manners. Now during the social hours of the day they wear garments of grace and delicacy. They are eating normally to develop their figures and become feminine again. Hair, in the current Western fashion, strives to be lovely rather than suitable for business-life. Cigarette smoking may still be current in the cinema and among certain classes of women, but it is distinctly out of fashion in America at least.

Thus the Western woman has sought to recapture the world of allurements and charm which she despised for a time.

Meanwhile she discovered that there were certain coveted goals in man's world which she did not achieve and which, perhaps, she is slowly learning are not destined for her. I refer to executive positions in high places and to professional fields. Few women have become great architects, college professors of exceptional scholarship, composers or artists, eminent jurists or political leaders. Outstanding

preachers and doctors are rarely women. Managers of industry and commerce are not women but men. The names of internationally known women are few.

There are two probable causes evident to even a superficial consideration of the matter. The first of these is women's lack of experience in public life and the mind-set of society toward girls. A boy grown up expecting to succeed in a profession; a Western girl grows up expecting to work for a few years until she meets the man she wants to marry. All of her childhood she is surrounded by this expectation. Perhaps, then, in high school she discovers a taste for intellectual pursuits and decides upon a professional career; or, perhaps, she gradually realises as she approaches thirty years of age that she will not marry and at that late age settles down to a business pursuit.

In the latter case it is too late to begin to rise to the top; she becomes not a creator but a faithful worker of intelligence and some imagination. The girl who discovered a fondness for art or other professional skills during high school frequently faces many difficulties. Her studious tastes are not supplemented by mixing with the public as are her brother's. She learns to excel her sisters rather than to co-operate with them, while her brother is learning co-operation with his fellows. In his play he is learning team-work, learning the give-and-take of the business and professional world. In this lies one of the reasons women do not succeed in the higher forms of business and in the professions; they do not know how to deal with people, they are ignorant of life as it is.

Whether women have a different mind-set, a different outlook as part of their nature which prevents them from seeing the world as a man sees it cannot be definitely answered. However it is serious enough a supposition to unsettle faith—and calm men's fears—that women as a class can compete for the high places in man's world. Women see problems from a restricted point of view, their own. It may be noble but it is restricted.

Women teachers conduct excellent schools but usually fail to understand

their pupil's home-life and the world into which they are going. Nor is there a great amount of creative work being done by women. It appears that women's intellectual and spiritual functions follow their physical functions; they are the preservers, not the creators. Woman is the recipient of that which she protects and develops. The Western wife is more often a guide and director and a passive unconscious inspiration for the creative career of her husband than the conscious inspiration for a goal. Often she cannot understand the goal. She is more able to point out the dangers than see the possibilities unless her husband makes them clear to her. Women's view is restricted, men's view is expansive. Women make excellent private secretaries and good executives but poor legislators and creators.

Men's minds and women's minds: there appears to be a functional difference which subscribes women's activities. Men have a world which women will not be able to enter until their nature has been modified by training and experience.

This modification takes place occasionally in the West and East and there are no limits except women's volition and men's acquiescence to the extent it may go. Now it takes place particularly in families where the daughter has been a constant companion of her father or brothers or where she has been left early in life with the burden of the support of brothers and sisters upon her and has been forced into the business world early.

The opposite modification readily occurs in men's lives. There are plenty of men in the world doing "women's" work—the plodders, we call them in colloquial English. They are the mediocre men, not the creators.

Men, do not fear that educated Indian women will leave you bereft of home-makers; they may free you from routine work so that you can become creators. Few women will challenge you in high places. Many women, the great mass of women will work at ordinary jobs in a skilful way until they are married or when they are widowed, thus relieving you of the burden of financing unmarried and widowed daughters and sisters.

There is danger in it! Danger! Certainly there is danger. Girls must mingle more freely with men if they work. The modern world is a dangerous world. It is youth's world; youth goes out to meet danger. It does not retreat from it. Animals develop a protective apparatus with a change of their environment. Women will develop a sense for self-protection. Men will develop a new attitude toward women. Women will learn not to tempt men beyond their endurance. They will learn to restrict the display of their attractiveness to eligible men only, as women have learned to do in the West. Men will learn to regard women with the same attitude as they now regard their mothers and sisters as Western men do. Both men and women, society in general, will build up codes of behaviour which make chaste living simpler. These codes have been developing in the West for centuries. India has not needed them, for she separated men and women. She will do well now to set up codes for herself.

Education and wage-earning will postpone marriage, naturally reducing India's mounting birth-rate. A girl and boy who marry at twenty years cut off five or six years from the present length of the child-producing period.

Will employment take away women's charm? It did for a time in America but those women have rediscovered the value of charm. Mr. K. Natarajan stated after his return from his American tour that he was delighted with the comradeship and joy in each other which he saw displayed in the American families whom he visited. In middle class families, husband and wife prepared the meal together, washed the dishes together afterward and then sat down to discuss their mutual problems in the evening. In India, it is hardly so. Daily I meet Indian men, who do not hesitate to voice their wish that their wives were educated. Often I call in a home where the man of the house and I sit in the drawing-room and eat *pan* as we talk about the matter in hand. His wife has brought it silently and placed it before us. She and I have exchanged a *namaskar* and she has withdrawn. "My wife is a good

house-keeper but she never goes out and is very shy with strangers," is the husband's comment. There is always a decidedly wistful note in his voice.

Modern life requires that Indian schools give instruction in social graces as part of their curriculum until such customs become part of the fibre of the country. Indian mothers can teach their children how to live separately from members of the opposite sex but not how to mingle with them. Schools are not facing this problem. I and my husband pass often through a school-compound on our way from one street to another. Although the girls have seen my husband a thousand times and although he never fails to salute them, they still only hide their faces in their pudders in response.

Again allow me to address the men who fear the inroads of women upon their world. The best places in your world are safe for you. Women will free you of routine to give you opportunities to widen your world. Do not fear the new age.

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Fruit Growing in South India

By MR. T. V. G. MENON, B.A., B.Sc., Ag.

THE general fruit-consuming public is ignorant of the cultural habits of fruit trees, and it is the purpose of this article to give in popular language a few hints on the growing of the more important fruit trees found in the South. The citrus and banana varieties found in this Presidency, particularly in the Circars and Malabar respectively, are the best known so far and are considered indispensable in the fruit diet, though imported fruits are largely available in the markets. The mango is another major fruit of this province and is gaining great favour, as is evident from the increased exports of these fruits every year. The papaya, sapota and the custard are highly priced, but are only little known except in the few localities where they are grown.

THE ORANGE

The Orange is best grown in a rich black loamy soil with good drainage. The vigour of growth and the earliness of fruiting depend mainly on the amount and quality of nutrient given at the start and not on the method used for raising the plant. Cuttings are best raised during rains and are planted in a culture of pure sand and charcoal. Pure sand is obtained by boiling sand in a clean vessel, washing it several times and drying. The mixture is made up of 11 parts of sand to one of charcoal. Shoots about six to eight inches long are selected and about a dozen of them are planted into a 4-inch pot. The rooted cuttings are planted out separately in small pots and, finally, planted on the ground in holes 6 ft. wide and 4 ft. deep. After planting, holes are filled up with a mixture of 2 parts silt, one part sand and one part leaf mould. Planting may be done from the commencement of the rain to the end of January, but are best done during rain. The trees grow best when the soil is sandy and is mixed with either red or black ferruginous earth and lime.

If grown from seeds, these are sown in fine seed-beds and transplanted after about a month when the plants are 4 in. high. Here they are allowed to remain till the 3rd or 4th year when they are

4 ft. high. They are then planted out finally in the garden. No hoeing, harrowing or irrigation are required.

If budded, plants when sufficiently grown are transplanted in lines 15 ft. apart, with the same distance between lines. Trees begin to bear in the 5th year and are in their full bearing in the 10th year. Budded plants have to be watered regularly till March. The weeds should be kept down and soil stirred frequently. The question of shelter is most important in India, and this I am afraid is not properly attended to. May and June are particularly hot in India, and fruit trees, especially in their young stage, need shelter. The citrus trees carry young fruits during this season and, therefore, require special care. Pruning is important in citrus. As flowers of citrus are produced from the small twigs of the previous year, these should not be pruned off. Strong crane-like branches rarely bare fruit and should be cut off.

MANGO

The best soil suitable for Mango is a red loam fairly deep with a substratum of loose gravel. In clay soils, it puts on heavy foliage but bears little fruit. Rich lands are for the same reason undesirable. In sandy soils it grows well but the fruit is inferior.

Mango can be propagated by seed, but to insure early bearing, productiveness and uniformity of fruit, vegetative propagation is necessary. Inarching, budding and grafting are the methods successfully used. In India, planting is best done at the beginning of the monsoon. Holes 2 to 3 ft. broad and deep are dug 30-35 ft. each way and 20 pounds of fresh bone placed in the bottom of each hole. Stable manure is good in early stages but is unsuitable for bearing mangoes. Budded or grafted trees, with stems 1 in. thick, are planted. Inarched trees are weak. Young growing trees are given both water and fertiliser liberally, but for the mature tree both are withheld to encourage flowering and fruiting. Cultural requirements of mango are little known and horticulturists in India have yet to study this aspect fully.

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Exposing the roots for a couple of weeks or so during winter is a general practice. Manuring may be done at the time earth is filled in. The flowers that appear during the first four to five seasons are ripped off to promote growth. Weeds are kept clear by constant ploughing. Other catch crops or legumes can be grown with profit during this period. Thomas Firminger, a former great horticulturist in India, thinks that the bearing of mango is closely connected with nutrition. The nutritional problem of mango is very little known and will repay further study by students of mango culture. The best varieties for table use are: Jahangir, Banganapalli, Hamilton, Andrews or Mulgoa, Himayuddin, Bangalora, Nilam and Suvannarekha.

Of the several groups of mango into which these are classified, the Mulgoa and Alphonso stand supreme. They are very juicy, free from fibre, and of rich piquant flavour. The somewhat acid flavour makes the Sandersha group more suitable for culinary than dessert purposes. The Cambodiana group lacks the richness of some of the Indian varieties.

THE PAPAYA

The Papaya delights in a warm climate and rich loamy, well drained soil. The plants are set not less than 10 ft. apart. When the plants attain a height of about 3-4 in. they are transplanted. The seedlings are watered copiously before removal and three-fourths the leaf blades trimmed off to reduce evaporation. In transplanting, care must be taken to cut off as few roots as possible. Until established, they should be protected from the sun. The young plants are watered daily till they establish when watering is less frequent. Mature plants do well under irrigation and are gross feeders. They do well if stable manure and fertilizers are supplied liberally. Organic manure which supply nitrogen is specially good. The Papaya is usually propagated from seeds sown in boxes and transplanted after a month in pots. They remain in pots for another month and are planted out in the field. Papaya is normally dioecious, with male and female flowers on different plants. Cross-pollination is necessary to develop the pistillate flowers into fruits,

BANANAS

Bananas require rich soils, with plenty of moisture, well drained. It is usually grown in rotation with paddy as a wet land crop and grows for 3-4 years. Tannery refuse is largely used in the south as manure, as also bulky organic manure. In the West Coast, single sucker planting is done 6-8 ft. apart, the narrow leaved suckers being selected for planting. Before the parent plant flowers, several suckers appear and all except one or two are removed. Whether the earlier or later sucker should be renewed depends on the time when the harvest is required. Irrigation and good drainage are both important. Trenches 5-6 ft. deep and 12 to 15 ft. apart are dug with proper slope. Water is allowed to stand in these trenches for a full day and is drained off. The Nendran and Poovan of Malabar, the Chakrakeli of Rajamundry, the Pacha Vazai of Madras and Trichinopoly are some of the outstanding varieties of *Musa paradisiaca* L. found in the South.

SAPOTA

Sapota (*Calocarpum mammosum* Pierre) is a delicious and nourishing food and is getting very popular in the south. In the hot and humid places, it grows to a large tree, often 65 ft. high. It grows up to a sea-level of 3,000 ft. It thrives on heavy soils as clay and clay-loams. It does not seem to like a soil rich in lime. The seeds, which cannot be kept long, germinate more readily if the thick husk is removed before sowing. They should be placed in sand or light soil, laid on their sides, and scarcely covered. When they grow 6-8 in. high they are transferred to pots. The best one should be propagated by some vegetative means.

THE CUSTARD APPLE

The Custard Apple or Sugar Apple (*Anona Squamosa*, L.) is pre-eminently a dessert fruit and is indigenous to the South. It is rarely grown under systematic cultivation and, therefore, its cultural requirements are little known. It seems to do well in a deep, very stony soil with good drainage. F. S. Earle in Cuba has found that it responds to liberal manuring and recommends a fertilizer containing 3 per cent. nitrogen, 10 per cent. phosphoric acid and 10 per cent. potash. Shield budding has given the best results.

HOW TO ACHIEVE DISARMAMENT

BY MR. DAVID P. BERENBERG

(Of the New History Society)

WHEN new political ideas cropped up in the wake of the great industrial changes that began in Europe in the thirteenth century, when men began to reject the rule of monarchs and aristocrats and asserted that true governmental power rests in the consent of the governed, they believed that the inauguration of their democratic ideals would be paralleled by the establishment of universal peace. Is not war, they argued, the occupation, even the pre-occupation, of the feudal classes? And when these feudal classes are driven from their seats of power, will not their wars go with them? For what should the democratic masses fight? With the victory of "Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality", war, too, will vanish with the other survivals of barbarism.

It was the old dream. It failed as did the hopes of the religious leaders. The slogan of "peace on earth", motivated by human love and fellowship, proved a mirage. The hope of peace based on "democratic" institutions failed too. It had not taken into account the persistence of national rivalries based on economic inequalities. Where the old feudal aristocrats had fought for land, the new masters of capital went to war for oil and coal and for financial power. Dynastic wars gave way to wars for economic empire. Democracy was degraded into the service of imperialist aggression. In their relations with the "backward" peoples, the "democratic" powers of Western Europe and of America behaved with the same cool arrogance that had characterized their feudal predecessors.

War then is still with us. And the hope of peace is still a vision. How shall we give it reality?

Before the collapse of civilization in the Great War of 1914, there were some men and women who believed that the very cost of war would be the greatest deterrent to further wars. History proved them wrong. Predatory man will shrink from no cost in men or money. He will always deceive himself with the belief that he can make his victim pay.

H. G. Wells seems to assert that if the horrors of war can be painted with sufficient vividness, men will be frightened away from the abyss and will refrain from the next war which, he says, with much truth may lead to the collapse of the West. Yet, significantly, Wells paints his picture in grey and hopeless tones. He does not really believe that men can be frightened away from their own destruction. In his fantasies, he is driven to the belief that man can be saved only by the intervention of a few truly intelligent leaders—the elite, the scientific thinkers. This, I am afraid, will prove to be as empty a hope as the old faith in aristocrats to which it is closely akin. This view is the product of a pessimism that looks only upon the surface. What lies below?

When the democracies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries held out the hope of peace, they based that hope on human equality. But so long as they permitted private property in the great economic resources to continue; so long as it was profitable for the masters of industry and finance to exploit the masses at home and abroad for their own profit equality was not possible. Democracy is not a mere name for a political form.

Remove the right of one man to own another man. Remove his right to exploit oil and coal and steel for private profit. Make it unprofitable to manufacture munitions of war. So internationalize economic life that all nations, no matter how badly endowed by Nature with the things they need, may obtain them without selling themselves into slavery. Will there be wars then? If there is really nothing to fight about, who will fight?

That, it seems to me, is the kernel of the nut. Wars are caused by fierce and predatory men, who want to grab things before they are grabbed by their neighbours. But suppose there is nothing to grab! Then war will go the way of other outworn methods by which men have sought to survive. War will go the way of the armored dinosaurs and of the sabre-toothed tiger.

SIR FRANK NOYCE

SIR FRANK NOYCE, who laid down his office as Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council the other day and left for England, has retired after serving India in various capacities for five and thirty years. In a remarkably long and varied career, Sir Frank has endeared himself to all classes and communities in the country; and the chorus of tributes paid to his services and his character at the recent meetings of the Assembly and the Council of State gives us a measure of his great popularity and the undoubted esteem in which he is held. It was, indeed, a remarkably varied and representative body of speakers who bore testimony to his tact and courtesy and his genuine desire to do all he could for the good of India. That he should have sponsored more labour legislation than any other Councillor within a similar period is proof, indeed, of his steadfast interest in the welfare of the people of this country.

It is common knowledge that in recent years, Government Benches and the Opposition have come in sharp conflict, not infrequently, in our legislatures. In all the bitter and vehement controversies of the Assembly, we could not recall any one utterance of his which could, in any way, be construed as unbecoming his dignity or urbanity. There is no trace in him of the brusque, imperious manner of the "superior person", none of that petulant and irritative self-importance which mars the usefulness of otherwise competent men in high office. Others may excel him in eloquence or ability. But Sir Frank excels all in that most indispensable quality of statesmanship—tact in the management of men. His equanimity under circumstances of excitement is unperturbable. He keeps his head cool and his temper unruffled. His wide knowledge of men and affairs easily sustains him in difficult situations, while his suavity and courtesy in debate command respect. His easy-going manner wins, while the hectoring methods of others are apt to fail. It was this trait

of Sir Frank's that the leader of the Opposition, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, had in mind when he spoke of his sweet reasonableness and added—

that it had been stated of another English friend of his in Bombay that it was impossible to accuse him of malice. It was difficult to pay a higher tribute than that and this tribute could be applied equally to Sir Frank Noyce.

The Editor of this *Review* can claim Sir Frank as an old and valued friend and a distinguished contributor to these pages. That friendship began, now more than three decades ago, when Sir Frank was in the service of the Government of Madras—a friendship that has happily continued uninterrupted during all these intervening years. It will be within the recollection of readers of this *Review* that even during the arduous period of his membership of the Viceroy's Council, he found time to review a new volume of that most literary of historians—Trevelyan. Literature is to Sir Frank the solace of his leisure hours, and his writings—though often the despair of the composing department—are marked by a distinction and charm natural to one in familiar contact with the classics. Sir Frank's correspondence is another source of interest to those privileged with this mark of his friendship. No dictation and no typed impersonal memoranda for him. Written with his own hand, the letters are full of entertaining titbits—of men and things—of the doings in the city or the hills—and crammed with details of personal and intimate interest. Nor is it necessary to label the correspondence "confidential"; for none but the addressee could make out anything of that string of hieroglyphics. But the friend so favoured will be rewarded with a rich store of allusive intimations as he deciphers with difficulty the more intractable passages in the correspondence. That is Sir Frank.

In wishing Lady Noyce and Sir Frank all the felicities of well-earned rest, we have, no doubt, they will continue to take an abiding interest in the country they have loved so well.

TRADE MARKS IN INDIA

By MR. R. N. AINGAR, BAR-AT-LAW.

IN regard to Trade Marks, one of the most important branches of commercial activity, the position in India to-day is exactly what it was in England prior to 1875. The Hon'ble Sir Courtney Terrel, Chief Justice of the Patna High Court, trenchantly observes in his Preface to the book*: "In common with Abyssinia, the Solomon Islands, Monaco, St. Helena, Sarawak and a few other countries of similar commercial standing, the Great Empire of India has no Trade Mark legislation." The need for such legislation has long been felt. The mercantile community, through their accredited associations, have been insistently asking, for over 60 years past, for adequate provisions to safeguard the interests of manufacturers and traders all over the country. The new Government of India Act includes Trade Marks as a Federal subject. The time appears to be opportune for clear legislation on the lines of the English Trade Marks Act.

There being yet no Trade Marks Act in India, cases depend on the ordinary rights of every trader to protect his property and to prevent attempts by other traders to avail themselves of his reputation and pass off their goods as his own. At present a person aggrieved by the infringement of his Trade Mark may either (1) take civil proceedings for injunction, delivering up and damages or account, in what are commonly called "passing off" actions, or (2) may institute criminal proceedings against the infringer under the summary and merely penal provisions of the Indian Merchandise Marks Act. It has been frequently pointed out in Courts of Law and outside, that these existing remedies are totally inadequate; that the civil action available, depending as it does on evidence of exclusive prior use of the Trade Mark in each case as it arises, is dilatory, cumbersome, expensive and may, indeed, be even conflicting in

different jurisdictions. It is said that in England, prior to the Act, one case—*Roger v. Nowill*—lasted five years and cost as much as £2,211 and, even then, the decision would not have been conclusive of the Plaintiff's title in all places. The Indian Registration Act provides for registration of documents only and not of *Trade Marks*. Registration with various Chambers of Commerce is of uncertain effect when matters go to Courts. Publication in Newspapers is no better in this respect. The remedy for this most unsatisfactory state of affairs is obvious. What is required and, urgently, is a Trade Mark Register for India, registration in which would confer a *prima facie* title of ownership in the proprietor, dispensing with the necessity for letting in evidence of prior user in every case. The practical advantage of such a permanent record of Trade Mark is indispensable. Any suit then would be for infringement of Trade Mark, a speedy and comparatively far less expensive remedy, depending merely on the production of a certificate of registration. When, in addition to all this, it is clearly demonstrated that a Trade Marks Office would be self-supporting and involve no additional expenditure or burden on the taxpayer, the case for immediate Trade Mark legislation in the interests of traders and purchasers alike would appear to be complete and unassailable.

The learned Author, though himself not a professional lawyer, has yet produced a legal book of which any trained lawyer, however eminent, may well be proud. His treatment of the entire subject, a difficult and complicated branch of law, is lucid, accurate and comprehensive. The neat printing and get-up of the book, and the judicious use of different types, makes the reading a pleasure. This is a book which lawyers, legislators and merchants will all welcome as a most valuable and timely publication. It ought to be in the hands of every one who wishes to fight what has been so graphically described as a species of "commercial cannibalism",

INDIAN AFFAIRS

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The Federal Court

THERE is no doubt that Sir Maurice Gwyer, the Chief Justice of the new Federal Court, will have two very able colleagues in Sir Shah Mahomed Sulaiman and Mr. M. R. Jayakar. These appointments have been welcomed as a fitting recognition of their undoubted ability.

The Federal part of the new Constitution is no doubt reactionary, but even as it is, the Federal Court will be one of the most pivotal institutions under the new order. It is, therefore, all the more necessary that the personnel of that Court should be such as to command public confidence.

Sir Sulaiman has sat on the Bench of the Allahabad High Court for 17 years and has been Chief Justice for some five years. His high legal attainments, and the great part he has played in the administration of justice in India, are well within the knowledge of the public. It is common knowledge, too, that Sir Shah Mahomed has made his mark as a scholar and educationist of no mean distinction.

Mr. Jayakar's eminence as a lawyer and jurist has only been equalled by his passion for public service. It may be regretted that his services will no more be available on occasions of political crisis. His distinctive contribution to public life in India has been that of a peace-maker in company with the distinguished Sir Tej Babadur Sapru. But as a scholar and jurist, Mr. Jayakar will find the judicial sphere more congenial to his instincts.

As has already been observed in these pages, the appointment of Sir B. L. Mitter as Advocate-General of the Federation

has been widely welcomed in this country as a fitting recognition of his great legal talents. Sir Brojendra has served with distinction in more than one high office under the Crown, and the new office to which he has now been called will, doubtless, offer him wider opportunities of service befitting his great legal attainments and varied experience.

Mr. Kelkar's Retirement

After 40 years of public work, Mr. N. C. Kelkar has announced his retirement. It is a great record for a politician and journalist, but he will prefer to be remembered as the indefatigable lieutenant of Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Indeed, since the passing of his great leader, Mr. Kelkar has led the political movement in Maharashtra.

As the architect of the *Mahratta* and the *Kesari*, Mr. Kelkar's name is writ large in the history of Indian journalism. Courage and pugnacity have ever been his strong points, and he wielded his pen with all the fervour of a crusader. He gave and received countless knocks in the ring. But it was all a part of the game and he neither carries nor leaves any malice behind. It was his lot to fight many a battle in the cause of civic, political, social and literary activities and he proved a formidable champion of any cause he undertook to espouse. In a farewell article in the *Kesari*, Mr. Kelkar says he is severing connections with more than 500 institutions. Indeed, it is said of him that "he is not an individual but an institution". There is no doubt that both the press and the public life of the country will be the poorer for the retirement of so vital a force in these hectic times.

* THE LAW OF TRADE AND MERCHANDISE MARKS IN INDIA. By S. Venkateswaran, D.Sc., Examiner of Patents, Patent Office, Calcutta. Published by the Madras Law Journal Office, Madras. Price Rs. 20.

The Late Raja Sir Rampal Singh

One of the most respected and enlightened taluqdars of Oudh has passed away in the death of Raja Sir Rampal Singh. The Raja was one of the early Congressmen and had moved the resolution on volunteering in the second session of the Congress at Calcutta in 1886.

He took an active interest in social and educational reform and was a pronounced Liberal in all his views. Addressing the Lucknow Session of the Liberal Federation, he observed:

Now I am convinced more than ever that the country's future can only be secured by the employment of liberal methods, whether through the present Liberal Party, or whether through any other or similar organisation.

He exhorted the landholders to join the Liberal Party as, among other things, this would have the effect of liberalising their parochial views and widening their political horizon and turning their thoughts to higher ideals instead of limiting them to their petty self-interest. Would that all taluqdars are inspired by the same lofty spirit of patriotism!

Corruption in the Services

Much is made of what is called bribery and corruption in India, especially among the low-paid clerks and servants in our public offices. As a matter of fact, differences in rank or wealth do not seem to affect this species, which is certainly not confined to India. Here is what the Lord Chief Justice of England said in connection with a case that came up before him. An Inspector of the London Transport Board was charged with having accepted certain sums of money from a representative of a firm of timber merchants for favours shown. The Defence argued that these payments were all loans

and that they in no way influenced the giving of contracts to the firm in question. Nevertheless both the giver and receiver were sentenced to terms of imprisonment, and the Lord Chief Justice, in delivering judgment, observed:

These offences committed in relation to the commercial transactions of a public authority are examples of a malignant disease which has spread widely throughout this country. It is not often that the facts can be precisely ascertained but when they are ascertained as in this case, it is necessary that they should be dealt with impartially. The state of public opinion with regard to this class of offence is not always what it should be, and, indeed, it is an offence sometimes condoned and sometimes belittled in rather unexpected quarters.

His Lordship deplored that corruption of this sort is "a malignant disease which has spread widely throughout this country". The only remedy for this—whether in England or India—is that public conscience should be stirred sufficiently to deal with it.

University For Kerala

There are already a score of universities in India and proposals for the establishment of three more universities—one in Sind, one in Orissa, and one in Assam—are on the tapis. Kerala, too, has started an agitation for a separate University. Presiding over the sixth annual conference of the Malabar District Teachers' Guild, Mr. C. Matthai, retired Director of Public Instruction, Cochin, expressed himself strongly in favour of the establishment of the Kerala University. Kerala, he observed, had a common historical and cultural background and had common educational needs and problems to tackle. If the three units of Kerala could combine and pool their resources for the formation of a common university, it would serve as a further bond of union, and would have great potentialities in promoting the material and cultural development of the province.

The Asiatic Bills

The Union Government have after all decided to drop the obnoxious White Women's Employment Restriction Bill. The Bill has been opposed persistently by the whole Indian community over there, whose prompt efforts to get rid of it have been powerfully supported both by the Agent-General and the Government of India. Nor can we fail to appreciate the good offices of leaders like Mr. Hofmeyer and Mr. Derbyshire and a few discerning members of the European community in South Africa, whose uncompromising opposition to it has led to its withdrawal. In his evidence before the Select Committee, Sir Raza Ali, the Agent-General, rightly pointed out—

The danger of improper relations is much greater in the case of Indian, Malay and coloured girls being employed by European males than the employment of European females by Indians, because a European master is in a position of authority and has a much greater influence which he can bring to bear on an Indian, Malay or coloured girl than an Indian employer can exercise on a European female employee.

Apart from this, the circumstance that the Bill exempts certain coloured people like the Japanese adds insult to injury and clearly brings in relief its thoroughly vicious anti-Indian character. We are glad that better counsels have prevailed and the Bill withdrawn for the moment, because the Indian Congress in South Africa has given a moral undertaking that the Indian community will not employ South African white women. This compromise is by no means welcomed by all; for a pledge of this kind is as serious as a check imposed by legislation. Sir Purushotamdas, for instance, has expressed his concern at a compromise of this character. For the moment, however, the Gentlemen's agreement has tided over a crisis. But ultimately, as Gadhiji says, there can be no rest for Indians in South Africa or for us here till the legal status has been secured by Indian settlers throughout the provinces of the Union.

The New Burma

On April 1, Burma became a separate province. The *Leader* of Allahabad reminds those who tell us that Indians have opposed the separation that the Indian National Congress had been opposed to the annexation of Burma.

What Indian public opinion has been demanding is that the question of separation should be left to the decision of the Burmans, and that if the latter vote for separation, Indians should have the same rights of citizenship and other privileges as other sections of the population. What the authorities did was to ignore the verdict of the people of Burma who did not vote for separation. And not content with that they have in the new constitution ignored the demand of the Indian community for equality of status.

But, however that may be, now that Burma has been separated and the new constitution has come into force, it is to be hoped that the two countries will maintain the cordial relations that have subsisted between them so long.

The Council of India

The India Council in Whitehall ceased to exist from the 1st April and has been replaced by a body of advisers to the Secretary of State.

The personnel is not greatly changed, and the three Indian Members of the Council have been appointed advisers. The functions of these advisers are more limited than those of the Council and relate particularly to Service matters.

Hindi Convocation

The All-India Sahitya Parishad was held at Madras in the last week of March, when Mahatma Gandhi made a strong plea for a common language and a common script for India. He presided over the Convocation of the Dakshina Bharata Hindi Prachar Sabha at the Sabha buildings and granted diplomas to successful candidates.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

The New Soviet Constitution

STALIN claims that the New Soviet Constitution is free from the reservations that vitiate the so-called democratic constitutions of other countries.

All citizens are equal in their rights under it. Not property position, not national origin; not sex, not the position one officially holds, but the personal capacities and the personal work of each citizen determines his position in society.

The fact is, political equality in theory is not always realisable in practice owing to economic and social inequality among the citizens. This, the Soviet scheme attempts to tackle. Chapter 10 of the new constitution deals with the basic rights and obligations of the citizens; and if what all is guaranteed under it is secured for the Soviet citizen, he could hardly ask for more. Here are some distinguishing features of the scheme:

The right to work with payment.
The right to rest.
The right to material security in old age as well as in the event of sickness.
The right to education free and compulsory.

Equal rights for women in all fields, economic, cultural, social and political life. Equality of rights irrespective of race or nationality. Freedom of conscience—separation of Church from State.

These certainly are coveted amenities in any civilised society and are secured to the Soviet citizen by Articles 118 to 124.

We have heard so much of the arbitrary ways of the executive in Soviet Russia as, indeed, in all dictator-ridden countries of the world that it is with no little surprise that we read of the provisions guaranteeing

- (a) freedom of Speech
- (b) freedom of the press
- (c) freedom of assembly and meetings and
- (d) freedom of processions and demonstrations.

Thus we have an alluring account of a constitution of which Stalin says: "That it does not simply proclaim democratic liberties but it ensures it legislatively by certain material means."

The British Budget

Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Exchequer, presented his sixth and last Budget in the House of Commons on April 20.

In the course of his speech, Mr. Chamberlain revealed that the realised Budget deficit was £5,597,000; but for defence expenditure, there would have been a surplus of £2,250,000; Inland Revenue, Customs and Excise had realised expectations, the latter yielding £14,500,000 over the estimate; income-tax, surtax and death duties were £5,500,000 under the estimate.

He stated that £25,000,000 has been spent on Roads last year and that the expenditure for the current year would be £28,500,000 plus £10,000,000 for the Civil Supplementary Estimates.

The estimated deficit on the present basis of taxation was £14,898,000 and the surplus estimated by the Chancellor at the end of this year is £250,000. By increasing the income-tax by 3d. in the £, Mr. Chamberlain expects to raise a further £13,000,000 and by the imposition of a new Growth of Profits Tax—a resuscitation of the former Excess Profits Tax—he hopes to raise a further £2,000,000 this year, and from £20,000,000 to £25,000,000 in a full year.

Mr. Baldwin's Retirement

Mr. Stanley Baldwin stated definitely that he had decided to retire on May 22. He said he had chosen that date because it would be the anniversary of his assumption of Premiership in 1923 in succession to Mr. Bonar Law.

At a secret conference held between Mr. Neville Chamberlain and Sir John Simon, *Times Review* learns an agreement was signed for the Government to continue in its National form.

MAY 1937]

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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British Cabinet Salaries

In the House of Commons, Mr. Stanley Baldwin presented the Ministers of the Crown Bill, designed to regulate the salaries of the Prime Minister and members of the Cabinet, and also providing a pension for former Prime Ministers.

The Bill seeks to increase the Premier's salary to £10,000 per annum and fix a flat rate of £5,000 for all other members of the Cabinet, except the Lord Chancellor. Provision is also made for a pension of £2,000 for the Premier.

At present not more than half the members of the Cabinet receive £5,000 a year, while the salaries of the remainder vary between £2,000 and £4,500.

The variation has caused a difficult situation for Prime Ministers, who have occasionally been unable to offer a particular post to a person most suitable for it owing to the loss in salary which would be necessitated by the change.

The Abyssinian Massacres

Italian atrocities in Addis Ababa formed the subject of an indignant protest in the House of Commons. Mr. Arthur Henderson told the tragic tale of the fate of the 700 refugees who sought shelter in the American legation.

After the American representative had received an assurance from the Italians that lives of these Abyssinians would be spared, they left the compound, whereupon every single one was butchered like cattle.

The debate furnished an occasion for one of those thunderous philippics from the old Nestor of the Commons—Mr. Lloyd George. In a speech of withering contempt for those in authority in England, he asked what action the Government had taken to deal with this

most horrible massacre in the last 50 years.

The massacre of Ras Desta was without comparison in modern history. He fights for his country and is shot like a dog for doing so without a word of protest from the leading countries and the League of Nations.

Where are the voices that rang with the denunciation of the Armenian massacres! What pitiful successors to Palmerston and Gladstone we have today! The ex-Premier recalled the shooting of General Scheepers, a citizen of Cape Colony, for treason, which created such a strong feeling that Lord Kitchener was compelled to over-ride the decision of the court-martial to shoot another General.

The Italians were most angry with the British, but I would rather have Italian anger than Italian contempt, and I hope that a time would come when we would talk to the Italians in a straightforward and fearless manner.

DONGRE'S BALAMRIT



is
the
Ideal
Tonic
for
RICKETY
Children

April '38,

DIARY OF THE MONTH

Mar. 24. Massacre of Ethiopians in Addis Ababa is reported.

Mar. 25. The Government of India orders an enquiry into the allegations made by the B. N. R. Labour Union against the administration.

Mar. 26. Mahatma Gandhi delivers the Convocation Address at the Hindi Sabitya Sammelan at Madras.

Mar. 27. Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman and Mr. M. R. Jayakar are appointed Judges of the Federal Court.

Mar. 28. Congress leaders decline to form Ministries without assurance of non-interference by Governors.

Mar. 29. Japan and India conclude a Trade Agreement.

Mar. 30. Mr. Lawrence Roger Lumley is appointed Governor of Bombay.

Mar. 31. Interim Ministries are formed in six Provinces.

April 1. India observes *hartal* as a protest against the new constitution.

April 2. World Textile Conference meets in Geneva.

April 3. Sir James Taylor is appointed Managing-Governor of the Reserve Bank.

April 4. The Maharaja of Jeypore opens the Gaudiyamath Temple in Madras.

April 5. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald opens the International Sugar Conference in London.

April 6. Babu Rajendra Prasad appeals to Moslems to join the Congress.

April 7. The Punjab Government forfeits Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar's jagirs.

April 8. The report of the Motor Insurance Committee is published.

April 9. Lord Zetland makes a statement in Parliament on the Indian impasse.

April 10. Sir Frank Noyce sails for England.

April 11. Prince Nicholas, heir-presumptive, renounces all his titles and claims to the Rumanian throne.

April 12. The South Indian Christian Federation meets in Madras.

April 13. Nahas Pasha is elected President of the Conference on Egyptian capitulations.

April 14. The Union Government of South Africa drops the anti-Asiatic Bills.

April 15. World Textile Conference adopts U. S. Government's resolution for the establishment of an International Commission to consider the production and prices of textiles.

April 16. Mahatma Gandhi issues a statement urging the appointment of a tribunal.

April 17. The third Gandhi Seva Sangh Conference meets at Hubli.

April 18. Sir Firoz Khan Noon is appointed the Standard-Bearer of the Empire of India at the Coronation.

April 19. The U. P. Ahrars' Conference meets at Lucknow under the presidency of Mr. Mazhar Ali Azhar.

April 20. Mr. Neville Chamberlain introduces his sixth Budget in the Commons.

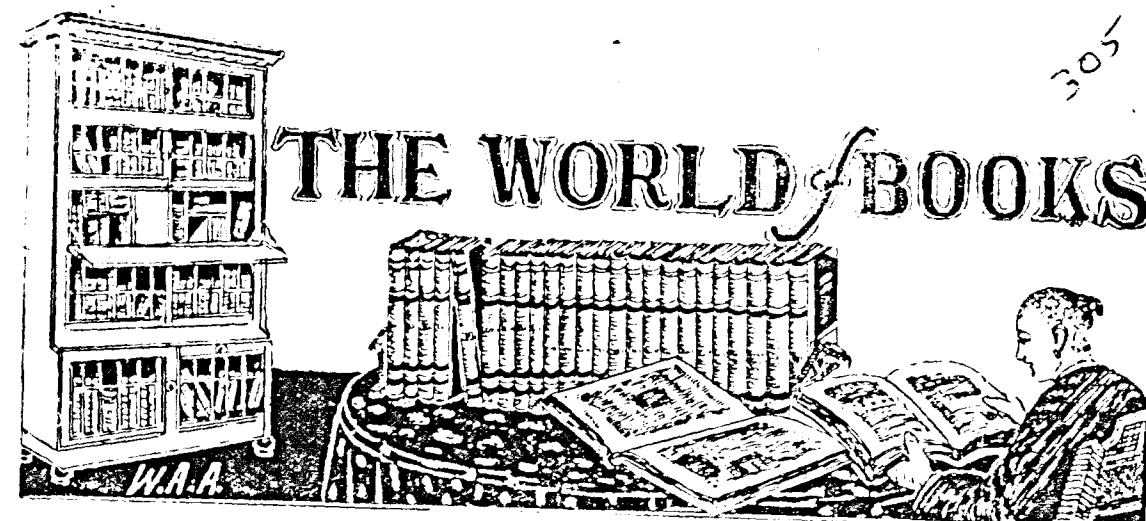
April 21. The personnel of the Indian Delegation to the Biennial Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce is announced.

April 22. Pt. Nehru issues an appeal to the public for funds to help the Calcutta Jute workers now on strike.

April 23. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru leaves for England.



SIR FRANK NOYCE
who has left for England.



SOUTHERN INDIA: ITS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. By Dr. Gilbert Slater. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Rs. 11-4.)

Dr. Slater is an old and valued contributor to this *Review*, and the chapters comprising this book bear evidence of the grasp and thoroughness with which he handles his themes. He came to India in 1915 as Professor of Indian Economics in the University of Madras and was for a time in charge of the Madras Publicity Department. As one intimately associated with the student world and the world of affairs, he had exceptional opportunities of getting an insight into Indian problems from many points of view. The results of his studies and researches, his opinions and impressions, are now gathered together in this volume of vivid recollections of years spent in this country. The volume supplies, almost in the form of a diary, a most interesting account of social, economic, and political happenings in this country during a most interesting period in our history and also throws light on the life of the artisans and workers in cities and towns, such as only a first-hand knowledge of facts and things, coupled with a capacity to discern

the essentials, can supply. Dr. Slater brings to his task not only a voracious appetite for facts but keen observation and natural sympathy. Armed with these, he is able to present a vivid picture of the life and events of an interesting period in the history of South India. Dr. Slater has decided opinions of his own on questions of politics, and he makes no pretence to accept or controvert the views of others, but as Lord Willingdon says in his brief but appreciative Foreword his volume "gives the impression of one who lived and worked for twenty years in India and was full of sympathy with the feelings and aspirations of the people". Facts and figures and opinions jostle one another in sprightly array and the author's reminiscent way of writing adds to the charm and piquancy of a narrative that never lacks interest. Apart from its fund of information—economic, social, and political that may be of interest to the historian of the future—Dr. Slater's is an admirable guide book to the tourists and others who wish to learn something of Southern India which, in many ways, is historically and traditionally the most interesting part of this great country.

COLLECTED POEMS AND PLAYS OF
RABINDRANATH TAGORE. Macmillan
& Co., Ltd.

Tagore's "Gitanjali" and "Gardener", his poems and plays and other fugitive pieces have had the widest popularity of any work of literature in the East. Each of these has been sold in many thousands and it is time that an omnibus edition of these poems and plays, which could be conveniently got within the covers of a single volume, should be published. Twelve of these pieces, which were sold originally in separate volumes, are now collected together and presented to the public in the stately, well-bound volumes familiar to us as Macmillan's publications. We have no doubt there will be a large demand for this library edition.

THE BACHELOR OF ARTS. By
R. K. Narayan. Thomas Nelson & Sons
Ltd., London. Price 7s. 6d.

It is described as a Novel; it is really a beautiful poem; it is a simple story charmingly told of the ordinary every-day incidents in the placid life of a Hindu household in South India. Venkatachela Iyer, the retired District Judge at Malgudi, with his quiet dignity and fondness for gardening, may be any Hindu father. Chandran, his only son, with good health and a University education but unemployed, may be any modern young man. Chandran's mother is like all Hindu mothers intent on marrying her son to the most desirable young girl with the best dowry, and Susila satisfied all the tests. Chandran's last year at College, and the first year of comparative freedom thereafter, form the setting for this intimate domestic sketch and the living characters are

vividly portrayed. Chandran is almost sorry he passed his B. A. For then his problems appear—plans for the future, multitude of counsels, lack of opportunities. Malathi flits across his enraptured vision and unbalances his mind to the extent of converting him into a wandering *sanyasi* for a time. But he soon discovers that an idle mind is the Devil's workshop, gives up even his ideas of going to England and settles down to hard steady work as the Local Agent of the "Daily Messenger" and the loving husband of Susila. A book to be read by everybody who desires to get a true insight into Hindu mind, manners and customs.

CURRY AND RICE. By E. T. Brown.
Published by the Fortune Press, London.

This is a traveller's book by an Australian lawyer, giving his impressions of India. It is an altogether delectable dish of savoury substances with enough rice-basis and plenty of curry-stimulation by way of caustic criticism of men and manners. The pompous Customs official, the philosopher, zamindar, the self-exiled Tamilian, are all sketched with humour and sympathy. His descriptions of ancient Benares and modern Delhi will amply repay a reading.

THRUST IN THE SICKLE. By Walter
Clemow Lanyon. Published by L. N.
Fowler & Co., London.

The author, an international lecturer and prolific writer, here presents a series of very thoughtful sermons, mainly devoted to a realisation of God within one's own consciousness; that one is within oneself a temple of the living God. Despite a pardonable exuberance of language, the book is inspiring in its message of seeking and finding God in everything.

MODERN MYSORE in two Volumes. By Raja-karyaprasakta Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao, M.A. Higginbothams, Bangalore.
Vol. I—From the Beginning to 1868.
Vol. II—From 1868 to the present time.
The book traces the events in the history of Mysore in detail from the restoration of the Hindu dynasty in 1799 after the fall of Tipu Sultan, giving a brief preliminary retrospect of the foundation and subsequent growth of the Hindu State of Seringapatam and of the Muhammadan interregnum. The author, a retired Member of the Mysore Civil Service, is well equipped for the task, not only by his learning and researches on the subject but by his masterly grasp of facts and his sound judgment of essentials. Amidst a mass of miscellaneous details, the main story is brought in relief with true historical insight and perspective. In this preliminary survey which fills over 250 pages of the 1st Volume, we have a collection of letters of Tipu illustrating his day-to-day administration, taken from Colonel Kirkpatrick's English translation of them made in 1811. Then comes an account of the rule of Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar till the establishment of the British Commission in 1831. Detailed attention is devoted to the economic and social condition of the people, and we read that in the beginning of the 19th century, only one-thirtieth of the total population were possessed of property worth mention at all. General Wellesley's poor opinion of Purnaiya is interesting to read. The establishment of the British Commission is regarded by the author as "a blessing in disguise inasmuch as it prevented the fragmentation of the State and helped to preserve its integrity". The rule of the Commission is detailed, particular attention being of

course paid to Cubbon's activity and to the Maharaja's continuous effort to have the rendition of the State back to him effected. Mr. Shama Rao says boldly that the interpretation of the subsidiary treaty, in a manner prejudicial to the interests of the Maharaja, was "clearly an afterthought to find support for the desire for annexation".

The second Volume carries on the narrative from the installation of Chamaraja Wodeyar to his investiture with ruling powers and thence on through his reign and that of his glorious son, the present Maharaja. Administrative and economic reform occupies a great deal of attention in this Volume, and the treatment is extended to a comprehension of the part that Mysore may be destined to play in the future Indian Federation. The narrative is free and easy though incorporating a lot of personal and courtly detail. It is accurate as well as impartial.

BOOKS RECEIVED

VALUE AND ETHICAL OBJECTIVITY. By Gordon S. Jury. With a Foreword by Wilburn M. Urban. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London.

HANDBOOK OF INDIAN LEGISLATURES. By R. R. Saksena. Universal Literature Company, Nazirabad, Lucknow.

AVASTATRAYA. By Y. Subramania Sarma. Adyatma-prakasa Karyalaya, New Tarugupet, Bangalore City.

INDIA TODAY AND TOMORROW. By Margarata Baras, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London.

ART AND MEDITATION. By Anagarika Govinda. The Allahabad Book Works, Allahabad.

THE COBRAS OF DHERMASHERI. By S. K. Chettur. Higginbothams Ltd. Madras.

CHERA KINGS OF THE SANGAM PERIOD. By K. G. Seshu Aiyar. Luzac & Co.

THE INDIAN WHO'S WHO: 1937-38. Edited by Waman P. Kabadi, Yeshanand & Co., Bombay.

NANARTHA-DIPIKAI. A Tamil Lexicon of Homonyms of Kaviraja Muttuswami Pillai of Tinnevely. Edited with Notes by S. Anavaratavinayakam Pillai, M.A., L.T. University of Madras.

THE BACKGROUND OF SPIRITUAL HEALING. By A. Graham Ikin. Allen and Unwin, London.

Hyderabad

HYDERABAD CABINET

H. E. H. the Nizam has issued a *firman* appointing Nawab Mirza Yar Jung, Chief Justice of the Nizam's High Court, as Judicial Member in the vacancy caused by the death of Nawab Lutfud Dowla Bahadur. The appointment is temporary till the end of 1937 by which time permanent arrangements are expected to be made.

The senior most Judge of the High Court, Nawab Jivan Yar Jung, will act as Chief Justice *vice* Nawab Mirza Yar Jung.

OSMANIA UNIVERSITY IDEALS

Replying to the welcome accorded to him on behalf of the students and staff of the University by Nawab Mehdi Yar Jung Bahadur, Vice-Chancellor, at the University premises, the Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari said:

I only want that this University, with which the name of perhaps the greatest of the Asaffjah Dynasty has been associated, will enable these great dominions to be ruled successfully and in a way which will be a shining example to all other countries around us. I want this institution to produce people and governors who will govern wisely, well and sympathetically a large population, whether ryots in the field, artisans in their petty workshop or capitalists engaging a large number of factory labourers, in a way that will make them feel that capitalism is not synonymous with exploitation.

ROAD TRANSPORT IN HYDERABAD

The policy of Hyderabad State in the matter of road transport is based on two main public requirements: The provision of a network of co-ordinated services throughout the Nizam's Dominions running to time-table and backed by efficient garage organisation and an adequate contribution by taxation towards the maintenance of the roads, which are now improved on more expensive standards to meet the growing needs of motor traffic.

Baroda

BARODA YOUTH CONFERENCE

At the first Baroda State Youth Conference held at Visanagar under the presidentship of Mr. Dinker Mehta of Ahmedabad, the following resolutions were passed:

1. The Conference should work for the social, economic and political uplift of the people.

2. The interests of Indian States, people and of British Indian subjects were identical.

3. Youths should establish their own leagues in every taluka for Khadi Prachar, Swadeshi propaganda, adult education, etc.

4. The Labour should organise for ventilating its grievances; and

5. To work amongst rural masses for improving their conditions.

The next session of the Conference will be held in Baroda.

SCOUT MOVEMENT IN BARODA

Every schoolboy above the age of 12, and every boy scout in the Baroda State is to be trained in fire-extinguishing operations. It is obligatory on every Municipality in the State and on every Panchayat which can afford it to have a fire-engine, and every headmaster is expected to provide to students and scouts training in fire-extinguishing operations.

THE BARODA STATES

It is understood that the Cantonment area of Baroda State, except the portion of the Residency, will be handed to the State shortly.

It is further understood that a scheme of amalgamation of the smaller states around Baroda is being evolved.

Mysore

MYSORE PAPER MILLS

The foundation-stone of the Mysore Paper Mills at Bhadravati was laid by H. H. the Maharajah on April 2.

Bhadravati has already developed as a place of manufacture of iron and steel and is very shortly to commence the manufacture of cement also. "And to-day," said the Maharajah, "I am laying the foundation-stone of a new industry."

I am very glad that this enterprise should be added to the other commercial enterprises which have been developed in the State in the last few years and I sincerely hope that Mysore paper will soon have as high a repute as Mysore steel, Mysore soap and Mysore silk have made for themselves.

MYSORE IRRIGATION PROBLEMS

In a recent radio talk on the development of irrigation projects in Mysore, Dewan Bahadur N. N. Ayyangar, the Chief Engineer, said that the total irrigation revenue in the State was about Rs. 40,00,000 or 27 per cent. of the land revenue.

This revenue was contributed by different sources—major tanks contributed Rs. 16,00,000; minor tanks Rs. 12,00,000; channels Rs. 8,00,000; wells and spring channels Rs. 4,00,000.

All this showed the extreme importance of tanks and channels to the State; they were the very life-blood of the people, the magnificent heritage that had come down to us from our ancestors.

If to-day people set out to build tanks and channels of similar dimensions, the estimated cost would exceed Rs. 30,00,00,000. Mysore had almost reached the limit of irrigation through tanks and their duty in respect of these was mainly to maintain them in efficient condition and improve their capacity wherever possible.

Travancore

UNIVERSITY FOR TRAVANCORE

A Trivandrum University was not a luxury, ornament or frill but a matter of paramount necessity. Practicalisation of education was urgently necessary and they could not afford to wait, said the Dewan Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer in the course of his address, opening the educational conference held in connection with the Silver Jubilee of the Maharaja's College for training teachers. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer added that if the idea that a University for Travancore was necessary was gaining ground, it was not because they in Travancore were of narrow outlook or disdained help or were not painfully conscious that education especially scientific technical education, was also a matter of finance but because of practical consideration. The problem was already serious enough and they could not afford to wait.

ART TRADITION IN TRAVANCORE

The discovery of relics of certain mur paintings by the Travancore Archaeological Department in the Thekkumbadi shrine the Sri Padmanabha Swami Temple Trivandrum, it is stated, more or less establishes the continuity of artistic tradition in Travancore from the 9th century A.D. These relics of mural paintings are considered to belong to the reign of the Travancore King Aditya Var Sarvanganatha, who was a great fourteenth century patron of art and letters.

THE MAHARAJAH'S TOUR

H. H. the Maharajah of Travancore Maharani Setu Parvati Bai, and the Elam Raja, it is understood, will proceed on four to six weeks' holiday tour in Penang and Singapore and Java, Bali and other islands of the Dutch East Indies.

Nepal

NEPAL SILVER JUBILEE

The Kingdom of Nepal has just celebrated an event said to be unique in its history. With imposing ceremonial officers of State, nobles and people gathered in rejoicing over the Silver Jubilee of the reign of their King His Majesty Tribhubhan Vir Vikram Sah Deva.

In his speech at the Jubilee celebrations, His Highness the Maharaja Prime Minister described how Nepal has gone forward in every direction. The country is benefited by the development of land for colonisation and the improvement of industries, mining, agriculture and forestry. New colleges, schools, waterworks, canals, hospitals, a sanatorium, an electrical institution, a ropeway and roads, bridges and railways, the expansion of postal facilities and telephones—all these speak of much achieved and a go ahead frame of mind that will not be content with what has been done.

Bhopal

DRY ICE FACTORY IN BHOPAL

His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal laid the foundation-stone for the first dry ice factory in the State before a distinguished gathering.

This is the third of three new industrial undertakings in the State, the others being the construction of a sugar factory and a textile factory, the foundation-stones of which were also laid by His Highness during the month.

Sir Joseph Bhole, Economic Adviser to the State, said that the object of the new company was to give to consumers a finished product at a price which would take it out of the category of luxuries and place it within the reach of every one.

General

MADRAS STATES

The office of the Agent to the Governor-General, Madras States, has ceased to exist from April 1, with the coming into force of the Government of India Act, and new office of Resident, Madras States, is created. This arises from the constitutional position that under the New Constitution, dealings of Indian States will be with the Crown Representative.

EASTERN STATES AGENCY

Ministers and representatives of about 20 States, belonging to the Eastern States Agency, met in conference at Calcutta last month to discuss the Federal scheme. It appears they favour that the States should accede to the Federation on the basis of the conditions formulated by the Constitutional Committee.

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INDIANS OVERSEAS

South Africa

WITHDRAWAL OF ASIATIC BILLS

General Hertzog has announced the following report of the Select Committee on the subject of the Asiatic Bills:

1. That no further opportunity be given by the Government for discussion of or for legislation in connection with the Select Committee's report on the above-mentioned Bill.

2. That the Government has taken cognisance of the fact that the South African Indian Congress has given the assurance that in order to avoid application of legislative compulsion, it is willing to secure by voluntary action cessation of all employment of the kind to which exception has been specially taken and the Government proposes to accept that offer with the request to the Indian community to ensure that effect be given to this understanding.

3. Meanwhile, the Government unconditionally accepts the assurance given by the Indian Congress as an honourable undertaking to which, it is expected, effect will be given.

SIR SYED RAZA ALI'S STATEMENT

The following statement has been issued by Sir Syed Raza Ali:

Once more General Hertzog has acted as a far-sighted statesman. By his courageous action which has prevented disturbance in the relationship between young South Africa and India, he has followed the noble example set by him in 1926. Mr. Hofmeyr, Minister at present in charge of the Interior, is a really big man. He is a spiritual disciple of Gladstone and hates all injustice. But between him and Gladstonian Liberals, there is a marked difference. The hardships of the latter in connection with Irish question pale into insignificance as compared with the ridicule and scorn to which enlightened and just Whites are subjected by their own people in this country for their befriending the coloured communities. As for the Press, South Africa can justly be proud of it. To its honour, it should be said that it has always placed justice and fair play before expediency.

INDIANS IN THE COLONIES

The disabilities of Indians in the Colonies and the Protectorates of the Empire formed the subject matter of a short notice question by Mr. F. E. James (Madras European) in the Legislative Assembly.

Mr. James asked: "Will the Government be pleased to state whether they will consider the advisability of

(a) authorising their representative at the forthcoming Imperial Conference to enter into direct communication with the Colonial Office of His Majesty's Government regarding the disabilities of Indians in the Colonies and the Protectorates within the British Empire.

(b) Strengthening their representation in Ceylon and Malaya by appointing more senior officers; and

(c) appointing a representative of high standing of the Government of India in Burma after its separation from the Indian Empire?

Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, Secretary Education, Health and Lands Department, replied to all the three questions in the affirmative.

East Africa

NAIROBI ISMAILIANS

The leading followers of His Highness the Aga Khan have recommended sweeping reforms in the Ismailian community.

The proposals include the appointment of women to the Supreme Council, compulsory free education, Western dress for men, simplification of women's dress and ornaments and the establishment of a co-operative bank and an insurance company.

Fiji

FRANCHISE IN FIJI

The Foreign Department of the All-India Congress Committee has released to the Press the following interim statement of Rev. C. F. Andrews on "Indians in Fiji":

I regard the Colonial Office decision, which is a compromise between election and nomination as unsatisfactory.

The earlier Constitution was:

Europeans, 6 elected.

Indians, 3 elected.

Fijians, 3 chiefs chosen from a panel.

Officials, 13.

The new Constitution will be:

Europeans, 5 (3 elected and 2 nominated).

Indians, 5 (3 elected and 2 nominated).

Fijians, 5 (Chiefs chosen from a panel).

Officials 16.

The danger is obvious that the Indian community may become divided.

Two new rights ought to be obtained for which a precedent may be brought forward.

(1) An Indian Member of the Executive.

(2) The opening of the higher grades of the Civil Service to the Indians.

It should be stipulated that the Indian Executive Member should be chosen out of those elected to the Legislature rather than those nominated.

Abyssinia

INDIAN FIRMS IN ABYSSINIA

Great resentment has been felt in India at the closing down of the Mahomed Ali chain of shops in Abyssinia and the expulsion of the Indian employees. The Mahomed Ali stores were famous throughout the territory of the former emperor of Abyssinia. With headquarters in Addis Ababa, they extended to out of the way places and under Indian manage-

ment did useful business. The Italian excuse for closing them, says the *Times of India*, is the alleged tie between the British policy of penetration and the Indian organisation of these stores. This is described in official quarters in London as ridiculous. The Mahomed Ali stores were a purely business organisation and it is ludicrous to describe them as agents of British penetration. What sort of penetration is meant and what good can British penetration of any kind now do in Abyssinia? In some cases, it is alleged, branch managers were British Consular Agents. We do not know whether this is true, but if it is, where lies the offence? The heads of foreign business firms in India sometimes act as Consular Agents, yet no one regards them as a dangerous source of foreign penetration. The truth seems to be that the Italians are determined to clear everybody, of whom they do not approve, out of the country.

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THE CHURCH AND STATE

Dr. Harold J. Laski has some pertinent observations on the future relations between Church and State in England. Writing in a recent number of *Time and Tide*, he points out that on many urgent questions of the day the ethos of the two bodies has become too desperate to be capable of genuine reconciliation. King Edward's abdication and the Archbishop of Canterbury's incredible broadcast have convinced him that the time has come for the revision of the present status.

The Church is the main barrier against a decent divorce law in this country. It is the declared enemy of a really adequate system of national education. It stands in the way of a proper system of birth-control clinics. In all these realms, the beating of the ecclesiastical drum always leads the Cabinet either to make a meagre compromise with the vested interests of the Church or, perhaps more often, to decide that it is better not to legislate at all. The result is that in realms which profoundly affect social happiness, the connection between Church and State is a hindrance to those policies which most intelligent men and women know to be urgent. In any ultimate way, the Church has ceased as an organisation to be a serious social force in the community. Among the masses, its spiritual influence counts for little. On businessmen it has no influence except as a weekly badge of formal respectability. Among the intellectuals it has not, I suggest, been taken seriously for something like a generation and since the war, its power over all classes has diminished rapidly. But like all stagnant institutions, its power for evil remains long after its power for good has disappeared. Its authority now is an unreal authority. It is simply the department of traditional morals in the State. For, the tone and temper of its leaders is one always of diplomatic adjustment of manoeuvre to dominant opinion. In a fighting sense it has no real opinions of its own.

The Church gives no clear lead on vital questions like peace, unemployment, Fascism or Imperialism. Its leaders make

polite gestures and they never appear as a body of thoroughly angry men determined to do battle for a conception of right upon which they are agreed. Most leading Churchmen are really indistinguishable from a body of Civil Servants. Is not the State connection largely responsible for this? The political appointments have made them echoes of the party in power. Witness, he says, the indefensible conduct of the great Archbishops on the question of the King's marriage:

It was not only that they were so patently a violation of most decent men's instinct to refrain from recrimination against a man in misfortune. It was even more the lack of courage they displayed. The time for these reflections, if they had to be made, was before Mrs. Simpson's divorce. Then at least one could have said of the Archbishops that they had the courage of their convictions. But to indulge in a mass of empty platitudes when all was over seems to me a pretty cheap way of making the best of both worlds. It is the way of the court functionary rather than of the great ecclesiastic. It is the symptom not of leadership but of cowardice.

That is what happened to the original Church after its adoption by the Empire. That is what is bound to happen to any Church that seems somehow to reconcile its standards with those of the society around it. On the other hand,

a Church that was independent of the support of civil society could afford to act as its critic. A Church that seeks State support, above all a Church that takes its political opinions from the State, is bound to become simply a branch of the Civil Service. And the Church has its classes just like civil society—an aristocracy, a middle-class, a proletariat. It is always adapting itself to the colour of its protector. It cannot afford—as the Prayer Book controversy showed—the luxury of self-assertion so long as it receives State protection. There is no middle term here or anywhere else between independence and slavery. Self-respect goes only with self-government.

CHANDRAGUPTA MAURYA

Prof. H. C. Seth, of the Amraoti College, offers some interesting speculations on the origin of the Mauryan dynasty in the pages of the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*. He tries to identify Chandragupta with Sasigupta, and if his views are accepted it will need reconstruction of the history of the country during the period. He first makes sure that Chandragupta originally belonged to North-Western India and goes on to argue:

If it be true as Appian suggests that Chandragupta was originally the ruler of the Indus region, is not he the same person as Sasigupta? Chandragupta and Sasigupta are synonyms. It is not an unknown practice in India to substitute synonyms even in names. Sasigupta (or Sisikottos as the Greeks called him) was a remarkable personality west of the Indus, and he played an important part even during Alexander's campaign in India. He was the ruler of some State east of the Hindukush. He went with his forces to Bactria to help the Persians against Alexander. After the Persians were defeated in this last stand of theirs, Sasigupta went over to Alexander. In the region lying between the Hindukush and the Indus Alexander received terrible resistance from the Kshatriya tribe called Assakenois (Asvakas) by the Greeks. They made a last stand at Aornos, an exceptionally strong rock-citadel which commanded the passage to the plains of India from the North-West. Alexander, after he captured this highly strategic position, put it under Sasigupta and then crossed the Indus. Arrian calls Sasigupta as the 'satrap of Assakenois'.

If we take into account the practice that Alexander generally followed of putting in charge of the areas which he conquered the vanquished ruler himself or some one equally influential, we find no difficulty in assuming that Sasigupta either belonged to the ruling dynasty of the area of which Massaga and Aornos were the chief centres or to some other influential ruling family west of the Indus. Obviously this was the only way in which Alexander could get the support of the entirely alien people. He did the same in case of Poros and the King of Takshashilla during his further progress in India. If Chandragupta is identical with Sasigupta, then Chandragupta was left by Alexander in a very advantageous position west of the Indus, whence he started his further conquest of India soon after Alexander's retirement. The neighbouring powers of the Punjab and Sindh were, perhaps, Chandragupta's allies in this venture as suggested by the drama *Mudraraksasa*.

If Chandragupta is identical with Sasigupta, then Chandragupta belonged to the Kshatriya tribe of Asvakas, whose influence

extended from the Hindukush to the eastern Punjab at the time of Alexander. With the Mauryan conquest of other parts of India, Asvakas or Asmakas settled in other parts of India also.

The fact that Chandragupta belonged to the Indus region may help us to give more satisfactory explanation of the origin of the name Maurya, which the dynasty founded by him bore.

In the heart of the country lying between the Hindukush and the Indus, once ruled by the Asvakas, stands even today 'the three-peaked hill called the Koh-i-(mountain) Mor' the Meros of the Greek classics, and perhaps also the Meru of Sanskrit. As Chandragupta belonged to this region, the dynasty founded by him was called Maurya. It may be noted that according to 'the rules of Sanskrit grammar the descendants of Mura should be called Maureya and not Maurya', which name is given to them in all old Sanskrit books.

THE NEW SOCIALISM IN INDIA

The New Constitution for India may or may not succeed, says the *Manchester Guardian*, but all can see the old order has passed away. "A compromise Constitution can only endure if it facilitates the gradual withdrawal of British control.

The nationalists have taught the masses to dream of securing unlimited blessings by the vote. Some think the Indian peasant must always be poor, but others like Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru see that a thorough social and economic revolution is needed.

Young India will try what the new wine of Socialism can do. It will burst many old bottles and the flavour may not be agreeable to the peasant, but desperate evils call for drastic remedial.

One hopes the Governors will not obstruct experiments in Socialism if the Congress finds it possible to let its representatives take office."

SELF-ASSERTION OF THE MASSES

The elections of February 1937 erect a definite landmark in the social history of India, says Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in the April number of the *Modern Review*. The old regime is closed and a new one has dawned. This he proves with the data collected from his experiences in Bihar, a province which he takes as a safe index number in calculating Indian politics. Bihar is in the interior, far away from the intellectuality of cities like Calcutta or Bombay or Madras, and steeped in conservatism. Yet this is the slogan of the masses as they marched to the polling booths:

The landlord says, 'elect me,
I rendered services to you.'
Services forsooth.

Has not his income risen from 22 lakhs to 35?
Whose blood does he suck? Of the cultivator.
From whose labour does he derive wealth?
From ours.

We have no full meals; he rolls in wealth—the
wealth drawn from our misery.

We live in huts, he lives in palace—the palace
built out of our hunger.

For the slightest offence, we are maltreated.
We are not allowed to step at his door.
The landlord is worse than foreign rulers.
Brothers, hell to those who help the landlord.

'Vote, vote for the Congress,' says mother, 'if
thou, O voter, justifiest thy mother's milk—' so
says this mother thine.

'Vote I will for the Congress, my dear mother,
true to your milk.'

'Vote, vote for the Congress,' says your wife,
'if you as husband do respect the red vermilion
in the parting of my hair.'

'Vote I will for the Congress to honour the
vermilion' [wedlock vow].

'Vote I will for the Congress, for the Congress
shall remove the burden of rent which crushes
me and my family.'

Did not he the landlord attempt to kill the
Sadhu [Sahajananda] through hired ruffians—the
Sadhu who espoused the cause of the cultivator?

Down, down with the landlord and tyranny.

This is the substance of various songs
sung by the mass of people in their native

dialects. They voted devoutly for 'the
Congress and saluted the Congress box with
the prayer—*Reduce my rent*.

The Congress has captured the seven
hundred thousand villages. But what is
the inner meaning of their vote?
Mr. Jayaswal declares:

The inner meaning of the fact so overwhelmingly
demonstrated is that the Indian landlord is no
more wanted.

While the Congress leaders have been vacillating
in their decision—many of them are themselves
landlords and most of them do not wish to
abolish the old-age institution of the agrarian
middleman, their principals have decided their
duty for them in the meantime. The situation
is this: that while the Congress will wait for the
day of Swaraj to remove the misery of the real
Indian the cultivator, the cultivator says: *No, do
it at once; do it now*.

The party which will retain the confidence of
the masses must be the party which undertakes
to remove the capitalist from the land, effectively
in spirit if not in form. The Congress or any
other party which strives to possess the allegiance
of the voter will have to create peasant proprietors
in India in the near future. If the Congress fails
in this, Socialists will come in.

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WHAT IS TRUTH?

Mr. G. H. Martyn asks the old, old question, what is truth and shows the inadequacy of all answers. Writing in the *Hindustan Review* for March, he says:

While science has failed to find a short cut to all knowledge and universal truth which will stand the test of experiment, the theologian who had no exact experimental test to conform to, has had no difficulty in discovering absolute truth. The statement "God created and controlled all things" cannot be refuted. "God works in a mysterious way. His wonders to perform" explains all the apparent inconsistencies of actual life as created by a beneficent deity. The explanation of every event is "such is the will of God".

Unfortunately, this all-embracing truth is a complete stultification of human intelligence and can only be accepted in its entirety by the feeble-minded.

Modern science has clearly shown that there can be no single all-embracing truth. Every new instrument of research has only served to reveal still greater complexity in Nature.

Even the apparently simplifying discovery that all matter is made of electricity has vastly added to our knowledge of the complexity of the atom. Instead of an universe made of less than a hundred kinds of balls, we now have to contemplate hundreds of kinds of systems resembling but more complicated than our own solar system.

After analysing the extreme complexity of truth as exemplified in Nature, he concludes with a reference to human problems. Let us imagine, he says, a conversation dealing with four individuals, A, B, C and D.

A says B made a certain statement, C says the statement was a falsehood and D is asked, what is the truth. We must imagine D to be an intellectual superman with an intimate knowledge of A, B, and C. Now D knows that B being an ordinary mortal does not look up in a dictionary the exact meaning of the words he uses in daily life but applies to his words a meaning coloured by his previous experiences and associations of ideas. Further, he does not pay sufficient attention to the suitability of the words he uses to express exactly what is in his mind even with the meaning he attaches to the words.

A applying his own meanings to the words he hears gets a definitely different impression from what was in B's mind. Further in filing away, the memory modifies it slightly and on recalling it for this conversation again modifies it and in addition A does not express his recalled memory exactly.

C in turn puts his own construction on the words A quotes as coming from B, and compares it with the words he remembers B to have said. It will be seen that there is ample room in these various processes for him to think there is a falsehood somewhere, although none was intended.

Unfortunately, if D pointed all this out with sufficient precision long before he had finished his exposition, he would have lost the attention of his hearers.

In short, says the writer, truth is for the technical expert and is to the average person intolerably boring.

INDIA AND THE LEAGUE

India is one of the original members of the League of Nations. She joined the League with 19 others as early as January 1920. Her contribution to the finances of the League exceeds the total of the contributions paid by Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. What has India gained by her membership of the League? Mr. Jatindra Mohan Datta compares her gains with those of the other British Dominions and says in the course of an article in the *Twentieth Century* for March:

At the time of the distribution or allotment of mandates, the Irish Free State was not born and was not a member. Of the other British Dominions, South Africa got mandate over the German South-West Africa an area of over 326,000 sq. miles; New Zealand got mandate over Western Samoa an area of about 115 sq. miles; Australia got a direct mandate over New Guinea an area of 94,000 sq. miles; and a British Empire mandate over the Nauru Islands. All these are "C" class mandates, and as such the mandated territories are administered as the integral part of the mandatory States. India did not get any mandate even over a few square miles to satisfy her national vanity.

Mr. Datta then goes on to say how India has been ignored in regard to the high officers in the different departments of its activities in the League Council and in the permanent Court at the Hague.

The question whether India's association with the League of Nations is profitable to her should thus be critically examined by her publicists. Otherwise India's sacrifices should be in vain.

THREE GREAT MASTERS

Swami Yogananda, writing in his magazine *Inner Culture*, gives an account of three great saints of India. As children are like parents, he says, so disciples tend to resemble their gurus.

My own Master, Sri Yukteswarji, was one of the greatest wise men of India of his time, if not of all times before him. He had such acute intellectual perception as well as intuitive insight that he surpassed every one in being able to detect interpolated errors in the great scriptures of the world.

I saw many Christ-like miracles performed by my Master. Unlike charlatans who claim to have miraculous powers but possess none, Sri Yukteswarji was very conservative and avoided display in anything.

His greatest miracle was accomplished in his resurrection and reappearance to me. Two years ago, he appeared in a vision which I had in America, saying: "I have waited for you 15 years now. Unless you come at once, I will give up my body." So after 15 years, I hurried to India where after a few months, Guru Sri Yukteswarji kept his tryst with immortality. He passed on in Maha Samadhi at Puri on March 9th, 1936.

Lahiri Mahasaya, the Guru-preceptor of Sri Yukteswarji, was a superman. We are told that he was the Yogavatar of India.

No prophet preceding him had accomplished, as he did, the simplification of the entire Yoga system of Patanjali, the greatest exponent of Yoga and of Krishna's teachings in the Bhagavad Gita into a number of the most uncomplicated and greatest self-realisation-producing techniques.

Lahiri Mahasaya was such a perfected resurrected incarnation of God as all true sons of God are. He was in the world married with the responsibility of three children; yet he was a Christ in every way.

And then we have an account of the preceptor of Lahiri Mahasaya himself—the great Babaji. Very little is known of this saint. We hear that he is several hundred years old and looks almost exactly like Lahiri Mahasaya, only much younger in appearance.

Swami Keshabananda of Brindaban, disciple of Lahiri Mahasaya, speaks of meeting Babaji in Badri Narayan Himalayas, India. Swami Keshabananda hinted a message from Babaji to me when I visited Keshabanandaji's hermitage in Brindaban, India. Swami Keshabananda specially urged: "Yogananda, sometime you must see Badri Narayan Himalayas, for there I met Babaji."

THE NOBEL PRIZES

Under the heading "the Betrayal of Nobel", the magazine *Digest* for March gives a condensed version of an article in the French magazine *Le Mois*. Alfred Nobel, the Swedish engineer chemist, amassed a colossal fortune by supplying men with the means of destroying each other. It, therefore, occurred to him that he should do something for humanity with his enormous wealth. Hence his will directing the award of the prizes named after him:

In his will, dated November 27, 1895, Alfred Nobel instituted a fund, the interest of which was to be distributed annually in five equal portions among those who, during the course of the past year, had rendered the greatest service to humanity. The shares were to be distributed in the following manner: "In the domain of physical science, to the one who shall have made the greatest discovery or invention; in the domain of chemical science, to the person who shall have made the greatest discovery or improvement; in the domain of physiology or medicine, to the one who shall have made the most important discovery; in the domain of literature, to the one who shall have produced the most remarkable work of idealistic trend; lastly, the final portion to the person who shall have done the most for the brotherhood of peoples by promoting peace. The Swedish Academy was appointed to award the prizes.

It must be conceded that the Swedish academy has taken great pains over its task.

Five sections under the direction of specialists classify and analyse the work of writers of the entire world in every known language; every three months they make a report to the Swedish academicians, so that the latter's decisions may be based on very wide, very minute and very exact information.

Yet the judgment of the academy is open to question. "Idealism", "beneficial service to humanity" are terms too vague to help practical decision. For a brilliant man of letters need not necessarily be a man who effectively serves humanity. And then

in a little known clause of his will, Alfred Nobel indicated that he wished to bring to light youthful talent and enable it to develop freely by relieving the owner from pecuniary restrictions. This aim has never been attained. The Nobel Prizes have become dedicated to being a sort of supreme award to illustrious men at the end of their careers.

ECONOMIC REALISM

Commenting on the work before the Congress Ministry in the Provinces, assuming that they accept office, the *Mysore Economic Journal* writes:

They (the people in the Provinces) are tired of the halting policy of the previous Ministries and they desire a change which may mean a forward policy. The question of office has two sides: the first is the political and the second, economic. Here in this instance the political will mean the economic, and the economic thus automatically becomes the political. The fight as it is called may go on, but it cannot be gainsaid that it requires aid from the economic side. The need for an active economic development policy is thus supreme today in the provinces of India. If the Congress Provinces lead the way and develop an economic policy which is both popular and sound, then the communalistic provinces cannot lag behind. They are bound to suffer by comparison. Their people are bound to cry out and develop a mentality which is bound to render their governments weak and bring about the resignations of the Ministries concerned. Thus even in the communalistic provinces, the Congress forward economic policy would lead the way and help to obtain for the masses the advantages of a sounder economic system. The need for grasping this important aspect of acceptance of office is thus great.

A forward economic policy may not mean anything more than the evolving of a policy which might help the amelioration of conditions for the masses, the rural masses, the labouring masses in the industrial areas and the urban unemployed.

A policy that might mean some hope for those different classes who are crying for relief should be evolved without delay if the present discontent is to be allayed from each of these quarters. What might help in the solution of this problem is a well-considered policy of economic planning. This phrase need not turn away people from all thought of it. Some feel afraid of it altogether with visions of Soviet Russian horrors of communism and terrors of absolutism. There are plans and plans, and a plan suited to India and her genius is quite possible. There is no reason why such a plan should not be evolved by competent Indians and given effect to in the best interests of the country. There is no turning away from such planning to-day as nationalism means first self-sufficiency and self-respect. If the Congress Provinces take to planning, the communalistic provinces will before long have to follow suit. This would pave the way for inter-provincial action with great benefit to the country.

Thus the Congress if it should accept office should be guided, says the writer, by the requirements of the situation.

Realism should guide its policy if it is to retain even its fighting spirit.

A good policy is bound to make it even more popular and help to maintain its firm hold on the masses and the classes. Such a policy, too, would justify its success and help to its future as well. There may be conditions attached to its action in the strictly political field, but there can be no gainsaying that it will be doing the right thing in setting a high example in political sphere, if in accepting office it made economic development its first plank in any policy of action it might chalk out for itself. That would help the Congress to kill communalism and place patriotism where it ought to be.

LAND TAX IN INDIA

In an exhaustive survey of land taxation in India, Mr. Maneklal Vakil writes in the *Modern Review*:

"Under the India Act of 1935, Provincial Autonomy involves the control of land taxation by a local Legislature and it remains to be seen how the new Provincial Legislatures with Upper and Lower Chambers are going to work the whole question of land revenue in the light of the experiences of the last 100 years or more which have left the peasantry in an utterly impoverished and helpless condition.

The phenomenal fall of world prices since 1929 accentuating the earlier steady fall of agricultural produce since 1920 have made it a very strong case for reduction in land taxation and still the Executive Government of the Provinces chooses to carry on the existing policy of and assessment, leaving it to the Central Government to adopt the remedies of currency and inflation and tariff protection to stop the agrarian discontent from reaching the climax. The juggleries of modern finance have upset all calculations based upon theories and rules of the orthodox economists of the 19th century, and even so the Provincial Finance Member simply tries to carry on without going into the root of the problems of land taxation in India."

THE FUTURE OF RELIGION

Religion has played a very important part in the evolution of human society and human civilisation. But in this age of great intellectual awakening, religion is daily losing its hold on the hearts of the people. There has been of late a great struggle between the human intellect and human faith, and this struggle has been the ruling force in shaping human destiny, observes Mr. Motilal Das in the course of an article in the March number of the *Calcutta Review*. We may retain the old name, but the religion of the future will be fundamentally different from what it is to-day.

This religion, first, will not be a religion of ritualism. Modern man has surely outgrown the spirit of magic awe and wonder from which religious rites and ceremonies evolved. Myths and rituals were things of human childhood and there is hardly any likelihood of their revival. With the growth of philosophy, mankind has discarded idolatry which in its broad sense covers worship of both limited and unlimited deity.

Secondly, there will be no belief in revealed truths. Modern man respects the prophet and the founders of the various religions as great benefactors of mankind, but they are alive to the fact that religion is a product of time and evolution and is not a God-given thing. There are many fundamental differences between the revelations of the different seers and this conclusively proves that revelation cannot be the infallible word of God.

The writer further thinks that the future religion will bid good-bye to all beliefs in supernatural visions and super-rational revelations, nor does he think that the belief in previous or after life will continue. The future religion, according to him, will be a religion of progress.

The future religion will thus be a religion of progress. The ideal of life would be to make the most of this life, forgetting all fond delusions about attainment of God and happiness in after life. But it will not, therefore, be a life of hedonism, but on the other hand a life of strenuous devotion and service. Free from all false fear, free from worry about after life, man will find ample time and energy for serving mankind and dedicating himself for the cause of human progress.

JAPAN FOR A HOLIDAY

A writer in the *India* magazine gives a bewitching account of a holiday tour to Japan.

The sea voyage alone with its fascinating ports of call is interesting and delightful experience unless, of course, you are unfortunate enough to be a bad sailor.

One feels a thrill of adventure as one steams out of Bombay harbour and down the Malabar Coast.

And then the strange, fascinating scenes open before you—Colombo with its tropical luxuriance and lovely coastal scenery, Penang with its first introduction to Chinese and Malayan life and its beautiful hills, Singapore the Clapham junction of the East—then China, Hong Kong, that little gem set in a sapphire sea, and Shanghai—sophisticated, a delight to shoppers—queer mixture of East and West.

And then nineteen hours of sailing through the beautiful inland sea of Japan with its hundreds of islands with picturesque villages on their shore and junks and sampans round their coasts.

And so to Kobe, or if you prefer it, you stay on the ship and disembark at Yokohama.

The scenery of Japan is beyond description—lakes and hills, and coast and rivers and falls are wonderful, and the little artificial landscape gardens are so artistic.

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GERMAN PRISONERS

The *New Republic* gives an amazing list of rules and regulations of the Nazi concentration camps, infringement of which entail severe punishment. According to these rules, prisoners are classified into three categories.

The first group will be released after three months if they have never violated any of the camp regulations or been placed under arrest, have changed their attitude in favor of national socialism, renounced Marxism and made a written list of the names of the leaders of their political group who have not yet been captured. The second group are those who are on a three-month probation to be transferred to the first group. They were previously in the third, which includes all other prisoners but demonstrated by their demeanor and attitude that their protective arrest has brought about the desired results. There is no other way to get out of the third group, and any prisoner who is punished with arrest in the camp is automatically put back into it. He is not, however, told his rating. Of course, this means simply that prisoners can be kept in the camp for ever without any appeal. It is specified that prisoners sentenced to solitary confinement at any time may never expect to be released.

A prisoner is given a number of days of arrest for such offences as

sitting on his bed without permission of his company commander, hanging linen in barrack windows, going on sick leave without reason (the doctor being the sole judge as to whether he is sick) or bawling, crying, or behaving in an unseemly manner (eight days for the last). Arrest means confinement in a cell, sleeping on hard boards and eating bread and water with warm food only once in four days. Other disciplinary measures, which are apparently used at random, are listed as penal drill, corporal punishment, deprivation of mail privileges (two letters a month), deprivation of food, lashings, solitary confinement and tying to a post.

Death penalty is given to an amazing list of offences.

Any prisoner who harangues his fellow-prisoners or delivers inciting speeches to them in the barracks, spreads true or false stories pertaining to the life in the concentration camp, receives or communicates to others such information, induces others to flee or commit any similar crime, refuses to be obedient, or calls upon others to act in a like manner, willfully causes a fire or other damage, . . . is shot or hanged,

PARTIES AND PERSONALITIES

Mr. Patrick Lacey, who was evidently present in the Assembly during its session in September last, has given the result of his study and observation in an article in the March number of the *Nineteenth Century*. Says the writer:

"The Congress Party as a whole retains a cohesion and discipline only rivalled by the official machines opposite it"
". . . . Mr. Jinnah's Independent Party so true to its name that resignations from it are nearly as frequent as its decisions between the ayes and noes."

"He (Mr. M. S. Aney) looks like an unordered bundle of fair linen with a red crown, but he is an astute debater and can speak pungently with great good humour."

"The Government as a team makes a very poor show Strictly speaking it remains a minority Government and is more worried by that fact."

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

THE CRADLE OF THE ARYANS. By Rev. H. HEWES. [The New Review, April 1937.]

THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF MARATHI HISTORY. By G. S. Sardesai, B.A. [The Hindustan Review, March 1937.]

THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE TUGHLUQ SULTANS OF DELHI. By Ishwari Prasad. [The Twentieth Century, March 1937.]

THE EUGENIC BACKGROUND IN INDIA. By Colric Dover. [The Calcutta Review, March 1937.]

WHAT INDIA CAN TEACH THE WORLD. By Robert C. Rankin [Message of the East, Spring Issue.]

THE DIVINE WISDOM OF INDIA. By E. H. Brewster. [The Aryan Path, April 1937.]

ASHRAM IDEALS IN ORDINARY LIFE. By G. V. Job. [The Ashram Review, April 1937.]

HINDU ARCHITECTURE AND ART IN ANGKOR. By C. Jinarajadasa. [Triveni, April 1937.]

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

+

DEPARTMENTAL

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NOTES

Questions of Importance

THE TEMPLE ENTRY QUESTION

The Travancore Temple Entry Proclamation of November last has had a surprising repercussion in the neighbouring state of Cochin. According to a Cochin Order, dated April 17--

Narabudiris who had performed Thanthric rites in the Travancore temples after they were thrown open to Avarnas or who are supposed to have participated in such rites, thereby co-operating with the pro-reform party are forbidden from entering the Kudal Manikkam temple or bathing in the adjoining temple tanks.

The Order has been issued by the Dewan of Cochin in consonance with the wishes of His Highness the Maharaja.

As a sequel to this declaration, the Government of Travancore have issued an Order stating

that no one who is not prepared to act in accordance with the Maharaja of Travancore's temple entry proclamation, and to dissociate himself with the idea underlying the Cochin Government's orders in question, will be deemed to be entitled to any payment or dignity in Travancore State temples.

In this connection, Mr. C. P. Skrine, I.C.S., the Resident, who is the controlling authority over the temple, had an interview with His Highness the Maharajah of Cochin. His Highness explained that the Temple is a trust property, that the Kaimal is in the position of a trustee and that no trustee has the right to deviate from the time-honoured usages of the temple in the performance of *poojas* and other rituals.

His Highness added that nothing was farther from his mind than to do anything that would even remotely cause any tension or strained relations between the two Royal Houses,

ADEN AND INDIA

A new British Colony came into existence on the 1st of April when Aden ceased to be a portion of British India. The new Governor and Commander-in-Chief, Sir Bernard Reilly, performed the inauguration ceremony and read the following Royal message:

On the inauguration of the Colony of Aden, I desire to express to my people of Aden my sincere interest in their welfare.

Aden has been an integral part of the British-Indian Administration for nearly 100 years. That political association with my Indian Empire will now be broken and Aden will take its place in my Colonial Empire, but the ties of commerce and personal association with India will remain and I look forward confidently to Aden continuing to enjoy in future as a colony the prosperity which it has enjoyed in the past.

MUSLIM LEAGUE POLICY

"I must condemn the deliberate attacks made by opponents to misrepresent the policy of the All-India Muslim League," says Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, in the course of a statement to the Press. "It is absolutely untrue," continues Mr. Jinnah,

to suggest that the Muslim League does not stand for the fight for the freedom of the country. If any one cares to read honestly the policy and programme laid down by the League and broadcast repeatedly, he will find that the Muslim League stands for full national self-government for the people of India; but at the same time it considers that there cannot be and will not be any real national government established in this country until the rights and interests of the minorities are protected and safeguarded by honourable settlement. This alone will create a sense of security in them and will win their trust and confidence in the majority rule. The League has stood since the Lucknow Pact of 1916 and stands today for this basic principle.

SUBAS BOSE ON INDIA'S NEED

Replying to a public address presented to him on April 6 at Calcutta, Mr. Subas Chandra Bose said:

Whatever be our solution of any particular Indian problem, there are certain ideas which should be common ground between ourselves. In the first place, we should all realise that the world today is an unified whole and that the fate of India is linked up with that of the rest of the modern world. The strategy and tactics of the Indian movement should, therefore, be determined after a full comprehension of the world situation of today and tomorrow.

Secondly, Imperialism in whichever form it may appear is a menace to liberty of other people and to the peace of the modern world. It may appear in the cloak of democracy as in Western Europe, or in the garb of Fascist Dictatorship as in Central Europe.

But as lovers of freedom and peace, we have to resolutely set our face against it. Thirdly, as against the outside world, India is one unit and the different provinces and the different communities of India should line up under one banner and one policy if we are to bring about the speedy emancipation of our people. Fissiparous tendencies whether of a provincial or communal character should be regarded as the greatest curse for a subject race, and all lovers of freedom should take their stand on a broad socio-economic programme for the emancipation of the masses, which will cut across the provincial and communal divisions.

Fourthly, our strategy should be directed towards laying down and strengthening the basis of a broad anti-imperialist front of workers, peasants and middle class. All anti-imperialist forces in the country under the aegis of the Indian National Congress for effecting the political and economic liberation of our hungry and enslaved millions is the supreme need of the hour.

Last but not least, the method of our struggle should be confined to the limits of non-violent non-co-operation.

MR. NORMAN ANGELL ON COLONIES

"Territorial readjustment or the giving of colonies would not, in fact, meet the difficulty," said Sir Norman Angell in a recent speech. Colonies are not a solution.

I am in favour of Britain giving away her colonies if she gives them to the right people and the right people are those who live there. The only solution to this problem lies in a better organisation of international trade.

DR. TAGORE ON CHINESE CULTURE

Speaking at the opening of the new Chinese Hall at Shantiniketan, Sir Rabindranath Tagore asked:

Can anything be more worthy of being cherished than the beautiful spirit of the Chinese culture that has made the people love material things without the strain of greed, that has made them love the things of this earth and clothed them with tender grace without turning them materialistic? They have instinctively grasped the secret of the rhythm of things—not the secret of power that is in science but the secret of expression. This is a great gift; for God alone knows this secret. I envy them this gift and wish our people could desire it with them.

SARAT BOSE'S APPEAL

Presiding over the recent Session of the Political Prisoners' Relief Conference at Delhi, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose said:

I will ask you to remember hundreds and thousands of our young countrymen who have suffered during the last three decades and sacrificed their all in the cause which is as much ours as it was theirs. I ask you to remember every day and every moment of your life that there are thousands still who are suffering silently in brave endurance in British jails and detention camps. If you have really any respect for the cause which the Congress has taken up on your behalf, you cannot but have respect for those who are the stoutest pillars in support of that cause. Remember if those who have been suffering for years perish, the cause of India's freedom will perish with them.

C. R. ON THE FUTURE

Addressing a largely attended meeting at Madras on the recent political developments in the country, Sjt. C. Rajagopalachari, Leader of the Congress Party in Madras, said:

Things cannot go on in this fashion. Sooner or later, responsibility must devolve on the people's men for running the administration of the province. Let Congressmen and their supporters prepare themselves for that task. If Congressmen should shoulder that task adequately and efficiently, they should maintain mutual trust and the Congress organisations should be strengthened more and more.

THE NEW ACT

The following is His Majesty the King-Emperor's message to India published on 1st April, 1937:

To-day the first part of those constitutional reforms upon which Indians and British alike have bestowed so much thought and work comes into operation. I cannot let the day pass without assuring my Indian subjects that my thoughts and good wishes are with them on this occasion.

A new chapter is thus opening and it is my fervent hope and prayer that the opportunities now available to them will be used wisely and generously for the lasting benefit of all my Indian people.

NEW PORTFOLIO

A *communiqué* announces the redistribution of portfolios in the Government of India. The main features of redistribution are as follows:

The portfolio of Communications, which it is intended to assign to Sir Thomas Stewart, will include railways, post and telegraphs, aviation, roads, broadcasting, and ports and cognate subjects.

The Industries and Labour portfolio comprising the majority of subjects dealt with in the Industries and Labour Department with practically all subjects other than ports now coming under the Commerce Department, will be designated the portfolio of Commerce and Labour and will be assigned to Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan.

SECRETARY OF STATE'S ADVISERS

The Secretary of State for India has decided to appoint the following to be his advisers under Section 278 of the Government of India Act:

Sir Denys Bray, Sir Henry Strakosch, Sir Reginald Glancy, Sir Abdul Qadir, Sir Alan Parsons, Mr. Mohan Singh, Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Sir Horace Williamson and Sir J. M. Clay.

Of the above, Sir Denys Bray will, it is understood, hold office until 1st August, and Sir Joseph Clay's appointment will take effect from that date.

THE FLAG INCIDENT

Feelings ran high in the Legislative Assembly when the adjournment motion of Mr. Asaf Ali to discuss a matter of urgent public importance, namely, "the rough handling of a respectable Congress woman by two European policemen and deliberately insulting the National Flag on the anti-Constitution Day was taken up. There was a heated debate in the course of which Messrs. Asaf Ali, Aney, Amarendra Chatterjee, Bhulabhai Desai, Shaikat Ali and others condemned the acts of the Police. Sir Cowasji Jehangir said that he could not escape the weight of the evidence produced by Mr. Asaf Ali that in the presence of the Superintendent of Police, the Flag was trampled down and if for no other reason that such incidents should be avoided in the interests of Indo-British co-operation, he wanted the Government to take the officer to task.

Sardar Sant Singh, by way of interruption, informed the House that the officer concerned was Mr. Scott, who was connected with the attack on Lala Lajpat Rai and who was present in the officers' box. The motion was carried by 61 votes to 40.

THE SEPARATION OF BURMA

The separation of Burma has been followed up in London with the appointment of Mr. D. T. Monteith, Assistant Secretary, India Office, as Assistant Under-Secretary of State for Burma. It is also announced that the office of the Secretary of State for Burma will be accommodated in the same building as the India Office. Lord Zetland will combine the offices of Secretary of State for India and Secretary of State for Burma.

FEDERAL UNIVERSITY SCHEME

Referring to the scheme for the development of the Delhi University into one of a federal type, Rai Bahadur Ram Kishore, Vice-Chancellor, in his address at the 15th Convocation of the Delhi University, said that it had not yet taken its final shape as they had been waiting for the decision of the Government of India on the extent of the financial assistance which may be available to the University and the affiliated Colleges for carrying out the plans.

Speaking at the same Convocation, the Hon. Kunwar Sir Jagdish Prasad gave the assurance that the Government would examine with great care the report on the financial implications of the removal of the University and the Colleges affiliated to it to the new site. More than this he could not say; for the Government had to-day its own embarrassments.

RELIEF OF EDUCATED UNEMPLOYED

The scheme for the training of selected students in different branches of trade, industry and commerce, proposed to be initiated by the University of Calcutta in co-operation with the business houses of the city, was approved by the University Senate.

The Senate authorised the Syndicate to take necessary action in the matter of the establishment of an Appointment Board, as outlined in the scheme, and sanctioned an expenditure of Rs. 86,000 out of the reserve fund for the purpose.

SETH JAMNALAL'S DONATION

Seth Jamnalal Bajaj has donated Rs. 16,000 to the Jamia Millia National Muslim University of Delhi.

DR. URQUHART

The numerous farewells that have been accorded to Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart are a sign of the honoured place they have occupied in the public life of Calcutta. Dr. Urquhart, observes "Ditcher" in *Capital*, "is in fact in the hierarchy of great educationalists who have helped to make modern Bengal, and he has worthily carried on the traditions of men like Duff and Hare, who first brought Western learning to this part of India. His thirty-five years' work at the Scottish Church College will endure and he leaves behind him literally thousands of grateful pupils from middle-aged men of affairs down to young first year students, who will remember with pride their contacts with this kindly scholar."

THE ANDHRA UNIVERSITY

The Maharaja of Jeypore was installed as Pro-Chancellor of the Andhra University in succession to the Raja of Bobbili at a convocation of the University recently.

The Vice-Chancellor said that next to the Government, the Maharaja had been the greatest patron of the University.

DR. G. R. PRADHAN

Mr. G. R. Pradhan, of the Servants of India Society, has been awarded the Ph. D. degree by the Bombay University for his thesis on "Untouchables in Bombay".

BIHAR RAJA'S MUNIFICENCE

Raja Devakinandan Prasad Singh of Monghyr has given a donation of Rs. 10,000 to the Tej Narayan Jubilee College, Bhagalpur.

HIGH COURT JUDGES ORDER

The Government of India High Court Judges Order provides for the maximum number of Judges, expenses for equipment and voyage, salaries, leave, passages, pensions, travelling allowance, etc.

The number of Judges fixed in the various High Courts is as follows:

Madras 15; Bombay 13; Calcutta 19; Allahabad 12; Lahore 15; Patna 11; Nagpur 7, and Oudh 5; Court of the Judicial Commissioner of Sind, 5; and North-West Frontier Province, two Assistant Judicial Commissioners.

The salaries per annum of Judges have been fixed as follows:

The Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, Rs. 72,000.

The Chief Justices of the Madras, Bombay, Allahabad, Patna and Lahore High Courts, Rs. 60,000.

The Chief Justice of the Nagpur High Court, Rs. 50,000.

Judges of the Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Allahabad, Patna and Lahore High Courts and the Chief Judge of the Chief Court of Oudh, Rs. 48,000.

Judges of the Chief Court of Oudh and the Judicial Commissioner, Sind, Rs. 42,000.

Judges of the Nagpur High Court, Rs. 40,000.

Judicial Commissioner, Frontier Province, Rs. 39,000.

Assistant Judicial Commissioner, Sind, or North-West Frontier Province Rs. 36,000.

The Letters Patent constituting the office of the Crown Representative states that he will exercise such functions, powers and duties in relation to Indian States as exercised by the Governor-General. The person who is for the time being the Governor-General, shall be also the Crown Representative.

BOMBAY HIGH COURT'S ORDER

A full Bench of the High Court consisting of the Chief Justice and Justices Blackwell and Wassooddev at the High Court allowed the appeal of *Janmabhumi*, a Gujarati evening paper of Bombay, against the order of the Government, dated November 27, 1936, requiring two securities of Rs. 3,000 each from Shantilal Lalchand Joshi as keeper of the Press and printer and publisher of the paper. The order was under Section 3 (3) of the Indian Press (Emergency) Act in respect of an article written in the paper in its issue, dated November 12, criticising the inaction of Government in connection with the communal riots then prevailing in the city. Their Lordships held that though the article was strongly worded, it did not tend to excite disaffection, hatred or contempt towards the Government. The Court, therefore, allowed the appeal and directed the Rs. 6,000, deposited by the paper to be refunded.

MR. JUSTICE MITTER

A full court assembled in the courtroom of the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, when the Bar Association presented Mr. Justice D. N. Mitter with a farewell address.

Mr. N. K. Basu, President of the Bar Association, read the address which was enclosed in a silver casket.

The Chief Justice, Sir Harold Derbyshire, addressing Mr. Justice Mitter, said that to his high office he had brought ripe experience, great learning and a pleasant disposition which endeared him to his colleagues on the Bench and to the Members of the Bar. The Chief Justice wished Mr. Justice Mitter many years of full life and great happiness.

INDIAN INSURANCE

Among the various forms of Insurance, writes Mr. D. C. Das in the *Insurance Herald*, Life Assurance business alone at present has made progress to an appreciable extent. "In this country, it was not until 1906 that many Indian Life Assurance Companies were established and from that year onwards the Life branch of Insurance business has recorded a rapid march rather at a breakneck rate. But with a few solitary exceptions, the Indian Companies up till now have so far failed to discharge one of their most important functions of administering their funds towards industrial advancement.

In all other departments of Insurance business, Indian Companies have made no headway. Amongst those offices which are doing Fire, Marine and other Casualty Insurance business in India, it is interesting to note that not more than 15 are Indian, and not less than 115 are under the management of non-Indians. Excepting Fire and Marine, other forms of Insurance, viz., Motor, Accident, Fidelity and various other kinds have also come in the business field, of which the foreign offices are the pioneers. All these facts as well as other figures make it clear that quite a substantial amount of India's money goes outside the country simply by way of Insurance premiums. It is as much to the interests of the indigenous companies as that of the outlandish ones to look to the improvement of the economical condition of the country, which can only be fostered by administering their funds to the building up of new industries and helping the deserving industrial undertakings by their financial support, which is congenial to national welfare."

THE ALLIANZ SCHOLARSHIP

The scholarship annually placed by the Allianz and Stuttgarter Life Insurance Bank Limited at the disposal of India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie, Munich, in connection with the Deutsche Akademische Austauschdienst, Berlin, will be awarded to an Indian post-graduate student for the academic year of 1937-38, who wants to proceed to Germany for higher studies in economics. The scholarship consists of 500 marks payable in ten monthly instalments of 50 marks each tenable for one academic year.

SUN LIFE COMPANY

The 1936 statement of the Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada shows an increase in assets for the year of over £14,000,000. The total assurances in force show an increase over 1935 and new business for the year was well maintained at over £45,000,000.

A RECORD CAREER

Forty years' connection with one company is a proud record. In acknowledgment of such service, Mr. E. F. Allum of the Empire of India Life Assurance Co., Ltd., was felicitated by Mr. J. M. Cooper, organising Inspector of the Company, on behalf of himself and the branch secretaries recently at a function held in Bombay.

THE ORIENTAL

It is announced that the amount of New Life Assurance business written by the Oriental last year was: 56,296 Policies Assuring Rs. 10,26,30,496 as compared with 48,858 Policies Assuring Rs. 8,89,89,149 in 1935—an increase of 7,438 Policies Assuring Rs. 1,36,41,347.

MR. KHAITAN ON INDUSTRIALISATION

Presiding over a meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry at New Delhi, Mr. D. P. Khaitan condemned the reactionary policy of the Government in regard to industrialisation of the country and the primary concern of the Finance Member as revealed in the Budget Speech for the encouragement of imports.

Mr. Khaitan said that the emphasis sought to be put by the Government on agricultural development and the artificial antithesis between agricultural and industrial interests was inspired not so much by an anxiety to assist agricultural development as to restrict industrial progress. Mr. Khaitan pleaded for a vigorous policy of industrialisation and a closer parallelism between the expansion of agricultural produce on the one hand and the development of means for its consumption on the other.

The Federation passed resolutions relating to the Indo-British trade negotiations, the Income-Tax Inquiry Committee's report and coastal shipping.

In regard to the Indo-British trade treaty, the Federation *inter alia* stated that the pact would not be acceptable to the country, unless it offered substantially better terms to India for the development of its export trade. Further it was urged that the treaty should secure definite markets in the United Kingdom for important materials and products of India. As regards the Income-tax Inquiry Committee's report, the Conference described it as being conceived with the narrow outlook of obtaining as much revenue as possible without any regard to the welfare of trade and industry.

TRADE PACT WITH JAPAN

Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai, who acted as leader of the non-official delegation invited by the Government at Simla last autumn, interviewed regarding the Indo-Japanese Trade Agreement, said that the terms were materially different from the unanimous recommendations made by the non-official advisers.

He conceded that the Government had tried to meet non-official view to some extent by raising the duties on artificial silk piece-goods, but the main point at issue was not so much assistance to a particular industry as the psychological effect the agreement would create. It would render any further agreement far more difficult. There were, he said, certain factors which should have helped the Government in securing what the non-official advisers had advocated as the minimum requirements of the situation. These were, first, that short staple cotton which was at a considerable discount in 1933 was practically at par with Broach cotton; imports from Japan had advanced by 50 per cent. without India gaining any advantage, the favourable balance of trade of Rs. 7 crores which India used to enjoy up to 1933 had now disappeared.

THE SUGAR CONFERENCE

Representatives of 22 sugar-producing countries attended the International Sugar Conference, which opened in London last month, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald presiding. Italy declined the invitation to attend.

Mr. MacDonald, in his inaugural address, suggested that the Conference should seek to secure an international agreement for the maintenance of a reasonable balance between supply and demand.

ALL-INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

Presiding at a meeting of the All-India Women's Conference at Delhi, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu replied to the criticism that the Conference was a non-political organisation. Mrs. Naidu explained it had been constituted so in order to enable woman relations of Government servants and other social workers to join it. She was, however, confident that with the efflux of time, the sphere of activities of the Conference would widen.

Proceeding, she said that if they had no political programme before them, it did not mean that they were keeping themselves detached from other important problems facing the country. She pointed out that when the question of women franchise was being discussed, the Conference sent a deputation to the Round Table Conference to fight their cause. She felt particularly gratified that their organisation was above communalism or class prejudices.

Mrs. Naidu then eulogised the services rendered by Mrs. Asaf Ali in the cause of Indian womanhood and concluded by saying that the prosperity of the country depended largely upon the status of women.

THE DUCHESS OF BEDFORD

The Duchess of Bedford, whose death at the age of 71, while on a solo flight is now presumed, was chiefly known to the public as an airwoman who had taken two record flights as a passenger, but she was also an expert radiographer and made a hobby of surgical work. Her other great interest was natural history, especially ornithology. She was a skilful angler and an excellent game shot.

WOMEN IN MINES

The following Circular has been issued to all Mine managers by the Department of India through the Inspector of Mines, Dhanbad:

1. On or after July 1, 1937, no woman shall be permitted to enter for purposes of employment, or be employed, in the underground workings of any mine. Underground working means any part of a mine situated beneath the superjacent ground and includes vertical shafts provided for access to, or for ventilation of such part, but does not include tunnels made and used only for convenience in disposing of spoil.

2. Regulation I. shall not apply to women employed in health and welfare services.

3. No woman shall be permitted to enter or remain in the underground workings of any mine unless she is in possession of a pass granted by the manager of the mine.

4. Before a woman enters a mine with a pass granted under Regulation III, her name, address and occupation shall be entered in a register maintained for the purpose at the surface of the mine, and her exit from the mine shall also be recorded in that register.

Provided that in any mine to which Sub-Section (4) of Section 28 of the Indian Mines Act 1923 (IV of 1923) has been declared to be applicable, the entries required by this Regulation may be made in the register prescribed by the Sub-Section.

WOMEN'S CONFERENCE IN MADRAS

Presiding at a Women's Conference held under the auspices of the All-India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Mrs. Kasturibai Gandhi stated that Hindi was the only language which could convey a message of unity to the Indian masses.

Mrs. Lilavathi Munshi said that if both men and women would make a determination to wipe out illiteracy once for all, the problem could be easily solved within 10 years.

Miss INDIRA NEHRU

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru's daughter, Miss Indira Nehru, recently appeared for the Entrance Examination of the Summerville College, Oxford, and is likely to join the Oxford University in October next.

THE LATE DR. WINTERNITZ

The death of Dr. Moriz Winternitz, the well known Indologist of the Prague University, is a distinct loss to Oriental studies. Winternitz, by his learning and researches, easily took his place among the savants of Europe. A student of the celebrated Dr. Buehler, he was the author of many important works dealing with various phases of Sanskrit texts, of which his "History of Indian literature" ranks among the great constructive achievements of recent Indologists. Dr. Winternitz also helped Prof. Max Muller in preparing his great work on the *Rig Veda*. Alike in his love of this country and his great admiration for the culture and civilisation of the Orient, he takes rank with the illustrious Max Muller.

"THE TAMIL NESAN"

After 17 years of pioneering work in Vernacular and English journalism in F. M. S., Mr. Narasimha Iyengar has just succeeded in bringing out a daily edition of his paper the "Tamil Nesan" together with its weekly and other special editions containing several news features and telegraphic services. His Tamil newspaper is the only daily paper and also the oldest among the few published Indian papers in F. M. S. This will doubtless bring the F. M. S. with the Mother Country in closer contact and we wish him every success in his enterprise.

HINDI HINDUSTANI

The following resolution moved by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari was adopted by the All-India Sahitya Sammelan at its meeting in Madras in the closing week of March last.

This Sammelan recommends to the Working Committee of the Congress to lay down that proceedings of the Congress should be conducted only in Hindi Hindustani, but that where a person cannot make himself understood in Hindi Hindustani, he should be permitted by the President to use English. It may, of course, be open to that member to speak in his own mother-tongue and have it explained in English.

PHILOSOPHY OF RAMAKRISHNA

In the All-India Burma Ceylon thesis competition touching the Ramakrishna centenary celebrations, Mr. N. R. Kedari Rao, of the Presidency College, Madras, has been awarded one of the five prizes for his essay on "The philosophy of Ramakrishna Paramahansa".

RAJA RAMPAL SINGH

There is wide-spread regret at the death of Raja Rampal Singh at Lucknow at the ripe old age of 70.

The Raja was a prominent politician, educationist and businessman. He began his political career as the first non-official Chairman of the Rae Bareilly District Board. He was a member of the U. P. Governor's Council in 1909-1916, member of the Viceroy's Council 1916-1920 and was a member of the Council of State from 1920-1935, when he resigned owing to illness. He was also on the Royal Commission on Agriculture.

Raja Rampal Singh twice presided over the Hindu Mahasabha and had the rare distinction of being four times President of the British Indian Association. He was Chairman of the Reception Committee of the last All-India Liberal Federation held at Lucknow.

LATE SIR J. KOTHARI'S BEQUESTS

Sir Jehangir Kothari, who died at Trieste in 1934, left personal estate in England valued at £33,000. He bequeathed Rs. 25,000 to the executors as a fund for feeding and clothing destitute Parsis of Karachi; Rs. 5,000 to the Hiranand Leper Assylum and, subject to a few personal bequests, the residue of his property, including his fortune in India, for the benefit of orphans and orphanages.

MR. STANLEY BALDWIN

Mr. Stanley Baldwin, the British Premier, has decided to retire on May 22nd. It is understood that the Government will continue in its 'National' form. Mr. Baldwin will be succeeded by Mr. Neville Chamberlain "the boy apprentice".

SIR SULTAN AHMED

Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, has been placed on special duty under the Government of India from the 10th April. Sir Sayid Sultan Ahmed has been appointed to fill the vacancy temporarily.

MR. L. R. LUMLEY

His Majesty the King has been graciously pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. Lawrence Roger Lumley, at present member of Parliament for York, to succeed Lord Brabourne as Governor of Bombay.

ASPIRIN AND HEART DISEASE

The steady increase in deaths from heart disease since 1900 may in part be due to the free use of drugs derived from coal tar, is the opinion of Dr. H. C. Temple, writing in the *Ohio State Medical Journal*. He lays special stress on acetylsalicylic acid, which has an enormous sale under the trade name of aspirin. It may be obtained not only in drug stores but at news stands and stationery shops. People use it as a remedy for headaches and pains of all sorts. It belongs to the same group of coal-tar derivatives as acetanilid, antipyrin, acetophenetidin and other well known heart depressants.

The physiologic action of any of this general class of drugs is to reduce arterial tension and weaken the contractility or elasticity of the muscular fibres of the heart. By the continuous use of aspirin, the heart muscles become soft and flabby, the heart valves relax and lose their power to perform their normal function properly and by degrees the blood begins to regurgitate with each heart pulsation back into the blood vessels, thus gradually resulting in a valvular heart lesion. Once this is established, it is never cured but continues to grow worse and worse until death results.

MALARIA HAVOC IN BENGAL

Nearly 400,000 people die annually from malaria in Bengal, said Lt.-Col. A. C. Chatterjee, I.M.S., Director of Public Health, Bengal, and Basanta Lecturer, Calcutta University, addressing a meeting in the Darbhanga Library Hall at which Sir Nilratan Sircar presided.

Lt.-Col. Chatterjee remarked that if sufficient reliable data were available, it would probably reveal that there were 30 to 40 million cases of malaria a year.

Malaria, he said, was spreading alarmingly in the formerly healthy eastern and southern parts of Bengal, and the seriousness of the tremendous drain upon national wealth due to sickness was not properly appreciated. Economically, deaths did not represent so great a loss as the immense drain represented by a large number of people incapacitated for long periods year after year.

CURE FOR SENILITY

Old age can be postponed from ten to fifteen years by eating a diet containing larger calcium, correct amounts of protein, vitamin A and vitamin G. This claim was made by Dr. Henry C. Shermann, Professor of Chemistry, Columbia University, in a report made to the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

His conclusions were based on experiments made with rats. The studies were conducted on rats because the chemistry of rat nutrition is so much like that of human nutrition that the data obtained does not need to be discounted when applied to human beings.

Interpreted in terms of human life, Dr. Shermann said that the gain the rats made was equivalent to extending the span of human life from 70 to 77 years. The period known as the 'prime of life' was extended even more in proportion. Signs of senility that would appear in normal individuals on an adequate diet at 65 years of age would be postponed by the optimum diet to 75 or 80 years.

THE WORSHIP OF HEALTH

"If the vital movement which we call rural reconstruction is ever to become a living force in this land, it must have behind it just that motive, that impelling power which finds its physical expression in the modern athlete—the worship of health," declared His Excellency Sir Hyde Gowan at the opening of the Lala Baijnath Memorial Child Welfare Centre at Betul last month.

To his mind, continued the Governor, the impulse which lay behind the child welfare movement had to be looked upon as an initial and essential part of a far wider movement.

RECREATION FOR PRISONERS

The U. P. Government have sanctioned a proposal of the Inspector-General of Prisons that recreation in the form of football, basket-ball, volley-ball, tug-of-war and kabaddi should be introduced as an experimental measure in a selected central jail. If the experiment succeeds, it can be extended.

IMPROVEMENT IN REVENUES

An improvement of approximately Rs. 50,00,000 over the revised estimates is shown by the returns of actual revenue under the main heads of Customs and Excise for the fiscal year ending March, 1937.

The figures for the final month of March separately now available show that the improvement is not confined to particular items but is spread over all the items in the Customs list.

After allowing for the transfer of half the jute duty, it seems probable that the Budget deficit for 1936-37 will be less than anticipated by between Rs. 30 and 40 lakhs.

The optimism with which the year closed has been strengthened by the fact that the March figures confirm the progressive upward trend in the returns, which first became apparent in December after successive declines month after month during the first eight months of 1936-37.

Money in circulation continues about 25 per cent. higher than during the corresponding period of last year, including approximately Rs. 7 crores increase in silver circulation during the past six months.

PROFITS OF SOME BANKS

The Imperial Bank of India reports a profit of Rs. 72,87,331 for the year 1936 against Rs. 80,42,584 in 1935 and Rs. 85,28,265 in 1934. The Central Bank of India has earned profits for 1936 of Rs. 22,01,802 against Rs. 19,83,918 in 1935 and Rs. 23,84,692 in 1934, and the Bank of India Rs. 20,63,182 in 1936 against Rs. 18,62,016 in 1935 and Rs. 17,64,660 in 1934. The Punjab National Bank reports lower profits for the year 1936 than those of the previous year.

A glance at the few balance sheets published show that banking conditions have improved generally. In spite of the fact that there have been numerous capital issues, deposits have improved.

THE RESERVE BANK

At a meeting of the Directors of the Reserve Bank of India held at New Delhi on April 3, Sir James Taylor was appointed Managing-Governor of the Reserve Bank.

AN UNDERGROUND RAILWAY PROBLEM

The noise problem on London's underground railways has baffled the experts for many years and until recently any improvements effected were comparatively small. Now, however, by various methods it has been found possible to eliminate as much as 80 per cent. of the noise in the tunnels, and it is hoped to improve on this still further in the near future.

From time to time, says a writer in *Capital*, various kinds of mattresses have been fixed inside the tunnels in such a manner as to absorb noise from the trains as they pass. One of the earliest types was a mattress of sea grass, which was fixed by wire in such a manner as to form a continuous strip some 6 ft. wide along each side of the tunnel.

It was found that a considerable amount of noise was caused by the train wheels passing over the innumerable small gaps between the sections of rail, and attention was therefore turned in this direction. The maximum length of rail which it was found convenient to handle in the tunnels was 42 ft., but when this length was extended to 90 ft., the noise was very markedly reduced.

The next step then was to employ rails in 90 ft. lengths and weld them together in position by means of portable plant. Special apparatus for removing dents from the rails and leaving them smooth was devised, so that at this stage some 60 per cent. of the noise in the tunnel had been eliminated.

NIZAM'S RAILWAYS

The Hyderabad Railway Board have sanctioned Rs. 2,30,00,000 for the construction of a new broad gauge railway line connecting Purli, Bir and Aurangabad and the changing of the existing metre gauge line between Aurangabad and Manmad into broad gauge. The object of the change is to have direct broad gauge connexion via Manmad with Northern India stations.

It is also understood that a new metre gauge line between Nander and Adilabad will be constructed with the materials removed from the Aurangabad-Manmad section of the present metre gauge line.

CAPT. GLADSTONE SOLOMON

On the eve of his retirement, Capt. Gladstone Solomon, Director of the Sir J. J. School of Art, Bombay, was entertained at a great farewell gathering. Valedictory speeches were made extolling his services and emphasising the love his pupils bore towards him. Capt. Gladstone Solomon made a felicitous speech. "I shall never forget the Bombay School of Art. I am," he concluded, "proud of you. I have never doubted your capacities, not even when the School was clouded by sinister forces." All that they needed was organised cohesion, the freedom and facilities for every tried method, Eastern and Western, of tuition in art and the maximum of opportunity for employment of Indian artists. The School of Art was only their means, not their end. They were not to worry what others said about styles, schools, old or new, modern or ancient. They were to adopt and perfect whatever method suited their temperament, their social purpose.

Kumari Mistry presented on behalf of the students a beautifully carved silver casket to Capt. Gladstone Solomon.

BUST OF MAHARAJA TAGORE

A bronze bust of Maharaja Bahadur Sir Jatindra Mohan Tagore presented by his grandson, Mr. Jaladhi Mukerjee, to the University of Calcutta, was unveiled by Mr. Shyama Prosad Mookerjee, Vice-Chancellor, in the east hall of the Senate House.

The Vice-Chancellor said that the Maharaja had lived in Bengal during a generation which was now long past, but his memory still lived among his grateful countrymen. He had been a member of the Senate and President of the Faculty of Arts, also a great patron of learning and culture, and Bengali literature owed a great debt to the patronage it had received at his hands.

MR. UDAY SHANKAR

Uday Shankar is going to abandon his world tour after his last visit to America next season and establish in Benares an All-India Centre of Indian Arts. This was revealed by the great Indian dancer just before he gave his farewell performance at New York.

SWIMMING RECORD

Ragnhild Hveger at Copenhagen, on March 5, beat the women's world swimming record for the 300 metres free-style, held by Miss Denouden of Holland with 8 minutes 50 4-10 seconds, doing it in 3 min. 50 1-10 sec. And two days later at the same place Martha Genenger of Germany established a new world record by doing the 400 metres breast stroke in 6 minutes 19 2-10 seconds thus beating the previous record held by Hidiko Mayehata, of 6 minutes 21 8-10 seconds established on October 1, 1933.

INTER-UNIVERSITY BOAT RACE

Oxford has won the Inter-University boat race by about two lengths.

Cambridge won the toss and chose Surrey-side, and after one false start, the crews were off at 11-32. An even struggle ensued, wherein neither crew allowed the other to gain any serious lead. It was only 300 yards from the finish that Oxford forged ahead to win by three lengths in 22 minutes, 39 seconds.

CRICKET CLUB OF INDIA

The Committee of Cricket Club of India have decided to limit membership to 2,000. There are already 1,600 members in the books of the Club, and the balance will be made up of 100 life-members and 300 ordinary members after which no further applications will be entertained unless vacancies occur.

BRITISH WOMEN'S HOCKEY TEAM

An All-British women's hockey team will, it is understood, visit Australia this year to compete in the Brisbane hockey carnival—an important event in the southern hemisphere.

HIGH JUMP RECORD

Miss Una Lyons, a 15-year-old Karachi school girl, established an All-India Women's high jump record by clearing 4 feet 9½ inches at the annual meet of the Karachi Grammar School recently.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

The Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, Calcutta, made an award of the Joy Kissen Mukerjee Medal to Sir John Russell, who later addressed the Association on methods in scientific research.

After differentiating between science and art and referring to the distinction between pure science and applied science, Sir John Russell said that the great contribution of the 20th century had been the improvement of observations and detailed study of errors. Scientific instruments had been improved out of recognition. The wonderful instruments designed by Sir J. C. Bose would have been quite impossible 60 years ago. The fine work done by Sir C. V. Raman would have been equally impossible then.

X-RAY AND FRUITS

An X-Ray machine built to see into the heart of an orange is being tested by the California Fruit Growers' Exchange.

At the rate of 22,500 oranges an hour—one-quarter of a car-load—the machine carries the fruit on travelling belts before two fluoroscopes, where operators examine the core of the fruit. A touch of a lever discards imperfect oranges while the others are carried on to boxes.

The machine, it is said, will make unnecessary the present practice in some packing plants of throwing out entire lots of oranges when a few samples are found to be faulty.

THE FAR OFF STAR

Dr. Albert Einstein has again presented a new puzzle to scientists by his mathematical jugglery.

By an abstruse formula, he has shown that if an observer views two stars, one much further away than the other but both in the same line of sight, the bending of light around the near star makes the far star appear as a luminous ring.

Actually no telescope now in use is powerful enough to bring out this halo, and the phenomena, if ever observed at all, will appear simply as an increase in the brightness of the far star.

TELEVISION CINEMA

The first big public demonstration of television on a big screen was given in London before an audience of 3,000 at the Dominion Theatre recently. The television programme was given during the ordinary film shows on a screen measuring about eight feet to six feet. After the fade-out of the last film, the head and shoulders of a man appeared on the television screen. It was explained that the broadcast was being given from a studio in another part of the building. The reproduction was effected by land line on to the screen. A second later, Mr. George Lansbury's head and shoulders appeared on the screen. Mr. Lansbury expressed the hope that the new science would never be used for the purpose of warfare. A comic act followed, and then Mr. J. L. Baird himself, inventor of the system in use, appeared on the screen. The performance was quite impressive and the great possibilities of television as an entertainment were clearly shown.

CORONATION FILMS

The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Earl Marshal (the Duke of Norfolk) are to act as censors for the Coronation films, which are to be taken in Westminster Abbey during the ceremony.

On the afternoon of Coronation Day, the Archbishop and the Earl Marshal will go to one of the West End news-reel theatres and at a private showing, will carefully view all the Coronation films.

Before permission was granted to the companies to make a permanent record of the Coronation, the proviso of a censorship was clearly established.

WORLD FILM EXHIBITION

The Motion Picture Society of India, Bombay, has received a communication from the organisers of the International Exhibition of the Cinematographic Art, with a request to participate in the forthcoming exhibition to be held in August. The Society appeals to all film producers in the country to co-operate with it in the successful participation of this country in the International Exhibition.

MOTOR INSURANCE

Important recommendations are made in the Report of the Motor Vehicles Insurance Committee which, among other things, brings to light the fact that India has the highest accident rate for motor vehicles in the world. Among the recommendations made by the Committee are:

Compulsory third party insurance.

Motor insurance to be separated from other accident insurance in returns of companies and to require a separate deposit.

All accidents to be reported.

More rigorous punishment for negligent driving.

As a result of the comprehensive inquiries made by the Committee in all quarters of India, it was found that the rate of deaths per motor vehicle in India was at least 93 per 10,000 compared with 59.4 (the next highest figure) in Italy and 7.4 (the lowest) in New Zealand.

TIPS FOR THE CAR OWNER

It is a temptation for some people to remove the dust from their cars with a dry duster, says a writer in *Capital*. This usually scratches the cellulose surface. Use water.

Tests of petrol consumption are apt to be very misleading unless carried out over a really big mileage. Road conditions, average speeds and the weather all affect results. If accurate figures are required, reliance cannot be placed upon petrol-gauge readings, and even petrol pumps are not always infallible. Consequently, the fuel should preferably be measured into the tank from accurate containers.

MOTOR DRIVERS

It is reliably understood that the demand for Royal Indian Army Service Corps (mechanical transport) Reservists for civil employ as motor car drivers has exceeded the supply and no more drivers are at present available. No further applications should, therefore, be made to the officer-in-charge, Royal Indian Army Service Corps Records, until another notice is issued.

AERONAUTICS COURSE

It is understood that the University of Allahabad has included aeronautics as a subject for the B. Sc. Honours course; effect will be given to this decision of the University with the beginning of the next session in July. It is estimated that a course of 12 lectures on the subject will be sufficient and the first examination in the subject will be held in 1940.

The aeronautics course was prepared in consultation with Mr. S. M. Aly, aerodrome officer. He had offered to deliver the lectures but as he has been transferred to Karachi, it is understood that the University authorities will move to place Mr. Aly's services at their disposal for delivering the course of lectures during the session.

The Calcutta University, it may not be generally known, introduced last August aeronautics as an alternative subject for its degrees in Engineering. The subject will be studied in first and second year courses, in lectures, laboratory and drawing office.

A ZEPPELIN SERVICE TO INDIA

A Zeppelin service between Europe and India is to be established according to Captain Lahmann, the distinguished Zeppelin pilot and engineer of Berlin. Further additions to the existing service between Europe and North and South America are also contemplated.

By 1939, it is expected that a fleet of four Zeppelins will be in operation.

A JAPANESE LANDMARK

A new landmark was established in the history of aviation by Japanese airmen who, in 91 hours 18 minutes, covered the 9,800 miles from Tokio to London in their aeroplane the Divine Wind. The occasion was availed of by the British Press to claim that the event was calculated further to strengthen Anglo-Japanese friendship.

MR. BIRLA'S APPEAL TO EMPLOYERS

Presiding at the annual session of the All-India Organisation of Industrial Employers at New Delhi on April 8, Mr. G. D. Birla urged that both Capitalism and Socialism should grow and flow along healthy channels meeting at some stage.

Mr. Birla deplored the tendency of Socialists to run down the Capitalists personally and to call him a blood-sucker and exploiter and other names.

"We capitalists," said Mr. Birla, "are no more saints or devils than ordinary Socialists. In intelligence we are, perhaps, a little dull verging on stupidity, in vision a little short-sighted, but in heart quite sound."

Continuing, Mr. Birla offered a word of advice to the capitalists and said:

We should not rest content with the mere criticism of the Socialist. Our first and foremost task is to relieve the burden on the soil by the establishment of large industries and thus create further wealth and employment for the children of the soil. We need not be scared by the cry of Socialism, because if in the past we have proved to have rendered service and thus deserved compliments, in future, too, we may live up to our reputation. But the greatest danger to the system of Capitalism is not so much from Socialism or Communism as from our own selves. After all, those who preach Socialism are not enemies of the society. They talk with zeal because they think that this is the only way for the betterment of the masses. Perhaps, we can show them by introducing a spirit of service in our own activities that ours is the better way. Let us, therefore, think of our shortcomings and defects and correct them. Then alone can we protect the system of Capitalism.

MAHALAXMI MILL

The foundation-stone of the spinning department of the Mahalaxmi Cotton Mills Ltd, Palta, was laid by Lady Pratima Mitter. The Hon. Sir B. L. Mitter-presided over the function which was attended by a large gathering.

SIR C. V. RAMAN'S CHALLENGE

"If I were given Rs. 10 lakhs a year, within ten years I will solve all the problems connected with India's scientific and industrial development," said Sir C. V. Raman in an address to the Mysore Chamber of Commerce.

AGRICULTURE IN INDIA

Sir John Russell, the British Agricultural Expert, speaking at the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, on "Science and Indian Agriculture" on March 11, said that the chief characteristics of Indian agriculture were fragmentation of land and small holdings, features that obtained in medieval England. Ninety per cent. of the population of the country depended for their livelihood on cultivation, and unless they were happy, India, of course, could not be said to be happy. Tracing next the development of agriculture in northern Europe, he showed how the cultivator was everywhere conservative by instinct and would not take unnecessary risks with the food of his family. Initial improvement for him lay in growing good second crops and later in growing fodder for his cattle.

Good work, said Sir John, had been done by research farms in India. Speaking particularly of paddy and mangoes, he said that a large variety of both existed in the country and by the process of hybridisation, very good results could be obtained. But now the general cultivator was producing, according to his methods, only half of what was produced under similar conditions on Government farms. One difficulty was that of finance. If, however, co-operative principles were adopted as well as collectivist organisation as was done in Denmark long ago, much better results were bound to follow. In Orissa, he said, there appeared to be great prospects for fruit-growing.

AGRICULTURAL USES OF CEMENT

A large number of type designs of concrete products indicating uses and advantages to the agriculturists is brought to our attention by the Associated Cement Company. The manufacture of concrete products is an interesting and fascinating study as well as a profitable occupation. Concrete can be used in countless ways by the agriculturists. Whatever he wants to build, he will find that in choosing concrete for his material, he will be making the most perfect economical choice. Besides making it easy to keep the building clean, the durability of concrete would save the agriculturist from all future costs of repair.

JAPANESE EMIGRANTS

"Japanese emigration is distinguished primarily by the close control or intervention of the State in all the phases of its operations," writes Toru Ogishima in the *International Labour Review*.

The recruiting of the emigrants—a task not carried out directly by the State but by the emigration agents—is very much facilitated by the activities of the staff of different Ministers; much of the cost of transport of the emigrants is borne by the State, which pays substantial subsidies to the shipping company concerned.

GENEVA LABOUR CONFERENCE

The following will be the personnel of India's Delegation to the International Labour Conference, which opens at Geneva early in June.

The Government of India Delegates: (1) Sir Feroze Khan Noon and (2) Sir Frank Noyce.

The Employers' Delegate: (1) Sir Homi Mody and (2) Mr. G. L. Mehta (Adviser).

The Workers' Delegate: (1) Mr. Satish Sen and (2) W. V. R. Naidu of Jamshedpur (Adviser).

TRADE UNION CONGRESS

A meeting of the Trade Union Congress was held at Delhi on March 21, with Mr. Shivnath Banerjee in the chair. It was decided that a plan should be chalked out to work outside and inside the legislatures, and it was also decided that in the Councils and Assemblies attention should be given to the following matters: unemployment, recognition of trade unions, minimum labour wages and repeal of repressive laws.

40-HOUR WEEK

The delegates of Belgium, Poland and Canada supported the proposal for a forty-hour week for the textile industry at the World Textile Conference at Washington, but the spokesman of Japanese employers and the Japanese Government urged that it was more important to lower textile prices and thus aid in the raising of the purchasing power of the low-income group of workers.

THE ALL-INDIA JAMBOREE

The visit of the Chief Scout, Lord Baden-Powell, to India has coincided with the meeting of the All-India Jamboree—the first of its kind that met at Delhi last month. In his opening speech, the Nawab of Chhatarai laid stress on the international character of the Boy Scout Movement. Yet it is not inappropriate that the Chief Scout should have emphasised the great potential service of the movement in building up a united nation in India. "If India is going to take her place among other nations," said Lord Baden-Powell, "she has got to be a united nation."

THE VICEROY'S ALLOWANCES

In reply to a question asked in the Assembly recently, the information was officially given that in addition to his salary, the Governor-General of India receives the following allowances:

Sumptuary allowance	Rs.	40,000
Contract Allowance	..	1,41,800
State Conveyance and Motors	..	43,000
Presents and Charities	..	10,000
Customs duty on imported stores	..	8,000
Purchase of glass, crockery and linen	..	16,000
Tour expenses	..	4,70,000
Total	..	72,58,000

HARIJAN QUARTERS

The Calcutta Corporation has recommended to its Budget Committee to provide Rs. 1,50,000 in next year's budget for the construction of quarters for Municipal Harijans of Tiljala.

CONGRESS IN THE LOWER HOUSES

PROVINCE	TOTAL SEATS	CONGRESS STRENGTH
Madras	215	159
C. P.	112	71
Bihar	152	93
Orissa	60	36
U. P.	228	133
Bombay	175	88
N. W. F.	50	19
Sind	60	7
Bengal	250	43
Assam	108	40
Punjab	175	17
Total	1,585	711

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QUO VADIS

BY SIR MANUBHAI N. MEHTA

TO the tourist who delights in visiting the glories of ancient Rome and unearthing the archaeological treasures of that eternal city, no more inspiring picture is, perhaps, available than that presented by the Temple of Quo Vadis on the outskirts of the city towards the Via Appia and the Baths of Caracalla. On the walls of the Temple one sees St. Peter flying from the oppression of the pagan Emperors, but arrested in surprise by the vision of Jesus returning to the succour of the believers who were being pitilessly massacred within the walls of the city "Quo Vadis"; "Whither goest thou my Lord," asks the Apostle. Thus accosted, the Saviour shows him his way back to the town and beacons him to follow him to put heart into the soul of his faithful followers who were being so relentlessly butchered behind. Reminded of his lapse, the Apostle rushed back to the faithful and was offered up to the devouring lions to be torn up, limb from limb, in the arena within the sight of his devoted followers. Chaos reigned supreme; the whole world seemed to be out of joint; and things moved without any settled plan and in blissful ignorance of where they were drifting.

Something of a similar uncertainty appears to have descended on the political outlook of the whole world at the present

hour. In Europe, the Jews, for no fault of theirs except being non-Aryan by race, are being ruthlessly hunted out of Nazi Germany, unmindful of the fact that this wholesale exodus of a talented race has been only enriching the genius of England and other foreign climes by such brilliant men that the Nation loses like Einstein. The Fuehrer sits enthroned on the hearts of the people whom he grapples to his bosom with fingers steeped in the blood of comrades shot on the spot in hundreds without any trial for no fault except that they could not see eye to eye with Herr Hitler. The same Nazi conspirators shoot the talented Chancellor Dollfuss at Vienna and allow his blood to drip drop by drop till death supervenes without summoning any surgical aid even in the name of humanity. The Iron Duce in Italy aping the heroic exploits of Caesar, swallows up a whole country of the luckless Ethiopians because he wants more elbow room for his own people for whom Italy does not provide sufficient breathing space; and yet to provide more fodder for the guns and more colonists to cultivate the land seized from the dark races, he places on the Statue-book laws that remind one of the Lex Julia at Papia Poppia, placing a premium upon each new born babe and welcoming each baby as a liquidator of

taxation. What a strange argument in a circle and yet fit for the Black Shirts to swallow. More land is needed in the colonies for the expanding population of the Fatherland and more population is to be begotten by promoting marriage and child births in the country in order to populate the colonies. This gross outrage perpetrated on Ethiopia is being watched in silence by the wondering League of Nations that seemed with gaping mouths to take more delight in solving juristic theories about civil sanctions which could not even by accident develop into military intervention. Lastly, now poor Spain is torn up by the demon of Civil War and the invasion of the Fascist insurgents with support from Italy and Germany, and women and children are butchered and bombed every day to the eternal shame of civilisation. The old glories of the Alhambra have been covered up under the debris of the mighty Empire shaken to its very foundations.

The political situation in India has also been seized by the same rot, and the intentions of the Government are as much a matter of speculation as the plans of the Congress leaders who have verily secured a thumping victory at the polls. The political outlook is aimless; a hopeless drift like a ship without a rudder battling against treacherous shoals in an uncharted sea. The Ministries in six Provinces have been seized by "interim" creations that are tottering and against whom interlocutory injunctions from Civil Courts have been prayed for to prevent their functioning. The remaining five Provinces where the Congress has not been in majority have already launched their career as autonomous states, bent on consolidating their power and fortifying

their provincial independence. In place of the Central Government at the apex sits a "power in transition"—an embryo that is being hatched and fostered under the heat of an Incubator. The shell, however, has to be broken some day and the baby unsheathed out of the placenta that cannot be allowed to stick on for a long time lest it poisoned the babe. Transitions must sooner or later lead on to the next step—progress spells life; stagnation only leads to death and decay.

Such a step to end the transition can, however, only be secured if the Princes federate and the Federation functions. Are the Princes prepared to accede? The British Indian publicists do not at all welcome this butting in of the Princes. They aspire after a full-fledged democratic government, responsible to the people; and they do not relish their democratic dose being diluted by the pouring in of irresponsible autocrats among their midst. The representatives of the Princes will not be elected representatives out of the states' people; they will be only creatures of nomination, more likely to take the place of the official block now displaced and be only 'Yes,' Yes men, henchmen of the official benches. Federation is not more popular even with the Princes themselves. They feel they are being asked to take a leap in the dark and hurl themselves into an abyss of eternal darkness—a bourne from which no traveller can return or retrace his step. Are these apprehensions well founded? Is there real ground for such dismal misgivings? These are the questions that responsible ministers and patriotic statesmen ought to take upon themselves to solve. The three experts who toured over the country as special emissaries of

the Viceroy did excellent work in clearing up the air; but the question is so difficult and the constitution now imposed upon the country so complex that these efforts at "illumination" require to be ceaselessly pressed and prolonged till a spirit of hope and confidence replaces the present spirit of suspicion and despair.

To facilitate the achievement of that goal as well as to ease the situation, the people in British India have to be a little more patient and also sympathetically tolerant. It has not been long since the Princes have awakened to the change in the spirit of the times. It is even yet a little doubtful if all of them or even a majority of their order have really been able to feel the pulse of their people. India has been known to be a land of loyalty, and subjects in Indian states look up to their Ruler with affection and devotion. According to the Hindu ideal, a Ruler or a Bhoopa is one who protects his people and the land they live in. As long as the Ruler is able to give shelter and protection to his subjects, he is looked upon with reverence as the Father of his people. But once that function is allowed to recede into the background and the watch-dog ceases to shepherd the sheep in the fold, loyalty is apt to fizzle out. Owing to the "pax Britannica" that has now long blessed the country, the Ruler has been apt to neglect his vocation. Protected himself by Paramountcy, he has ceased to draw his sword to shield his people from danger, and his people have been content to turn their swords into ploughshares and are devoted to arts of peace. The Ruler is often known to have been "lulled by the languor of the land of the lotus" and

to have lapsed into a life of leisure, where the thoughts of young men lightly turn to love. Of the two demi-gods of the Hindu Olympus, Rama appeals more to the public imagination than Krishna; and the Indian Ruler is losing his hold over the hearts of his people in proportion as he ceases to be a benevolent and pious protector of his children. Bearing this far-reaching change in mind, our Rulers have also to cast their eyes on what is taking place around them over the rest of the world. Monarchy happens to be left untouched in England alone out of all the larger states in Europe; and the King in England sits secure on his throne only because his sceptred sway is limited by the Constitution. All the other Monarchies have now been objects of archaeological interest of the past—exhibits in a Museum. The Indian Ruler has to realise this change if he has to survive. People even in India have started asserting the claim that the *vox populi is the vox dei* and if the Rulers once enjoyed a sort of Divine right under which they were ordained as kings, the people claiming to have transplanted the Divinity itself, now assert their "divine right even to do the wrong". This spirit, when it has started seizing the soul of British India, cannot be prevented by the yellow lines on the map of India from penetrating into the heart of the Indian states. Geographical boundaries and boundary field-marks can never stem the tide of thought or the invasion of ideas.

Our Princes may well be asked: what in Federation appears to them to be a sacrifice of their sovereignty? Their land revenues are not going to be touched nor their revenue administration or their land settlements. They will exercise the same

control over their Police and their Magistracy and they would continue to be responsible for Law and Order in their states. They will be masters of their own Judiciary, and even the Federal Court will lay down in cases of Constitutional disputes their decisions in terms of a declaratory decree alone and that too on a case started by their own State Courts. Their systems of taxation, land-tax, income-tax or excise will not be interfered with except where following the Federal precedent they have agreed to levy an excise duty on the local manufacture of an article that is protected by a high tariff wall against foreign competition. The orbit of Federation will extend only over those spheres of common concern regarding which even now they are never being consulted but have silently to accept the decrees of the Central Legislature as applicable to their own subjects. If Railway fares are increased, or postal rates doubled, if the duty on salt is enhanced or the tariff rate is taken up to the topmost pitch, are the Rulers or their subjects consulted even now? The control of the Federal Government would mostly be confined to these subjects of joint concern regarding which the Princes have been asking for the last seventeen years a voice or participation in the shaping of common policies. Where then does the shoe pinch? Discussing the comparative advantages and the disadvantages of an Indian State entering the Federation, a Ruler is reported to have asked if the Federal Government, in the exercise of its own powers, could subject a non-acceding state to the disabilities of a foreign state and pass discriminatory legislation imposing discriminatory taxation on that non-federating

state. The Viceroy's special representative gave a reply that was characteristic and ought to be an eye-opener to all Princes disposed to hesitation. He expressed his inability to guarantee the protection sought and said he could not foretell what the future Federal Government would do. The Representative of the Crown might be asked by the non-acceding state to move, in the exercise of his paramountcy, the Governor-General to prevent such unfair discrimination. Obviously, however, the Governor-General could not interfere to protect a state against any action which could be justified as taken by the Federation to protect its own interests; and possibly the Excise or Customs policy of the Federation might injuriously affect a non-federated state.

It would be unreasonable to suppose that the Federation would not look after the interests of its own people rather than the interests of those outside its pale. An English journal of great eminence only lately remarked that the real question before the Indian Princes, therefore, is not whether their position as Members of the Federation would be better or worse than their present position; but whether in the kaleidoscopic changes in the political and economic life of the country, they would be better off in future inside than outside the Federal wings. The broad measure of unification which the British connection has imposed on the conflicting elements in India has been supplemented in recent years by the expansion of political ideas in British India. These have not been restricted by the boundaries of British Indian Provinces. The Princes in consequence recognise that their political and economic relations with British India must be altered and harmonised, and the wiser among them realise that it is futile for them to think that by remaining out of the Federation they could at all consolidate their position.

Those Princes who believe that by remaining outside Federation they are entitled for ever to be sheltered by the protection of the Paramount Power, are overlooking facts of political evolution in Britain. The British Parliament to-day

a democratic institution buttressing the safest throne in the world.

Changes are inevitably due in Indian States; they may be effected by constitutional processes such as are inherent in the Federal project; or the states may crash from within, overpowered by the same forces that might otherwise uphold them. It is clear in any case that without giving the states any occasion to invoke Paramountcy for their protection against any unjustifiable disregard of their rights, the Federation can, and presumably will, look after the interests of its units to the possible detriment of those outside it. In this regard the survival of the states will be better assured within the Federation than as isolated units outside it.

A view has been mooted by some Princes that it would be wiser to bide their time before entering Federation, chiefly to see from their safe perch on the fence, how British India fares when its eleven Provinces are established as autonomous states; and how their sister states that federate react under the shock of the union. "Political realists," however, contend that such a policy of "wait and see" holds dangers for the states. The Federation is like a mosaic, to which all the component parts contribute in design, coherence and strength. Gaps in a mosaic may for a time be left vacant; but they will have to be filled in later by the pressure of events and the logic of the facts then subsisting. The later additions may fit less easily into the gaps of the structure which may have expanded or contracted under the stress of the weather. Conventions and practices may then have been established by those who acceded promptly; and they may not have left elbow room to accommodate the late comer on the same conditions and facilities of terms.

Moreover, it is of prime importance to the Princes, much more so to the Rulers of Hindu States, that they should

obtain a voice in the Legislature and on the Executive Ministry of the new Government. The existing irresponsible centre, *in transitu* if allowed to subsist in the new order, will constitute a veritable weak joint in the structure which would injuriously affect the States more than the Provinces. The Princes cannot afford to view with equanimity a position in which all central matters will be dealt with by a spurious legislature that does not represent the country and an orphaned Ministry that has no popular voice behind to sponsor it. That Ministry would be drawn from British India alone. Even the desire of the Viceroy to discharge his special responsibility for the protection of the interests of Indian States would be frustrated by pressure from the Provinces and lack of support from a one-sided Government at the centre, some of whose elements may be positively unfriendly to the states. The Constitution Act was framed for one integral whole involving an association between the States and the Provinces, and Central Responsibility was only conceded on that basis. In proportion as the transition was prolonged, the Provinces with large Muslim majorities would consolidate their autonomy so as to be able to flout the authority of the Central Government when that was made Federal late in the season.

Sagacious Rulers have long aspired to secure this Central Responsibility and their own participation in the governance of their country from several sublime motives which, perhaps, the ordinary individual may fail to perceive. Princes have approached this question from four different sides. The Federal problem has been regarded by the wise Rulers to have four dimensions. Scientists and

Mathematicians are yet, perhaps, groping their way to the fourth dimension. Federation, however, to the Princes has ever been a square deal. The first angle of approach, as may be expected from their ties of loyalty to the Crown under their Treaties of Alliance, friendship and unity of interest with the British Crown, has been through their desire to guard the British connection. They are proud to own they are allies of the mighty Empire on which the Sun sets not and which sits safe sceptred on the Seven Seas; with the fate of China and recently of the luckless Helvetic peninsula before them, they do not wish their own Fatherland to be torn up by internecine feuds and furious fights between warring factions which must ensure as soon as the safety-valve provided by the British connection is closed up. They have elected to participate in the governance of the country if, by so doing, they could only add an element of stability at the centre. Secondly, they have felt the urge of patriotism for the uplift of their own motherland. They have realised that the way to Dominion Status can only be opened for the country if they also applied their shoulder to lifting up one wheel of the sacred car out of the mire into which it seems to have stuck, along with their brethren from British India who were taking out the other wheel. If responsibility at the centre could only be conferred in the Constitution, if the Indian States co-operated in the Federal Legislature as well as in the Federal Cabinet, if it was thought they could add equipoise and conduce to a more stable form of government, they felt they would be only serving their motherland if by their participation they could advance her progress to the goal of absolute

equality as a Member of the Great British Commonwealth. The Princes were told they held the golden key to Dominion Status in their hand and they can best serve the interests of their country by coming into Federation and closing the stop-gap of transition as soon as possible. The third side of the Quadrilateral approached nearer their own home. The subjects of the Indian States have been contributing large amounts of money in the shape of maritime customs duties, salt duties and exchange rates without getting any direct benefit in return. They were no doubt getting peace and tranquillity in the country and the benefits of law and order and safety of person and property. But to this protection from external aggression and internal upheaval, they had become entitled by the Treaties of their Rulers and for which the Rulers had paid for by the surrender of their external sovereignty to the Paramount Power. The obligation of Defence had been purchased for them by their Treaties and that cannot be justly regarded as a *quid pro quo* for the large monetary contribution paid by the subjects of the States to the Federal fisc. By joining in the Federation, the Princes feel and expect that some benefit in return would be secured for their own subjects from the Federal Funds. Lastly, the fourth dimension was filled up by self-interest. The Princes have always felt that they have not obtained justice in the past from the Political Department or the Government of India whenever their interests happened to conflict with the financial interests of British India. They have always demurred to the Government of India themselves deciding a dispute in which they themselves were one party.

It went against the very fundamental maxim of jurisprudence that a man cannot well be a judge in his own cause; that a judge cannot also be a party in the suit brought before his tribunal. Federation offered the possibility of a Federal Court which could sit as an arbiter between the two hostile claims, and the Princes clinched that encouraging prospect of a judicial determination of their differences with the Government. It is true that the Federal Court may not after all prove to be that panacea of all the ills that Paramountcy has been heir to; the Federal Court may itself prove to be that devouring Divinity that eats up not only the oblation offered but also the votary who devoutly offers the sacrifice. It is, however, felt that the judicial paramountcy that may hereafter be

set up would, perhaps, be mere law-abiding than the political paramountcy; which in order always to remain paramount has often to brush aside what it chooses to regard as cobwebs of ancient treaties and age-long hoary traditions. These were the four dimensions of the Federal Problem. The ardent admirer of the Federal Deity has now, therefore, good grounds to ask with all earnestness *Quo Vadis*, whither goest thou my motherland! There are rocks ahead and glades of Simmerian darkness in your way. You are at the parting of the ways. Choose wisely and choose well and take the path that would lead you up to the top of the eminence as an equal member of the family of nations flourishing under the flag of the Commonwealth of Britain.

TO BE OR NOT TO BE DEPORTED?

BY MR. HARRY S. MIRANDO

"My men have white skins but black hearts; but you (Ceylonese) have black skins and white hearts."—M. A. L. Bracegirdle.

CEYLON is the proverbial tea-cup; and storms now and again burst out in it; and the ants that had been drawn to it by the sweetness within it are the eight thousand odd Europeans. Drink, they do of its sweetness, and when not drinking the ants trail round and round the rim of the tea-cup in a sort of endeavour to protect the great sweetness within; and in fact they employ all their callidity to hinder others from invading their great sweetness! It was the putting into execution of a selfish thought such as this that brought about the Bracegirdle scandal.

Mr. M. A. L. Bracegirdle is a pure-born, pure-bred Englishman, who had settled in

Australia, the shores of which country he quitted and came in quest of a "better luck" to Ceylon not more than a couple of years ago. An English estate company employed his services as a tea-planter in a tea garden in Madulkelle, a village about one hundred miles from Colombo. As time wore away, he began to think remorsefully of the Indian Tamil tea-plucking, weeding and other male and female coolies whose services are exploited for the manufacture of this commodity; and their depressed existence appears to have struck as an abhorrence to him; and while the planters at the head of affairs were enjoying a *posh* life, Mr. Bracegirdle appears to have regretted that the useful toilers should be treated as mere vermin. The result was that he gave up his

planting appointment to preach a socialistic doctrine to the very human vermin whom he had been superintending over. He was out to better their lot and to educate them in the way of obtaining far more improved living conditions. Consequent to this step, the rest of the European community in the Island turned inimical to his plans and intentions; and acting under an one-sided version put forward to His Excellency the Governor Sir Reginald Stubbs by a deputation of European tea-planters, His Excellency ordered the deportation of Mr. Bracegirdle from Ceylon. Next morning all his well-wishers were at the jetty to wave him good-bye, and following the Governor's orders, the Ceylon Government had been kind enough to book his passage to Australia; but Mr. Bracegirdle never turned up, and it was doubtless that he was meaning to flout His Excellency's order and was in hiding in some remote part of the Island. A week after when the Police were hounding him with less zest, he appeared on the Colombo sea-beach and addressed a Ceylonese public, only to be arrested almost at once. Again, the Ceylon Government was kind enough to book passage for him.

A Socialist Party then came forward and intervened and prayed for a just hearing from the Supreme Court against the order of the Governor. A Court of three Judges sat, namely, Chief Justice Sir Sydney Abrahams, Mr. Justice Soertsz and Mr. Justice Maartensz, and the Ceylonese luminaries of the Island's Bar volunteered "appearance" for the cause of Mr. Bracegirdle.

The Court delivered judgment finding that the Governor's order was invalid and Mr. Bracegirdle was released. The Chief Justice states: "We are entitled, and

indeed we have a duty, to inquire as to whether the conditions which must be satisfied before power granted to an Executive Officer can be exercised have been fulfilled. There can be no doubt that in British territory, there is the fundamental principle or law enshrined in Magna Carta that no person can be deprived of his liberty except by judicial process." The Court also opined that there was no "emergency" to deport Mr. Bracegirdle, and accepted as example of a state of emergency, the 1914 Buddhist-Muslim riots.

Indeed, this is the only instance in the Island where such an order issued by His Excellency has been declared invalid, and furthermore, it is also one of the very few cases in the whole of the British Empire where a deportation order has been set aside by a judicial tribunal.

DONGRE'S BALAMRIT



is
the
Ideal
Tonic
for

RICKETY
Children

April '38,

A PHASE OF DOMINION DIPLOMACY

BY MR. D. C. GUPTA, M.A., B.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW

THE question of the status of the Dominions has puzzled many a jurist. The Statute of Westminster 1931, while formally freeing the Dominions from the fetters of restricted autonomy, is silent about some of the important topics that vitally affect the constitutional and international status of the Dominions, namely, treaty-making power, diplomacy and international sovereignty. The reason is, that the relations between different parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations are primarily governed by conventions which, with some rare exceptions, have not found place in any Statute-Book and it is this elasticity or adaptability of the conventions which have greatly contributed to the development of the conception of "Dominion Status" in the self-governing Dominions.

The Report of the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee presided over by Earl Balfour and adopted by the Imperial Conference of 1926 defines Great Britain and the Dominions as "autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any respect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations". The Balfour formula thus purports to give the Dominions freedom in contracting treaties, inter-imperial and international. But the above declaration has an important rider added to it: "But the principles of equality and similarity appropriate to status do not universally extend to function. Here we require something more than immutable dogma." No doubt the formula is weakened by the rider and a sharp distinction has been drawn between status and function, and the implication of this distinction is evident when we see that in the most important matters of "external affairs",

* It is submitted that the Dominions, even after the Statute of Westminster 1931, can have no "foreign" relations. A Dominion can only have "external" relations and the British Empire as a whole may have "foreign" affairs to deal with. —J. H. Morgan, K.C., in "Dominion Status" (Rhodes Lecture 1929).

e.g., war and peace, in spite of the above Balfour declaration, His Majesty's Government has, by convention, the controlling authority.

The practice of the Dominions to enter into treaties has its origin in the acquiescence of the Imperial Government. The usual practice in the middle of the 19th century was that the treaties proposed or initiated by a Dominion Government with a Foreign State was negotiated and signed by the Ambassador or diplomatic representative of the Crown in the foreign capital, aided or instructed by the representative of the Dominion concerned. The treaty contracted between the U. S. A. and the Dominion of Canada in 1871 was all throughout the negotiations conducted by the Canadian Prime Minister and the terms of the treaty represented the view of the Dominion. But the treaty had to be signed by the British Ambassador at Washington (and not by the Canadian Prime Minister or any other representative of the Dominion) as required by the canons of international sovereignty and of consequent responsibility. What actually stands in the way of a Dominion being signatory to a political treaty between a foreign state and a British dominion is, that the former may deny that the latter has full international capacity to undertake the burden of treaty obligations. Moreover, behind the treaty-making power of the Dominions on their own authority and responsibility lies the danger, rather the apprehension of disruption of the Empire, an eventuality desired neither by the Dominions nor by the mother-country.

Treaties are of two kinds: commercial agreements and treaties proper which are substantially political in nature. As regards the first class, with the growth of responsible government in the Dominions, the right of the Imperial Government to bind the whole Empire as one unit, yielded before greater convenience and mutual understanding, that no Dominion would be bound by a treaty entered into by the British Government with a foreign state until and unless the former expressed herself to be so bound. From

the point of view of the British Government, this arrangement resulted in greater efficacy and more fruitful operations of the trade agreements with the foreign Governments than before. But one direct result of this understanding was, that it provided for wide scope of freedom of action on the part of the Dominions, as was evident from the contracting of numerous commercial treaties by the Dominions in the post-war period. The efforts in 1893 of Sir C. Tupper, High Commissioner of Canada in London, to negotiate a commercial treaty with France, independently of the British Ambassador in Paris, had important repercussions on the policy of the British Government with regard to the treaties entered into by the Dominions with foreign powers. The question involved was not the importance of the agreement, but the principle with regard to the procedure adopted. The Imperial Government, while disapproving the action of the Canadian High Commissioner, laid down that negotiations of a treaty between a Dominion and a Foreign Government must be carried by the British Minister at the foreign court and not by the Dominion representative as was done in the Washington Treaty of 1871 and advised, if necessary, by a representative of the Dominion concerned. For the time being, this enunciation of policy turned back the hands of the clock of freedom of action of the Dominions in this sphere.

At the same time, it was declared by the Imperial Government that an agreement entered into by a Dominion, which purports to give preference to a foreign country against other parts of the Empire, apart from financial loss to the Dominions, acts against the basic principle of the unity of the Empire.

The working of responsible government in the self-governing colonies—for they were legally colonies up to the passing of the Statute of Westminster 1931—not only connoted that the Government should be carried on according to the will of the majority of the members of the Dominion Parliaments, but they should enjoy greater degree of autonomy in the working of their constitutions than the Crown Colonies. As regards treaties of commercial nature,

the Imperial Government did not question the power of the responsible governments of the Dominions to contract such treaties with foreign states, provided the conditions explained above are adhered to. But difficulties arise when trade agreements *prima facie* regulating commercial arrangements between two countries have in them something besides purely commercial implication. The import of the abortive agreement of 1911 between Canada and the U. S. A. has often been misunderstood. It was not a treaty with any political significance, far less a political treaty, but an informal commercial agreement which, instead of being signed by the representatives of the Imperial Government (on behalf of Canada) and the U. S. A., as the usual practice in such cases, was intended to take effect by being incorporated in the statutes to be passed by the U. S. A. Congress and the Canadian Parliament. This departure from the usual practice was looked upon with suspicion both by the Liberals and the Conservatives of Canada as a clever move by U. S. A. to alienate the Dominion from the mother-country and raised a storm of adverse criticism in and without the Dominion Parliament with the result that on the dissolution of the Parliament, the Government was defeated at the election mainly on this issue and the agreement fell through.

But a distinct advance was made in the Radio-Telegraphic Convention of 1912. A new device was adopted as regards the Dominion representation in the deliberations of the Conference. "Full Powers" were issued to the Dominion representatives, who took seats side by side with the British representatives, "the only difference being that the 'full powers' to the former were qualified by the words 'on behalf of Canada or Australia' as the case may be." This novel device had far-reaching significance. For, as Professor Keith points out, the essence of this new system "was the formal splitting of the Crown for international purposes and the possibility of dissent between the different parts of the Empire".

The Halibut Fisheries Treaty of 1913 has been described by many jurists as a landmark in the development of inter-imperial

relations. It was a treaty between Canada and U. S. A., regulating the Industry of Halibut Fishery in the North Pacific. The peculiar characteristic of this Treaty was, that it was not only signed by the Canadian Minister of Marine and Fisheries, but was signed by him alone and not exclusively or conjointly by the British Ambassador at Washington. Of course, "the full powers" to sign the Treaty were granted to him by His Majesty and this fact set at rest any doubt that might have arisen as to the validity of the Treaty. Indeed, from a strict legal point of view there cannot be any objection to this procedure. The Crown is one and indivisible throughout the Empire, and this dictum is complement to that other legal maxim of equal importance: "The king is everywhere present in his Dominions". The king is not the King of Canada or of Australia, but is the king in Canada or in Australia.* He has ministers not only in London, but also at Ottawa and Canberra, whom he may authorise to do what he can authorise one of his Secretaries of State in Whitehall to do. Moreover, if Dominion autonomy is a reality and not a phantom, matters which concern a Dominion alone should be settled and acted upon by her exclusively. The Government of Canada acted in accordance with its conventional and legal powers. For, when the U. S. A. wanted to add a rider to make the Treaty applicable to all British subjects, it was sharply pointed out by Canada that any attempt to give such all-embracing effect would make the Treaty *ultra vires* and that such effect could only be given if the British Ambassador at Washington would accept the terms and put his signature in the Treaty.

Only one criticism may be offered on this Treaty. The "Full Powers" issued to the Canadian Minister of Marine and Fisheries did not specify that the Canadian Minister was signing the Treaty for and on behalf of Canada only. Professor Keith describes the Treaty as "a complete treaty engagement binding the Imperial Crown and the whole of the Empire,

though operation is local" and Professor Harrison Moore points out the same defect.*

From the point of view of the treaty-making power of the Dominions, nothing is more important than the resolutions of the successive Imperial Conferences. The resolutions of the Imperial Conferences are not law; some of them formally declare the conventions as to inter-imperial relations; others state the political understandings arrived at between the representatives of the United Kingdom and the Dominions. The copious resolutions of the Imperial Conference of 1923 not only formally declared a course of conduct for a particular phase of diplomacy, but also reflected the true spirit which binds together the units of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Thus it was declared:

It is desirable that no treaty should be negotiated by any of the Governments of the Empire without due consideration of its possible effect on the other parts of the Empire, or if circumstances so demand, on the Empire as a whole.

The next part of the resolution said that in negotiations of a treaty, step should be taken to facilitate the "fullest possible exchange of views" between the different parts of the Empire likely to be interested in the proposed treaty. It was recommended that when a general international treaty binding on the whole of the British Empire is to be contracted, the precedent of the Treaty of Versailles 1919 is to be followed. As regards ratification, the Dominion Governments have been given free hand; it has been left to each Dominion to decide whether she would have the approval of her Parliament before ratification of a Treaty. Professor Keith points out that one defect of the treaty resolutions of the Imperial Conference was that, while the resolutions formally approved the principle of separate negotiation of a treaty by a Dominion—a point not hitherto conceded by the Imperial Government—it left to the negotiating Dominion to decide if and how far any other part of the Empire

* Harrison Moore in *Journal of Comparative Legislation*, 1926: Keith *ibid* 1923 V, and *ibid* 1924 VI: Lewis in the *British Year Book of International Law*, 1923-24.

* J. H. Morgan in "Dominion Status" (Rhodes Lecture, 1929).

might be interested in the matter. This defect was remedied by the Imperial Conference of 1926. It was declared by this Conference that information about a proposed treaty should be sent to all parts of the Empire to elicit their opinions about the treaty. No Dominion will be bound by the terms of a treaty unless the same have been communicated to the Dominions, and the Dominions have had an opportunity to express her opinion about the treaty. It was also recommended by the Imperial Conference of 1926 that the "full powers" should be issued in each case on the advice of the Dominion concerned, thus formally acknowledging the right of the Dominion Governments to advise His Majesty's Government in the matter. As regards the International Treaties, it was recommended by the Conference that all such treaties should be signed in the name of the King. As already stated, the King is one and indivisible. There cannot be a treaty between the king in Australia and the king in Canada. So if a treaty is made in the name of the king, obviously, it cannot be applied between the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations in relations *inter se*. If the members of the British Commonwealth should like to apply *inter se* some of the provisions of these treaties, "the forms of the treaty between the heads of the States should be avoided". Under this formula, the Anglo-Irish treaty of 1921 cannot be termed as an international treaty notwithstanding its registration under Article 20 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. Whereas the Halibut Fisheries Treaty proves that the Dominions have separate powers of contracting treaties affecting them, the Anglo-American Liquor Treaty of 1924 shows that the Imperial Government can, in a proper case, bind the whole British Empire by a treaty contracted by it without the collaboration of the latter. This treaty was contracted by the parties with the intention of enabling the U. S. A. to stop liquor-smuggling into the States by foreign ships. By this treaty "Great Britain undertook to raise no objection to the boarding and search of British vessels suspected of endeavouring to import into the United States alcoholic

beverages in violation of its laws "within a zone capable of being traversed within one hour". There could not be any legal objection on behalf of the Dominions, for legally "there is no such thing as a Dominion ship" and a Canadian vessel is as much subject to the restrictions under the terms of the treaty as an English vessel. There was no provision for separate adherence and withdrawal by the Dominions. Two results follow from this Treaty: (a) The Dominions are still bound by a treaty negotiated and signed solely by Great Britain; (b) a Dominion vessel may be subject to the laws of a foreign state imposed upon the Dominion without its consent.

II

TREATY-MAKING POWER OF DOMINIONS

In England, it is only in the matter of the more important treaties that approval is sought from the Parliament. Such ratification is also required in connection with treaties altering the law of the land (Walker *vs.* Baird 1892 A.C. 191) and where the Parliamentary approval is specially stipulated in the treaty, *e.g.*, the Heligoland Treaty of 1890.

Of the Dominions, the Parliament of Canada is very jealous of her rights of ratification. Two reasons have been assigned for it. Firstly, the example of her powerful neighbour the U. S. A. where the Senate plays an important part when a new treaty is contracted has inspired the Canadian Parliament to be very watchful when a new agreement is entered into. Secondly, the Post-War economic conditions and labour problems have prompted the Dominion Government to submit all its financial commitments for the approval of the Parliament of the Dominion, thereby putting all the responsibilities in the matters on the latter.

The treaty-making power of the Dominion of Canada requires a special treatment, as in no other Dominion have there been so many conflicts as to the scope of this power. Section 132 of the British North America Act 1867 deals with the powers of the Parliament and the Government of the Dominion necessary for the performing of the obligations of Canada or of any Province arising out of treaties between

the British Empire and the foreign countries. It is evident from Section 132, that the powers of the Dominion and of the Provinces to discharge the obligations under the treaties refer only to international treaties and not to inter-Imperial agreements. "An Act passed by the Canadian Parliament as consequential to an agreement between Canada and Australia or any other unit of the Empire would not be valid unless justified under the residuary and general powers of the Central Government."

The question of giving effect to the Imperial treaties in Canada was raised in the case of Brooks-Bidlake and Whittall Ltd. *vs.* Attorney-General for British Columbia (1923) A.C. 451. In this case, the Plaintiff contended *inter alia* that an Act of British Columbia, which prohibited the employment of the Japanese and the Chinese labour, was *ultra vires* as the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of 1911 extended to the Dominion by its own Parliament in 1913, purported to offer absolute equality of treatment of the Japanese subjects with the British subjects in the pursuit of "industries, callings, professions and educational studies". The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council held that the subject-matter of the Treaty relates to public lands within the Province and falls essentially within the power of the Provincial Legislature. On the question whether the Act in question infringes the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, the Privy Council did not pass any definite opinion.

In Attorney-General of British Columbia *vs.* Attorney-General of Canada (1924) A.C. 203, the facts were similar, except that the prohibition contemplated by the Provincial Act in question with regard to the employment of the Japanese and Chinese labour was not confined to the Provincial Crown lands but to certain kinds of land in general. The Privy Council held that as far as the Japanese were concerned, that Act was invalid as infringing the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty. But the Privy Council did not pass any opinion as to the effect of the impugned Act, if it only affected the Chinese.

In the recent *re: Regulation and Control of Radio Communication in Canada*

(1932) A.C., the Judicial Committee adopted what may be termed a progressive method of interpretation. Canada, like all other parts of the British Empire, had entered into separate conventions with foreign Governments regarding the control of radio and thus these agreements were not entered by the British Government on behalf of the whole Empire, as contemplated by Section 132 of the B. N. A. Act 1867. Viscount Dunedin, in delivering judgment in this case, on behalf of the Board, held that "it amounts to the same thing", thus implying that the Dominion has power to enter into separate agreements with foreign powers. This judgment is of supreme importance as it judicially acknowledged the treaty-making power of the Self-governing Dominions with foreign states, a change approved by practice and is in conformity with the spirit of autonomy of the Dominions.*

Owing to frequent conflicts between the Dominion Parliament and the Provincial Legislatures in Canada, many of the treaties sponsored by International Labour Organisation, the primary object of which is to ameliorate the conditions of labour throughout the world, failed to be operative in Canada.† It has been suggested, as a solution of this tangle that as these treaties are of international character and as the labour question has direct bearing upon "peace, order and government" of the country at large, the responsibility for ratification of these engagements should rest upon the Federal Legislature under Section 132 of the B. N. A. Act and not upon the Provinces.

Unlike the Canadian constitution, in the constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia, there is no express mention of the treaty-making or treaty-ratifying power. The Federal Parliament can insist

*The said Treaty was also declared valid by the Judicial Committee as falling within the powers of the Dominion Parliament as opposed to the Provincial Legislature, on the ground that "Telegraph" is a Dominion subject-matter, which includes radio-broadcasting.

†The harmful effect of this tangle between the Federal and Provincial Legislatures may be illustrated by the fact that whereas up to 1932 countries like Belgium ratified 23 and India 13 conventions of the I. L. O., Canada ratified only 2. Jenks in J.C.L. 1934.

on adherence to any treaty stipulation regarding a subject-matter on which it possesses paramount authority to legislate under Section 51 of the Constitution Act. It is also held that the Federal Parliament has power to effectuate a treaty under Section 51 (XXIX) which deals with the "incidental powers" of the Federal Legislature.

In the constitution of South Africa, there is no such difficulty or conflict between the Federal and Provincial Legislatures, as the constitution of the Union of South Africa is unitary.

III

DOMINIONS AND INTERNATIONAL TREATIES

Though the Dominions have acquired full control of their domestic matters, convention demands that in external or foreign affairs they should follow Great Britain. The Balfour declaration in 1926 signified that the United Kingdom and Dominions have equal status. But equality of status does not mean equality of function, and the sole power of Great Britain to regulate the foreign affairs of the British Empire points out the difference of functions between Great Britain and Dominions in the sphere of international affairs.

When the Great War ended, the Dominions claimed, in view of the great sacrifices made by the Dominions and India, separate representations at the Peace Conference in 1919. However, a British delegation was formed consisting of the British ministers and representatives of the Dominions, who signed the Treaty of Versailles. But it is noticeable that the Dominion representatives, though forming one delegation with representatives of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, signed the Peace Treaties "for the Dominion of Canada" or "for the Commonwealth of Australia" as the case may be.

Moreover, with the signature of the Peace Treaties, the Dominions (except Newfoundland) became original members of the League of Nations.

From a survey of history of the Dominion diplomacy, it appears that the powers that

the Dominions used from time to time in making treaties with foreign states did not really give them international status; for the Dominions "simply exercised for the matters in question the treaty-making power of the mother-country which had been to that extent delegated to them".

In the Franco-British Defence Treaty of June 1919, there was a clause that the Treaty bound only Great Britain and did not bind the Dominions unless and until it was approved by the Dominions. The treaty fell through but the same condition again appears in the much maligned Locarno Treaty. Section 9 of the Locarno Treaty says that the Treaty "shall impose no obligation upon any of the British Dominions or upon India unless the Government of such Dominion or of India signifies its acceptance thereof". These two provisions show that Great Britain when contracting an international treaty acceded to the principle of freedom of action being accorded to the Dominions. But it must be noted that the basis of this freedom of adherence is the acquiescence of the British Government, rather than legal right, according to the principles of International Law. Thus, when Canada refused at first to sign the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, ending a state of war between Great Britain and Turkey, it was pointed out to her that her refusal to sign the Treaty did not fail to make the Treaty legally binding on her, as Great Britain had signed it. Commenting on the Treaty of Lausanne, Professor Keith rightly observes that "the Treaty of Lausanne by the British signature and ratification bound Canada. But one point is clear. It did not bind Canada to adhere to its terms, that is, Canada is not under any constitutional obligation to send troops to vindicate its terms".

But the Irish Free State, unlike Great Britain and other Dominions, signed the Optional Clause for compulsory arbitration without any reservation. The Government of the Union of South Africa, too, took a different line from the mother-country when she refused to sign the General Act for the Pacific Settlement of International Dispute of 1928. These instances show that, apart from declarations of war and peace, the Dominions can refuse

to bind themselves by the terms of an international treaty entered by the British Government. Nay, the Dominions can even act, if necessary, as pointed out by Professor Keith, counter to the imperial authority, to a certain extent, though, of course, the validity of such an action may be questioned by the latter.

But whatever may be the claim of the Dominions in making international agreements in the actual signature of the treaties, the collaboration of the Imperial Government is essential; for treaties signed by the Dominions are signed under "the full powers" given under the Great Seal of the Lord Chancellor. It is to obviate this necessity of collaboration of the British Government, that two of the Dominions, viz., the Irish Free State and Union of South Africa have made statutory provisions for their own seals. It is contended by some that the responsibility for affixing the Great Seal on a treaty is on a Secretary of State and Lord Chancellor. If so, then it is the duty of the Lord Chancellor and the Secretary of State to see, when affixing the Great Seal on a Dominion Treaty, that it does not infringe the principles of the British Constitution or the terms of a treaty entered into by the British Government. But the critics of this view hold that, in all cases, the Seal should be affixed by the Lord Chancellor on the advice of the Dominion Governments concerned, the responsibility for offering such advice lying on the Dominions themselves. It is submitted that the latter view is in conformity with the established convention, that the British Government should act in the matters concerning the Dominions according to the advice of the latter.

Before we close the discussion on this subject, it may be interesting to discuss here the latest legislative manoeuvre of one of the Dominions, namely, the Union of South Africa. General Hertzog, Premier of South Africa, has long been an enthusiast of that peculiar doctrine "Sovereign Independence" of the Dominions. In 1934, the Union Parliament passed an Act called the Status of Union Act 1934. Section 4 of the Act provides that "the Executive Government of the Union in regard to

any aspect of its domestic or external affairs is vested in the King, acting on the advice of his Ministers of State for the Union and may be administered by His Majesty in person or by a Governor-General as his representative". The full import of this provision can be understood if we study the history and circumstances that led to the passage of the Status of Union Act 1934. General Hertzog visualises the divisibility of the Crown so far as South Africa is concerned. He asserts the right of South Africa to declare neutrality if she thinks proper, in the event of Great Britain going to war. The implication of Section 4 of the above Act is, that in "external affairs" (as well as in domestic matters) the Governor-General is to act according to advice of the South African ministers and not according to advice of the British ministers. Now, suppose a treaty of neutrality is contracted by South Africa with France. What will be the effect of this treaty in the event of a declaration of war between Great Britain and France? From the terms of the Status of Union Act, it appears that, in strict law there seems to be no difficulty in the issuing of a proclamation by the Governor-General—who is bound to act according to the advice tendered—declaring such neutrality. The Statute of Westminster 1931,—which is regarded by many as the Magna Carta of the Dominions—while giving the Dominions power to pass Acts in conflict with imperial statutes, did not reserve the powers of declaring war, neutrality and peace in favour of the Imperial Government. This position of South Africa *vis-a-vis* the Imperial Government is no doubt illogical and untenable in International Law. But it is difficult to pass any definite opinion as to the validity of such a neutrality treaty from the point of view of Constitutional Law. In fine, we may say that the solution of this intricate problem lies in the attitude of France, the other belligerent and of neutral foreign powers towards the Union of South Africa, if England declares war against France.

* Oppenheim, International Law. Vol. I (Peace).

Essentials of Hinduism

BY MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR

HINDUS who have had the advantage of modern knowledge should study and understand the religion of their fathers. There is no justification for the general isolation that prevails in India between religion and modern knowledge. Hinduism and Hindu society suffer because of this artificial and pernicious partition. It is not so bad among people following other faiths. Hinduism is not mere doctrine, but discipline and life, of Hindu society as well as of the individuals. To save the individuals as well as to reform our society, it is necessary that those who have benefited by schools and colleges should also study and become the best authorities on the Hindu scriptures. To-day, the Pandits are untouched by modern thought, and those who serve modern thought are wholly ignorant of Hinduism, though they profess that religion for political and civic wrangles. This state of things necessarily result in stagnation and injury on both sides.

After this introduction by way of apology for the subject, I shall attempt in this brief article to explain the two essential principles of our great religion—the theory of Karma and the relativity of qualities.

No explanation or theory in regard to the Ultimate cause can be free from difficulty from the rationalist point of view. The human mind and its functioning are conditioned by experience. A limit is soon reached beyond which it cannot go. Even in the physical sciences, this limit is reached and mere generalisation and simplification are given the name of explanation. We must learn to be content with a converging tendency as something that leads to the Truth that lies at infinite distance!

The part cannot hold the whole. The symbol of the serpent with the tail in its mouth as if trying to swallow itself illustrates the limitation of the human mind in its efforts to grasp the All. All knowledge like motion is relative, and for Reason to try to reach the Ultimate is to try to jump off the inevitable relativity of knowledge.

Far more important for getting a glimpse of the Infinite, is self-restraint and discipline of life, than mere intellectual effort and ratiocination.

As the Kathopanishad says:

नायमात्मा प्रवचनेन लभ्यो

न मेधया न बहुना धृतेन ॥

यमेवैव वृणुते तेन लभ्यस्तस्यैव

आत्मा विवृणुते तन् स्वाम् ॥

ना विरतो दुश्चरिताश्रान्तो ना समाहितः ॥

ना शान्तमानसो वापि ब्रह्मनेनैवमाप्नुयात् ॥

(The Self cannot be reached by the Vedas, nor by intellect nor by much learning. It can be obtained by earnest desire. The Self reveals its own truth. But he who has not turned away from his wickedness, who is not tranquil and subdued or whose mind is not at peace, can never reach it by mere knowledge.)

The Hindu conception of the Soul and the theory of Karma are the highest points which the search of Truth in an absolutely scientific spirit has ever reached in the region of Religion. Karma corresponds in the moral sphere to the law of conservation of energy which governs the physical plane. Cause and effect are equivalent. All our acts (and acts include thoughts; thoughts are, indeed, the essence of all acts) are the results of previous acts and themselves produce resultants in the plane of the soul. These results cannot be lost by failure of memory or lapse of time, even as physicists have laid down that physical energy cannot be destroyed or lost.

Apart from reward or punishment by an outside authority, every thought or act has at once an effect on oneself. Reward and punishment are innate in the nature of the act itself. Every movement of the mind deals a stroke with chisel and mallet on one's own evolution. If I think well or ill to-day, I think it more easily and persistently to-morrow and I get myself to be made that way. At death, whatever

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character has been hammered out by thoughts, deeds and repentance of the life that is closed continues as the initial start of character for the next journey.

Karma is not fatalism, for evolution is completely in one's own hands, and even death does not interfere with progress through self-restraint and effort. Man evolves himself exactly according to his own actions, and the process is not broken by death, but passes on to the next life.

The other great principle of Hinduism is no less important than the theory of cause and effect. It is that which obliterates the difference between pleasure and pain. The aim of Hindu discipline is to enable oneself to see the oneness of all existence, and God's immanence in all that is seen. Thereby, the difference between what we individually feel as pleasure and pain or joy and grief, melts away and disappears.

To transcend the pairs of opposites that hold us in bondage is the aim of Hindu discipline and Hindu philosophy. Light

and Shade, up and down, heat and cold, - are inseparable twins. So also joy and grief, or pleasure and pain.

One purpose runs through all that exists and all that happens. We are strands in the web universal. There is no room for pride or passion, where the individual must disappear like the river into the ocean. Such suffering or privation as comes to one is part of the functioning of the whole, and no more can we measure good and evil by individual feeling than may we judge of the functioning of an organic body, by what happens to the ever-changing cells that go to make it.

यस्मिन्सर्वाणि भूतान्यात्मैवाभुद्विजानतः ।

तत्र को मोहः कः शोक एकत्वमनुपश्यतः ॥

Isavasyopanishad, 7.

If we comprehend these two principles of Hinduism and shape our conduct even to some extent every day in conformity with them, we are good Hindus and worthy sons of our fathers.

'Alpha of the Plough' as an Essayist

BY PROF. D. S. VIRDI, M.A.

DR. JOHNSON once remarked about the essay being "a loose sally of the mind". If we accept this part-definition with certain other additions and qualifications, we shall find that most of the essays of Alpha of the Plough (Mr. A. G. Gardiner) answer to that description in a very remarkable way.

The first thing which strikes even a cursory reader of his essays is that they are in the nature of *literary excursions into the familiar world of every-day life*. They are neither sublime nor ridiculous, but they are the frank expression of a careful observer of life who, while not ignoring life's little ironies, is also aware of its ugliness as well as its beauty, its wisdom as well as its absurdity. He observes life's course in its many-sided aspects, dwells upon some of them in a fresh and original way, and tries to invest even commonplace themes like

umbrellas, hats, dogs, pigs and gardens with the glamour of beauty. He is like a magician whose magic wand weaves romantic fancies around the familiar things of daily life and they seem to pass before us like a glorious pageant which is throbbing with a new reality and a new meaning. Like his seaweed, they "set us tingling with remembrance" and seem to "give life its colour and poetry" which in all probability we had missed before.

In the second place, what astonishes an average reader of his essays is the *ease and smoothness* with which he goes on unfolding his ideas from the rich and varied store of his experience. As he himself says: "We are like bees foraging in the garden of the world and hoarding the honey in the hive of memory." Not only are Alpha's themes simple and familiar, but they are represented to the

reader in an easy and familiar tone which is reminiscent of Montaigne or Charles Lamb. There is no restraint or remoteness about him; he at once takes the reader into his confidence and then opens out his heart to him. In fact, he comes so near to us that he soon becomes one of us; and as one reads him along, one finds that the barrier between the author and the reader has imperceptibly disappeared.

Thirdly, his essays deal with a great variety of subjects. Alpha has diverse interests and a wide range. He is as interested in "Mowing" as in "Seeing London"; he can appreciate the magic of words and also comment upon "the Rule of the Road". No subject is mean or ignoble to him and whatever he touches, he adorns and transmutes into 'a thing of beauty which is joy for ever'. Even such commonplace subjects as "Catching the Train" or "Walking" acquire a new meaning and significance under the clever and quick-witted observations of the author.

Fourthly, although Alpha is city-bred and a townsman, as some of his essays and notably "On Seeing London" go to show, still he is fully alive to the love of Nature and a passionate delight for the countryside. He loves natural scenery and enjoys a walk in the midst of mountains and valleys. He has a great fondness for gardens, flowers, birds and animals. He is sometimes quite fed up with the "enormous perversion of life" which obtains in the big cities and the so-called civilised centres and pins his faith in the "humanising influence of the garden" and the "tranquillity of soul" that is found there.

Fifthly, Alpha is not a mere superficial observer of persons and things around him, but he has an intimate acquaintance with the literary masters of all ages and countries and the distinguished men and women of his own time. He has more than a smattering knowledge of the best that has been thought and written in the English language. He combines scholarship with culture and it is the happy combination of these two qualities that gives a distinguishing flavour to most of his writings.

Lastly, his essays reveal a genial and loveable personality. His common sense

and keen observation make even ordinary things appear to us in a new and strange light. His bright and seasoned humour sparkles through nearly every page and acts as a stimulant for work and enjoyment. His sympathy, his breadth of outlook and even his whimsicality lend a charm and freshness to all his writings, while a subdued but unmistakable undercurrent of moral and spiritual comprehension raise him in our estimation as a man.

But, to conclude, it must be said in all fairness that in the last resort we judge and award the meed of fame to a writer by the depth and intensity of his thought and by the moral earnestness and spiritual exaltation which he brings to bear upon his themes. We go to a writer for instruction as well as for pleasure, for aesthetic delight as well as for intellectual satisfaction. Judged by these high standards, it has to be frankly admitted that Alpha fails to rise to those great heights, which were not attained by the master-minds of old by sudden flights of fancy or imagination. He sees and studies life at the surface only; he does not very much care to penetrate beyond the surface-crust and watch the struggle and anguish of the human soul. He is a bit too busy in the comedy of life to turn round and observe the grim tragedy which too frequently lurks behind the curtain. However, without being unjust to him, it may be added here that in all probability, Alpha knows all this and he deliberately adopts an attitude of light-hearted gaiety and philosophic indifference simply to divert his (and ours, too!) attention from the stern realities of life. Alpha is a thorough-going Bohemian and his point of view is both wholesome and interesting. Why should he remind us of the thorns and weeds when, with the same amount of trouble, he can show us beautiful flowers blooming in the great garden of the universe? Is not life black enough and harsh enough to make it blacker or harsher still? Perhaps it is. And in this discovery (if it be a discovery at all!) lies the secret of Alpha's influence as well as charm.

The Spanish Revolt

- BY

MR. N. R. BHUVARAHAN, B.A. (Hons.)

—:O:—

ON the morning of July 19th, 1936, rebellion was unleashed in Barcelona in Spain, to the echoes of roaring cannon and exploding bombs, of continuous volleys of rifle fire, of clattering hoofs and bugle-calls, of men shouting and others screaming in anguish and frenzy, as bullets whistled among them. General Narvaez, one of the many Spanish dictators in the nineteenth century, was asked on his death-bed by the priest: "Does Your Excellency forgive your enemies? And the dying man replied in a firm voice: "I have no enemies; I have shot them all." This might well serve as a clue to what is happening in Spain to-day and is full of teaching to the outside world.

To interpret the Spanish outbreak in terms of class war and social revolution, it is necessary to explore the background of the revolt and its relation to the European complex. Spanish history during the past hundred years is strewn with revolutionary outbreaks, insurrection of peasants, anti-monarchical and anti-clerical uprisings, mass strikes and protracted rebellions. The monarchical regime under Alfonso gave place to a Dictatorship under Primo de Rivera. It came to an end on January 28th, 1930, when a Provisional Republican Government was set up with Niceto Alcalá Zamora, the white-haired Andalusian lawyer, as President. It consisted of Republicans and Socialists and was a "Democratic Republic of workers of all classes". The anarchist leader, Mikhaïl Bakunin, exerted a great influence among the Spanish workers and their class-consciousness was bitterly felt by the Monarchy in strikes and rebellions from 1909, increasing in intensity and number. The inception of the Republic was marked by the development of many Fascist organisations. Fascism assumed real shape and colour under the ægis of Jose Maria Gil Robles, born on November 27th, 1898, at Salamanca. The son of a university professor, a distinguished academician, he became

professor of political law and, in 1923 joined the clerical organ *El Debate*. The Spanish civil war was the natural product of the Sanjurjo coup of August 10, 1932, when he seized control of Seville. A sporadic outbreak of the workers in October, 1934, signified their revulsion to a Fascist dictatorship, but it was crushed with inquisitorial methods.

The victory of the People's Front on February 16th, 1936, led to the formation of a Republic under the presidentship of Manuel Azana, the thick-set intellectual. He declared: "There is no danger of waking up one morning and finding communism ruling our country. There is a great need for social justice in Spain, and my purpose is to prevent the accumulation of great wealth by a few individuals while many suffer from hunger and poverty." The assassination of Calvo Sotelo, Spain's leading monarchist and fascist, precipitated the revolt. General Franco distinguished himself as commander of the foreign legion in Morocco. In the revolt of the Asturian Workers in 1934, he earned the title of "The Butcher" and became the head of the rebels.

When Irun was reduced to ashes, Francisco Largo Caballero, socialist idol of Spain's proletariat, assumed premiership at the head of a People's Front Government. A plasterer by trade blue-eyed Caballero, frequently called the "Spanish Lenin", was born on October 18th, 1869. The Spanish socialist party was given a new shape and turn by his persuasive direction. He said: "We will continue on our path until we achieve social renovation. Capitalism is in its last phase." The Spanish labour movement has overcome many defects and obstacles with remarkable resourcefulness; for it was steered in years of dictatorship and terror. The churches in Spain became centres of fascist organisations, providing a sanctuary to the Fascists who murdered the workers. Naturally the wrath of the masses was directed

against the churches—but not against the Catholics—which sided with reaction and fascism. The rebel troops consisted of the regular army, the foreign legion, the Carlists and the Moorish mercenaries. Red revolutionists, anarcho-syndicalists, socialists, republicans and various brands of Marxists have made common cause with the Government to save Spain from Fascism. Fascism *versus* popular rule has become the sharply defined issue.

A parasitic church which is the landlord, industrialist and banker, a decadent monarchy subsisting on foreign capital, the grandes constituting a disciplined and powerful vested interest, and an inefficient and ineffective army which became a social cancer, are some of the high lights of Spanish capitalism, still in an undeveloped stage. The hunger and horror of the discontented and the landless manifested in strikes and sporadic outbreaks. They became articulate and homogeneous to break the fetters of feudalism.

As war progressed, atrocities multiplied on both sides. The bloodiest slaughters on the rebel side seem to have been committed after the capture of Badajoz and Irun by Moroccan troops. The cities are patrolled by the citizens of the anti-fascist militia and the streets and highways bristle with barricades. Churches, monasteries and convents have been reduced to ashes. Priests and nuns have been scattered to the four winds and a sickening number of them have been killed. The rebels are treating without pity their innumerable victims—peasants, workers, socialists, and republicans of all shades of opinion. The land is drenched in blood and the end is far from sight.

The danger of the Spanish conflict developing into a European war became obvious when competent correspondents like the late Sir Percival Phillips of the *Daily Telegraph* definitely announced that Italian planes were carrying Moorish troops into southern Spain and that the rebel cause was being aided by both German and Italian bombers and pilots. The control of the Mediterranean has become the chief object of their help to the rebels. These benevolent and embarrassing Fascist vultures

are anxious for a share in the spoils of a rebel victory. Britain, France and Russia are adhering to the non-intervention pact. An international brigade of volunteers from all countries and many Russians are assisting the Spanish Government.

Meanwhile, the war drags on with savage and intense ferocity, and beleaguered Madrid lifts its eyes to the proletariat and peoples of the world after heavy rebel bombardments. Few will doubt the legality of the Spanish Government, and that General Franco's coup is a rebellion against a constitutionally elected body. The privileged classes, the army, and the church to salvage their own material interests, has deliberately unloosed a reign of terror, opening the path to the revolution of infuriated masses bent upon wiping out Fascism and establishing a democratic rule.

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Was Alexander Routed in India?

By PROF. H. C. SETH, M.A., Ph.D. (London)

THE early European historians had made a great hero of Alexander, and this tradition is kept up by most of the modern European historians. There is no doubt that he overran Persia and shattered into pieces the once mighty Persian empire which, in the previous centuries, always took the offensive against Greece. But it has also been tacitly assumed that he was equally successful in India. Unfortunately there is no Indian account whatever from which the one-sided statements of the early Greek and Roman historians could be corrected. But if we carefully read even in between the lines of the accounts left by the early European writers like Arrian, Curtius, Diodoros, Plutarch, and Justin, we do not feel so certain of Alexander's returning victorious from India. In this article we want to discuss briefly the grounds on which we think that Alexander's forces were routed and driven out of the country with tremendous losses amounting to complete discomfiture.

Alexander's Indian campaign began in the region between the Hindukush and the Indus, which was then occupied by the Kshatriya tribes known as Aevakas (Greeks called them as Assakenois). The Aevakas offered a terrible resistance to Alexander. He had to fight every inch of the ground, and it took him nearly nine months to subdue the people of this region. Alexander committed gross atrocities in this region. Like Tyre and Persopolis in Persia, he burned many flourishing cities here too. At many places many inhabitants, including women and children, were put to the sword. These Hunic barbarities of Alexander must have completely alienated the sympathies of the people here. The Aevakas could not concentrate on any single place, as they had to defend every post against the avalanche let loose by Alexander, so destructive of life and property. They made a last stand at Aornos, a very strong and strategic fortress near the Indus. After a few days' siege, Alexander took Aornos, as the Aevakas retired into the interior of the mountains. Curtius observes: "It was the position rather the enemy Alexander had conquered." Alexander

placed Aornos under the Indian Cacigupta.* Obviously, Cacigupta belonged to some ruling family in this region. It was a general practice of Alexander that he put in charge of the areas he conquered either the vanquished ruler or some other equally influential person belonging to that area. He did the same in case of Poros and the king of Takshcilla. This was the only way in which he could get the support of the otherwise absolutely alien people for his further advance. Arrian calls Cacigupta as the satrap of Aevakas. Cacigupta appears to be a very enterprising person and a great opportunist. He had gone to Bactria to help the Persians in their fight against Alexander. After the Persians were defeated in this last stand of theirs, Cacigupta went over to Alexander, and now Alexander left him in charge of strategically the most important place west of the Indus, as Aornos commanded the passage back to Persia through the Punjab. In any subsequent developments in the area lying between the Hindukush and the Indus, we have to account for three persons: (1) Cacigupta, (2) Tyriespes, Persian satrap at the foot of the Hindukush, (3) Nicanor, one of his own Generals whom Alexander left here.

Alexander's passage east of the Indus was facilitated because of the alliance he had already formed, with Ambhi, king of Takshcilla. The cause for this highly unpatriotic conduct on the part of Ambhi seems to be his jealousy of Poros who, even before Alexander came to India, had started in alliance with the king of Abhisar on a career of conquest. It appears that Abhisar was also in alliance with his neighbours Aevakas. He had sent them help against Alexander and also received fugitives from the west of the Indus. Though he sent some presents to Alexander, yet he kept back the envoy sent by Alexander and was getting ready to join Poros. Alexander got to know about the double game Abhisar was playing, and before the latter could take his forces to

* See "Did Chandra Gupta Maurya belong to North-Western India?"—*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XVIII, Part II, 1937.

join that of Poros. Alexander and Ambhi moved hurriedly and confronted Poros on the bank of the Jhelum.

Poros gave a tough fight to Alexander. The Greek army was thoroughly shaken and alarmed. As Plutarch remarks: "The combat with Poros abated the spirit of the Macedonians. It was with difficulty that they had defeated an enemy who brought only 20,000 foot and 2,000 horses in the field." Alexander's forces several times outnumbered the forces of Poros. As Plutarch tells us, Alexander entered into India with no less than 120,000 foot and 15,000 horses. These figures are not surprising, as we know that he had at his disposal the resources of the whole of the big Persian Empire.

There is no Indian account of the battle of Jhelum. But even from the Greek and Roman accounts, it seems that the battle did not end so decisively in favour of Alexander. Curtius gives the following account of the terror caused in the ranks of the Greek army by the elephants.

These animals inspired great terror and their strange dissonant cries frightened not only the horses which shy at everything but the men also and disordered the ranks, so that those who just before were victorious began now to look round them for a place to which they could flee. Alexander thereupon despatched against the elephants the lightly armed Agrianians and the Thracians. They assailed the elephants and their drivers with a furious storm of missiles, and the phalanx, on seeing the resulting terror and confusion, steadily pressed forward.

Some, however, by pursuing too eagerly, so irritated the animals with wounds that they turned their rage upon them and they were in consequence trampled to death under their feet, thus warning others to attack them with greater caution. The most dismal of all sights was when the elephants would, with their trunks, grasp the men, arms and all, and hoisting them above their heads, deliver them over into the hands of their drivers. Thus the battle was doubtful, the Macedonians sometimes pursuing and sometimes fleeing from the elephants, so that the struggle was prolonged till the day was far spent.

The subsequent events also do not suggest that the battle of Jhelum ended in Alexander's favour. Poros was recognised as an independent monarch. It is more likely that henceforward Poros used Alexander as a tool for his further conquest eastwards, just as Ambhi tried to use him to crush Peros. In any case,

Poros succeeded in extending his domains up to the Beas.

After the battle of Jhelum, we do not hear much of Ambhi, king of Takshcilla. Perhaps, the very reason which made him ally with Alexander now drew him away. Alexander was leaving Poros too powerful. As regards Abhisar, Alexander demanded his personal presence and threatened to invade his kingdom in case of non-compliance. But Abhisar never turned up. We shall presently account for this bold attitude on the part of Abhisar.

In between the Jhelum and the Ravi there was no fighting. Both the rivers, the Chenab and the Ravi, were crossed without any opposition, which shows that the influence of Poros and, perhaps, his domains already extended up to the Ravi. Between the Ravi and the Beas, there was terrible fighting again with the Kshatriyas. As we have already mentioned, the territory between the Ravi and the Beas was also annexed by Poros as a result of his campaigns along with Alexander. But at the bank of the Beas, Alexander's army suddenly threw down its arms and refused to go any further. All the threats and entreaties of Alexander were of no avail and he was forced to order retreat. The explanation given by the old Greek and Roman historians is that Alexander's soldiers and even his generals got tired and home-sick. This does not adequately explain the conduct of an army which had been shown so far uniformly successful.

We raise another important question. Why was it that instead of retiring with his tired and home-sick forces through the north-west the way he came and where lay the territories he had conquered, Alexander chose to take them through Sindha and Makran? He knew that as soon as he had got beyond Poros' territory (which seems to extend in the south as far as the confluence of the Ravi and the Chenab) there would be terrible fighting again. The old Greek and Roman historians want us to believe that it was lust for new conquest which made Alexander take that disastrous course. The army which mutinied at the banks of the Beas and successfully dictated terms for retreat could as well have insisted on retiring through the

conquered territories. It would then have been the march back of a victorious army. The truth seems to be that the passage back to Persia through the north-west was blocked for Alexander and his army, and they were forced to retire by way of Sindh and Makran. To understand it properly, we have to go back and see what was happening in the region between the Hindukush and the Indus, where Alexander's atrocities had left such burning wounds.

At the time when Alexander was camping near the Ravi, Acvakas rose in rebellion against him west of the Indus. They killed the satrap Nicanor. It is suggested that the revolt was suppressed by the Persian Tyriespes and some Greek forces from Takshcilla. This does not appear to be true. In the first place, perhaps, Tyriespes was a party to the revolt. We learn that Alexander subsequently replaced him by another Persian satrap who, it seems, never took up that position. Secondly, it cannot be believed that it was so easy to suppress a people whom Alexander himself with a large part of his army failed to subdue even during his nine months' campaign.

As regards Cacigupta, opportunist as he was, he perhaps assumed the leadership of this revolt.* The magnitude of this revolt must have been very great. Acvakas had now time to gather up. Evidently Abhisar had joined them, it was why he could flout Alexander's order for personal presence. King of Takshcilla had also, perhaps, joined them. It was thus for the first time that, perhaps, a force equal in numbers to that of Alexander had got up behind his back. After the shaking he had at the battle of Jhelum against Poros, could he risk a battle with this tremendous force which had gathered behind him like a cloud and which threatened complete destruction in case of the slightest failure. We now understand why the Greek forces took sudden fright at the banks of Beas and tried to hurriedly retire the way of Sindh and Makran.

* For certain very strong reasons, our surmise is that Cacigupta and Chandragupta Maurya were identical. But this question cannot be raised here, as this article would become too long.

The morale of the Greek army was completely broken in this retreat of theirs. Before the fighting started with Mallois, Greek army once again was about to revolt and Alexander had to risk his life more than once to keep it together. In one of the battles with the Mallois, Alexander was almost backed to pieces. One wonders how he outlived the wounds and the blows he received there. Plutarch gives the following account of the incident: "He was very near being cut in pieces by the Malli, who are called the most warlike people in India. He had driven some of them from the wall with his missile weapons and was the first man that ascended it. But presently he was up, the scaling ladder broke. Finding himself and his small company much galled by the darts of the barbarians from below, he leaped down into the midst of the enemy. They attacked him hand to hand and wounded him through his armour with their swords and spears. One of them standing farther off, drew an arrow with such strength that it made its way through his cuirass and entered the ribs under the breast. Its force was so great that he gave back and was brought upon his knees, and the barbarian ran up with his scimitar to despatch him. Peucestas and Limnaeus placed themselves before him, but one was wounded and the other killed." Finally, Alexander received a severe blow from a bludgeon upon his neck. He was carried senseless to his camp by his soldiers after they broke through the walls. The infuriated soldiers fell on the inhabitants of the town and put to sword all including women and children.

It will be difficult to find a parallel in human history to the atrocities committed by the Greek army throughout the whole of Sindh. Everywhere bitterest feelings prevailed against Alexander. The carnage of blood was, perhaps, necessary to get back alive from India. Alexander's design seems to have been to get out of India by sea. But escape that way was impossible because of the monsoon tides, as it was in August that he reached the Indian Ocean. Alexander left the fleet of boats in charge of Nearchus and with greater part of the army retired through the Makran desert.

The Oritae and other tribes in Baluchistan were also up against Alexander; it was with difficulty that he could subdue them and obtain some provisions. But as he advanced further towards the desert, they killed the satrap Apollophanes. Thus the possibility of getting regular supply of provision was cut away. Strabo had given the following account of the march through the Makran desert:

Alexander suffered sorely all throughout his march, as his road lay through a miserable barren country. He was equally unfortunate in the matter of provisions, which were not only brought from a distance, but brought so seldom and in such small quantities that the army suffered greatly from hunger, while the beasts of burden broke down, and the baggage abandoned both on the march and in the camp. The army was indebted for its salvation to the dates and pith of the palm trees.

In addition to the want of provisions, the scorching heat and the depth of the sand and its burning heat were hard to bear. In some places, too, there were high ridges of sand, so that besides the difficulty of lifting the legs as out of a deep hole, there were ascents and descents. It was necessary also, on account of the watering-places, to make long marches of 200, 400, and even at times 600 stadia, and generally by night. The camp was pitched at a distance from the walls, to prevent the soldiers from drinking to excess from thirst; for many of them threw themselves into the water in their armour, drank of it, and sank below the surface till life was extinct, when their bodies became swollen and corrupted the shallow waters of the cisterns. Others exhausted by thirst lay exposed to the sun in the middle of the road. Their legs and arms twitched convulsively and they died like persons seized with cold and shivering. Some turned aside from the road to indulge in sleep, overcome with drowsiness and fatigue. Being thus left behind, some of them lost their way and perished from utter destitution and the heat. A winter torrent again, which burst upon them in the night time, destroyed many lives and a great quantity of baggage, besides sweeping away a considerable portion of the royal equipage.

Many were choked by eating unripe dates. Snakes formed another source of danger; for on the sand-heaps there grew a plant under which they crept to hide themselves. Their bite was uniformly fatal. The Oritae, they said, smeared their arrows, which were made of wood and hardened in the fire with deadly poisons.

A greater part of Alexander's army was thus destroyed in this desert.

The fleet of boats under Nearchus, which was forced to 'take to sails during the monsoon because of the hostility of the natives had, perhaps, an equally disastrous fate. In writing the history of Alexander, European historians

have created a good deal of fiction. The boats which had started sinking even in the Punjab rivers are supposed to have successfully withstood the Indian ocean in the monsoon. But the following account of the meeting of Alexander and Nearchus, after the latter is supposed to have landed the fleet safely at the Mianb river, tells its own tale:

"Blackened by exposure and clothed in rags, Nearchus was unrecognised till he announced himself to the messenger sent to look for him. Even Alexander himself at first failed to recognise his Admiral in the extraordinary apparition that was presented to him in his camp" (p. 167, "Gates of India."—Holdich.)

Thus ended Alexander's invasion of India and with it his career, as soon after he died of broken heart, fatigue, and excesses. Plutarch makes him lament his fate in India as follows:

Among the Indians I was everywhere exposed to their blows and the violence of their rage. They wounded me in the shoulder and the Ghandridai in the leg, while among the Mallois a shaft shot from a bow lodged its iron point in my breast. A club too struck me a blow on the neck.

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A Novel of Christian Life in South India

By MAJORIE LADDEN

MISS H. KAVERI BAI is to be congratulated on giving us an absorbing story of old-time life in Madras. Her heroine, Meenakshi (Meenakshi's Memoirs by Miss H. Kaveri Bai, B.A., L.T. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Rs. 3) is the grand-daughter of a Pariah convert to Christianity. He, and his wife also, must have been persons of very strong character and of much ambition; for by dint of scrimping and saving in the very smallest details, they managed to lift that family out of the ranks of the utterly poverty-stricken into comparative affluence.

As money increased, so did also the desire of the younger generation to conceal their lowly origin. Though Miss Kaveri Bai's is more an ironic than a humorous pen, we cannot but smile at the efforts of these poor people to pose as Brahmin Converts, and to affect a gentility and refinement that was still far beyond their reach.

The plot of this volume is a sad and sordid one, but none the less one feels that it is sadly true to life. If one may offer a criticism, it is that the solution seems rather long postponed; for the reader can guess the secret of Meenakshi's guilty mother long before it is revealed. However, the main appeal of the book lies not on the plot, nor in the rather prolonged moralisings of Meenakshi, but in the very interesting and minute details of the lives of two or three generations of a converted outcaste family, and in the picture of lower middle class life among poor Indians and Eurasians in the Madras of some forty years ago.

Miss Kaveri Bai has some interesting remarks and criticisms to offer on the work of the earlier Christian Missionaries and on the accusation of ingratitude and want of the spirit of service among Christian Converts directly they have raised themselves out of their humble position. She offers a sincere tribute to Missionaries for their work in first "breaking the fetters of centuries" and in civilising and educating these great masses of down-trodden ones to whom their own fellow-countrymen offered no hope of freedom from degradation. But she also has some criticisms to level that should offer food for thought.

Altogether, this is a fine and sincere piece of work and should be eagerly read by all those who find interest in the history of the gradual uplift of the toiling masses of India into a life that is both physically and spiritually on a higher plane.

Meenakshi's Memoirs

A Novel of Christian Life in South India

By Miss H. KAVERI BAI, B.A., L.T.,

Head Mistress, Government Secondary and Training School for Women, Berhampur.

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THE CORONATION ³⁶³



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H. M. QUEEN ELIZABETH

who were crowned at Westminster Abbey on May 12.

THE Coronation of King George VI and Queen Mary was celebrated with all pomp and circumstance at the historic Westminster Abbey on May 12. The ceremony itself was a purely religious function, and as the Archbishop of Canterbury truly claimed in the course of his broadcast—"the Coronation Service represents the whole course of the national history of England". In these times of revolution, restlessness and confusion, said the Primate

many nations in the civilised world must be impressed by realising that the King was being crowned in the same ceremony as his predecessors of a thousand years.

On the eve of the Coronation, the Premiers of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa and the representatives of India and the Colonies presented loyal addresses to His Majesty at the Buckingham Palace. Sir Mahomed Zafrullah Khan, on behalf of the Government and people of India, tendered loyal greetings to His Majesty and said:

The growth of responsible Government in the Dominions has served to strengthen the foundations on which the British Throne reposes, and I am convinced that the same will be the case in India.

H. H. the Maharajah Gaekwar of Baroda, speaking on behalf of the Princes, declared:

No one holds the British Crown and the Sovereign who wears it in greater reverence than we do and there is none readier to answer the call of the King-Emperor in time of need.

His Majesty's speech in acknowledging the greetings from all over the Empire was couched in moving terms. "To-day," said His Majesty,

the world is harassed by perplexity and fear. In this family of nations, linked by ties alike flexible and firm, we have inherited from our fathers the great traditions of liberty and service. I am confident that whatever life may bring to us, we will continue to work together to preserve this

noble heritage so that after, to those who come after.

The Coronation Service was carried through with the utmost solemnity, while scenes of unparalleled splendour and enthusiasm marked the historic pageantry. Seated in his room at the Palace, His Majesty gave his message through the microphone—a message of peace and kinship and security. "I felt this morning," he said,

that the whole Empire was in very truth gathered within the walls of Westminster Abbey. I rejoice that I can now speak to you all. If, in the coming years, I can show my gratitude in service to you, that is the way above all others I should choose.

Indeed, it was this sense of kinship and security in the Commonwealth that was the key-note of the occasion.

Speaking of the significance of the Coronation, General Smuts declared in his speech at Capetown that a new chapter had opened in Constitutional Government.

If these celebrations are unique, so is their character. Here for the first time we have a King of Kingdoms spread over the whole globe. The greatest constitutional advance in history was accomplished without a hitch and stood the severest test of its inherent soundness. Our Commonwealth of Nations is the largest peaceful unit which has ever existed. If we were outside this circle without its goodwill and support, our position would be far more uncertain and precarious and hazardous. What is possible for a quarter of the mankind is surely not impossible in other three quarters. The greatest peace agencies to-day are the British Commonwealth and the United States.

The Prime Minister's message was couched in similar terms. In his broadcast leading to His Majesty's speech, Mr. Stanley Baldwin declared:

Let us dedicate—afresh if need be—ourselves to the service of our fellows, service in widening circles, service to our home, to our neighbourhood, our county, our province, to our country, to the Empire and to the world. No mere service of our lips, but the service of our lives, as we know will be the service of our King and Queen. God Bless them!

INDIAN AFFAIRS

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Mr. Stanley Baldwin and India

SINCE the Working Committee passed its resolution in Allahabad, pointing out the inadequacy of the pronouncements made by Lord Zetland and Mr. Butler to the requirements of the situation, the Secretary of State has made another statement to which political India has given considerable attention. Gandhiji, while acknowledging its conciliatory tone, is unable to concede that it is any contribution to the removal of the deadlock. Other Congressmen have echoed this sentiment and the warfare of words is now centred on a new slogan—dismissal or resignation. While both are identical in import in political parlance, Gandhiji has a preference for the former, which to many outside the ranks of the Congress is un-understandable.

Meanwhile, Conferences of Congress Legislators in U. P. and C. P. have insisted on the summoning of the Legislatures without delay. Congress legislators in Madras and Bombay have made the same demand in the shape of letters to the respective heads of Provincial Governments. And the demand for calling the legislatures is becoming more and more imperative.

While there seems no near prospect of ending the *impasse*, some Europeans of Bengal have thought fit to butt in with an uncalled-for letter to the *Statesman*, saying that "no useful purpose will be served by attempting to bridge the gap between the Governors and a party which is avowedly pledged to destroy the Act". And so goes on this endless warfare of words. It is a pity that even so great an occasion as the King's Coronation has not been utilised to end the deadlock with a generous gesture of grace and goodwill.

Mr. Stanley Baldwin made his last public speech as Prime Minister at the Empire Day Coronation Banquet in London and was greeted with a remarkable demonstration of affection.

Referring to India, the Premier said that India was an Empire within an Empire and contained Principalities to which the attributes of Sovereignty were attached. Of the many dynasties that had ruled India, none had held such universally undisputed sway as the Monarchy.

The Gaekwar of Baroda, responding, referred to the New Constitution and admitted that it was a welcome step towards India's goal of being a great autonomous unit within the British Commonwealth of Nations, "though a more rapid, extensive and progressive step would have been preferred by his countrymen".

Indeed, the greatest weakness of the Empire is that it is made up of unequal units enjoying different degrees of freedom. If the unity, of which the retiring Premier spoke with such eloquence, is to be real and lasting, there is need for a more wide-spread infusion of that element of democracy and equality of which we hear so much on festive occasions. If, as H. H. the Gaekwar shrewdly pointed out, "the happiness of the peoples was the test by which all forms of governments and all constitutions would come to be judged", the present Constitution stands condemned. For, as has been so often observed, "no people can be happy so long as they feel that the shaping of their destiny is not in their hands". And Imperial unity can hardly be attained by a forced union of disgruntled units.

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INDIAN AFFAIRS

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Congress—Muslims

The Congress President's drive to enlist Muslims in the Congress fold is steadily bearing fruit. An informal Conference of what are known as Congress-minded Muslims met at Allahabad in the third week of May, and there was a frank and free discussion on the question of Muslims and the Congress and various difficulties and impediments which Muslims are alleged to have to meet in the course of Congress work among the Muslim masses. At the end of three days' deliberation, the following resolution was adopted:

This Conference is unanimously of opinion that the only right policy and correct attitude for Muslims to act upon and adopt is to join unconditionally the Indian National Congress and participate in the struggle for the freedom of the country.

Both the Jamait Ulema and the U. P. Muslim Parliamentary Board discussed the question of co-operation with the Congress at their respective meetings in Lucknow. The former avows its identity with the Congress in so far as the attainment of freedom of the country is concerned, but urges that

it is the final duty of the majority community to satisfy the minorities and think out means of creating feelings of confidence and love in the minorities.

The latter is against joining the Congress in its policy of wrecking the Constitution and urges a common and agreed legislative programme provided

the communal award and separate representation in local self-governing bodies will be allowed to stand till an agreed settlement is arrived at.

So we are no nearer the solution now than before.

The Nehru—Jinnah Controversy

A brisk controversy has been going on between Pandit Jawaharlal, President of the Congress, and Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah reiterates the Muslim demands while Mr. Nehru swears by the Congress programme. The latter's appeal to Muslims to join the Congress has offended the Muslim leaguers, and Mr. Jinnah and his colleagues claim that their co-religionists should be approached only through their accredited leaders, *i.e.*, themselves. Addressing a joint meeting of Europeans and Indians in Bombay, Mr. Jinnah observed:

"If I were the Zanglul Pasha of India, I would have called the representatives of the minorities and granted their demands forthwith."

He emphasised that prior to the establishment of any popular Government in the country, the communal problem must be solved. Asked, at the end of the meeting, how he reconciled his desire for the freedom of the country with his objection to the Congress efforts to establish contacts with Muslim masses, Mr. Jinnah replied that he was fundamentally opposed to the policy, programme and methods of action pursued by the Congress. Pandit Jawaharlal, in a rejoinder to Mr. Jinnah's statements, invites the latter to organise a party on a political and economic basis in order to fight on the democratic plane. The Congress President refuses to admit the political entity of the League in same way as he refuses to admit that of the Hindu Mahasabha or other communal organisations.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

The New Irish Constitution

AT the second reading in the Dail of the New Constitution Bill, Mr. de Valera announced that for the present the President's powers would be applied only to internal affairs but could later be extended to external affairs, if the people decided to abolish the Act passed last year in which the King of England's sovereignty in such matters was recognised. Commenting on this, the *Statesman* observes that Mr. de Valera shows statesmanship in thus keeping the door still open for consideration, whether or not the Free State is to remain within the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Staunch republican as he is, he is anxious above all to effect a union between the Free State and the six northern counties, and he must realise that were the Free State to sever all connection with the British monarchy, and therefore with the Empire, the prospects of such a union would vanish. The hope of a United Ireland is cherished by many Irishmen of differing politics and creeds and it can be fulfilled only through the cultivation of mutual understanding and the neglect of old antagonisms.

The Passing of John D. Rockefeller

The death of the veteran American "Oil King" John D. Rockefeller at the great age of 97 marks the passing of the wealthiest and the most philanthropic of Americans. Like so many other millionaires, Rockefeller started from modest beginnings, but he made his fortune as easily as he gave them away readily for causes worthy of his benefactions.

The size of the enormous fortune that he accumulated from oil, banking and other interests was never definitely known, but when he began to withdraw from active business 30 years ago, he was reputedly the richest man in the world's history. His wealth was variously estimated at from 200 to 400 million sterling.

Since then, however, he has given away considerably more than £120 million,

including £50 million for general education, £47 million for the Rockefeller Foundation, £20 million to the Laura Spelman Memorial to his dead wife.

Rockefeller was noted for his plain living, and his generosity was matched only by his enormous wealth. His life will remain an object-lesson to the rich for all time, and the Rockefeller Foundations will remain a monument alike of his generosity and discernment.

Spanish Cabinet Changes

Following the resignation by the Caballero Government of Spain, Senor Negrin, on May 16 formed a new Government, which includes Senor Jose Giral (Left Republican) as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Senor Indalecto Prieto as Minister of National Defence. The new Cabinet maintains the same 'Popular Front' formation as that of Senor Caballero, but consists of 9 members instead of 15. The Cabinet includes 8 Socialists and 2 Communists.

One significant feature is the concentration of the ministries of war, air and marine in the hands of the Minister for National Defence, Senor Indalecto Prieto.

The particular task of the new Government will be to unify command of military operations as well as control of economic life, says the Government statement of policy.

The formation of the new Government in Valencia with implied swing to the Right has particularly pleased the Basques as they have three members in it. It is felt, Valencia now realises the importance of the defence of Bilbao for the whole issue of the war.

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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Belgian Neutrality

A joint declaration has been made by the British and French Governments releasing Belgium from all her obligations towards them under the Locarno Pact, while continuing to offer assistance to Belgium as undertaken under the Locarno and other agreements.

They have particularly taken note of the determination expressed by Belgium to defend her frontiers with all her forces against any aggression or invasion, and to prevent Belgian territory from being used for purposes of aggression against another State or as a passage or base of operations by land, sea and air; also of her determination to organise her defences in an efficient manner for this purpose.

The Governments have also noted Belgium's renewed assurances of fidelity to the Covenant of the League of Nations and the obligations it involves on League members.

The declaration adds that the release of Belgium in no way affects the existing undertakings between Britain and France.

Mussolini-Schuschnigg Talks

Perfect identity of views between Mussolini and Schuschnigg is recorded, says the *communique* issued after the conclusion of the Venice talks. The *communique* refers to the systematisation of Danube valley and declares that this cannot be usefully conceived or put into practice without the participation of Germany. The Chancellor and Mussolini fully examined the economic relations between the two countries and stressed on an important contribution to be made in the economic reconstruction of Austria by means of intensive exchange of Italo-Austrian goods.

Prince Nicholas of Rumania

Prince Nicholas, Heir-Presumptive to the Rumanian throne, renounced all his titles and prerogatives, states a *Communique* issued at the close of a long meeting of the Crown Council, attended by the Heads of all political parties and presided over by King Carol.

Prince Nicholas in 1931 contracted a secret morganatic marriage with the beautiful Madame Saveanu, the divorced wife of a member of the Russian diplomatic corps.

Prince Nicholas again refused to renounce this marriage in a letter, which was considered at the Council, thus occasioning the Council to deprive Prince Nicholas of all his royal rights.

It is understood that Prince Nicholas will now leave the country as a private citizen.

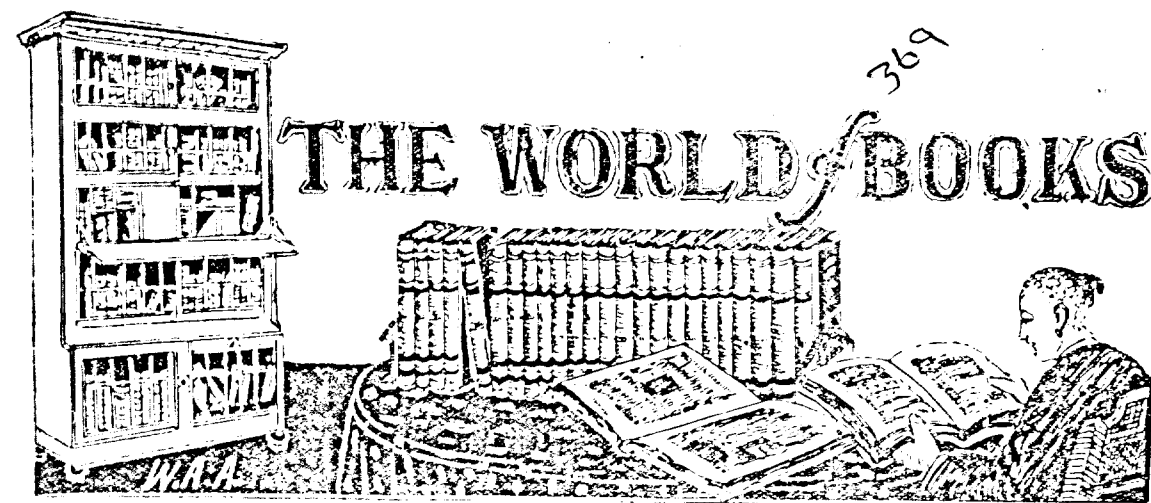
Abyssinia and the League

Ex-Emperor Haile Selassie of Abyssinia did not send any delegation to the League Assembly, which met at Geneva on May 27. He sent a message to the League stating that no useful purpose would be served by attending the Assembly. He is said to think that it cost him an Empire to realise its future. But the disillusionment is not complete. There is still a faint glimmer of hope.

"While expressing good wishes to Egypt and rejoicing at the fact that she has gained complete international independence," he says, "I reserve the hope that the League will one day obtain complete liberation of the Ethiopian occupied territory."

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- April 24. H. M. the King unveils the first memorial to his father at Windsor Castle.
- April 25. 150,000 workers in jute, paper and cotton mills in Bengal strike work.
- April 26. All-India Congress Committee meets at Allahabad to consider the political impasse.
- April 27. Pt. Nehru and Mr. Jinnah issue counter-statements on the Congress bid to capture Moslem support.
- April 28. Mr. Baldwin unveils a memorial tablet to Lord Grey of Fallodon.
- April 29. Congress Working Committee approves the action taken by Congress leaders in refusing to form the Ministries.
- April 30. Mr. S. K. Roy Chowdhury is elected Mayor of Calcutta.
- May 1. Mr. de Valera issues a scheme for a New Constitution for Ireland.
- May 2. President Roosevelt signs the Neutrality Bill.
- May 3. The All-India Sugar Conference meets in Simla.
- May 4. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru leaves for Rangoon.
- May 5. Mr. Sahib and other mahomedan leaders appeal to Muslims to join the Congress.
- May 6. Mr. Baldwin addresses the Commons for the last time as Prime Minister.
- May 7. Airship "Hindenburg" bursts into flames while mooring at Lakehurst resulting in several deaths.
- May 8. H. M. King George pays a tribute to Parliamentary Government at the luncheon to Empire Premiers.
- May 9. Mr. N. C. Kelkar is arrested in the Poona Temple Satyagraha.
- May 10. The Justice Party meeting at Madras condemns the Interim Ministry. —Bengal jute strike is called off.
- May 11. The C. P. "Parallel Assembly" meets in Nagpur and condemns the C. P. Interim Ministry.
- May 12. Coronation of Their Majesties takes place in London.
- May 13. Spanish rebels kill about 3,000 of the Government forces at Taldeo.
- May 14. The Imperial Conference meets in London.
- May 15. Viscount Philip Snowden is dead.
- May 16. Governor-General of Netherlands gives a reception to the Maharajah of Travancore at Batavia.
- May 17. H. H. the Thakore Sahib of Lathi declares open all the temples in his State to Harijans.
- May 18. The 1st East Surrey Regiment Expedition to Himalayas reaches Naumik in Ramganga Valley.
- May 19. The 22nd International Commerce Congress meets in Paris.
- May 20. The Maharajah of Alwar is dead.
- May 21. Viceroy opens the Conference of Boy Scout Commissioners at Simla.
- May 22. The King and Queen review the British Home and Empire Fleets.
- May 23. John D. Rockefeller (Senior) is dead. —World Wireless Conference meets at Bucharest.
- May 24. Mr. Baldwin makes his farewell speech as Premier at the Empire Day Banquet.
- May 25. H. E. the Viceroy opens the Cattle Conference at Simla.
- May 26. Empire Press Union Conference meets in London.
- May 27. Egypt is admitted to membership of the League of Nations at the Extraordinary Session of the Assembly.



INTERNATIONAL LAW. By K. R. R. Sastri, Kitabistan, Allahabad.

The author must be congratulated on bringing out this book on International Law at a time when India is on the threshold of new constitutional changes.

The book is divided into three parts: Law of Peace, Law of War, and the Law of Neutrality. After a brief introduction about the nature and sources of International Law, the author traces the history of the subject and gives many references to show that the subject must have been familiar to ancient Hindu jurists. The Chapters on the Mandates System, International Water Ways, the League of Nations and its Peace machinery are exhaustive and leave nothing to be desired. In the chapter on the International Court, the author has attempted to give an idea of the development of Judicial Legislation by the Permanent Court of International Justice after the manner of Lauterpacht.

The next part of the Law of War deals with both the Laws of War on land and at sea. The author discusses under different headings the main points that arise for consideration and states the conventions of the Hague Conferences, where the first big attempt was made to humanise the conditions in which wars

were then fought. On the subject of maritime warfare also, the discussion cannot be said to be very exhaustive, but the subject of Prize Law has been dealt with elaborately. An useful chapter on Air Warfare, which is bound to play a much greater part in any future war, has also been added.

Under the heading of Neutrality, the author has taken pains to give a number of quotations from ancient Hindu Text-Books to prove that the conception of neutrality was well known in ancient India, though it may not have been so well developed. But the author does not discuss in this chapter the course of the development of the Law of Neutrality in detail as well as the special contribution of the United States of America to this branch of the subject. It would have been better if the author had discussed more fully the difficulties experienced by neutral states to maintain strict neutral obligations in any modern warfare, owing to the extended applications of the laws of contraband, continuous voyage, unnatural service, etc.

The book is, on the whole, a commendable piece of work by one who has made a serious study of the subject and is eager to persuade many more to take an interest in it.

WE ARE NOT ALONE. By James Hilton. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London. Price 6 sh.

Mr. Hilton is already known as a writer of rare skill in the depicting of character, and in this short and poignant tale he has risen to greater heights than ever. The "Little Doctor" of this story is a fine doctor and surgeon, eternally aware of the needs or terrors of poor, suffering humanity and, therefore, loved and trusted by all who come under his unselfish care. In the ordinary affairs of life, however, he is dreaming and unworldly and, therefore, a constant source of irritation to his narrow-minded and conventional wife. They had one child, Gerald, and probably as the result of the crossing of two such unequal temperaments, the child was nervy and highly-strung almost to the point of disease. Another character comes into the story, the German girl, Leni, whom the doctor takes into his home out of pity as a governess for his child. And from the reaction of these four characters, tragedy comes so suddenly and shatteringly that the two poor victims cannot defend themselves and go uncomplaining to their terrible end.

"We are not alone" is a book to read and to remember.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN MAHARASHTRA AND KARNATAK. By Y. S. Pandit, M.A. Tilak Swarajya Sangh, Poona.

This well-written, compact, and suggestive essay portrays the economic conditions of the Maharashtra and Karnatak. The scientific approach to the subject is evidenced in the chapters themselves which treat with various aspects, such as economic geography, agriculture, industries large and small scale, transport, finance and banking. Mr. Pandit has taken pains to bear an impartial outlook and his statements are well informed and cautious.

THE VOICE OF OMAR KHAYYAM: A variorum study of his Rubaiyyat. By Jamshedji E. Saklatwalla. Qayyimah Press, Bombay.

Omar's philosophy of life has evoked generous enthusiasm in some minds and it has repelled others. Significant extracts from both friendly and hostile critics, bearing on the different aspects of Omar's life and work, have been collected together in this handy volume. The author is eminently well-fitted to interpret the mind of Omar; for he loves and admires this poet. Mr. J. E. Saklatwalla shows how Omar was a master of poetic technicalities and inimitable intricacies with allegorical and mystical symbolism peculiar to all classical Persian poets and has helped to remove much of our misunderstanding of the mystical significance of the tenets and creed as held and practised by the astronomer-poet.

THE COBRAS OF DHERMASHERI. By S. K. Chettiar. Published by Messrs. Higginbothams Ltd., Madras.

This is an interesting collection of thirteen stories, the name of the book being taken from the first story. The author, in the course of his official and judicial work, has had keen contacts with several types and in several provinces. He gives vivid and suggestive pen sketches—the persistence of cobra superstition through several generations; the repetition of motor smash-ups owing to ectoplasmic influences; rape, violation, and murder in village life. There are stories of love and humour as, for example, Ramalingam's love in a tube and lunch with Va Vasour of the carmine lips. The reader will not easily forget Hamimudin and his lace cap and how it secured Honorary Degrees for the Hockey team. It is an enjoyable book.

ADYAR PAMPHLETS.

- i. The third object of the Theosophical Society, by C. W. Leadbeater.
- ii. Life as ceremonial by Beasant Scott.
- iii. Dr. Besant as a comrade and a Leader by Sir. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.
- iv. Communalism and its cure by Theosophy, by Bhagwan Das.

1. The author lays stress on the development of the latent powers in man, which he considers to be the third object of the Theosophical Society. He warns us of the dangers of rash attempts to enter into the practices of the Yogis.

2. The direction given in this book is service to humanity, which eventually is what opens before us the eternal love which we so much long for as our ideal.

3. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar describes Dr. Besant's strenuous work in India, her career through thick and thin, and the suffering she had undergone.

4. Bagwan Das explains the life-work of the Hindu reformers like Swami Dayananda Saraswati and Swami Shrad-dhananda, and points out the way by which communal rancour and bitterness could be avoided.

THE MODEL VILLAGE. By A. H. Jaisinghani. Published by Ganesh & Co., Madras.

Amidst the multitudinous discords of modern life, it is refreshing to turn to an ideal of a model village as envisaged by a writer gifted with high ideals and clear expression; a model village with about 800 acres of cultivable land and 60 huts carefully planned to provide all amenities of life and work, aiming at economic order, social harmony, political equilibrium and religious liberty. All social workers will find the book an attractive study in constructive thinking.

INDIAN WHO'S WHO, 1937-38. Edited by Waman P. Kabadi. Yeshanand & Co., Bombay. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 10.)

"The Indian Who's Who" has come to stay and the fact that a second edition has been called for within a year of the issue of the first, shows the extent of its popularity. The plan of the book is simple: the first section deals with high Government officials; the second with leading men and women in British India; and the third with rulers and prominent personalities in the Indian States. Altogether there are references to over 5,000 names with illustrations wherever possible.

BOOKS RECEIVED

SONG OF ETERNAL PEACE. By M. S. Nirmal. Published by Bhai Amar Singh. The Model Electric Press, Lahore. Price Rs. 2. This is a rendering into English verse of Guru Arjun's Sukhmani from the old original Punjabi. It is in twenty-four cantos with eight verses in each.

THE LIGHTS OF BHAGAWAD GITA. By B. N. Khanna. S. Chand & Co., Delhi. A feature of this edition which distinguishes it from other editions is the inclusion of parallel passages from the poets, philosophers and prophets of other countries.

KRISHNA BAI. By Ramdas. Anandashram Series No. 3. Price As. 4. The saintly life of Krishna Bai comes as a challenge against the belief that women cannot successfully be converted into saints.

MATRICULATION MATHEMATICAL TABLES. By Isaac Mathai, M.A. Mathai's Publications, Bombay. Re. 1. This booklet will be found by all students a useful companion in the study of Mathematics.

MOVEMENT: A CLUE TO BRAIN ACTION. By Helen Coomber. Faber and Faber, 24 Russell Square, London, W.C. 1.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AT THE BEGINNING OF 1937. By Kamil Krofta. Orbis Publishing Co., Prague XII, Fochova 62.

THE LITTLE WAY. By THE REV. P. JOHANNES, S.J. Light of the East Office, Calcutta. Price As. 10.

THEY FOUND GOD. By M. L. Christlieb. George Allen and Unwin, London.

SCPTICISM AND POETRY. By D. G. James. Allen and Unwin, London.

Hyderabad

MUNICIPAL CONFERENCE

The first Hyderabad Municipal Conference met at the City College, Hyderabad, on May 5. The Conference was organised by the Osmania Municipal Party, which is affiliated to the Osmania Graduates' Association and was opened by Nawab Mehdi Yar Jung Bahadur, Political and Education Member to H. E. H. the Nizam's Government. Mr. Premji Lalji, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates said that the fact that within three years of the grant of municipal rights to the city, they had been able to gather together to confer on the vital problems of civic life was a very unique thing in itself.

STATE BANK FOR HYDERABAD

The establishment of a State Bank for Hyderabad, coincident with the establishment of Federation, was foreshadowed by the appointment by Government of a strong committee of seven presided over by Mr. S. M. Bharucha, Additional Revenue Secretary, for considering the drafts of two Bills, namely, Land Mortgage Bill and Debt Conciliation Bill.

The Committee is to report in three months.

BEGUM ASHRAFF-UN-NISSA

Begum Ashraff-un-Nissa, who has been awarded the Empire Gallantry Medal in recognition of her meritorious services during the Moti Mahal Fire accident, was congratulated recently at the meeting of the Hyderabad Municipal Corporation, when Mr. Rai Manmohan Lal was in the chair. The Corporation also decided to request Raja Shamraj Rajwant Bahadur to unveil the portraits of Nawab Mehdi Yar Jung Bahadur and Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung Bahadur.

Mysore

MODERN MYSORE

The future of the Indian States in general is now exemplified before our eyes in the present Mysore in particular. There is much in Mr. Padmanabha Iyer's book ("Modern Mysore" by A. Padmanabha Iyer, printed at the Sridhara Printing House, Trivandrum) which should be new to many although there is little that causes any surprise. The condition of Mysore to-day is but the logical, if felicitous, result of the policy pursued so long and so steadily by His Highness and by his very brilliant Dewan Sir Mirza Ismail. This policy possesses an importance which extends far beyond the scope—great as this is—of its positive achievements in the moral and material spheres within Mysore itself. It shows what can be done under enlightened leadership and competent administration by an Indian State.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Padmanabha Iyer's book, which is brightly written and attractively got-up—whilst photographic plates profusely sprinkled throughout the work add greatly to the interest of the author's narrative—will serve to introduce many persons to Mysore and will help them to share the conviction that the future alike of the Indian rulers and of the Indian states lies best and most certainly along the road which Mysore is now leading with justifiable confidence.

MATERNITY BENEFIT

His Highness the Maharajah of Mysore has given his assent to the Bill passed by the Legislative Council, regulating the employment of women in factories sometime before and some time after confinement and providing for the payment of maternity benefit to them.

Baroda

POLITICAL TRENDS IN INDIA

H. H. the Maharajah Gaekwar of Baroda, as the spokesman for India at the recent Imperial Conference in London, tendered to Their Majesties respectful greetings and assurances of unswerving devotion and attachment. Nowhere, he said, did the currents of ideas and aspirations flow stronger than in India whose great cities fermented with social and industrial vigour, but much more far-reaching was the fact that the traditional life of the peasant was awakening from its long quiescence.

To what goal would the vast energy now being released lead India's millions? The Gaekwar answered: Politically towards the attainment of full stature as an autonomous unit of the British Commonwealth and socially towards freedom perfected by order and order perfected by freedom. If India had received much from the Commonwealth, she had equally much to give.

ELECTRICITY IN BARODA

Electricity is making great headway in the Baroda State. The total number of units generated in the State during 1935-36 amounted, according to the recent returns, to 26'28 lakhs K.W.H. as against 25'24 lakhs during the preceding year. The sale of energy to consumers amounted to 22'27 lakhs of units as against 20'57 lakhs during the previous year.

Besides the State Electric Works at the capital and Port Okha, there were 10 Electrical Supply Undertakings in operation as against 8 at the end of the previous year. During the year under review, 8 applications for grant of license for supplying electricity to various towns were under consideration of the Government.

Travancore

TEMPLE-ENTRY PROCLAMATION

The Travancore Government has been criticised in some quarters as having inaugurated the Temple-Entry Proclamation as a political stunt. Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer, opening the All-Kerala Inter-Religious Conference at Alwaye, took the opportunity to combat this notion and explain the fundamental ideas underlying the Proclamation: "Young in years, but old in wisdom, His Highness wanted to break down the spirit of compartmentalism and separatism, which was preventing India from rising to her full stature. His Highness was also anxious that there should not be differences in the sight of God. The remedy was to establish equality and equity and those two principles were the key-notes of the Temple-Entry Proclamation." The Dewan added:

It is not true—and I say this with a full sense of responsibility—that the Proclamation has depleted the temples of Travancore of worshippers. Contrariwise, it has purified the atmosphere in a manner which fulfils our best expectations. I have worshipped at some of our great shrines after the Proclamation and have seen the spirit of fervour wherein the members of these backward communities come to the temples to which they are now newly admitted, purifying themselves and taking greater care than many members of the so-called higher communities to make themselves fit to participate in and receive the incalculable benefit of worship. There has not been a depletion of worshippers from the higher communities, but even if there had been, this spirit of fulfilment, dedication and one-pointed devotion is more than compensation for any such depletion. The spiritual reservoir thus formed is one of our greatest assets, and flowing in fertilising torrents throughout the country it will make for a greater and nobler future for the State and India.

THE MAHARAJAH'S STATUE

Mr. D. P. Roy Chowdhury, the well-known sculptor, has been commissioned by the Temple-entry Proclamation Memorial Working Committee, Trivandrum, to execute a double life-size statue in bronze of His Highness the Maharajah of Travancore.

Bhavanagar**DEBT REDEMPTION SCHEME**

The question of agricultural indebtedness is at present engaging the attention of almost all the Provincial Governments in India. Naturally, therefore, the practical manner in which the State of Bhavanagar has tackled the problem is full of interest to the public in all other States and Provinces as well. *Roy's Weekly* of Delhi did a public service in reviewing the results of the operations in the State of Bhavanagar. In a series of articles in that paper, "N. M. S.", who is obviously a well-informed official of the department concerned, has reviewed the working of the scheme. We are glad to find the articles reprinted and presented to the public in the more handy form of a pamphlet of 30 pages (available of *Roy's Weekly*, Delhi, or the office of the Revenue Commissioner, Bhavanagar). For most of the measures of reform indicated in these pages have been either adopted or in process of adoption, and other States and Governments interested in such problems can hardly fail to profit by the example of Bhavanagar.

Gwalior**RURAL DEVELOPMENT**

At the Banquet on Coronation day at Gwalior, H. H. the Maharajah in his speech said that the Viceroy's efforts to improve the lot of the masses had evoked the response in his state. An elaborate scheme for rural development was under the consideration of his Government and would be launched at an early date. The Maharajah remarked that the greatest ambition of his life was to do all that lay in his power to make Gwalior a model State. Various important reforms to improve the efficiency of public services and the utility of various public institutions were engaging his attention.

Sonepur**THE SONEPUR RAJ**

The death of Maharajah Sir Bir Mitrodaya of Sonepur in April last marks the end of 35 years of beneficent rule in what is known as the granary of Orissa. One distinguishing feature of the late Maharajah's rule was the creation of Trust Funds amounting to some 22 lakhs, the interest on which is being devoted to education, irrigation and other objects of public interest in the State. The Maharajah was made a K. C. I. E. in 1918. Two outstanding services of his were the constitution of the High Court for the State and of the Bichar Samiti consisting of elected members to devise practical schemes for agricultural and industrial improvements.

His successor Maharajah Sri Sudhansu Sekhar Sing Deo, who has received liberal education in a Calcutta College, will, it is fervently hoped, continue the beneficent activities of his father, the late Maharajah.

Lathi**HARIJANS IN LATHI STATE**

Following the lead given by the Maharajah of Travancore and Baroda, the Thakore Sahib of Lathi of Kathiawar States declared open for all Harijans Annakshetra Temple in Lathi State.

Performing this ceremony, the Thakore Sahib stated that none of the Hindu scriptures supported the present practice of barring Harijans from temple-entry. His Highness added: "I feel by performing this ceremony to-day, I am only righting a great wrong. Harijans will enjoy the same rights as the rest of my subjects in all matters."

INDIANS OVERSEAS**South Africa****INDIAN SETTLERS IN SOUTH AFRICA**

The Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association sent a message of welcome and loyalty to Sir Patrick Duncan, Governor-General of South Africa and Lady Duncan. A warm reception was accorded to Their Excellencies in Capetown in which leading Indians participated.

The Governor-General, replying to the address, said: "From now on, it is my duty and my intention to know no distinction between citizens, no favour or disfavour based on political differences. In that same spirit, I shall look confidently to all South Africans, whatever their political affinities or associations may be, to accord to me that co-operation and support which are necessary to the adequate discharge of my office."

MR. HOFMEYR AND INDIA

Mr. Hofmeyr was the guest of honour at a dinner given by Sir Raza Ali at Capetown on May 1, which was attended by a distinguished gathering of people prominent in the life of South Africa.

The Agent to the Governor-General paid a tribute to Mr. Hofmeyr's sympathetic responsiveness, which had made such a great impression in India during his recent "Goodwill" tour by Union Parliamentarians.

Mr. Hofmeyr said that he could not help feeling that the solution of the difficulties in India was just around the corner.

"I am confident there is goodwill on both sides. India will progress along the path of constitutional development slowly like the Union, but she will arrive at the same happy goal of complete autonomy within the British Commonwealth of Nations, the basis of which would be very far from complete, without the contribution India can make to its value and work in the world."

INDIAN PRISONERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Indian Colonial Association has received from South Africa a copy of the memorandum, which has been submitted to the authorities there for inquiry.

The Memorandum does not ask for privileges or concessions but asks for human treatment. It asks that, when in jail, Indians should be kept separate from natives and those suffering from contagious diseases.

The Memorandum also deals at length with the question of recruitment of Indians to the Police Department, pleading for better status during employment.

Malaya**INDIANS IN MALAYA**

Rao Sahib K. A. Mukundan, Agent to the Government of India in Malaya States, returned to Madras recently after the end of his term of office in Malaya.

Interviewed by the *Hindu* Representative, Rao Sahib Mukundan said that many gratifying changes had taken place in the condition of Indians in Malaya by way of increased wages and better living conditions. He also stated that there was now a better understanding between the employers and the employees.

Regarding permanent settlement of Indian labourers in Malaya, Rao Sahib Mukundan said that he believed that if it were to be a success, the labourers should be told that they were not liable to be turned out and that they would be given reasonable security of tenure. He also hoped that a time would come when Malaya need not have to depend on India for labour. The Indian population there now would, he said, become domiciled and there was ample indigenous labour.

Zanzibar

ZANZIBAR BILLS

Three Bills have been published in the official *Gazette* of the Zanzibar Government. They are: (1) A Bill to provide for the Settlement of Mortgage Debts secured on lands owned by Arabs and Africans; (2) a Bill to restrict the Voluntary Permanent Alienation and Mortgaging of Lands owned by Arabs and Africans; and (3) a Bill to Regulate and Control the Purchases, Sale and Exportation of Cloves. These Bills are based on the decrees passed early this year.

Mr. Tyab Ali, Leader of the Indian Community, Zanzibar, who had come to Simla at the invitation of the Government of India in connection with the consideration of the anti-Indian legislation in Zanzibar there, interviewed at Bombay said that he was quite satisfied that the Government of India were in earnest in their endeavours to see justice done to Indians in Zanzibar.

Abyssinia

INDIAN FIRM IN ABYSSINIA

The Government of India, in consultation with His Majesty's Government, have been giving their anxious consideration to the question of the expulsion of the Indian firm of Messrs. Mohamed Ali from Abyssinia by the Italian Government.

The present position is that, as the result of the representations made in Rome by His Majesty's Government, the Italian Government have undertaken to allow complete liberty of action to the firm in carrying out liquidation. They have also agreed to grant a reasonable period in which this liquidation may be carried out, and have fixed no time limit either for liquidation or for the withdrawal from Abyssinia of those employees

of the firm who will be charged with the carrying out of the liquidation proceedings.

In view of these developments, the Government of India have decided that no useful purpose can be served by imposing measures of retaliation, which might well produce increased difficulties.

Burma

INDIA AND BURMA

"I have come here as the bearer of a message of Goodwill from India," said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, replying to a civic address presented to him by Dr. Alan Murray, Mayor of the Corporation of Rangoon. The function was held at the City Hall and was largely attended.

The Congress President added that Burma and India must still work together, though now geographically separated by England, and appealed for co-operation and preservation of the friendly spirit between Indians and Burmans.

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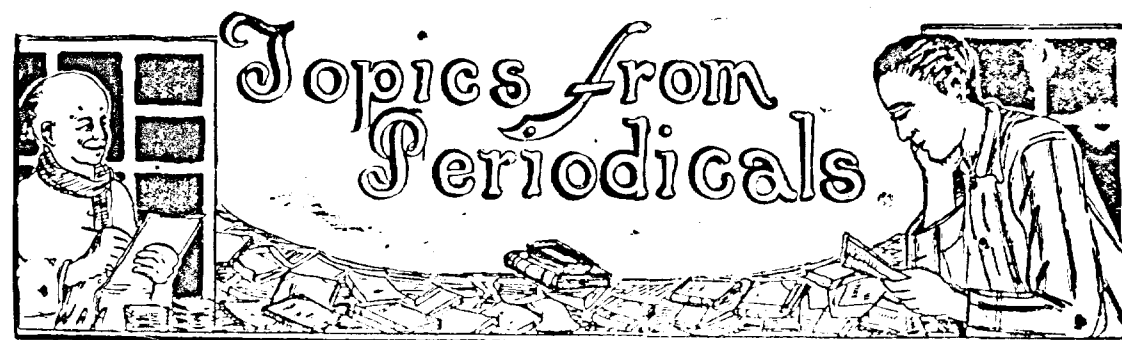
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THE POLITICAL CRISIS

The deadlock in the provinces is a theme for endless arguments and there is no prospect of the controversy ceasing until Government and the Congress set aside any idea of prestige and face facts squarely. Yet, observes Mr. Edward Thompson in *Time and Tide*, the tactical advantages are with Congress in the coming struggle.

The Indian Governors could not have given the assurances for which Mr. Gandhi on the plain ordinary meaning of words certainly seemed to ask. But this will weigh nothing with outside opinion which will more and more believe that all that was asked was that there should not be continual bureaucratic interference with elected parliaments and that this assurance was refused. It is a grim time for us British. Just as we were creeping back to some measure of international respectability, are the Coronation junketings to be accompanied by lathi-charges and thousands of arrests of our fellow-citizens? When our trans-Atlantic guests have left and are licking their financial wounds, are they going to hear reports which make them think that after all there is not all that basic difference between John Bull and the conquerors of Abyssinia?

The writer is of opinion that India is losing its chance by refusing to work the constitution. And yet there is point in Congress refusal.

For example, India has been given a Constitution under which she is forbidden, no matter how sound financially, to touch foreign officials' salaries.

In inserting such a disability into the Constitution, the British people sank below their own standard of self-respect and fairness and did something which you will find no one outside these islands to defend. For, India's poverty is something that appeals all visitors.

The administration is indefensibly top-heavy. It is argued that to cut down top expenses is cheese-paring meanness.

The fact nevertheless puts us in the wrong, especially when India is denied the right to touch it.

The Congress is also helped, says Mr. Thompson; by the way the past is waking again. India is looking beyond its mere administration and its actual relation with England.

One quite new element in the present clash is a feeling of contempt for us. The historian will one day see in the Hoare-Laval proposals episode the turning-point of the British Empire. One of the most perplexing things that ever happened is that it should have been a Conservative Government that threw the Empire away in the interval between Ottawa and General Franco. A party to which belong nearly all our soldiers and administrators has displayed less Empire sense than the wildest socialists could have done. As one result, whereas ten years ago many Indian nationalists felt regret at the thought for passing outside the empire—felt, in fact, much as St. Paul did about the Roman Empire of which he was so proud a citizen—they now regard the Empire as something bogus about to pass swiftly from the scene.

Another factor that embarrasses England is her alliance with the Princes. They have a disproportionate pull in the constitution to which they are supposed to lend balance. But the safeguards are just the seeds of revolution and hatred. And Mr. Thompson warns:

When the American revolution came, it was not the taxation without representation that aroused hatred and determination to fight to the death. It was some psychic image, the shadow cast by things in eighteenth-century England which, when reflected in the New World, made men see red. In a similar shadow cast to-day in India, both the higher administration—which can talk so glibly, and to sympathetic hearers so convincingly, of safeguards, minorities, and the rest—and the Princes, the Higher Administration's allies, have merged into one composite ogre. And not in Congress circles only, but also among many Indians still reluctantly supporting Government as their one sure barrier against civil war, there is as strong a wish to sweep this creature away as ever men felt at Lexington or Concord.

THE CORONATION CEREMONY

The *World Digest* for May gives a condensed version of an article by F. E. Bailey in the *Ladies' Journal*, giving colourful details of the Coronation Ceremony in England. The ceremony begins with the entrance of the King and Queen into Westminster Abbey. The King, standing by his Chair, bows himself to the assembled people and the Archbishop of Canterbury, turning to all sides of the Abbey, says:

Sirs, I here present unto you King George, the undoubted King of this realm: Wherefore all you who are come this day to do your homage, are you willing to do the same?

It is then the part of the people to signify their willingness by crying out: "God save King George!" After this the trumpets sound.

Next follow the Litany and the Communion Service and a sermon by one of the bishops. The Archbishop then goes to the King and administers the Coronation Oath, first asking the King:

"Sir, is Your Majesty willing to take the oath?"

The King answers: "I am willing."

Then the Archbishop puts these questions, and the King, holding a book in his hands, answers each question as follows:

Archbishop: "Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the people of this United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging (subsequently changed to 'the peoples of Great Britain, Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa. . . and of your Empire of India) according to the statutes in Parliament agreed to, and the respective laws and customs of the same?"

King: "I solemnly promise so to do."

Archbishop: "Will you, to the utmost of your power, cause law and justice, in mercy, to be executed in all your judgments?"

King: "I will."

Archbishop: "Will you, to the utmost of your power, maintain the Laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant Reformed Religion established by law? And will you maintain and preserve inviolably the Settlement of the Church of England, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof, as by law established in England? And will you preserve upon the bishops and clergy of England, and to the Church therein committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges as by law do or shall appertain to them or any of them?"

King: "All this I promise to do."

The King then rises from his Chair assisted by the Lord Great Chamberlain.

The Sword of State is carried before him and there bear-headed and kneeling, he makes his solemn Oath:

The things which I have heretofore promised I will perform and keep. So help me God.

The King then kisses the Book and signs the Oath. Then the Anointing takes place, with His Majesty seated in King Edward's Chair. Four Knights of the Garter hold over him a rich pall of silk or cloth of gold. The Dean of Westminster, taking the Ampulla and Spoon from the Altar, pours some of the holy oil with the Spoon. The Archbishop then anoints the King in the form of a cross on the crown of the head, on the chest, and on the palms of both hands.

Then follows the presenting of the spurs and sword, and then the Archbishop receiving the King's ring from the Lord Chamberlain puts it on the fourth finger of the King's right hand saying:

Receive this Ring, the ensign of kingly dignity.

The Archbishop then puts the Sceptre into the King's right hand and says:

Receive the royal Sceptre, the ensign of kingly power and justice.

Then he puts the rod into the King's left hand and says:

Receive the rod of equity and mercy.

At last comes the actual crowning—a simple ceremony. The Archbishop stands before the Altar, takes the Crown into his hands, puts it down again and says a prayer.

Then we come to the enthronization. The choir sings the *Te Deum* and the King is conducted to his Throne, and the Archbishop says:

Stand firm, and hold fast from henceforth the seat and state of royal and imperial dignity which is this day delivered unto you in the name and by the authority of Almighty God.

Just as the peers put on their coronets at the moment when the King is crowned, so the peeresses put on theirs at the moment when the Queen is crowned.

RUSSIA'S DEFENSIVE STRENGTH

A writer in the current issue of the *Round Table* discusses the military might of Russia and in particular her strength in the air. In education, in patriotism, in military training, there is no comparison between the soldier in the Czar's and in the Soviet armies. One can safely say that in morale, the Russian armies of to-day are second to none in the world.

The size of the Russian army has recently been raised to 1,300,000. The reserves make up another 10,000,000 men, of whom 6,000,000 are said to be mobilisable for war, though the limiting factors of transport, organisation and maintenance of industry and agriculture make it doubtful whether much greater numbers than the 1,300,000 of the regular army could be actually kept in the field.

Nor is the civilian population without a part in the campaign of military preparedness. The *Osoviakhim* or Civilian Defence Society is engaged in a many-sided effort to train the country for war.

In 1935, the *Osoviakhim* trained as air pilots 3,500 youths who learnt flying in the hours they could spare from their work or their studies. In 1936, it trained 8,000 pilots. During 1934 and 1935, it trained 990,000 civilians in marksmanship, one million in anti-gas and chemical warfare, one million in map-reading, 1½ million in the care of horses, 2,000 as mechanics of aeroplane engines. The slogan now is: Our youth must become a generation of winged people, and it is doubtful if there is a country in the world in which youth is so absorbed in aviation as in Russia.

In the event of a conflict between Russia and Germany, it is evident they will be equally matched. It will, besides, be a clash of ideologies. Such a clash will make war between the two countries infinitely fiercer than it might otherwise have been. Germany, it is obvious, would fight Russia not only as a hostile or envied nation, but also as the standard-bearer of communism and, therefore, the foe of mankind. Russia most manifestly would not fight Germany merely as Germany, but as the standard-bearer of fascism and, therefore, the slaughterer of civilisation.

If the German armies should suffer serious setbacks, or if Germany should find it difficult or impossible to obtain from abroad raw materials or food, or if the Nazi forces, like those of Napoleon, should move too far from their home bases and find themselves cut off from supplies and subject to continual harassment by the native population, their morale might weaken and Russian propaganda might stir a response at least among those groups which, until the triumph of Hitler, were nurtured in a socialist tradition.

The Nazis, on the other hand, could not hope for such results. For, there is not a single group in the Russian population that has had any basis of experience in Nazi doctrine. It would, of course, be futile to prophesy the outcome of a possible war between Russia and Germany, perhaps allied with Japan.

Under the impact of defeat, Germany might go communist; that is Hitler's supreme risk. Russia's risk is different; for she cannot be nazified; but she can be thrown back to the economic chaos and penury from which she has rescued herself since the revolution and to unimaginable anarchy. The magnitude of the risks is the first of the reasons why the war between Russia and Germany may never take place.

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A DARING ECONOMIC EXPERIMENT

Alberta, a province of Canada about the size of the British Isles, is making a daring economic experiment. The Government distributes £5 Note every month as a free gift to every man and woman, rich or poor, in that territory. Explaining this new economic experiment, Dr. P. Sivaram says in the *Modern Student* for May:

Under the scheme every adult in the province of Alberta will be able to obtain these Notes up to the value of £5 each month from a bank or post office. He or she could then buy goods with them in the shops. But each Note could only be used once.

This amazing experiment is an attempt to solve the problem that perplexes every thinking person nowadays: "Why should people go short of necessities in a world of plenty?"

Alberta is trying to prove to the world that instead of restricting production and destroying goods, it might be more sensible if each country were to distribute to each of its inhabitants a little more cash in the form of a regular national dividend.

The leader of this new search for the promised land is the fifty-seven-year old Premier of Alberta—William Aberhart. But the real power behind this unique experiment in social credit is Major Clifford Hugh Douglas, the financial adviser to the Government. Modern money, argues the Major,

consists of two things, Cash and Credit. Of these, Credit is by far the most important and is used in all important business transactions. But its creation is controlled by a few individuals whose interests frequently conflict with those of the rest of the community and who work primarily for their own interests—the bankers.

The Douglas' plan would take away the power of creating credit from the banks and give it to the Treasury, who would create credit primarily for the consumers. This is how it would work in the case of one with a family earning £200 a year.

If he had another £100 a year, they would eat more meat, buy more clothes, perhaps a wireless set as well. Because he has not, meat is being thrown away as bad, unemployment is increased, wages

decreasing in the tailoring trade, factories that make wireless set are closing down.

"Very well," says the Douglas Treasury, "let him have his extra £100 a year in the form of Credit Notes."

The man buys more meat, new clothes and other articles and the shops are full of customers, and the factories humming with activity. What happens to the £100 worth of Credit Notes?

The retailers pass them back to the manufacturers in return for goods received. The manufacturers give them to the banks, repaying the loan advanced to them to buy raw materials, and the banks return the Notes to the Treasury.

THE FALL OF HUMANISM

Prof. Bhagat Ram Kumar contributes an article on the "Spiritual Basis of History" to the *Hindustan Review* for April. Humanism played an important part in wars, scientific discoveries and even in the spread of Christianity during the 18th and 19th centuries. During this period Europe, though she conquered many nations, has outlawed slavery and sowed the seed of Parliamentary Democracy everywhere. "As long as Europe was true to its mission of humanism, observes the writer, "it was marching from victory to victory. It conquered the whole world politically and well-nigh spiritually."

But with the opening of the 20th century, it was soon seen that she was beginning to turn traitor to her own genius. The temptations offered by control over the forces of Nature proved stronger than humanistic ideals. The latter were soon submerged in the greed of exploitation based on imperialism. Slavery was revived under a new form. . . . Europe to-day, in other words, stands on the cross-roads. There is still a great deal to achieve in the realisation of humanism but only at the sacrifice of ideals that have taken hold of Europe recently. Humanism and imperialism are contradiction in terms and Europe must be compelled to give up the latter in favour of the former.

The unity of mankind lies only in the triumph of humanism over imperialism.

Humanism and science are its two pillars. But humanism must be the mistress and the science the handmaid. Thus only can a new world culture, world civilisation grow up richer than any civilisation of the past.

INDIAN LITERATURE

Dr. Amaranath Jha has an interesting article on "A hundred years of Indian literature" in the April number of the *Twentieth Century*.

If in the year 1837 an Indian had been asked who the leading writers in Indian history were whose works deserved to be studied, the answer would inevitably have been a reference to the prominent Sanskrit men of letters. The major portion of the literate population still read Sanskrit; those connected with the State in administrative posts read Persian also. But it would not have occurred to any one to mention Sur Das or Tulsi Das or Vidyapati or Chandidas or Wali or Mir.

To-day, except among professed scholars, Sanskrit and Persian have been almost completely supplanted by the vernaculars.

Until quite recently, our universities insisted on a certain amount of knowledge of a classical language on the part of all students in the Arts Faculty. The forces of utilitarian barbarism, however, have not only made this unnecessary, but a knowledge of the classics is now a decided handicap and in every possible way their study is being discouraged. For this sad state the credit or discredit goes to two circumstances—the growth of faith in the miraculous power of scientific knowledge and the claims of the vernaculars to occupy a prominent place in every scheme of higher education.

Whereas Hindi, Urdu and Bengali were spoken and written by large numbers a hundred years ago, they were not considered to be serious rivals to Sanskrit or Persian. Vernacular poetry was written mostly for the edification and moral uplift of the illiterate masses; ancient legends, religious truth, devotional songs—these were the main themes and forms of vernacular literature. Here and there a semi-lettered person might celebrate in rude verse a famine or a battle, but for the most part the vernaculars occupied a position of insignificance and subordination.

To the study of English, to the movements for religious reform, to the growth of national consciousness and to a rising political sense must be traced the remarkable development of the vernacular literatures of India. Dr. Jha goes on to observe:

Except the rich flowering of the German literary genius during the period dominated by Goethe, I am not aware of any other phase in literary history which can compare with the wonderful progress achieved by our vernaculars during this short period. Vernacular prose in special is the product solely of this age. Vernacular fiction, too, owes its origin to this period; to this period belong also the short story, the essay, criticism, history and the other branches of literature. Much of vernacular poetry—that

portion at least which is most admired by the present generation—was also produced during this period.

The novels of Bankim Chatterji, Romesh Dutt, Rabindranath Tagore, Sarat Chatterji, the short stories of Tagore and Naresh Sen-Gupta; the poetry of Michael Madhusudan Dutt, Nabin Sen, Rabindranath, Atul Prasad Sen, Chittaranjan Das, Nazrul Islam; the dramas of D. L. Roy, Girish Ghose, Amrital Bose, in Bengali; the poetry of Ghalib, Hali, Iqbal, Chakbast, Akbar; the novels of Ruswa and Sarshar; the essays of Azad and Shibli; the journalistic work represented by the *Oudh Punch*, the *Zamana*, the *Nigar*, and other magazines; the verse-experiments made during recent years, in Urdu; the poetry of Harischandra, Ayodhyasingh, Sumitranandan, Nirala, Maithilisan and the younger writers; the novels of Premchand and Bhagwati Charan; the short stories of Sudarshan and Kaushik; the essays of Mahabir Prasad Dwivedi; the critical writings of the Misra Brothers, Shyamsundar Das, Padmasinha Sharma—all these bear the stamp of the circumstances I have mentioned above.

Without English education and the growth of a spirit of nationalism, concludes the writer, these literatures would have been different. They might have been better or worse; they could not have been what they are.

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WARS OF IDEAS

The wars which history records in her blood-stained pages have sprung from many different causes. There have been, says Sir Herbert Samuel in the *Nineteenth Century and After*, "dynastic wars, nationalist or imperialist wars, territorial wars and economic wars".

There have been strategic wars—to forestall future wars—and there have also been wars of ideas, for example, the wars of the Reformation, or the war against France as propagandist of the principles of the Revolution, or those of the Holy Alliance for the suppression of liberty.

"Future wars are likely to be the conflict of two sets of ideas, two mentalities, two different conceptions of life," the Foreign Minister of Spain said recently at the Assembly of the League of Nations.

The opinion of the Spanish minister is shared by many people.

We see gradually shaping itself a possible alignment of the nations to the Left and to the Right. It may be that some event will suddenly cause that alignment to become actual and belligerent with disaster as the outcome.

A mixture of misery and education, says the writer, is highly explosive. A proletariat that suffers and has some measure of education, which believes it knows of some possible ways of escape, may be formidable.

The hardships suffered by millions of people in the Great War and afterwards have brought Europe into a dangerously explosive condition. Add to this a number of other factors like the steady undermining of the old religious orthodoxies by the discoveries of science, the gradual weakening of the ecclesiastical supports of the old ways of thought and so forth, and the flash-point is near.

The unrest—deep-seated and wide-spread—finds its outlet in a variety of political movements either for gradual measures of social reform or for complete new systems. So in many countries the forces of discontent have become communist, revolutionary, intolerant, anti-religious, anti-democratic and internationalist.

Counter-movements are evoked and enlist powerful support, bringing together those who from conviction or other reasons defend their respective principles and these classes find a philosophy ready prepared with the authority of great names to support it.

In the last days of antiquity, the philosophers were ready to show to their world sound ways of government. But the ruffians were stronger and would not let them. Happily to-day the defence of peace and freedom and sanity is not left to the forces always exiguous of philosophy; it enlists the support, in some countries at least, of the mass of the people. And it is clearly incumbent upon the governments and citizens of these countries not to allow the education of the coming generation and not to allow military preparation and efficiency to be the monopoly of the advocates of force, and for those who are the guardians of better ideas to be content with a high-minded unpreparedness leading to a noble-hearted defeat. If all the force in the world is to be on the side of militarism, the cause of peace would be bad.

THE IMPASSE

Writing editorially on the Indian situation, the *Manchester Guardian* says:

What he (Mr. Gandhi) asks is "an assurance of non-interference in day-to-day administration"; in exceptional cases he admits that the Governors must make use of their right to dismiss the Cabinet or to order new election, that is to say, Congress Ministries are to be allowed to function in a genuinely democratic manner, to make their own decisions and their own mistakes. And as he truly said, any Congress Ministers worth their salt would accept the special responsibilities of Governors as being their own also, which is precisely the result that ought to follow from putting power in their hands. In short, Congress wants to be assured that it is not to be in leading-strings; that it is to be treated as a political party which has won a decisive electoral victory and not as a child which is being trusted with fragile toy. It is prepared to welcome the day-to-day advice of Governors who are, after all, fallible men themselves but there must be no doubt as to which of the two powers is responsible for government. Is it impossible for Governors to give a satisfactory assurance along these lines? The general opinion in India is that it is perfectly possible.

The Congress programme of reform has been published and badly needs to be put into action. The *Guardian* asks why should not the Governors say that there is nothing in that programme which should necessitate the use of their special powers?

Mr. Gandhi has declared himself prepared to leave over for the time being consideration of the most obnoxious of the subjects covered by the reserve powers, so that the more urgent problem of poverty may be tackled. So far it is Congress which has made all the suggestions for conciliation, it is urgent that the Government should reply with theirs.

THE CRISIS IN PALESTINE

In the course of an article in the April number of the *New Review*, Mr. A. De Souza-Lawrence discusses the conflict between the Jews and Arabs in Palestine. The Jews maintain that they have entered Palestine for their own welfare and that Jewish capital must be utilised in such a way that only Jewish labour will be benefitted by it. The Jews have been very outspoken in the matter of employing Jewish labour, and this has largely contributed to their unpopularity with the Arab peasants.

This is not merely a principle put forward by individual Jews, but one that is enforced by their leaders and by the organisations that control their affairs. Some of their agreements in connection with Jewish immigration will substantiate this. Thus Article 3 (d) and (c) of the Jewish Agency says that 'in all the works or undertakings carried out or furthered by the Agency, it shall be deemed to be a matter of principle that Jewish labour shall be employed.' Article 7 of the Kerem Hayesod Agreement runs: 'If and whenever he may be obliged to hire help, he will hire Jewish workmen only.'

There must, indeed, be cases where the Jews cannot help employing the Arabs, but the general policy is to employ as much Jewish labour as possible. Also the employment of Arabs by Jews is gradually diminishing as Jewish immigration into Palestine continues.

The Jews are keen on turning Palestine with a first-rate commercial centre. They have abundant capital and can always count on receiving monetary support from their powerful and wealthy co-religionists whenever they need it to exploit the resources of Palestine and the neighbouring countries. Unfortunately, Palestine is very deficient in raw materials. Much of the soil is barren and unproductive.

It is mainly because the Jews have entered Palestine and are exploiting the country to the detriment of the Arabs, that the neighbouring countries of Palestine—like Egypt, Arabia, Iraq and Syria that are Moslem in faith and culture—are antagonistic to Jewish enterprise and commerce. Thus the markets of these countries are practically closed to Jewish exports from Palestine.]

The Jewish race to-day is confronted with a colossal problem—the problem of having a home and country to themselves. They are compelled to solve this problem as soon as possible, since most of the civilised countries are showing more and more hostility to them.

Even in England, where the Jew has fared so well and on the whole made himself agreeable so that quite a large number of Jews have proved to be worthy, patriotic and esteemed ministers of the British Crown, dislike for the Jews is gradually gaining ground. Germany does not want them at all. Mussolini just tolerates them. France is rather nervous about them. In Central Europe there is a strong dislike for them. In South Africa there is already a move to limit their immigration.

Faced with these difficulties, the Jews seek to turn Palestine into a National Home. Every year there is an increasing number of Jews entering Palestine, and in a few years the economic conditions in that country will be so bad that the tide of immigration will have to run in the reverse way to relieve unemployment, congestion and misery.

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C. H. DIVANJEE,

SECRETARY.

Nov. '37.

CHRISTIANITY AND IMPERIALISM

"Is Christianity imperialistic," asks Mr. Paul E. Johnson in the May number of the *Aryan Path*. The mission of Christianity, according to the writer, is to lift up the lowly and to call all races into the love of the universal family of God. Christianity, therefore, is anti-imperialistic in origin. Referring to the modern Christian imperialism, the writer says:

Christianity was originally anti-imperialistic before the reign of Constantine. Gradually followers of Jesus accepted the imperial ways of pride and greed, strife and force. Tired of being a peculiar people, impatient of the slow processes of growth, Christians have compromised with the powers of evil. Crusades to rescue holy ground and save the world have used the very weapons they condemned to win empty victories for Christ. Until the year of grace 1937, this religion is so entangled in unregenerate Western civilisation as to be inseparable from its destructive forces. What can a gentle religion of the Spirit do with the savage lusts and militant materialisms of this immoral society? The simplest way out would be to withdraw from the infectious associations of these iniquitous and stiff-necked generations. Walled up in cloistered isolation on remote islands of safety, it might appear easier to avoid the contagious sins of insidious social diseases. But such retreat would be as futile as impossible. We cannot sever our social relations and even so our ills would recur. For the kingdom of evil like the kingdom of heaven is within. The poisons of pride, greed and rivalry are the inner toxins of our own lusts. The only way to purge the Christian life is the infinitely difficult task of cleansing human nature in all its inter-relationships. This means redeeming immoral society from the core of our inner desires to the outer horizons of world culture.

Mr. Johnson pleads for ending this imperialism and asks: "Is it possible for the religion of Jesus so to redeem his followers that for joy they shall bear others' burdens?" He replies by concluding the article as follows:

The uncertain glimmer of twilight hovers about the decline of this another civilisation. And yet if we could unite to establish a beloved community coextensive with the race of man, the course of history might be changed. Needs would be translated into values, conflicts would be transformed into concords, competition would be transmuted into co-operation. And the pattern of a new society would be formed on an old planet.

THE KAISER: A KING IN EXILE

In a small, plainly furnished room, an old man sits on a saddle. In front of him is a sloping deal desk such as one may see in any commercial office. On the walls pictures of military parades, of guns and soldiers hang in prominent positions. A newspaper is open on the desk, writes a Special Correspondent to *Answers*.

The seventy-eight-year-old white-haired ex-Emperor of Germany is reading the news from the *Vaterland* and dreaming of past glories when he sat, not at an office desk, but at the head of a regiment of troops.

That saddle and the pictures are the Kaiser's only link with the days when he was the supreme power in his country. The saddle which used to belong to his old charger has been made into a stool. The pictures bring back memories of happier days to the great war lord of Europe.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

THE CHARACTER OF INDIAN ART. By Adris Banerji. [The Calcutta Review, April 1937.]

LABOUR LEGISLATION IN INDIA. By B. Shiva Rao. [The Twentieth Century, April 1937.]

HINDU ARCHITECTURE AND ART IN ANGKOR. By C. Jinarajadasa. [Triveni, April 1937.]

ARE THE INTERIM MINISTRIES UNCONSTITUTIONAL? By Dr. Nanda Lal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D. [The Modern Review, May 1937.]

GWALIOR'S RELATIONS WITH BRITAIN. By H. L. Chatterji, M.A. [Jayaji Pratap Coronation Number.]

VIDYA BHAWAN: An educational experiment at Udaipur. By Principal R. M. Thakur. [Indian Journal of Education, May 1937.]

THE MARATHAS IN BENGAL AFTER 1751. By Mr. Keli Kinkar Datta, M.A., F.R.S. [Journal of Indian History, Vol. XV, Part 3, No. 45.]

INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATION & INDIAN UNIVERSITIES. By Prof. M. L. Schreff. [Science and Culture, May 1937.]

INDIAN OLYMPIC TOUR. By Mr. G. D. Sondhi. [The Field-Madras, April 1937.]

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS + DEPARTMENTAL + NOTES

Questions of Importance

INTERIM MINISTRIES REPUDIATED

THE MADRAS MINISTRY

The following communication signed by 167 Members of the Madras Legislative Assembly, and 30 Members of the Legislative Council, has been forwarded to the Private Secretary to the Governor of Madras by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Leader of the Congress Party in Madras:

We, the undersigned members of the Madras Legislative Assembly and Council, do hereby repudiate and denounce the so-called Council of Ministers constituted by His Excellency the Governor of Madras in open and deliberate violation of the fundamental basis of the Act and Instrument of Instructions issued under the authority of Parliament, and we hereby declare and notify to all concerned that the said Ministers Sir K. V. Reddy and others have no claim, confidence or qualification entitling them to speak, act or advise in any matter in our name or on behalf of the people of the Province.

THE U. P. MINISTRY

One hundred and thirty-five members, of which 20 were non-Congress, attended the M. L. A.'s Conference called by the Congress Party in the U. P. Assembly, held at Lucknow on May 9. The following two resolutions were passed unanimously:

That in the opinion of this House the present ministers do not enjoy the confidence of the people and their elected representatives, and their continuance in office in direct defiance of the elected majority is subversive of all principles of democracy and repugnant to all notions of constitutional propriety.

This House regards the refusal of the Government to summon the Legislative Assembly in order to prolong the life of the present ministry as unconstitutional and contrary to the mandatory provisions of the statute and calls upon the Governor to convene the Assembly forthwith.

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THE C. P. MINISTRY

Resolutions expressing no-confidence in the Interim Ministry, and urging the Governor to summon the Legislature forthwith, were adopted at the meeting of the members of the C. P. Legislature convened by Dr. Khare, leader of the Congress Party in the Assembly at Nagpur, on May 11, to discuss the political impasse in the Provinces arising out of the Congress leader's refusal to form a Ministry.

That in the opinion of this House, the present Ministers do not enjoy the confidence of the people and their elected representatives and that their continuance in office in direct defiance of the elected majority is subversive of all principles of democracy and repugnant to all notions of constitutional propriety.

This House regards the refusal of the Government to summon the Legislative Assembly in order to prolong the life of the present Ministry as unconstitutional and contrary to the mandatory provisions of statute and calls upon the Governor to convene the Assembly forthwith.

This House condemns the Government for its callous indifference towards the sufferings of agriculturists of the province.

THE BOMBAY MINISTRY

Mr. B. G. Kher, leader of the Congress Party in the Legislature, has forwarded a declaration to the Governor of Bombay signed by 106 members of the Bombay Legislature out of a total of 201.

The declaration expresses publicly the signatories' want of confidence in the Interim Ministry and repudiates the Ministers' right to advise, speak or act on behalf of the Legislature or on behalf of the people of the Province.

LORD ZETLAND'S SPEECH

Replying to Lord Snell, who suggested an interview between the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi to end the present constitutional impasse, the Marquis of Zetland, Secretary of State for India, in the course of his statement in the House of Lords, on May 6, reiterated the impossibility of the Governors divesting themselves of the obligations imposed upon them by the Act. He continued:

First, let it not be supposed that the field of Government may be divided into two parts wherein the Governor and the Ministry operate separately at the risk of clashes between them.

The essence of the new Constitution is that the initiative and responsibility for the whole government of the province, though in form vesting in the Governor, passes to the Ministry as soon as it takes office.

It will be the Governor's duty to help the Ministers in their task in every way, particularly by his political experience of administrative knowledge.

The reserved powers of which so much was made by the Congress would not normally be in operation; indeed, they only come into the picture if a Governor considers that the carefully limited special responsibilities laid upon him by the Act and impressed upon him by the Instrument of Instructions are involved, but even if the question of their use does arise—here is emphasised the spirit in which it was intended that the Constitution would be worked—it would be altogether wrong to assume that the Governor would immediately set himself in open opposition to his Ministry.

That is the last thing in the world that I should either expect or desire. A Governor whose advice and support have been valuable to the Ministry in the conduct of its own affairs, will surely be able to lay his own difficulties before the Ministers the moment he sees the risk that he and his Ministers may not see eye to eye in a matter for which a special responsibility has been laid upon him by Parliament.

Just as the Ministers can count upon the assistance of the Governor in their difficulties, so could he in his turn rely upon receiving the sympathetic consideration of his Ministers for the difficulty in his own position which may be and could be met by some modification of their proposals that would not materially affect the Ministry's programme.

But if my picture of the working of the Government under the Act is true and if the relations between a Governor and his Ministry are

those of partners in a common enterprise, there can be no possible question of the Governors' interfering constantly and embarrassingly in the responsibilities and work of the Ministries.

Lord Zetland repeated the assurance given by Mr. R. A. Butler when he said:

His Majesty's Government have no intention of countenancing the use of the special power for purposes other than for which Parliament intended them. It is certainly not the intention that the Governors, by a narrow or legalistic interpretation of their own responsibilities, should trench upon the wide powers which it was the purpose of Parliament to place in the hands of the Ministries and which, it is our desire, they should use in furtherance of the programmes which they advocate in working the Constitution; for as it is at present possible to judge I find a happy confirmation of the picture as I have always seen it. Both in the provinces in which the Ministries are working with majorities in the legislatures, and those in which Minority Ministries are functioning, bold programmes have been drawn up, as far as I know, without the smallest attempt on the part of any Governor to interfere.

Is it too much to hope that those who have so far hesitated to accept the responsibilities of office from a mistaken sense of fear, lest they should be unduly hampered in the tasks, will derive reassurance and encouragement from the object-lesson provided by the actual working of the Constitution in their midst? I need hardly say I hope devoutly and in all sincerity that it may be so.

LORD BRABOURNE'S VIEW

H. E. Lord Brabourne, Governor of Bombay, replying to a joint address presented by the Belgaum Municipality and the District Local Board, said:

Experience in Bombay shows the wisdom of the present Ministry in taking office without assurances. This has been proved by the readiness of the Services to lend loyal and efficient assistance and I think I can claim by the readiness of the Governor to help and his reluctance to interfere . . .

The relationship between me as a Constitutional Governor and my Ministers and the Legislature should be based on understanding, on sympathy, and on my readiness at all times to co-operate and advise and help in every way in my power. My Ministers, whatever their political outlook, can rely not only on this understanding and sympathy but also on my doing everything in my power to avoid a situation occurring in which conflict of opinion would arise between us in the sphere of my special responsibilities. As Governor I am entirely outside party and I am prepared to give all possible advice and assistance to my Ministers however composed and whatever party they represent in dealing with the problems which confront them.

GANDHIJI ON CONGRESS DEMAND

In reply to a telegram sent by the *Hindu* to Gandhiji that his observation on Lord Zetland's speech in the Lords, viz., "I fear it is no contribution to removal of deadlock" is misunderstood in local official quarters as refusal to recognise valuable admissions by Zetland in favour of the Congress demand and requesting for the removal of the misapprehension, Gandhiji issued the following statement:

I am surprised at my remarks being misunderstood. I still maintain that whilst Lord Zetland's statement is agreeably worded, it does not remove the deadlock in the sense that it gives no specific answer to the specific Congress demand, namely that, with the method in which the Governors will use their powers of interference whenever they fear an emergency, would be that of dismissal of the Ministry rather than expecting the Ministry to resign or submit to the Governor's wishes. I hold that this is perfectly constitutional and equally honourable for both the parties. The Governors will reason with their Ministers. The Ministers would be bound courteously to listen to what they say. But if reason fails to carry conviction, the only proper course for both the parties would be for the Governors to dismiss such Ministers and dissolve the Assembly and take whatever measures may be open to them constitutionally.

PANDIT NEHRU AND MR. JINNAH

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has issued the following statement with reference to certain observations which Mr. M. A. Jinnah is reported to have made, attacking Pandit Nehru as a Dictator in connection with Pandit Nehru's recent move to increase the Muslim membership in the Congress:

I am sorry that anything that I have said or done should lead Mr. Jinnah to think that I want to function as a Dictator. Far from dictating to others, I cannot even dictate to myself. I am a servant and a worker of the Congress carrying out its directions. Personally, I find it difficult to think of any question on communal lines. I think on political and economic lines. But I should like to assure Mr. Jinnah and others that the Congress attaches the greatest importance to the building up of a United India and for removing the differences and suspicions which unfortunately separate sometimes the various religious groups. To that end the Congress will co-operate with all others but inevitably that unity must have enduring political basis. It cannot be unity of subjection.

CONGRESS AND THE MUSLIMS

The move to bring Muslims into the Congressfold was inaugurated at a largely attended meeting at Baghbanpura in the Punjab, on May 2, when Dr. Khan Sahib, Opposition leader in the Frontier Assembly, Mian Aftekhar-ud-Din, M.L.A., Dr. Satyapal, Mohammad Din, Panda Sant Ram, Khalifa Fazal Din and other Congress workers addressed over 5,000 villagers.

In the course of their speeches, they told the Mussalmans that the Congress was the only representative body of India which could truly represent them and serve them. The solution of their difficulties lay in the achievement of *Swaraj* for which the Congress was fighting so hard.

The leaders appealed to the Muslim masses to muster strong under the Congress banner and to take part in India's battle for freedom. They asked them not to be led away by communalist leaders.

At the close of the meeting, a Congress Committee was established at Baghbanpura. A large number of persons, majority of whom were Muslims, were enlisted as members of the Congress.

THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

The Imperial Conference opened at St. James's Palace, London, on May 14, after Mr. Stanley Baldwin, Prime Minister, had been elected Chairman, the Conference sent a message of loyalty to H. I. M. the King-Emperor.

King George, in reply, thanked the Conference for its message and added:

It is very fitting that the solemn ceremony of Wednesday last should be succeeded immediately by your deliberations. I shall follow them with the greatest interest in the confident hope that they will advance the happiness and prosperity of all my peoples.

Dr. Ba Maw and H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda spoke on behalf of Burma and India respectively.

PROGRESS OF EDUCATION

The Educational Commissioner with the Government of India makes the following comment, reviewing the general progress of education in India in 1934-35:

"What is wrong with education has been pointed out time and again and the necessary steps to put it right indicated, but these steps are not taken. No Provincial Ministry since education became a transferred subject has had the courage to tackle the evils fundamentally. They could not reorganise and readjust in the higher stages of the educational system as there are too many vested interests to antagonise, while in the lower stages they are helpless to stem waste and extravagance."

EDUCATION REFORM

The Provincial Educational Conference, under the presidency of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, discussed recently an important resolution on the reform of secondary education in the Province embodying a comprehensive scheme of reorganisation, including bifurcation of the secondary school course after the middle school stage, introduction of Vernacular as the medium of instruction and adoption of Hindustani as a compulsory language.

Mr. Rajagopalachari presided over a Provincial Pandits' Conference under the auspices of the Indian Pandits' Union.

MADRAS VICE-CHANCELLOR

Dewan Bahadur S. E. Ranganathan, former Vice-Chancellor of Annamalai University, has been appointed Vice-Chancellor of Madras University in succession to Mr. R. Littlehales.

SCHOLARSHIPS TO MALAYANS

Following the Rt. Hon. Sastri's promise to maintain for students of Malaya two scholarships at the Annamalai University, the Agent of the Government of India, Rao Sahib Mukundan, has issued an invitation for applications from students possessing Oxford or Cambridge school certificates for admission to the Intermediate classes of the University.

The University authorities have asked that Rao Sahib K. A. Mukundan, Messrs. R. Raghavan, R. Ramani and A. K. Surattee shall select six candidates, out of whom two will be selected finally by the University.

ORISSA UNIVERSITY

Preliminary discussions in connection with the establishment of a University for Orissa began last month, the three Ministers, the Principals of Colleges, the Director of Public Instruction, the Inspector of Schools, the District Educational Officer and Mr. Parija attending. The Hon. the Maharajah of Parlakimedi, Premier of Orissa, presided. The Maharajah stressed the necessity of a University for Orissa. A Committee was appointed to draft a scheme and report to the general body.

NEWSPAPERS FOR EDUCATION

Reading a newspaper is the best way of gaining a good education according to Mr. Henry Ford, the motor car manufacturer. Newspapers, he said in a recent interview, have far more value than history books. They are the best educators, he explained, because they arrive every day and are up to the minute. History, as written 20 years ago, is bunk, he added.

SOLICITOR TO GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

The appointment of Mr. Susil C. Sen as Solicitor to the Government of India at Calcutta for a period of five years, from the date he assumes charge of his duties, has been gazetted.

It is understood that the post has been newly created with a view to dealing with issues relating to the Central subjects, which are likely to arise on account of the changed relations between the Government of India and the Provinces, which have come into existence since the inauguration of the provincial part of the Government of India Act. Mr. Sen, who is in his early forties, is a Solicitor of standing in Calcutta and helped in piloting the amendment to the Indian Companies Act. It is understood his services will be requisitioned at the time of the insurance legislation at the next Simla session. Mr. Sen has been an elected Councillor of the Calcutta Corporation since 1928.

JURY CASES AND CROWN'S APPEALS

"I have always been brought up to think that it is a great mistake for the Crown to appeal against acquittal in criminal cases depending upon pure question of fact, where you allot the decision of this question of fact to the jury. It is a course which is never adopted in the United Kingdom," observed Mr. Justice Cunliffe sitting with Mr. Justice Henderson when acquitting a man and woman on a charge of murdering the latter's husband.

The matter came to Their Lordships on reference by the Sessions Judge of Rajshahi, who differed from the verdict of "not guilty" of the jury in favour of the two accused.

THE FEDERAL COURT

Sir B. L. Mitter, Advocate-General, Federal Court, has been busy arranging details about the affairs of the Federal Court, which will start functioning from October next when the Chief Justice of the Federal Court, Sir Maurice Gwyer and two other Judges will take their seats on the Bench. It is learnt that Advocates of five years' standing would be allowed to practise in the Federal Court, which is likely to work for six months in New Delhi. The Judges of the Federal Court might go on circuit during summer.

POONA SATYAGRAHIS

Fifty Satyagrahis including Messrs. N. C. Kelkar, L. P. Bhopalkar, Democratic Leader, Mr. B. M. Gupta, M.L.A., Mr. Popatlal Shah, Mr. Janorkar, Congress leader, N. G. Sawarkar, Devikar Sastri and Bishavasrao Doare, Hindu Sabha leaders, were convicted by the Additional City Magistrate for contravening the District Magistrate's order against music at the Sonya Maruti temple and were fined Rs. 25 each, or ordered to undergo a week's rigorous imprisonment in default.

RELEASE OF MR. SAVARKAR

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, who was suspected to be connected with the terrorist movement and who had been arrested in England in 1910 and since then interned in Ratnagiri, Thana District, was unconditionally released. Interviewed by the *Associated Press* immediately after his release, Mr. Savarkar said that all conditions and restriction on his liberty and public movements had been withdrawn and he had been unconditionally set free.

INDIAN INSURANCE LAW

"In a responsible business such as Life Insurance on which so many depend for the protection of their dependants, it is essential that business be built on sound foundations," says Sir Darcy Lindsay writing in the May issue of the *Insurance World*. The article is of topical interest owing to the fact that the Insurance Bill is at present with the Select Committee whose report is awaited. Sir Darcy Lindsay, presenting the European point of view, says:

"The impression I have, and I am sure it is the impression of any one who uses his eyes and sees the host of new Companies advertising their rates, etc. to the public, is that far too many Companies have come into existence, especially in recent years, with insufficient financial backing and I may add with far too little technical knowledge to assist them in their safe conduct of the many Insurance problems that must arise in the management of business that needs expert knowledge. I see the Report of the Indian Insurance Legislation Committee give the number up to 1934 as 145 Companies doing Life Insurance, being an increase of 94 since 1926 and doubtless this scale of expansion has continued.

"What has to be guarded against," concludes the writer, "is wild competition in rate cutting and commissions from concerns of mushroom existence without technical experience to guarantee sound working."

SUPPORT TO INDIAN INSURANCE

Pandit K. Santanam moved the following resolution at the Insurance Conference, which met at Calcutta:

While appreciating the support so far given by our countrymen to Indian Companies, this Conference appeals to the people of India to place their insurance business exclusively with indigenous concerns and thereby help the economic development of the nation.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

PROGRESS OF INDIAN INSURANCE

The record of insurance business in India during the last decade, said Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar in his welcome address to the fourth session of the Indian Insurance Conference, which met at Calcutta on 7th March, is a proud record.

"The first few years of Indian insurance were necessarily years of trial and travail, of a great ideal soaking slowly into a nation's life, of mistakes made and expiated, of crusted traditions, of tragic fatalism melting slowly under the pressure of the urge to conserve a nation's strength. From improvident spendthrifts, the people were slowly being taught the value of thrift and foresight; and although there is still a long way to go, it may be reasonably claimed that the people have at least recognised the necessity of such a corrective in their lives. From being confined to a handful of men with progressive ideas, insurance has now caught the imagination of the people at large and development along scientific lines has given it a firm and rock-like foundation."

COMPULSORY MOTOR INSURANCE

The report submitted by the Motor Vehicles Insurance Committee appointed by the Government of India, makes out a clear case for compulsory insurance of motor vehicles against passenger and third-party risks as a means of promoting public safety and convenience. It states among other things that the volume of road accidents in India due to motor traffic, to which the low standard of care and responsibility exercised by many drivers of motor vehicles has undoubtedly contributed, and the extreme difficulty experienced by the injured party or his legal representatives in obtaining compensation proves the case for compulsory insurance.

SUGAR INDUSTRY IN INDIA

"The sugar industry in India has not infrequently been charged with extravagance and lack of efficiency. Yet the fact remains that since Tariff Board drew up the statement of typical balance-sheet, the capacity of the factories has been doubled and the costs of operation have been reduced by nearly 50 per cent," says Mr. Noel Deerr reviewing the present position of the Indian sugar industry. He traces the development of the industry since the Tariff Board's enquiry and presents statistics to show how the industry has established a record for efficiency.

The writer says: "After a short period of prosperity, there has resulted a depressed industry and one with a margin of profit so small that the most well-managed concern can hope to do is to cover depreciation and taxation and possibly to place some small and inadequate sum to reserve. Dividends to the shareholders, who responded to what may not be unfairly called the invitation of the Government to invest in an agricultural industry, are not in sight."

BENGAL STEEL CORPORATION

There has seldom been a floatation of such magnitude as the offer for sale of shares, both ordinary and preference, in the new Steel Corporation of Bengal. The Corporation proposes to raise steel works at Hiraput on a site of about 350 acres provided by the Indian Iron and Steel Co. The works, it is stated, will go into production in about 2½ years. The sum of Rs. 4 crores, according to the prospectus, will go towards capital outlay and Rs. 84 lakhs will be retained for working capital.

The Corporation has now issued at par 120,000 5 per cent. free of tax cumulative preference shares of Rs. 100 each and 2,500,000 ordinary shares of Rs. 10 each.

MR. JAYAKAR ON "INDUSTRIALISATION"

Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Federal Judge-Designate, opening the third Indian Industries Fair and Exhibition at Bombay on May 7, expressed the hope that when the Congress formed the Ministry, the industrial development of the Province would progress rapidly.

Mr. Jayakar suggested that a five-year plan should be launched and an industrial survey made of important parts of the Presidency from the point of view of the villagers. He agreed with the promoters of the All-India Village Industries Association that the village should be the unit of industrial advancement for some time. It would be profitable to find out taking the village as the unit, what was the natural outlet for its products so that in course of time the country will be made self-sufficient.

Mr. Jayakar added that the problem of industrialisation could not be solved by the people alone; the solution lay in joint co-operation of Government and people. The Government till then had taken the view for political considerations that India being an agricultural country it must be kept as such. He was not prepared to assert that that view was wrong, but he emphasised that the time had come for the gradual abandonment of that theory to be replaced by progressive industrialisation of the country, "for the economic doctrine that an agricultural country can be kept an agricultural country to be the reservoir of raw products for manufacturing countries should be abandoned".

Miss KALAWANTI BATHEJA

Miss Kalawanti Batheja, the 15 year old daughter of Principal H. R. Batheja, formerly a member of the Indian Tariff Board, has just passed the Inter-Science Examination of the Patna University in the first division, standing second in order of merit.

Miss Batheja is a Sindhi by birth and has been educated during her school career in the St. Joseph's Convents at Karachi, Cuttack, and Patna, the Ravenshaw Girls' School at Cuttack and the Queen Mary's High School at Bombay, matriculating from the last in the Bombay University in the year 1933, while her College education has been obtained at the Bombay Wilson College, the Ravenshaw College at Cuttack and the Science College at Patna. She has travelled all over India with her father in connection with his duties on the Tariff Board. She intends continuing her College studies at the Government College, Muzaffarpur, of which her father is now Principal.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE

The Executive Committee of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, meeting in Bruges from April 5th-10th passed the following resolution:

"In view of the tendency of certain Governments to conclude bilateral treaties, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom must remind its National Sections that it considers that separate treaties concluded outside the framework of the League of Nations constitute a grave danger to the peace of the world; it asks the Sections to approach their respective Governments in this sense."

Miss NILIMA MUKERJEE

Miss Nilima Mukerjee, daughter of Principal A. T. Mukerjee, has just passed the Batchelor of Science degree examination of the Patna University securing First Class Honours in Physics. She began her school studies at the Caineville School, Mussoorie, then proceeded to Europe with her father and studied for two months in a school at Paris and then as a resident pupil for two years at a Roman Catholic High School for Girls at Mulhausen (Dusseldorf) in Germany. She returned to India after extensive tours in Europe and joined the St. Joseph's Convent High School and passed examination in Instrumental Music (Piano) up to the Senior Division stage of the Trinity College of Music, London. She passed the Junior Cambridge and then the Matriculation examination of the Patna University.

Miss ROMA MUKERJEE

Miss Roma Mukerjee, daughter of Principal A. T. Mukerjee, has just passed the Intermediate examination in Science of the Patna University in the first division, standing eighth in order of merit. She began her school studies at the Caineville School, Mussoorie. She proceeded to Europe with her father and studied for two months in a school at Paris and then as a resident pupil for two years at a Roman Catholic High School for Girls at Mulhausen (Dusseldorf district) in Germany. She could speak French and specially German with great facility. She subsequently travelled extensively over Switzerland, Germany, and Italy. On her return to India in 1930, she joined the St. Joseph's Convent High School and passed the Junior Cambridge and subsequently the Matriculation examination of the Patna University.

LITERARY

THE CHINESE HALL

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore opened in the presence of a vast gathering the Chinese Hall at Santiniketan on April 14. The Hall is the gift of some Chinese friends of the Poet, including General Chiang-Kai-Shek, for founding at Santiniketan the Indian section of Sino-Indian Cultural Society, where research work will be carried on with the help of Chinese and Indian scholars on Sino-Indian and Buddhist studies. A big library of about 100,000 Chinese volumes on various subjects of art, literature, religion, philosophy and history presented by the Society will be housed in the Hall.

SONGS OF A WANDERER

Dedicated to Walter De La Mare, the fifty-three prose lyrics comprised in this elegant little volume ("Songs of a Wanderer" by P. R. Kaikini, published by the New Book Company Kitab Mahal, Hornby Road, Bombay, price Re. 1-8) are strongly reminiscent of Walt Whitman and the Song of Solomon. It is a notable attempt at weaving for the readers the dazzling veil of a poet's subtle fancy. Rejoicing at birth, welcoming death, the Wanderer while living would fain go out and lie dreaming on the dew-dipped moon-kissed lawn and catch the mellifluous whispers from the land of love's most lustrous dawn.

BRITISH NEWSPAPERS IN ITALY

Italy is furious with the British Press. Owing to the hostile attitude of nearly all the British Press towards Italy and the Italian armed forces, all English newspapers have been banned from Italy until further orders excepting the *Daily Mail*, the *Evening News* and the *Observer*. All correspondents of Italian newspapers in London have been recalled. Thus runs a communique issued in Rome on May 8th culminating in a free wave of anti-British feeling in the Italian Press.

NAPOLEON'S DEFINITION OF A JOURNALIST

A journalist, said Napoleon, is a grumbler, a censor, a giver of advice, a regent of sovereigns, a tutor of nations. Four hostile newspapers are more to be feared than a thousand bayonets.

PERSONAL

THE LATE VISCOUNT SNOWDEN

Viscount Philip Snowden, the socialist statesman and known abroad as "The Iron Chancellor", died suddenly from a heart attack at his home in Surrey on May 14th.

Lord Snowden's career in the House of Commons defies comparison, but perhaps his most memorable act was the introduction of the Bill which put Britain off the gold standard in September 1931, in an attempt to restore foreign confidence in British credit.

Throughout his career, Lord Snowden had been admired, respected and hated. He earned the title of "the most popular man in the country" as a result of his strong stand for British interests at the Hague Conference on reparations in August of 1929.

THE LATE REV. B. A. NAG

The death of Rev. B. A. Nag has removed a sincere patriot and assiduous worker from the field of social and political activities. He took to Christianity in 1891 and his devotion to and faith in the religion made him a very popular and prominent figure in the Christian society. He was made the first Indian Chairman of the Executive Committee of the London Baptist Mission and elected Vice-President in the World Baptist Congress held at Berlin in 1934. He was for long connected in the Calcutta Corporation and the Legislative Council. He was also the founder of the Students' Hall in Calcutta.

SIR WAZIR HASSAN AND MR. JINNAH

Referring to Mr. Jinnah's insistence on the protection of the rights and interests of Muslims, Sir Wazir Hassan, ex-Judge of the Oudh Chief Court, says: "Mr. Jinnah has not made clear what the rights and interests of the minorities, which he so vehemently champions, are. What the Muslims want is protection of their religion and culture, which the Congress has conceded. In the matter of electorates, Muslim opinion is again rallying round joint electorates with reserved seats for minorities. There is, therefore, no obstacle in the way of Muslims joining the Congress."

TUBERCULOSIS IN INDIA

"India's great difficulty lies in the fact that she is not yet well equipped for the campaign against tuberculosis," said Maj-Gen. Sir Cuthbert Sprawson, Director-General of the Indian Medical Service, at an Empire Conference on the care and after-care of the tuberculous in London. Large numbers of the Indian population were under-nourished or wrongly nourished—a factor which must have an improvement bearing on the incidence of tuberculosis.

He referred to the recent spread of tuberculosis among Indian villagers also and to the peculiar difficulties in India in the tuberculosis problem due to the *purdah* and early marriage systems, and stressed the need for a wide-spread and popular appeal for subscriptions to open tuberculosis institutions.

"A complete reorganisation of the whole way of dealing with tuberculosis and to plan a campaign which will reach the heart of the problems and not just touch the fringe," was urged by Dr. P. V. Benjamin of the Union Mission Tuberculosis Sanatorium at Madanapalle, who spoke of the results of the tuberculin survey carried out by the Sanatorium.

CURATIVE VALUE OF FEVERS

The first International Conference on Fever Therapy met in New York recently. Two hundred distinguished physicians representing 29 countries were present.

Fever therapy is barely seven years' old, but has become in the hands of experienced doctors a valuable aid in fighting the disease.

Essentially it consists in producing artificial fever up to about 127° F. in the patient either by short radio waves or by direct heat.

It was claimed at the Conference that one baking in the fever cabinet is sufficient to cure gonorrhoea. It is also effective in curing syphilis and relieving asthma.

There are also many other uses and though the doctors assembled agreed on the results, they were not so sure as to how the artificial fever works.

MILLED RICE

The immediate need to put down the rice mills is stressed by Dr. S. Rangaswami, District Health Officer, East Godavari, in the *Indian Medical Journal*.

Milling, he says, affects the usefulness of rice deleteriously in at least three ways.

First, it removes the bran which carries with it the aleurone layer containing minerals, fat, glycerophosphates, etc. Secondly, the rice embryo is removed in its entirety. And thirdly, it becomes more easily susceptible to the prey of fungus-like growths.

That this devitalised staple-food is responsible for the present degeneration, continues Dr. Rangaswami, is the view held out not only by scientists who are on special research in this branch of work but also by any experienced man of the older generation.

After all it is the diet that makes the man. A weakened constitution easily yields to the ravages of other diseases like hook-worm, malaria, consumption, etc. The high infantile mortality, as also the maternal mortality, are not a little due to the deterioration in the national dietary.

A SOUND DIET

The essentials of any sound diet, says the *Oriental Watchman*, are milk, fresh raw fruits and green vegetables. If these are habitually lacking, there is real danger; if they constitute an abundant part of the regular diet, they provide for safety.

What we have here suggested as essential foods, represent the normal requirements of every human being. It is a sad fact that there are many millions who from poverty, depression or other reasons are receiving only part of the foods listed. This does not alter the facts of nutritional and health requirements.

We must continue by co-operative, constructive, and educational efforts to improve the environmental conditions of mankind, until the actual necessities for life and health are made known and available to all.

ECONOMIC RECOVERY

The time has come, says the *Economist*, for the reversal of the policy of high tariffs which was adopted to counteract the effects of depression. The conditions have changed to such an extent that if this policy is persisted in, the evil consequences of an inflationary boom will become inevitable. It writes:

"When prices are rising with frightening rapidity and manufacturing industry is booming the world over—when in short the problem of the day is to protect the consumer from exploitation rather than to save the producer from ruin—the time has come for the complete reversal of all restrictive policies. They have outlived the crisis which brought them into being, and if they are long maintained, they will prejudice alike economic recovery and popular welfare."

TRAVELLERS' CHEQUES

Among the various special schemes of service to the public, the Central Bank of India has just added one more facility, viz., the issue of Rupee Travellers' cheques which we have, no doubt, will be much appreciated by its clientele. These cheques are available in denominations of Rs. 25, Rs. 50 and Rs. 100. For the present they can be cashed at any of their numerous branches and pay offices throughout the country. But, we understand, it is their intention in due course to arrange for their ready acceptance by prominent hotels and other institutions as well.

MR. C. R. SRINIVASAN

Mr. C. R. Srinivasan, President of the Madras Board of the Reserve Bank of India, it is learnt, has been nominated by the Government of India as a Director of the Central Board of the Reserve Bank in the vacancy caused by the death of Sir M. Ramachandra Rao.

GOVERNOR OF BANK OF ENGLAND

The Rt. Hon. Montagu Norman has been re-elected Governor of the Bank of England and Mr. B. G. Catterns re-elected Deputy Governor.

RAILWAY OFFICIALS' ALLOWANCES

It is understood, says an *Associated Special Service* message, that the Government of India have decided to discontinue the payment of compensatory allowances to railway officials stationed in certain port towns, for example, Bombay and Calcutta. The officials at present in receipt of this allowance will continue to draw it unless they go on leave or are transferred, but the payment will in any case be discontinued from April 1, 1938. No officer hereafter posted in port towns will receive this allowance. As a result of this decision by the Railway Board in consultation with the Finance Department, several lakhs of rupees per annum is expected to be saved by the Government of India.

A NEW DIESEL CAR

We understand that a new type of the Diesel Rail Car will shortly be introduced by the Great Western Railway in Britain on one of its branch lines. The car is based on experience gained during the last three years from the running of 17 stream-lined single-unit rail cars in use in various parts of the system. It will be capable of taking a "tail" load of passenger or goods vehicles up to 60 tons in weight and of performing light shunting. The car is driven by two 130 horsepower heavy-oil engines and has accommodation for 49 passengers in two saloons.

SUGAR-CANE FREIGHTS

On a representation by the Bihar Government, the Railway Board has sanctioned a 25 per cent. reduction of freights on all long-distance sugar-cane traffic above 70 miles, and a special reduction of 40 per cent. on traffic from rail stations on the South Bihar section to Dehri-on-Sone.

AIR CONDITIONING FOR TRAINS

These coaches are each 60 ft. in length over the body and 62 ft. 6 ins. over the vestibule, being also approximately 8 ft. 11 ins. wide over the body at the waist, with 42 ft. centre between the two bogies, while the wheels are 2 ft. 9½ ins. diameter operating on a metre gauge.

ART EXHIBITION

The exhibition organised by Mr. N. N. Bhose, General Secretary, Boy Scouts' Association, India, of the paintings, drawings, etchings, sketches, etc., of Mr. Sailoz Mookherjee, a Scouter in the Bengal Boy Scouts' Association, who intends to participate in the ensuing fifth Boy Scouts' World Jamboree in Holland, was opened at the Chowringhee Y. M. C. A. by the Hon. Sir B. L. Mitter. Lady Mitter was also present.

Sir B. L. Mitter expressed his admiration for the skill which the artist had brought to his canvas and referred to the many prizes and medals awarded him. He greatly appreciated the idea of holding an exhibition like this on the eve of the artist's departure for the Jamboree, which went to show what Scouts could do.

A FRANZ HALS' PORTRAIT

An auction sale at a country house at Cheam provided a sensation, says a *Reuter's* message, when an oil-painting which had been lying in the garret for many years realised 12,100 guineas after keen bidding.

The picture was simply catalogued "Portrait of a man in a black coat and white ruffle" and was not attributed to any particular artist. Experts, however, sized it up as a Franz Hals. A quiet opening bid of 500 guineas was the signal for a hot succession of advancing offers. The prize was eventually secured by a West End Connoisseur after a contest with another dealer.

ART FOR DETENUS

The *Associated Press* understands that an art and craft class will shortly be opened in the Berhampore detention camp.

Last year an exhibition was held in the camp and a prominent artist was sent from Calcutta to judge the exhibits. This, it is supposed, gave the detenus an interest in art and some of them having expressed a willingness to join a regular class, a teacher will shortly be appointed to hold such a class, the expenses being borne by the Government.

THE NAWAB OF PATAUDI

The Nawab of Pataudi, who has sailed for England interviewed, said:

"If I am invited by a country and if I am fit, I hope to play a few matches in July and August, but all will depend upon my health."

Asked if he was likely to play in the next Quadrangular Cricket Tournament in Bombay, the Nawab said: "If I play in England, then I am bound to play in India also. For three years I have not played any cricket and, therefore, I would like to try if I am in a fit condition and make sure that I do not risk another break-down."

Questioned if he was likely to play against Lord Tennyson's team, Pataudi said: "If I am fit, there is nothing which will give me greater pleasure than to play against them, as the team is bound to include some of my very dear friends."

THE OLYMPIC TORCH

Could not the Olympic Torch-bearer from Athens to Japan pass through India? This suggestion has been made by the Bengal Olympic Association.

The Organising Committee of the XII Olympiad, Japan, is planning a route for carrying the Olympic Torch from Athens to Japan, and as such it would be best that the Indian Olympic Association should invite the Organising Committee to prepare the plan in such a way that the Torch-bearers may pass through India. If this could be arranged, it will give a great impetus to Indian athletes and athletics.

INDIA IN TENNIS

Mr. S. Rose, Secretary of the Western India Lawn Tennis Association, interviewed at Bombay prior to his departure to England, said that India had one or two very good players and he earnestly hoped that they would continue to play the game. Talent undoubtedly was there and if it was properly trained, he had no doubt India should certainly gain international fame in tennis as she had gained international fame in hockey. His advice to Indian players was "to play the game on the court and off the court".

"THE SCIENCE OF THE SULBA"

This study in early Hindu geometry (Readership Lectures for the year 1931 by Bibhu Tibhusan Datta of Calcutta University) is an attempt to study the Vedic rites of the Agni-Cayana or the construction of the Fire-altar with special reference to the Vedic science of geometry technically called by the name of Sulba (Sulva). Our knowledge is based upon only seven Sulba-Sutras, of which that of the Baudhayana is the largest and perhaps also the oldest and upon the several commentaries whose dates, however, have not as yet been ascertained even approximately. The author says that the problem of the squaring of the circle and the theorem of the square of the hypotenuse, at least in its simplest form are as old in India as the time of the Rig Veda and perhaps even older.

THE INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE

The Sub-Committee appointed by the Governing Council of the Institute of Science to inquire into the allegations made against Sir C. V. Raman, the Director of the Institute, by some students and members of the staff has completed its report.

After emphasising the need for the Governing Council ensuring a harmonious atmosphere in the Institute and acknowledging its realisation that the Council is pledged to work out the new constitution recommended by the Quinquennial Reviewing Committee and approved by His Excellency the Visitor (the Viceroy) the Sub-Committee says: "Under this constitution, the Director will continue to have a large part to play in the conduct and development of the academic, though not administrative, activities of the Institute, particularly as Chairman of the Senate."

DR. A. L. NARAYAN

Dr. A. L. Narayan has been appointed Director of the Solar Physics Observatory in place of Dr. T. Royds who has just retired. Dr. Narayan is the first Indian to occupy this office. He was Assistant Director for the last eight years. At one time he was a Professor of Physics and Director of the Research Laboratories in the Maharaja's College, Vizianagram.

C. R. ON SOCIAL FILMS

Films should be produced to reform the masses. The film art should be turned into one of educative value to the public—thus observed Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar presiding over the opening function of the Mayura Films Ltd., a new producing concern of Madras.

In some of the present-day social pictures, the liquor scenes are very attractively got up. "C. R." deprecated such tempting scenes. He was glad that, in *Saint Arunagiri*, the theme selected by this company for their first production there is no scope for such scenes. He wished the enterprise every success.

FILM TASTE IN HYDERABAD

The film taste of the Hyderabad public to-day is not what it was some time back with the result that crude melodrama, sentimental trash, and impracticable stunts have lost much of their former appeal. And if producers do not wish that their productions should come to grief in this "Box Office Paradise" of South India, they should bear in mind the improved taste of picture-goers and pay more attention to the artistic side of production, observes *Movieland* in its Jubilee Souvenir.

SHIRLEY TEMPLE

Shirley Temple, the child star, is the favourite of two Continents. This is the result of the poll conducted by the 'Motion Picture Herald', America's leading film trade journal in America and England, in search of the biggest money-making stars of 1936. Shirley thus retains the confidence of her public, for she was voted to the first place by an overwhelming majority in 1935 also.

Poll was taken separately among American and British theatre-owners.

WALT DISNEY

The Academy of Motion Pictures Arts and Sciences award of merit for the outstanding cartoon of 1936 has gone to Walt Disney's Silly Symphony *The Country Cousin*.

This is the fifth successive year that Disney has captured the Academy's best cartoon honour.

INDIAN MOTOR VEHICLES ACT

The decision of the Government of India not to proceed with the Bill to amend the Indian Motor Vehicles Act introduced during the last Simla session, and the placing of Mr. C. H. Reynolds on special duty in connection with pending legislation, lend colour to reports that it has at last been decided completely to overhaul the 1914 Act, which is hopelessly out of date. Attempts at piecemeal legislation have met with strong opposition, says the *Statesman* of Calcutta, particularly from motor interests which have long advocated the standardisation of motor vehicle rules throughout India. "It is five years since the Indian Roads and Transport Development Association assisted in drawing up draft rules. They have been discussed at conferences, circulated to Provincial Governments and found wide approval. But the problems with which they deal continue to grow with the steady increase of motor transport, and it is important that amendment of the 1914 Act should not be longer delayed."

MOTORS AND TELEVISION

An item of news of special interest and importance to motorists is that they and commercial vehicle owners may soon be compelled to fit wireless suppressors to the sparking plugs of their engines, to prevent interference with television transmission. The low wave-lengths used for television are particularly susceptible to interference from the long wave-radiations emitted by the electrical ignition systems of motor vehicles. The motor car engine acts as short-wave, small power aerial and every spark at the points of a sparking plug, of which there are 10,000 every minute in the average car travelling at 30 m.p.h., is radiated into the atmosphere to be picked up by any broadcast receiver within 100 feet or so. Ordinary broadcast receivers pick up this form of interference. Residents of busy traffic routes often suffer electrical interference which they can never trace, but which is, in fact, due to passing motor cars and omnibuses or lorries. This interference is far worse with television.

THE SPEED LIMIT

"Nature's unclimbable fence," in the arresting phrase of Mr. H. E. Wimperis, President of the Royal Aeronautical Society, sets the limit of speed attainable by a man carrying aeroplane at six hundred miles an hour. The fastest speed yet recorded in level flight is 441 m.p.h. and speeds in the neighbourhood of 500 miles an hour have been reached in terminal velocity dives.

In his presidential address to the Society, Mr. Wimperis set out clearly his reasons for selecting the 600 m.p.h. limit. He defined the "fence" as the natural limit to the speed with which the air is able to get out of the way of the advancing aeroplane. He continued: "The speed at which air can move when pushed is the same as the velocity of sound, and once the aeroplane speed approaches this boundary, it becomes more and more difficult to push away the air in front and there is nothing we can do to increase the velocity of sound."

"When a body moves, it compresses the air just in front of it and the resulting pressure is communicated to the air farther ahead. The communication is achieved at the velocity of sound in the medium. In air of normal sea-level pressure and temperature, this velocity is 750 m.p.h. In the stratosphere it is only 650 m.p.h."

"When the speed reaches this limit, the air ahead cannot be warned of what is coming. This leads to as many shocks and collisions as if an unlighted motor car tried to get through a crowd of deaf people on a dark night."

HINDENBURG DISASTER

The airship *Hindenburg* burst into flames as she prepared herself to moor at the end of her first trans-Atlantic flight season.

The airship had tossed her nose-lines to the ground when suddenly there was a terrific burst of flame from the stern. She was due to convey the last of America's Coronation visitors to Europe and her next visit to America had been postponed for two days, so that she could take news-reel and other films of the Coronation to the United States.

KHADI WORK IN MADRAS

Interesting particulars are revealed in the report of the Tamil Nad Branch of the All-India Spinners' Association for the year 1936. Dealing with minimum food requirements for an adult living in a village in Tamil Nad, the report states that it would cost him or her about Rs. 0-2-9. A woman has to earn at least 3 as. a day for the above in addition to Rs. 6 for her annual clothing. With a good *charka*, a woman can spin 400 yards of even and well-twisted yarn per hour. It will take her a day in the week to gin, card and to hank the yarn so that she can spin for only 6 days at 8 hours a day. The quantity spun will come to about 23 hanks of 840 yards each. She cannot eke out a livelihood unless she is paid at least Rs. 1-5-0 as wages for this yarn. An average wage of 5 as. per lb. of yarn was being paid in all areas till the end of 1935. In other words, a spinner spinning yarn of 16 cts. got Rs. 0-1-3 per day including the carding charges. She could have got this wage only if she had been able to spin 400 yards an hour and worked for 9 hours a day. The total weight of yarn produced and the average wage disbursed in Tamil Nad for the years 1934-35 in terms of pounds are: 1934: 357,109, Rs. 0-5-0; 1935: 305,996, Rs. 0-5-2.

JAMSHEDPUR STEEL COMPANY

With a view to associating the employees of the Steel Company more definitely with its prosperity in good time, the Board of Directors have now decided to introduce a regular profit-sharing scheme in the interests of the employees.

The scheme provides that when the amount to be paid to shareholders as dividend exceeds Rs. 100 lakhs, each employee shall receive half a month's pay as profit-sharing bonus for every Rs. 20 lakhs or part of it paid as shareholders' dividend in excess of Rs. 100 lakhs.

TEXTILE CONFERENCE

"The Indian textile industry would be wiped out by Japanese competition if the tariff barriers were removed," declared Sir Firoze Khan Noon, High Commissioner for India and the India Government delegate in the course of a discussion at the world textile conference.

THE INDIAN PEASANT

Dr. B. V. Narayanaswami Naidu, Professor of Economics in the Annamalai University, delivered a lecture on "An Agrarian Problem in South India" at a meeting of the Madras Rotary Club held on the 14th May. He said that even the casual student of Indian economics could not but perceive at present a very great shift of emphasis in national attention from the problems of the city to the conditions of the country-side. This is as it should be.

The recent policy of the British Government towards agriculture, the first ten year plan Russia and some of the aspects of Roosevelt's New Deal, all bear testimony to the key position occupied by agriculture in the national economy of the countries concerned.

Before this eye of this newly awakened interest how does the Indian peasant stand? Oppressed by poverty, ignorance and hunger, toiling under the heavy hand of slow moving tradition the patient Indian peasant labours on with his primitive implements, pursuing age-old methods, binding himself to the microscopic holdings which are too small for a good living but too big to be given up in the midst of the gloom and uncertainty that surrounds him. The most optimistic of calculations put down his income at Rs. 42 per year. Groaning under a heavy load of debt, exposed to the tender mercies of the monsoon on which he depends for water (only 16 per cent. of agricultural land being irrigated artificially) with few credit or marketing facilities, he sells almost always at unfavourable times and meets a heavy tax burden. Indian agricultural conditions do not admit of corporate organisation and little wonder then that neglected and depressed in this way, agriculture in India does not attract the best brains of the land.

The lecturer said that such a state of things could not continue for long and concluded by outlining an agrarian programme for South India.

AGRICULTURAL PRICES

Addressing the annual meeting of the Madras Trades Association, Mr. A. A. Hayles sounded a note of optimism as regards the pace of recovery in Madras Presidency. "Signs are not lacking," he said, "that the tide has turned bringing the promise of better times for all cultivators, industrialists and distributors alike." "We specially welcome", he added, "the upward trend of agricultural prices, for we are fully sensible of the fact that upon the prosperity of the cultivating classes mainly depends the prosperity of every other class in this great country."

INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES

Industrial disputes in British India during 1936 were, according to statistics published by the Industries and Labour Department, just about the average for the last years, says a Press Note issued by the Government of India.

There were no strikes of great importance during the year except that on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway which carried over into 1937.

The total number of lock-outs during the year, including four in progress on December 31, 1936, amounted to 157 and the number of workers involved totalled 169,000. During 1936 there were 145 strikes involving 114,000 workers.

The number of working days lost totalled 2,358,000 which is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ times the exceptionally low figure recorded in 1935.

Cotton textile mill accounted for 37 per cent. of the strikes, 34.8 per cent. of the workers involved and 44.2 per cent. of working days lost.

In 67 (or 61.7 per cent.) strikes demands related to wages or bonuses. In approximately 49.3 per cent. of the total number of lock-outs for the year, workmen were successful in obtaining some concession.

BENGAL JUTE WORKERS

The Bengal jute workers' strike was called off by the Central Strike Committee on and from Monday the 10th May in response to the appeal made by the Premier of Bengal. The terms of settlement finally agreed upon include:

No victimisation of workers for participation in the strike;

Recognition of the Workers' Trade Union;

Liberal policy to be followed regarding all cases arising out of the strike;

Thorough investigation satisfactory to workers into the questions of wages and other grievances of jute workers; and

Withdrawal of the prohibitory orders under Section 144 Cr. P. C.

The Central Strike Committee issued a statement advising the strikers to resume work with effect from Monday, May 10.

The strikers accordingly resumed work from that date.

THE BALLADS OF NORTH MALABAR

This work (Vol. I, Madras University Malayalam Series, No. 3, edited by Mr. C. Achyuta Menon, Senior Lecturer in Malayalam, 1936, price Rs. 3) contains 12 folk songs current in Malabar among the lower classes of the population, mainly based on the collections of Mr. Percy Macqueen, I.C.S., with a foreword by Mr. Macqueen and a long Introduction in Malayalam by the editor himself. In the Introduction, the editor makes some general observations in the beginning and then gives a summary of some of the tales in the collection of songs. Then he deals with points like the matriarchal system in Malabar, methods of warfare, daily life, marriages and dress. Then the editor deals with the date of the songs and the authors of the songs. The Introduction covers nearly 150 pages. Then the twelve songs follow which cover about 175 pages. Both Mr. Macqueen and the Editor assign the songs to about the thirteenth century. This date requires further proof before it can be accepted finally. The songs deal with the adventures of some early heroes in Malabar; the language is simple and corresponds to the language spoken by the illiterate people. The authors take considerable liberty with metre; the alliteration on the second syllable so characteristic of Dravidian poetry is not observed at all. These songs represent a very important field in the region of Malayalam poetry, and the editor has done a distinct service not only to Malayalam literature but also to students of anthropology by bringing out this edition.

MR. BALDWIN ON LORD GREY

A tribute to the late Lord Grey was paid by the Prime Minister, Mr. Stanley Baldwin, in unveiling a memorial tablet outside the Ambassador's entrance of the Foreign Office before a distinguished company of statesmen and diplomats.

Mr. Baldwin said "that Lord Grey was a great man—a man who was a source of inspiration and strength to all those with whom he worked, a man who will be an example for future generations and statesmen and a type in my mind essential to the preservation of sane and wholesome public life in a democratic system".

